

THE
PHILOSOPHY,
COMMONLY CALLED,
THE
MORALS
WRITTEN
By the Learned Philosopher
PLUTARCHUS
OF
CHÆRONEA.

Translated out of Greek into English, and conferred
with the Latine Translations and the French,

By PHILEMON HOLLAND,
Doctor of PHYSIC.

Whereunto are annexed the Summaries necessary
to be read before every TREATISE.

Newly Revised and Corrected.



LONDON,
Printed by S. G. for J. Kirton, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Kings Arms
in Saint Pauls Church-yard, 1657.

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TO THE MOST
HIGH AND MIGHTY
PRINCE, JAMES, BY THE
Grace of God, King of England, Scotland,
France and Ireland, Defender of
the Faith, &c.



Hence this generall joy of affectionate and loyal
subjects, testified by their frequent confluence
from all parts, longing for nothing so much as
the full fruition of that beautiful starre, which
lately upon the shutting in of the evening with
us after our long Summers day, immediatly
by his radiant beames mainteined still a twi-
light from the North, and within some few
houres appeared bright shining above our Horizon, suffering nei-
ther the dark night and confused Chaos of Anarchie to overspred
and subvert, nor the turbulent tempests and bloody broiles of facti-
ous sidings to trouble and pervert our State: I also, for my part
could not stay behinde, but in testimony of semblable love and alle-
geance shew my selfe; and withall, most humbly present unto your
Highnesse, This Philosophie of PLUTARCH: which being
first naturally bred in Greece; then, transplanted in Italie, France
and other regions of the continent; after sundry Nativities, if I
may so speake, reserved (not without some divine providence) unto
these daies, is now in this our Iland newly come to light; ready both
to congratulate your Majesties first entrie upon the inheritance of
these Kingdomes, and desirous also to enjoy the benefite of that happy
Horoscope and fortunate Ascendent, under which it was borne;
even the favourable aspect of your gracions countenance: by vertue
whereof, it may not onel marked to long life, feeble otherwise of
it selfe, but also yeeld pleasure with profit to the English nation.

Vouchsafe therefore, my deere Lord and dread Sovereaine, to

THE EPISTLE

accept that now at my hands whole & entire, which in part Trajanus the best Romaine Emperour that ever was, received sometime from the first Autboure and Stock-father himselfe: Protect the same in English habit, whom in French attire Amiot dedicated to the late most Christian King: and deigne unto her no lesse favour and grace, than her younger sister, to wit, the History or Parallele Lives, hath already obtained: which being transported out of France into England by that woorthy Knight Sir Thomas North our countryman, was patronized by our late Sovereigne Lady of famous memory Elizabet. And the rather, for that considering the prerogative of birth-right, and the same accompanied with more variety and depth of knowledge, I may be bold to pronounce as much in her commendation, as the Poet wrote of Iupiter in comparifon of his brother Neptune:

Hom. I.
Iliad. v.

Il gods dizevstom hieir fides, h d' in mures,
dih' dion veyvstom pishies, d'adela h'ia.

These regards, albeit they were sufficient motives in themselves to induce me, for to attempt none other patronage than the Name of my Liege Lord so gracious; nor to submit my labours to the censure of any person, before a King so judicious: yet was I more animated to enterprife the same, by the former experience that I had of a Princes benignity in that behalfe: what time as I consecrated my English Translation of the Romane Historie written by Titus Livius, unto the immortal memory of the said Noble and renowned Queene. Now, seeing that with her Realmes and Dominions, the best parts and gifts that were in her, be likewise hereditarily descended upon your royall person, and the same multiplied in greater measure, proportionable to the dignity of sex, the addition of scepters and diademes, and the weighty charge of so puissant and populous an Empire; it were in me a grosse absurdity, if not meere impiety, to make any doubt of that excellent vertue of all others, whereby Princes come neereſt unto the Nature of God, whose Majesty beere upon earth they represent. To say nothing, how the world hath taken knowledge already, as well by your vertuous life and politicke regiment hitherto, as also by the prudent and religion designements delivered in those sage and learned Compositions o
you

DEDICATORIE

your Highnesse penning, That your blessed intention is to holde on the same course still, not onely ^{Plutarch.} ^{De fortun.} ^{vel Virtut.} ^{Alexandri.} ^{Orat. 1.} a point that the Indian Potentate Porus required of Alexander the Great; but also ^{Plutarch.} ^{De fortun.} ^{vel Virtut.} ^{Alexandri.} ^{Orat. 1.} the singular note that our present Author set upon all the actions of the said mighty Monarch; ^{is v'ery d' m'ia l'v'et.}

Since then both these attributes concur in your Noble person, just cause have we, in all devout thankfulnesse to acknowledge the goodnesse of the Almighty, who from heaven above hath sent us so wise a Prince, under whose reigne we (if ever any Nation under the Sunne) may assuredly expect that felicity and happinesse, which the divine Philosopher Plato so much recommendeth: and in due reverence unto your Majesty, with one heart and voice, both sing and say:

Hic ames dici Pater atq; Princeps:
Serus in cœlum redeas, tuoq;
Lætus inter sis populo, Britannum
Prime Monarchæ.

Horat. 1.
Carm.
od. 2.

Your Majesties most

humble and obedient subject,

Philémon Holland.

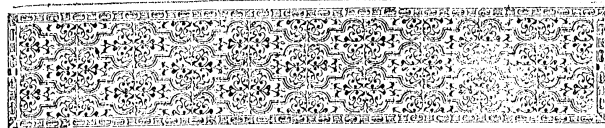
A CATALOGUE CONTAINING

the Titles of every Treatise in order, thorow the
whole worke : with a direction to the page,
where any one of them beginneth.

1	Of the Nouriture and Education of Children.	1
2	How a young man ought to heare Poets : and how he may take profit by reading Poems.	17
3	Of Hearing.	51
4	Of Morall vertue.	64
5	Of Vertue and Vice.	78
6	That Vertue may be taught and learned.	80
7	How a man may discern a flatterer from a friend.	83
8	How to Bridle Anger.	117
9	Of Curiositie.	133
10	Of the Tranquillitie and contentment of Mind.	144
11	Of unseemly and naughty Bashfulness.	162
12	Of Bretherly Love.	173
13	Of Intemperate speech or Garrulitie.	191
14	Of Avarice or Covetousnesse.	208
15	Of the naturall love or kindnesse of Parents to their children.	216
16	Of the Plurallitie of Friends.	223
17	Of Fortune.	229
18	Of Envie and Hatred.	233
19	How a man may receive profit by his enemies.	236
20	How a man may perceive his owne proceeding and going forward in Ver- tue.	245
21	Of Superstition.	258
22	Of Exile or Banishment.	269
23	That we ought not to take up money upon Usurie.	282
24	That a Philosopher ought to converse especially with princes and great Ru- lers, and with them to discourse.	288
25	How a man may praise himselfe, without giving envie or blame.	300
26	What passions and maladies be worse of the soule or those of the body.	312
27	Precepts of Wedlocke.	315
28	The banquet of the seven Sages.	325
29	Instructions for them that manage affaires of State.	346
30	Whether	

30	Whether an aged man ought to manage publike affaires.	382
31	The Apophthegmes or Notable Sayings, of Kings, Princes, and great Captaines.	401
32	Laconicke Apophthegmes, or the notable sayings of Lacedæmonians.	445
33	The Apophthegmes, that is to say, the notable sayings and answers of La- cedæmonian Dames.	479
34	The vertuous deeds of Women.	482
35	A Consolatorie oration, sent unto APOLLONIUS, upon the death of his sonne.	509
36	A Consolatorie letter or discourse, sent unto his owne Wife as touching the death of her and his daughter.	533
37	How it cometh, that the divine Justice differeth otherwhiles the punish- ment of wicked persons.	538
38	That Brute beasts have discourse of reason, in maner of a Dialogue na- med Gryllus.	561
39	Whether it be lawfull to eate flesh or no, the former oration or treatise. Of feating flesh the second Declamation.	571
40	That a man cannot live pleasantly according to the doctrine of EPICU- RUS.	580
41	Whether this common Mot be well said, LIVE HIDDEN, or, SO LIVE, as no man may know thou livest.	605
42	Rules and precepts of health, in maner of a Dialogue.	609
43	Of the Romans fortune.	627
44	The Symposiacks, or table Questions, The first booke.	641
	Of Symposiacks, the second booke.	661
	Of Symposiacks, the third booke.	680
	Of Symposiacks, the fourth booke.	698
	Of Symposiacks, the fifth booke.	713
	Of Symposiacks, the sixth booke.	729
	Of Symposiacks, the seventh booke.	742
	Of Symposiacks, the eighth booke.	764
	Of Symposiacks, the ninth booke.	785
45	The opinions of Philosophers.	802
	Of Philosophers opinions the first booke.	804
	Of Philosophers opinions the second booke.	817
	Of Philosophers opinions the third booke.	826
	Of Philosophers opinions the fourth booke.	833
	Of Philosophers opinions the fifth booke.	841
46	Romane Questions.	850
47	Demaunds or questions as touching Greeke affaires.	888
48	The Parallels or, a bric-a-brac collation, of Romane narrations, with the sembla- ble reported of the Greeks.	906
49	The Lives of the ten Oratours.	918
50	Narrations of Love.	944
51	Whether creatures be more wise, they of the land, or those of the water.	949
52	Whether	

52 Whether the Athenians were more renowned for Martiall Armes, or good Letters.	581
53 Whether of the twaine is more profitable, Fire or Water.	589
54 Of the Primitive or first Cold.	992
55 Naturall Questions.	1002
56 Platonique Questions.	1016
57 A commentary of the Creation of the soule, which PLATO describeth in his booke Timæus.	1030
58 Of fatall Necessitie.	1048
59 A Compendious Review or Discourse, That the Stoicks deliver more strange opinions, than doe the Poets.	1055
60 The Contradictions of Stoicke Philosophers.	1057
61 Of Common Conceptions against the Stoicks.	1081
62 Against C. OLOTES the Epicurean.	1109
63 Of Love.	1130
64 Of the Face appearing within the Roundle of the Moone.	1159
65 Why the propheticke PYTHIA, giveth no answer now from the Oracle, in verse or Meeter.	1185
66 Of the Daemon or familiar spirit of SOCRATES.	1202
67 Of the Malice of HERODOTUS.	1227
68 Of Musicke.	1248
69 Of the Fortune or vertue of king ALEXANDER, the first Oration.	1263
Of the Fortune or vertue of K. ALEXANDER, the second Oration.	1272
70 Of Isis and OSIRIS.	1286
71 Of the Oracles that have Ceased to give answers.	1320
72 What signifieth this word, EI, engraven over the Dore of APOLLOES Temple in the City of DELPHI.	1351



OF THE NOVITVRE AND EDVCATION OF CHILDREN.

The Summarie.

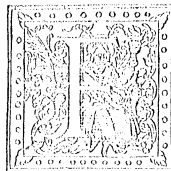
THe very title of this Treatise discovereth sufficiently the intention of the author; and whosoever he was that reduced these Morals and mixt works of his into one entire volume, was well advised, and had great reason to range this present Discourse in the first and foremost place: For unless our minds be framed unto vertue from our infancy, impossible it is that we should perform any worthy act so long as we live. Now, albeit Plotarch (as a sincere Pagane) hath both in this booke and also in others ensuing, where he treateth of vertues and vices, left out the chiefe and principall thing, to wit, The Law of God and his Truth, (wherein he was altogether ignorant) yet nevertheless these excellent precepts by him delivered like rays which proceed from the light of nature remaining still in the spirit and soule of man, as well to leave sinners inexcusable, as to shew how happy they be, who are guided by the heavenly light of holy Scripture, are able to commence action against those, who make profession in word how they embrace the true and soveraigne Good, but in deed and effect do annihilate, as much as lieth in them, the power and efficacy thereof.

Moreover, in this Treatise he proveth first of all, That the generation of infants ought in no wise to be defamed with the blot either of adulterie or drunkenness: Then, he entereth into a discourse of their education: and after he hath shewed, that Nature, Reason & Usage ought to concur in their instruction, he reacheth how & by whom they should be nurtured, brought up and taught, where he reprovet sharply the sloth, ignorance and avarice of some fathers. And the better to declare the excellencie of these benefices, namely, good instruction, knowledge and verue, which the studie of Philosophie doth promise and reach, he compareth the same with all the greatest goods of the world: and so consequently setteth downe what vices especially they are to shun and avoid, who would be capable of sincere and true literature.

But before he proceedeth further, he describeth and limiteth how far forth children well borne and of good parentage should be urged and forced by compulsion; deciphering briefly the praises of morall Philosophie: and concluding withall, That the man is blessed, who is both helpful to his neighbour as it becometh, and also good unto himselfe. All these points above rehearsed, when he hath enriched and embellished with similitudes, examples, apostolical hegmes, and such like ornaments, he propoundeth divers rules pertinent to the Institution of young children: which done, he passeth from tender child-hood to youthfull age, shewing what government there ought to be of young men: farre from whom, he banisheth and chiseth flatterers especially: and for a small conclusion deciphereth of the kinde behavior of fathers, and the good example that they are to give unto their children.



THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.



Inasmuch as we are to consider what may be sayd as touching the education of children free borne and descended from gentle blood, how and by what discipline they may become honest and vertuous, we shall perhaps treat hereof the better, if we begin at their very generation and nativitie. First and foremost therefore, I would advise those who desire to be the fathers of such children, as may live another day in honour and reputation among men, not to match themselves and meddle with light women, common courtesans I meane, or private concubines. For a reproch this is that followeth a man all the dayes of his life, and a shamefull shame which by no meanes can be fetched out, if haply he be not come of a good father or good mother: neither is there any one thing that presenteth it selfe more readily unto his adversaries, and sooner is in their mouth when they are disposed to checke, taunt and revile, than to twit him with such parentage. In which regard, wisely sayd the Poet *Enchiridion*:

*When as the ground is not well laid
at first, for our nativity;
With parent's fault, we will upbraid
both us, and our posterity.*

A goodly treasure then have they who are well and honestly borne, when in the confidence and allowance thereof they may be bold to beare their heads aloft, and speake their minds frankly whersoever they come: and verily they of all others are to make the greatest account of this blessing, who wish to have faire issue of their bodies lawfully begotten. Certes, a thing it is that ordinarily daunted and calteth downe the heart of a man, when he is privie to the baseness of his birth, and knoweth some defect, blame, and imperfection by his parents. Most truly therefore, and to the purpose right fitly speake the same Poet:

*The private to fathers vice
or mothers fault reprochable,
Will him detest: who otherwise
is honest, fient and commendable.*

Whereas contrariwise, they that are known to be the children of noble and worthy parents, beare themselves highly, and are full of stomack and generosity. In which conceit and losie spirit it is reported, that *Daphnim* the sonne of *Themistocles*, was wont to say, and that in the hearing of many, That whatsoever pleased him, the same also the people of *Athens* thought well of: for that which I would have done, quoth he, my mother likewise sayth *Yea* unto it: what my mothers minde standeth to, *Themistocles* my father will not gainsay it: and looke what likes *Themistocles*, the *Athenians* all are well contented therewith. Where by the way, the magnanimity, and brave mind of the *Lacedemonians* is highly to be praised, who condemned their king *Archidamus* in a great fine of money, for that he could finde in his heart to espouse a wife of little stature, alledging therewith a good reason: Because, say they, his meaning is to get, not a breed of Kings, but Kinglins, or divers Kings, to bequeath over us.

Well, upon this first advertisement concerning children, there dependeth another, which they who wrote before us of the like argument, forgot not to set downe; and what is that? namely, That they who for procreation of children will come neere unto women, ought to meddle with them, either upon empty stomacks, and before they have drunke any wine at all, or at leastwise, after they have taken their wine in measure, and soberly: for such will prove commonly wine-bibbers and drunkards, who were engendered when their fathers were drunken: according so to that which *Diogenes* sayd upon a time unto a youth who he saw beside himselfe, and tane overlesse with drunke; My ladde, quoth he, thy father gat thee when he was drunke. And thus much may suffice for the generation of children.

As touching their nourture and education, wherof now I am to discourse: That which we are wont generally to say of all Arts and Sciences, the same we may be holde to pronounce of

VERTUE,

vertue, to wit, that to the accomplishment thereof, and to make a man perfectly vertuous, three things ought to concur, Nature, Reason and Usage. By reason, I understand doctrine and precepts: by usage, exercise and practise. The first beginnings we have from nature: progresse and proceeding come by teaching and instruction: exercise and practise is performed by diligence: And all three together bring forth the height of perfection. If any one of these faile, it cannot otherwise be, but that vertue also should have her defect and be mained: For nature without learning is blind: Doctrine wanting the gift of nature is defectuous; and exercise void of the other twaine, imperfect. And verily it farest in this case much like as in Husbandrie and tillage of the earth. For first and foremost require it is, that the ground be good: Secondly, that the Husbandman be skilfull; and in the third place that the seed be cleane and well chosen. Semblably, Nature resembleth the soile: the Master who teacheth, representeth the labouring Husbandman; and last of all, the rules, precepts, admonitions and examples are compared to the seed. All these good meanes (I dare with confidence avouch) met together, and inspired their power into the mindes of these woonly personages, who throughout the world are so renowned, *Pythagoras* I meane, *Socrates*, *Plato*, and all the rest who have attained to a memorable name and immortall glorie. Blessed then is that man and entirely beloved of the gods, whose hap it is by their favor and grace to be furnished with all three. Now if any one be of this opinion, that those who are not endued with the gift of naturall wit, and yet have the helpees of true instruction and diligent exercise to the attaining of vertue, cannot by this meanes recover and repaire the foresaid defect: Know he, that he is much deceived, and to say more truly, quite out of the way: for as idleness and negligence doth marre and corrupt the goodnesse of nature: so, the industrie and diligence of good erudition supplieth the defect, and correcteth the default thereof. Idle and slothfull persons (we see) are not able to compasse the things that be vertue, whereas contrariwise by studie and travell, the greatest difficulties are achieved. Moreover, of what efficacie, and execution, diligence and labour is, a man may easily know by sundrie effects that are daily observed. For we do evidently perceive that drops of water falling upon the hard rocke, doe eate the same hollow: yon and brasse we see to weare and consume onely by continuall handling: The fellics in chariot wheels which by labour are bended and curved, will not retorne and be reduced againe, do what you can to their former straightnesse: Like as it is impossible by any device to set straight the crooked staves that Stage-players goe withall. And evident it is, that whatsoever against nature, is by force and labour changed and redressed, becometh much better and more sure, than those things that continue in their owne kinde. But, are these the things onely wherein appereth the power of studie and diligence? No verily. For there are an infinite number of other experiments, which prove the same most cleerely. Is there a peece of ground naturally good? Let it lie neglected, it becometh wilde and barren: Yea, and the more rich and fertile that it is of it selfe, the more waste and fruitlesse it proveth for want of tillage and husbandry. Contrariwise, you shall see another plot hard, rough, and more stonie than it should be: which by good ordering and the careful hand of the husbandman, soon bringeth forth faire and goodly fruit. Again, what trees are there which will not twine, grow crooked and prove fruitlesse, if good heed be not taken unto them? Whereas, if due regard be had, and that carefulnes employed about them which becometh by their beare fruit and yeeld the same ripe in due season. Is there any body so found and able, but by neglect, riot, delicacie, and an evil habit or custome it will grow dull, feeble and unlitte, yea and fall into a milking and consumption? On the other side, what complexion is there so faint and weak, which is not brought to great strength and perfection in the end, by continuall travell and ordinary exercises? Are there any horses in the world, which if they be well handled and broken while they are colts, will not prove gentle in the end and suffer themselves easily to be mounted and manned? Contrariwise, let them remaine untamed in their youth: strong-headed, stiff-necked and unruly will they be always after, and never fit for service. And why should we marvell at these and such like matters, considering that many of the most savage and cruell beasts that be, are made gentle and familiar, yea and brought to hand by labour and paines taken about them? Well said therefore that *Thessalus* whose ever he was, who being demanded, which *Thessalians* of all others were most dull and softest of spirit, Answered thus, Even they that have given over warfare. But what need we to stand longer upon this point? For certain it is, that our manners and conditions are qualities imprinted in us by tract and continuance

* *Crates* in his
third age
412. or 71.
412.

continuance of time: and whosoever faith that * Morall vertues are gotten by custome, in my conceit speaketh not amiss but to very great purpose. And therefore with one example and no more produced by *Lycurgus* as touching this matter, I will knit up and conclude my discourse thereof. *Lycurgus*, him I meane who established the lawes of the Lacedaemonians, took two whelpes of one litter, and coming both from the same fire and damme: Those he caused to be nourished and brought up diversly, and unlike one to the other; that as the one proved a greedy and ravenous curie and full of shrewd turnes: so the other was given to hunting and minded nothing but to quest and follow the game. Now upon a certaine day afterwards, when the Lacedaemonians were met together in a frequent assembly, he spake unto them in this manner, My Masters, citizens of Lacedaemon, Of what importance to engender vertue in the hart of man, custome, nouriture, discipline and education is, I will presently shew unto you by an evident demonstration: and with that he brought forth in the sight of them all, those two whelpes, and set directly before them a great platter of flosps in broth, and therewith let loose also a live hare: but behold, one of them followed immediately after the hare, but the other ranne straight to flay in the platter aforesaid. The Lacedaemonians wist not what to make of this, nor to what purpose he shewed unto them these two dogs before said, untill he brake out into this speech, These two dogs (quoth he) had one damme and the same fire, but being bred and brought up diversly, See how the one is become a greedy gut, and the other a kinde hound. And thus much may serve as touching custome and diversitie of education.

If were meete now in the next place to treat of the feeding and nourishing of infants newly borne, I hold it therefore convenient, that mothers reare their babes, and suckle them with their owne breasts: For feede them they will with greater affection, with more care and diligence, as loving them inwardly, and (as the proverbe saith) from their tender nailes, whereas milch nourses and foster-mothers carie not so kinde a hart unto their nourcelings, but rather a fained and counterfet affection, as being mercenarie and loving them indeed for hire onely and reward. Furthermore, even nature her selfe is sufficient to proove, that mothers ought to suckle and nourish those whom they have borne and brought into the world: For to this end hath she given to every living creature that bringeth forth yong, the foode of milke: and in great wisdom the divine providence hath furnished a woman with two teats for this purpose, that if happily she should be delivered of two twines at once, she might have likewise two fountaines of milke to yeeld nourishment for them both. Moreover, by this meane more kinde and loving they will be unto their children: and verily not without great reason: For this fellowship in feeding together is a bond that knitteth, or rather a wrest that straiteth and stretcheth benevolence to the utmost. The experience whereof we may see even in the very brute and wilde beasts, which hardly are parted from their companie, with whom they have bene nourished, but still they love and move after them. Mothers therefore (as I have said) ought especially to endeavour and do their best for to be nourses of their owne children, if it be possible. But in case they cannot, by reason either of some bodily infirmite and indisposition that way (for so it may fall out) or that they have a desire and do make hast to be with childe againe, and to have more children: then a carefull eie and good regard would be had, not to entertaine those for nourses and governesses that come next to hand, but to make choise of the very best and most honest that they can come by, and namely for faire conditions and good behavior, to choise Greekeish women before any other. For like as the members and limmes of little infants, so soone as ever they be borne, are of necessitie to be formed and fashioned, that afterwards they may grow straight and not crooked: even so, at the very first their harts and manners ought to be framed and set in order: For this first age of childhood is moist and soft, apt to receive any impression: whilst the heart is tender every lesson may be soone infused into it, and quickly will take hold, whereas hard things are not so easie to be wrought and made soft. And as signets or seales will quickly set a print upon soft wax; so the tender harts of yong children take readily the impression of whatsoever is taught them. In which regard, *Plato* that heavenly and divine Philosopher, seemeth unto me to have given a wise admonition for nourses, when he warned them not to tell foolish tales, nor to use vaine speeches inconsiderately in the hearing of yong infants, for feare least at the first their minds might apprehend folly and conceive corrupt opinions. Semblably the Poet *Phoebides* seemeth to deliver sage counsaile in this behalfe when heo saith:

A

*A child of yong and tender age
Ought to be taught things good and sage.*

Neither is this precept in any wise to be forgotten or passed by, That other children also who are either to attend upon them, whilst they be noursed and brought up, or to beare them companie and be fedde together with them, be chosen such as above all things are well mannered and of good conditions: Then, that they speake the Greeke toong naturally, and pronounce the same most plainly and distinctly, for feare, least if they fort with such seeres as either in language are barbarous, or in behaviour lewd and ungracious, they catch infection from them, and be stained with their vices. For such old sawes and proverbes as these, are not to life with out good reason, *If thou converse and cohabite with a lame creaple, thou wilt soone learne to limpe and halt thy selfe.*

Now when children be grown to that age, wherein they are to be committed unto the charge of Tutors, Schoolemasters and governors: then, parents ought to have an especial care of their state, namely, under whom they set them to be trained up: least for want of good providence and foresight, they betray them into the hands of some vile slaves, base barbarians, vaine and light-headed persons. For most absurd and ridiculous is the practise of many men in this point who if they have any servants more vertuous or better disposed than others, some of them they appoint to husbandry and tillage of their ground; others they make Masters of their ships. They employ them (I say) either in merchandise to be their factours, or as stewards of their house to receive and pay all; or else to be banquers, and so they trust them with the exchanging and turning of their monies. But if they meete with one slave among the rest that useth to be cuphotten, given to gluttony & belly cheere, or otherwise is untoward for any good service, him they set over their children to bring them up: Whereas indeed a governour over youth should be wel given, & of a right good nature himselfe, such an one as *Phemix* was, who had the breeding and education of *Achilles*. The principal point therefore and most important of all that hitherto hath bene alledged is this, That choise men be sought out for to be teachers & masters of our children; who live in good name and without challenge, whose carriage and behaviour is blameless, & who for their knowledge & experience of the world are the best that may be found. For surely the source & roote of all goodness and honesty, is the good education and training up of our children in their tender age. And like as good husbandmen and gardeners are wont to pitch props & stakes close unto their yong plants, so stay them up and keepe them straight: even so, discrete and wise teachers plant good precepts and wholesome instructions round about their yong schollers, to the end that thereby, their manners may bud forth commendably, and be framed to the rule of vertue. But contrariwise, you shall have some fathers now adies, that deserve no better than to be spit at in their very faces; who either upon ignorance, or for want of experience, before any triall made of those masters, who are to have the conduct and charge of their children, commit them hand over head to the tuition of lewd persons, and such as beare shew and make profession of that which they are not. Neither were this absurditie altogether so grosse and ridiculous, if so be they faulted herein of meere simplicitie & default of foreknowledge. But here is the heights of their folly and error, that themselves knowing otherwhiles the insufficiency, yea and the naughtines of some such Masters, better than they doe who advertise them thereof; yet for all that, they commit their children unto them, partly being overcome by the flatterie of claw-backes, and partly willing to gratifie some friends upon their kinde and earnest entreatie. Wherein they do much like for all the world to him, who lying verie sicke in bodie, for to content and satisfie a friend, leaveth an expert and learned physician who was able to cure him, and entertaineth another blind leech, who for want of skill and experience quickly killeth him: or else unto one who being at sea, forgoeth an excellent pilot whom he knoweth to be very skillfull, and for the love of a friend maketh choise of another that is most insufficient. O *Jupiter* and all the gods in Heaven! Is it possible that a man bearing the name of a father, should make more account of a friends request, than of the good education of his owne children? Which considered, had not that ancient Philosopher *Crates* (thinke you) just occasion to say oftentimes, that if possibly he might, he would willingly mount to the highest place of the cite, and there crie out aloud in this manner: What meane you my Masters, and whether runne you headlong, carking and caring all that ever you can, to gather goods and rake riches together as you do, whilst in the mean time you make little or no reckoning, at all of your children,

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children, unto whom you are to leave all your wealth? To which exclamation of his, I may adde thus much moreover, and say, That such fathers are like unto him that hath great regard of his shoe, but taketh no heed unto his foot. And verily, a man shall see many of these fathers, who upon a covetous minde, and a cold affection toward their owne children, are grown to this passe, that for to spare their purse, and ease themselves of charge, chuse men of no worth to teach them: which is as much as to seeke a good market where they may buy ignorance cheapest. Certes *Aristippus* said verie well to this purpose, when upon a time he prettily mocked such a father who had neither wit nor understanding, and jibed pleasantly with him in this manner: For when he demanded of him how much he would take for the training up and teaching of his sonne? He answered, An hundred crownes: A hundred crownes I quoth the father: by 10
Hieron I sweare, you aske too much out of the way; For with a hundred crownes I could buy a good slave. True quoth *Aristippus* againe, Lay out this hundred crownes so, you may have twaine, your sonne for one, and him whom you buy for the other. And is not this a follie of all follies, that nourses should use their young infants to take meate and feed themselves with the right hand, yea and rebuke them if haply they put forth their left: and not to forecalt and give order that they may learne civility, and heare sage & wholesome instructions? But what befalleth afterward to these good fathers, when they have first noursed their children badly, & then taught them as lewdly? Mary I will tell you. VVhen these children of theirs are grown to mans estate, and will not abide to heare of living orderly, and as it becommeth honest men: but contrariwise fall headlong into outrageous courses, and give themselves wholly to sensuality and servile plea- 20
sures: Then such fathers all repent for their negligence past, in taking no better order for their education: but all too late considering no good ensueeth thereupon: but contrariwise, the lewd tranches which they commit daily, augment their griefe of heart and cause them to languish in sorrow. For some of them they see to keepe companie with flatterers, parasites, and smell casts, the lewdest, basest, and most cursed wretches of all other, who serve for nothing but to corrupt, spoil, and mare youth: Others, to captivate and spend themselves upon harlots, queanes and common strumpets, proud and sumptuous in expence; the entertainment of whom is infinitely costly. Many of them consume all in delicate fare, and feeding a daintie and fine tooth: Many of them fall to dice, and with mummings and masking hazard all they have. And divers of them againe entangle themselves in other vices more hardy and adventurous, courting faire dames, 30
and making love to other mens wives: for which purpose they walke disguised in the night, like the franticke priests of *Bacchus*, to commit adulteries, buying sometimes one onely nights pleasure with the price of their life: VVhereas if such as these had conversed before with any Philosopher, they would never have taken such waies as this, and give themselves to like vanities: but rather they would have turned over a new lease and learned a lesson of *Diogenes*, who in words not very civill and seemely, howbeit to the point not untruly, gave this counsell and said, Goe thy waies to the Stewes (I advise thee) and enter into some brothell house, where thou maist know how the pleasure that costeth little or nothing, differeth not from that which is bought full dearly.

To knit up therefore all in one summe I will conclude, and this my conclusion ought 40
of right to bee esteemed for an oracle, rather than a simple counsell and admonition: That the beginning, mids, and ende of all these matters, lieth onely in virtuous nurture and honest education, which I avouch are the very means that be operative and powerfull for the attaining both of vertue and true happinesse. As for all other things which we count good in this world, are in comparision heereof, mortall, transitorie, small, and not worth the seeking after with such care and studie, Nobilitie, I confesse to be a goodly thing, but it is the gift of our ancestors. Riches who doubteth that they be gay and pretious matters? Howbeit, lying in the power of fortune onely, who taketh the same many times from those that possesse them, and giveth them away to such as never looke for them. Moreover, much wealth is the very marke wherewith those who are common cur-purses, privie & domesticall thieves, Sycophants and promoters, and that which is most, the wickedest persons in the world oftentimes meete therewith. Glorie and honor be things venerable, howbeit uncertaine and mutable. Beautie is lovely and verie much desired, but it continueth a small while. Health is worth much, and yet you see how soone it changeth. Strength of body who witheth: not? but quickly it is decayed and gone, either by sickness or yeeres: in so much, as whosoever wanteth and beareth himselfe in 50
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his able bodie, is greatly deceived, and commeth farre short of his reckoning: For what is mans force, compared with that of other beasts, I meane Elephants, Bulls and Lions? It is learning and knowledge onely, which in us is divine, heavenly and immortall. For in mans nature two parts there are to be considered of all other most principall, to wit, understanding and speech. And of these, understanding is as it were the maiester that commandeth: Speech, the servant that obeyeth. Now the foresaid understanding is not exposed to the injurie of fortune: no slanders raised by Sycophants can take it away: Sicknesse hath no power to corrupt and destroy it; neither doth it decay or perish by olde age: For it is the onely thing that being in yeeres, waxeth young and fresh. Length of time which doth diminish and impair all things else, addeth still 10
more knowledge to our understanding, the elder that we are. So violence of warre which in manner of a streame casteth downe and carrieth all away with it, is not able to make havocke and spoyle of knowledge and learning: that onely is not in danger thereof. And in my conceit, *Stilpo* the Megarian Philosopher gave a most worthy and memorable answer unto *K. Demetrius*, who having forced, sacked and rased the citie of Megara to the very foundation, demanded of him what losses he sustained in that generall sackings? None at all (quoth he) For warre can make no spoyle of vertue. To which answer of his, accordeith and foundeth well the Apophthegme of *Socrates*, who (as I take it) being asked of *Gorgias* what opinion he had of the great King and Monarch of the Persians in those daies, whether he deemed him Happie or no? I wot not (quoth he) how he is furnished with vertue and learning: as if he judged, that true 20
felicitie consisted in these two things, and not in the transitorie gifts of fortune.

But as my counsell and advice unto parents is, to hold nothing in the world more deere and pretious, then to traine up their children in good letters and virtuous manners: so I say againe, that they ought to have an eye unto that literature and institution which is found, pure and uncorrupt: furthermore, to sequester and withdraw their children as farre as possibly they can, from the vanitie and foolish desire to be seene and heard in the frequent and publike assemblies of the people. For commonly we finde, that to please a multitude, is to displease the wiser sort. And that I speake truth herein *Enripides* gives good testimonie in these verses:

No sled toonz I have nor eloquence,

To speake in place of frequent audience:

30 *Among my seeres and those in number few,*

I love to give advice and make no shew;

For, those whose speech doth please a multitude,

With learned men are foolisb thought and rude.

For mine owne part, I observe those men who endeavour to speake to the appetite and pleasure of the base and vulgar sort, that ordinarily they become loose and dissolute persons, abandoned to all sensuality. And verily not without great apparence of reason: For if to gratifie and content others, they have no regard of honesty: more likelyhood there is a great deale, that for to do a pleasure to themselves, and feede their owne humour and appetite, they will forget all honor and devoir; yea and sooner give the reins to their owne delights, than follow the 40
staight rules of temperance and sobriety.

But now, what good thing is there moreover, that we are to teach our children? and whereto should we advise them for to give their minds? A goodly matter no doubt it is to do nothing rashly, nor to speake a word unadvisedly: But (as the old Proverbe saith) whatsoever is faire and goodly, the same also is hard and difficult. As for these orations which be made *extempore* and without premeditation, they goe away with great facilitie, and are verie rash and full of vanitie: And such commonly as so speake, know not well either where to begin or when to make an end. Also, over and above other absurdities and faults which they commit, who are accustomed in this wise to parle at adventure, and to let their tooong runne at randome, know not how to keepe any meane or measure of speech, but fall into a marvellous superfluitie and excessive of words: VVhereas on the contrary side, when a man thinketh before hand what he should say, he will never overthoot him so farre as to passe beyond the bonds of temperate and proportionable language. *Pericles*, as we have beene given to understand, being oftentimes called upon & importuned by the people, and that expresse by name, for to deliver his opinion as touching a matter in question, would not so much as rise from his place, but excused himselfe and said, I am not provided to speake. Semblably *Demosthenes*, one who greatly affected 50
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the said *Pericles*, and followed his steps in policy and managing of State affaires, being called by the Athenians to sit in counsell with them, & requested to give his advice in certain points, refused and made the same answer, saying, I have not yet thought upon it, neither am I prepared. But peradventure some man will say, this is an headles tale and a devised report received by tradition from hand to hand, and not grounded upon any certaine testimonie. Listen then, what he said himselfe in that oration which he made against *Midias*, wherein he setteth evidently before our eyes, the profit that cometh by premeditation: For in one place thereof, these be his words: My Masters of Athens, I confesse plainly, and cannot deny or dissemble, that I have taken as much paines in composing of this oration as possibly I could: For an idle wretch I had beene if having sufficed, and suffering still such indignities as these, I would not consider and studie before hand, what I had to say in reason concerning these matters. Neither alledge I this, as one who condemned altogether the promptitude and readinesse of the tongue, and the gift of utterance *ex tempore*, but the ordinary custome and exercise thereof in everie final matter, and of no great importance. For otherwhiles it is tolerable; provided alwaies that we use it so, as we would take a purging medicine. And to speake more plainly, my meaning is, that I would not have young men before they bee grown to mans age, for to speake ought without good advice and consideration. But after they bee well grounded and have gathered sufficient roote which may yeelde pitie speech, then if occasion be offered, and that they bee called unto it, I thinke it convenient, they should bee allowed to speake freely. For even as they who have beene fettered a long time and worne yrons on their feete, when they are loosed from their givies, cannot goe well at the first, because they have continued such a while with clogs at their heeles, but ever and anon are ready to trip and stumble: so it fareth with those that of long time have beene tongue tied (as it were) and restrained of their libertie of speech: For if haply there be presented some matter, whereto they are to speake on a sudden, they will retain it still the same manner and forme of stile, and speake no otherwise than they did before with premeditation. Mary, to suffer young boies to make substantive and inconsiderate orations, is the next way to bring them to vaine babling, and causeth them to utter many words altogether impertinent to the matter. It is reported that upon a time a vaine and foolish painter came to *Apelles*, and shewed him a picture, saying withall, This Image I drew thus and thus, soone. I wot well (quoth *Apelles*) at the first sight, although thou saidst never a word that it was quickly painted and in haste. And I marvel rather that thou hast not painted many more such in the same time. But to resume againe to my former discourse which I began withall, as touching speech, like as I would give counsell to beware of glorious and brave words, and to avoid that maner of haughtie voice which becometh tragedies, and is meete for Theaters: So I advise and admonish againe to slee as much that kinde of language which is too small and over-lowly: For that the one which is so loude and aloft, exceedeth civillitie: and the other that is as much beneath, bewrayeth overmuch fearfullnesse. Moreover, as the bodie ought not onely to be found and in health, but also in good plight and well liking: so our speech should be not onely cleere from sicknesse as it were and malady, but also strong and able: For that a thing that is found and safe only, we do but barely praise: whereas that which is hardy and adventurous, we admire and wonder at. That which I have said, as touching the tongue and speech, the same opinion I have of the heart and the disposition thereof. For I would not have a youth to be overbold and audacious: neither do I like of him, if he be too timorous and fearefull: For as the one turneth in the end to presumption and inprudencie; so the other into servile cowardise. But here lieth all the maiestie and cunning, as well in this as in all things else, namely, to cut even in the mids, and to hold the golden meane. And since I am entred thus far into the discourse as touching the literature and erudition of youth, before I proceed any farther, I will deliver mine opinion thereof generally in these termes: Namely, That to be able to speake of one thing and no more, is first and foremost in my conceit no small signe of ignorance. Then, I suppose that the exercise and practise thereof, soone bringeth facitue. And againe, I hold it impossible to continue evermore in the same: For so to be ever in one song, breedeth tediousnesse, and soone a man is weary of it: whereas variety is alwaies delectable both in this, and also in all other objects as well of the eie as the eare. And therefore it behooveth, that a child well defended and free borne, be not sufficed to want either the sight or the hearing of all those arts and liberall sciences, which are linked as it were and comprehended within one circle, and thereupon

thereupon called *Eneyelia*, i. Circular. These would I have him to runne through every one superficially, for a taste onely of them all: for as much as to attaine unto the perfection thereof were impossible. Yet so, as his chiefe and principall studie be employed in Philosophie: which opinion of mine I may very well confirme by a proper similitude. For all one it is, as if a man would say, a commendable thing it were to saile along the coasts, and see many a citie: but expedient and profitable to make abode and dwell in the best: and much like to that pleasant and pretie conceited speech of *Bion* the Philosopher, who said, That even as the lovers and wooers of *Lady Penelope*, when they could not enjoy the Mistresse herselfe, went in hand with her waiting maids, and companied with them: so, as are not able to attaine unto Philosophie, spend and consume themselves in the studie of other Arts, which in comparison of it are nothing worth. And therefore we ought to make this account, that Philosophie is the principall head (as it were) of all other learning and knowledge whatsoever. True it is, that for the maintenance and preservation of the body, men have devised two Arts, to wit, Physicke and bodily exercise: of which twaine, the one procureth health; the other addeth thereto a good habitude and strong constitution: but for the infirmities and maladies of the soule, there is no other physicke but onely Philosophie: For by the meanes of it and together with it, we may know what is good, what is badde, what is honest and dishonest, what is iust, and generally what to chioise and what to refuse, how we ought to beare our selves towards the gods, and towards our parents, what our demeanour should bee with our elders, what regard we are to have of lawes, what our carriage must be to strangers, to superiours: how we are to converse with our friends, In what sort we ought to demeanour our selves towards our children and wives, and finally, what behaviour it becometh us to shew unto our servants and familie: For as much as our duty is to worship and adore the gods, to honour our parents, to reverence our ancients, to obey the lawes, to give place unto our superiours and betters, to love our friends, to use our wives chastely and with moderation: to be kinde and affectionate to our children, and not to be outrageous with our servants, nor to tyrannize over them. But the principall and chiefe of all this is, not to shew our selves over joyous and merrie in prosperitie, nor yet exceeding heave and fad in adversitie: not in pleasures and delight dissolute, nor in anger furious, and transported or rather transformed into brutish beasts by choler. And these I esteeme to be the soveraigne fruits that are to be gathered and gotten by Philosophie. For to carrie a generous and noble heart in prosperitie, is the part of a brave minded man: to live without envie and malice, is the signe of a good and tractable nature: to overcome pleasures by the guidance of reason, is the act of wife and sage men: and to bridle and restrain choler, is a maltry that every one cannot skill of: But the height of perfection in my judgement those onely attaine unto, who are able to joine and intermingle the politicke government of weale publique with the profession and studie of Philosophie: For by this meanes (I suppose) they may enjoy two of the best things in the world, to wit, the profit of the common weale by managing State affaires: and their owne good, living so as they doe in tranquillitie and repose of mind, by the meanes of Philosophie. For whereas there be amongst men three sorts of life, namely, Active, Contemplative, and Voluptuous: this last named, being dissolute, loose, and thrall to pleasures, is brutish, beastly, base and vile: The contemplative wanting the active is unprofitable: and the active, not participating with the speculation of Philosophie, committeth many absurd enormities, and wanteth ornaments to grace and beautifie it. In which regard, men must endeavour and assay as much as lieth in them both to deale in government of the State, and also to give their mindes to the studie of Philosophie, so farre forth as they have time, and publique affaires will permit. Thus governed in times past noble *Pertiles*: thus ruled *Archytas* the Tarentine: thus *Dion* the Syracusian, and *Eponinondas* of Thebes swaied the State where they lived; and both of them swell the one as the other converted familiarly with *Plato*. Astouching the Institution of children in good literature, needlesse (I suppose) it is to write any more. This onely will I adde unto the rest that hath bene said, which I suppose to be expedient or rather necessarie: namely, that they make no small account of the workes and bookes of the ancient Sages and Philosophers, but diligently collect and gather them together: so as they do it after the maner of good husbandmen: For as they doe make provison of such tooles as pertaine to Agriculture and husbandrie, not onely to keepe them in their possession, but also to use them accordingly: so this reckoning ought to be made, that the instruments and furniture of knowledge and learning, bee good bookes, if they

they be read and perused: For from thence as from a fountaine they may be sure to maintaine the same.

And here we are not to forget the diligence that is to be employed in the bodily exercise of children: but to remember that they be sent into the schooles of those masters who make profession of such feats, there to be trained and exercised sufficiently, atwell for the freight and decent growth, as for the abilitie and strength of their bodies: For the fast knitting and strong complexion of the bodie in children, is a good foundation to make them another day decent and personable old men. And like as in time of a calme & faire season, they that are at sea, ought to make provision of necessitie meates to withstand foule weather and a tempest: even so, yerie meete it is, that tender age be furnisht with temperance, sobrietie and continencie, and even sometimes reserve and lay up such voyage provision, for the better sustentance of old age. Howbeit in such order ought this labour and travell of children to be dispensed, that their bodies be not exhaust and dried up, and so by that meanes they themselves be overwearied, and made either unmeet or unwilling to follow their booke afresh and take their learning: For as *Plato* said very well, Sleepe and listlitude be enemies to learning. But why do I stand hereupon so much, being in comparisn for small matter?

Proceed I will therefore and make haste to that which is of greatest importance, and passeth all the rest that hath bene said before: For this I say, that youth ought to be trained to militarie feats, namely, in launching darts and javelins, in drawing a bow and shooting arrows, in chasing also and hunting wilde beasts. Forasmuch as all the goods of those who are vanquished in fight, be exposed as a prey and bootie to the conquerors: neither are they fit for warfare and to beare armes, whose bodies having bene daintily brought up in the shade and within house, are corpulent, and of a soft and delicate constitution.

*This leave and dry, the raw bone soldier fierce,
Who train'd hath bene in armes and warlike toyle,
In fieldy bulwarkes of enemies will pierce,
And in the lists all his concurrents foile.*

But what may some men say unto me? Sir, you have made promise to give us examples and precepts, concerning the education of all children free borne and of honest parentage: and now, we thinke you neglect the education of commoners and poore mens children, and deliver no instructions but such as are for gentlemen, and be suitable to the rich and wealthie onely. To which objection, it is no hard matter to make answer. For mine owne part, my desire especially is, that this instruction of mine might serve all: but in case there be some, who for want of meanes cannot make that use and profit which I could wish, let them lay the weight upon fortune, and not blame him who hath given them his advice and counsell in these points. And yet for poore men thus much will I say, Let them endeavour and straine themselves to the utmost of their power, to bring up their children in the best manner: and if they cannot reach unto that, yet must they aime thereat, and come as neere as their abilitie will give them leave.

I have bene willing to insert these points by the way, into this present argument, and to charge my discourse over and above therewith, that I might prosecute other precepts remaining behind, which concerne the education of young men. Thus much therefore I say moreover, that children must be trained and brought to their duty in all lenity, by faire words, gentle exhortations, and milde remonstrance, and in no wise (pardonie) by stripes and blowes: For this course of living and beating seemeth meete for bondslaves, rather than persons of free condition. And to say a truth, by this meanes they become dull and senselesse, nay they have all Audie and labour afterwards in hatred and horror: partly for the smart and paine which they abide by such correction, and in part by the continually and reproch that they sustaine thereby. Praise and dispraise be farre better and more profitable to children free borne, than all the whips, rods and boxes in the world: the one sort to drive them forward to well doing, the other to draw them backe from doing ill: but both the one and the other are to be used in alternative course. One while they would be commended; another while blamed and rebuked: and namely, if at any time they be too jocund and insolent, they ought to be snubbed a little and taken downe, yea and put to some light shame: but soone after, raised up againe by giving them their due praises. And herein we must imitate good nourses, who when they have set their infants crying, give them the breast for to still them againe. Howbeit, a measure would be kept, and great

great heed taken that they be not too highly commended, for feare least they grow proude and presume overmuch of themselves: For when they be praised exceedingly they waxe carelesse, dissolute and enervate; neither will they be willing afterwards to take more paines. Moreover, I have knowne certaine fathers, who through excessive love of their children have hated them afterwards. But what is my meaning by this speech? Surely I will declare my minde and make my words plaine anon by an evident example and demonstration. Some fathers (I say) thrive be, who upon a hot and hastic desire to have their children come soone forward, and so to be the foremost in every thing, put them to immoderate travell and excessive paines: in such sort, that they either sincke under the weight of the burden, and so fall into greivous maladies, or else finding themselves thus overcharged and overladen, they are not willing to learne that which is taught them. And it fareth with them as it doth with young herbes and plants in a garden, which so long as they be watered moderately, are nourished and thrive very well. but if they be overmuch drenched with water, they take harme thereby and are drowned: Even so we must allow unto children a breathing time betwene their continuall labours: considering and making this account, That all the life of man is divided into labor & rest: and for this cause Nature hath so ordained, that as there is a time to be awake, so we finde a time also to sleepe. One while there is warre, and another while peace: It is not alwaies winter and foule weather, but sometime likewise and a faire season. There be appointed not onely worke daies to toyle in, but also feastivall holidays to solace and disport our selves. In sunne, rest and appose, is (as it were) the sauce unto our travaile. And this we may observe as well in senselesse and livelesse things, as in living and sensible creature. For we unbend our bowes, and let slacke the strings of Lutes, Harpes, and such muscicall instruments, to the end that we may bend and stretch the same againe. And in one word, as the bodie is preserved and maintained by repletion and evacuation successively, so the minde likewise by repose and travell in their turnes.

Furthermore, there be other fathers also worthy of rebuke and blame, who after they have once beaten their children to Masters, Tutors and Governors, never deigne afterwards themselves, either to see or heare them, whereby they might know how they learne: wherein they do faile verie much in their dutie. For they ought in proper person to make triall how they profite, they should ever and anon (after some few daies passed betwene) see into their progresse and proceeding, and not to repose their hope and rest altogether upon the discretion and disposition of a mercenarie master. And verily this careful regard of the fathers, will worke also greater diligence in the matters themselves, seeing that by this meanes they are called to schooles, as it were to account and examine how much they plie their schollers, and how they profite under their hands. To this purpose may be well applied a pretty woord spoken sometimes by a wise ellugry of a stable, Nothing (quoth he) feedeth the steede so fast as doth the masters eie.

But above all things, the memorie of children ought daily to be exercised: for that it is as a man would say, the Treasury & Storehouse of all learning. Which was the cause that the ancient Poets have feigned, That Lady *Mnemosyne*, that is to say *Memorie*, was the mother of the Muses: Whereby they would scene under an enigmaticall and darke speech to give us to understand, that nothing availeth so much either to breed, or to feed and nourish learning, as *Memorie*. And therefore great diligence would be used in the exercise thereof everie way: whether the children be by nature good of remembrance and retentive: or otherwise of a fickle memorie and given to oblivion. For the gift of nature in the one, by exercise we shall confirme and augment; and the imperfection or default in the other, by diligence supplie and correct: in such sort, that as they, shall become better than others; so these, shall prove better then themselves. For verie wisely to this purpose said the Poet *Hesiodus*:

*If little skill to little thou do ad
a heape at length and mickle will be had.*

Over and besides, I would not have fathers to be ignorant of another point also, as touching this memorative part & faculty of the mind: namely, that it serveth much not onely to get learning and literature, but also is a meanes that carrieth not the least stroke in worldly affaires: For the remembrance of matters past, furnishest men with examples sufficient to guide and direct them in their consultations of future things.

Furthermore, this care would be had of young children, that they be kept from filthie and unseemly speeches: For words (as *Democritus* saith) are the shadowes of deeds. Trained also they

they must be to be courteous, affable, & faire spoken, as well in intertainment of talke with every one, as in saluting and greeting whomsoever they meete: for there is nothing in the world so odious as to be coy and furlie of speech; to make it strange and to disdain for to speake with men. Again, young students shall make themselves more lovely and amiable to those with whom they converse, in case they be not so opinative and stiff that they will not relent nor give place one jot in disputations, if they have once taken a partie against others. For a commendable and goodly matter it is for a man to know, not only how to overcome, but also to suffer himselfe otherwise to be overcome: especially in such things wherein the victorie bringeth hurt and damage: For verily such a conquest may well and truly be called according to the common Proverbe, A Cadmian victorie, that is to say, which turneth to the detriment and losse of the winner. In confirmation whereof I may well alleage the testimony of the wise Poet *Empedocles*, who in one of his tragedies hath these verses:

*When one of twaine that argue and dispute,
grooves into heat of words and will not rest:
I hold him much the wiser who is wane
and stoies his tongue that he do not contest.*

Now come I to other points wherein youth is to be instructed, and those of no lesse importance, nay rather I may be bolde to say, of greater consequence than all those whereof I have discoursed hitherto: And what be they? Namely, that young men be not riotous, and given to superfluity of expence: That they holde their tongue: That they master their anger: and finally, That they keep their hands pure & cleane. But let us consider these precepts particularely, what each of them in severall doeth import: and more easily may they be understood, if we illustrate the same by lively examples. To begin then first with the last: There have been knowne great perages, who being once permitted to put forth their hands for to take bribes and money unjustly, lost all the honor which they had won the rest of their life time: As for example,

* *Gylippus* the Lacedaemonian, who having once opened those bagges or coffers of money by turning their bottomes upwards, and taken forth what pleased him, was shamefully banished out of *Sparta*, and lived obscurely in exile. As touching the gift of bridling choler, and not to be angrie at all, it is a singular vertue, and perfect wile men they are indeed who can so do: Such as *Socrates* was, who being greatly abused by an insolent, audacious and gracelesse youth, that spared him not, but had spurned & kicked him with his heeles, seeing those about him to be very angrie and out of patience, stamping and faring as though they would run after the partie, to be avenged of such an indignitie; How now my masters (quoth he) what if an asse had flung out, and given me a rap with his heeles, would you have had me to have yeked out and kicked him againe? Howbeit, this ungracious impute went not cleare away with impunity: for being rated for his insolence & leud demeanor, and reproched by everie man with the termes of Winking asse, Kicking colt, and such like nick-names, he fell into such a fit of melancholie, that he strangled himselfe in a halter. Also when *Aristophanes* the Poet exhibited the Comedie called *Cloudes*, wherein he let the and discharged upon *Socrates* all manner of slanders and contumelies that he could devise, in so much as one of them who were present at the very time when he raised thus licentiously, demanded of him, and said, Art thou not nettled, O *Socrates*, to heare and see thy selfe thus blasphemed and noted in publike place? Not a whit (quoth hee againe) for well I wot, that I am in a Theatre, where I make sport, and am laughed at, no otherwise than at some great feast; and glad I am that I can make the audience so merie. The like for all the world, is reported of *Archelus*, the Tarentine, and *Plautus*: the one being returned home from the warre, wherein he was L. Generall, found his land forlorn, neglected and untiled; whereupon he sent for his Bailiffe of husbandrie, who had the charge thereof: and when he was come before him, Were I not exceeding angrie (quoth he) I would make thee feele my fingers, and give thee thy desert. And *Plautus* being upon a time displeased with a servant of his, who had a licentious tooth, and had done some ungracious pranks, called unto him *Spensippus* his sisters sonne, and said, Goe to your waies, take me this knave aside, and swing him well: for I my selfe am verie angrie. But some men perhaps will say unto me, These be hard matters to do and imitate. True it is, I wote well; howbeit, endeavour we must and strive with our selves what we can, according to the example of these worthy men, to cut off somewhat of our impatience, and to curbe our excessive anger: for we may not looke to be equall and comparable in any respect to them, either in experience

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rience and skill or in vertue. Howbeit, let us neverthelesse, like the Priests and Torch-bearers (if I may so say) of the gods, ordained to give light, and shew unto men the reliques of their wisdom and learning, no lesse than if they were verie gods, assay to follow them, and tread in their steps, endeavouring as much as lieth in us, to be furnished with their examples for our better instruction. As for the rule and government of the tongue (for of it, according to my promise, I am to discourse) if there be any man, who thinketh it to be no great mallice, but a small and frivolous matter, he is verie wide and farre out of the right way. For a point it is of great wisdom, to know in time and place to keepe silence, and farre better by many degrees than any speech whatsoever. And for this cause (I suppose) it was, that our ancestors in times past instituted to those precise ceremonies of sacred mysteries, to the end that being used to holde our peace by that meanes, we might transerre that feare which we learned in the service of the gods, to the fidelitie and secrecie which we are to observe in mens affaires; and verily never was there man that repented for holding his tongue, but many a one had often beshrewed himselfe for speaking. Again, that word which a man hath held in at one time, he may easilie utter at another well enough; but a word once passed out of the mouth, he cannot possibly recall it againe. I remember that I have heard of an infinite number of men, who by occasion of an intemperate tongue of their own, have fallen headlong into exceeding great calamities, among whom I will select one or two by way of example, to illustrate the theame that I have in hand, & overpass the rest. *Ptolomaeus* King of *Aegypt*, him I meane who was surnamed *Philadelphus*, espoused his owne sister *Arinoe*, and married her at what time one *Socrates* came unto him and said, You put your agler, sir, thorow the oiler that is not made for it: For this one word, he was cast into prison, where he remained a long time in miserie, and rotted in the end, suffering condigne punishment due for his laithful tongue and foolish words: and for that he thought to make other men laugh, himselfe wept for it a long time after. The like, and in a manner the same, both did and suffered another, named *Theocritus* the Sophister, save that the punishment which he abid was much more grievous. For when King *Alexander* the Great had by his letters mislived given commaundement that the Greekes should provide Robes of purple against his returne, because upon his coming home he minded to celebrate a solemne sacrifice unto the Gods, in token of thanksgiving for that he had achieved a victorie over the Barbarians: by reason of which commaundement the States and cities of Greece were enjoyned to contribute money by the poll, Then this *Theocritus*, I have ever to this day (quoth he) doubted what *Homer* meant by this word Purple death: but now I know full well that this is the Purple death which he speaketh of. By which words he incurred the high displeasure of King *Alexander*, and made him his heave friend ever after. The same *Theocritus* another time procured to himselfe the deadly hatred of *Antigonus* King of the Macedonians, by reproching him in way of mockerie with his deformity and defect, for that he had but one eye. For the King having advanced *Eutropius* his Master Cooke to a place of high calling and commaund; thought him a meete man to be sent unto *Theocritus*, as well to give account unto him, as also to take account of him reciprocally: *Eutropius* gave him to understand so much from the King, and about this businesse, repaired often unto him. In the end, I know well (quoth *Theocritus*) thou wilt never have done untill thou have made a dish of meate of me, and serve me up raw to the table before this Cyclops be eaten: twitting the King with his one eye and *Eutropius* with his cookerie. But *Eutropius* came upon him againe presently and said: Thou shalt be then without a head first, for I will make thee pay for thy prating and foolish toong, and with that he went immediately to the King, and reported what he had said, who made no more ado, but sent his writ and caused his head to be smitten off.

Over and besides all these precepts before rehearsed, children ought to be inured from their very infancy in one thing which is most holy and becoming religious education, and that is, to speak the truth: For firstly, lying is a base and servile vice, detestable and hatefull among all men, and not paid on as much as to meane slaves, such as have little or no good in them. Now as touching all the which I have delivered and advised hitherto which concerneth the honest behaviour, modestie and temperance of young children, I have delivered the same frankly, resolutely, and making no doubt thereof. Mary, for one point which now I am to touch and handle, I am not so well resolved, but much distracted in my mind, hanging to and fro as it were in equall balance, and know not which way to incline, whether to the one side or

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to another: Inſomuch as I am in great perplexitie and feare: neither wote I whether I were better to go forward and utter it, or to tunc backe and hold my peace. And yet I will take heart, and boldly declare what it is. The queſtion to be debated is this, Whether we ought to permit thoſe that love young boies, to converſe with them and haunt their companie, or contrariwiſe, keepe them away and debar them that they neither come neere nor have any ſpeech with them? For when I behold & conſider the auſtere nature & ſeveritie of ſome fathers, who for feare that their ſonnes ſhould be abuſed, wil in no wiſe abide that thoſe who love them ſhould in any ſort keepe cōpanie, or talke with them, but thinke it intolerable, I am affraid either to bring up ſuch an order or to approve & mainteine the ſame. But when on the other ſide I propound before mine eyes the examples of *Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aefchines, Cebes*, and all the ſuit and ſort of 10 thoſe woorthy men in times paſt, who allowed the manner of loving yooing boies, and by that means brought ſuch youthes to learne good ſciences, to ſkill of government & State matters, and to frame their manners to the rule and ſquare of vertue, I am turned quite and altogether of another mind, yea and inclined wholly to invite and follow thoſe great perſonages, who have the teſtimonie of the Poet *Enripides* on their ſide, ſaying in one place after this manner,

*All loves do not the fleſh groſſly reſpect:
One love there is which doth the ſoule affect,
With juſtice beſtified, and equitie,
With innocence likewise and civilitie.*

Neither ought we to overpaſſe one ſaying of *Plato*, which he delivereth betwene mirth and 20 good carnell in this wiſe, Good reaſon it is, quoth he, that they who have done woorthy ſervice and achieved great prowefſe and victory in a battaile, be privileged to kill whom it pleaſeth them among their captives. And for thoſe who deſire nothing but the bewty and freſh floure of the bodie, mine opinion is they ſhould be put backe & kept away: but ſuch in one word as love of the bewtie of the minde are to be choſen & admitted unto them. Alſo I hold, that ſuch kind loves is to be avoided and forbidden, which they uſed in *Thebes* and *Elis*, as alſo that which in *Candy* they call Ravifſhment: but that which is uſed in *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, we ought to receive and allow, even in young and faire boies. Howbeit concerning this matter every man may for me opine what he thinketh good, and do as he ſeeeth cauſe and can finde in his heart.

Moreover, having ſufficiently treated of the good nouriſhment and modeſt behaviour of children, I purpoſe to proceed unto the age of young men: but firſt I will ſpeake my mind briefly once for all as touching one point. For many a time I have complained of thoſe who have brought up divers ill cuſtomes & ſuch above the reſt, namely to provide for their children whiles they be very young and little, maſters, teachers and governors: but after they are grown once to ſome yeeres, they give them head and ſuffer them to be caried away with the violent heat of youth: whereas contrariwiſe it were meet and needfull, to have a more careful eye unto them, and to hold a ſtreighter hand over them at that time, than during their infancie and childhood. For who knoweth not, that the faults of young children are but ſmall, light and eaſie to be amended, as for example, ſome ſhew diſſeſſe and little diſobedience to their tutors and governors, or haply ſome negligence and default in not giving eare to their teachers, and not doing as their Maſters appoint them: But contrariwiſe the offences that yonkers commit, are many times outrageous and heinous, as gormandize and ſurfeiting, robbing of their fathers, dice plaie in masks and mummeries, exceſſe in feaſting, banqueting, ſquaffing and carouſing, wanton love of young maidens, adulteries committed upon married wives, & thereby the overthrow of houſes and confuſion of families. In regard of which enormities, it behooved parents to reſſeſſe and bridle their wilde and untamed affections with great care and vigilance: For this floure of age having no foreſeet of thrift, but let altogether upon ſpending, and given to delights and pleaſures, winſeth and ſlingeth out like a ſkitiſh and ſtampold horſe, in ſuch ſort that it had need of a ſharpe bit and ſhort curb: And therefore they that endeavour not by all good means forcibly to hold in and reſtraine this age, but give young men libertie and ſuffer them to do after their own mind, plunge them ere they be aware into a ſickniſh and courſe of life and all manner of wickedneſſe. Wherefore good and wiſe fathers ought in this age eſpecially to be vigilant and watchfull over their ſonnes, they ought I ſay to keepe them downe, and inure them to wiſedome and vertue, by teaching, by diſcating, by intreatie and prayers, by adviſe and remonſtrances, by perſwaſion and counſell, by faire promiſes, by ſetting before their eyes the 50 examples

examples of ſome who being abandoned to their pleaſures and all ſenſualitie, have fallen headlong into great calamities and woſull miſeries: and contrariwiſe, of others who by maſtering their luſts and conquering their delights, have wonne honor and glorious renowne. For ſurely theſe be the two Elements and foundations of vertue, Hope of reward, and Feare of puniſhment: For, as hope inciteth and ſeteth them forward to enterpriſe the beſt and moſt commendable acts, ſo feare plucketh them backe, that they dare not enter upon lewd and wicked pranks. In ſumme, Fathers ought with great care to divert their children from frequenting ill companie, for otherwiſe they ſhall be ſure to catch infection and carie away the contagion of their leaudnes. This is that *Pythagoras* expreſly forbidden in his Aenignaticall precepts under cover 10 and dark words, which becauſe they are of no ſmall efficacie to the attaining of vertue, I will briefly ſet downe by the way, and open their meaning. Taſte not (quoth he) of the black tailed fiſhes, *Meſanuri*, which is as much to ſay, as, Keepe not companie with infamous perſons, & ſuch as for their naughtie life are noted (as it were) with a blacke coale. Paſſe not over a balance, That is, we ought to make the greateſt account of equitie and juſtice, and in no caſe to tranſgreſſe the ſame. Sit not upon the *meaſure Cheneix, That is to ſay, we are to ſie the liſt and idlenes, that we may foreſeet to make proviſion of things neceſſarie to this life. Give not every man thy right hand, which is all one with this, Make no contracts and bargaines indifferently with all perſons. Weare not a ring ſtreight upon thy finger. i. Live in freedom and at libertie: neither intangle and clog thy life with troubles as with gives. Dig not nor rake into the fire with a ſword: where- 20 by he giveth us a caveat, not to provoke farther a man that is angrie, for that is not meete and expedient; but rather to give place unto thoſe that are in heat of choller. Eat not thy heart, that is to ſay, offend not thine owne ſoule, nor hurt and conſume it with penſive cares. Abſtaine from beanes. i. Intermeddle not in the affaires of State and government: for that in olde time men were wont to paſſe their voices by beanes, & ſo proceeded to the election of Magiſtrates. Put not wands in a chamber-pot: whereby he ſignifieth, that we ſhould not commit good and civill words to a wicked minde; becauſe ſpeech is the nutriment of the underſtanding, which becometh polluted by the leudneſſe of men. Returne not backe from the limits and confines when thou commeſt unto them, that is to ſay, If we perceive death approaching, and that we are come to the uttermoſt bounds of our life, we ought to beare our death patiently, and not 30 be diſcouraged thereat.

But now is it time to retorne againe to my matter which I propoſed before in the beginning, namely, as I have already ſaid, we are to withdraw our children from the ſocietie and companie of leud perſons, and flatterers eſpeciallie: for that which many a time and often I have ſaid to divers and fundrie fathers, I will now repeat once againe, namely, That there is not a more miſchievous and peſtilent kinde of men, or who doe greater hurt to youth, and ſooner overthrow them, then theſe flatterers, who are the undoing both of fathers and ſonnes, cauſing the olde age of the gne, and the youth of the other, wretched and miſerable, preſenting with their leud and wicked counſels an inevitable bait to wit, Pleaſure, wherewith they are lure to be caught. Fathers exhort their ſonnes that be wealthie, to ſobrietie; and theſe incite them to drunkenneſſe. 40 Fathers give them counſell to live chaſte and continent; theſe provoke them to luſt and looſeneſſe of life. Fathers bid them to ſave, ſpare, and be thrifſie; theſe will them to ſpend, ſcatter, and be wasters. Fathers adviſe their children to labour and travell; theſe flatterers give them counſell to play or ſit ſtill and doe nothing: What? all our life, ſay they, is no more but a moment and minute of time, to ſpeake of: we muſt live therefore, and enjoy our owne, whiles wee have it: we muſt not live beſide our ſelves, and languish. What need you regard and care for the menaces of a father, an olde doting ſoule carying death in his face, and having one foot in the grave, we ſhall ſee him one of theſe dayes tunc up his heeles, and then will we ſoone have him forth, and cary him aloft bravely to his grave. You ſhall have one of theſe come, and bring unto a youth ſome common harlot out of the ſlinking ſtewes, having borne him in hand be- 50 fore, that he is ſome brave dame and citizens wife, for to furniſh whom, he muſt robbe his father, there is no remedie. Thus fathers, good men, in one houre are bereaved and ſpoiled of that which they had ſaved many a yeere for the maintenance of their olde age. To be ſhort, a wretched and curſed generation they be; hypocrites, pretending friendſhip, but they can not ſkill of plaine dealing and franke ſpeech. Rich men they claw, ſtooth up and flatter: the poore they contemne and deſpiſe. It ſeemeth they have learned the Art of ſinging to the Harpe, for

to seduce young men: for when their young masters, who mainteine and feed them, begin to laugh, then they set up by and by a loud laughter, then they yawne & shew all their teeth; counterfeite cranks, fained and suppos'd men; bastard members of mankind and this life; who compose themselves, and live to the will and pleasure of rich men: and notwithstanding their fortune is to be free borne, and of franke condition; yet they chuse voluntarily to be slaves: who thinke they have great injurie done unto them, if they may not live in all fullnesse and superfluitie, to be kept delicately, and doe nothing that good is. And therefore all fathers that have any care of their childrens good education and wel-doing, ought of necessitie to chafe and drive away from them these gracelesse imps and shamelesse beasts: they shall doe well also to keepe from them such schoole-fellowes as be unhappie and given to doe shrewd turnes: for such as 10 they are, are enough to corrupt and marre the best natures in the world.

All these rules and lessons which hitherto I have delivered, do concerne honestie, vertue and profit: but those that now remaine behinde, pertaine rather to humanity, and are more agreeable to mans nature. For in no case would I have fathers to be verie hard, sharpe and rigorous to their children: but I could rather wish and desire that they wink at some faults of a young man, yea and pardon the same when they espie them, remembering that they themselves were sometimes young. For like as Physicians mingling and tempering otherwhiles some sweete juice or liquid with bitter drugs and medicines, have devised that pleasure and delight should be the meanes and way to do their patients good: Even so, fathers ought to delay their eager reprehensions and cutting rebukes with kindeesse and clemencie: one while letting the 20 bridle loose, and giving head a litle to the youthfull desires of their children: another while againe reigning them thort and holding them in, as hard: but above all, with patience gently to beare with their faults. But if to be fathers cannot otherwise doe, but be soone angrie; then they must as soone have done and be quickly pacified. For I had rather that a father should be halfe with his children, so he be appeased anon: then flow to anger, and as hard to be pleased againe. For when a father is so hard hated, that he will not be reconciled, but carieth still in minde the offence that is done, it is a great signe that he hateth his children. And I hold it good that fathers sometime take no knowledge of their childrens faults, and in this case make some use of hard hearing and diuine fight, which old age ordinarily bringeth with it, as if by reason of these infirmities, they neither saw somewhat when they see well enough, nor heard that which 30 they heare plainly. We beare with the faults of friends; what strange matter is it then to tolerate the imperfections of our owne children? Many a time when our seruants have overdrunke themselves, & surfeited therewith, we search not too narrowly into them, nor rebuke them sharply: therefore keepe thy sonne one while thort, be franke another while, and give him money to spend freely. Thou hast bene highly offended, and angrie with him once, pardon him another time for it. Hath he practised secretly with any one of thy household seruants, and beguiled thee? Dissemble the matter and bridle thine yre. Hath he bene at one of thy farmes, met with a good yoke of oxen & made money therof? Commeth he in the morning to do his dutie and bid thee good morrow, belching fowre and smelling strongly of wine, which the day before he 40 drunke at the taverne with companions like himselfe? seeme to know nothing. Scinteth he of sweete perfumes and cosily pomanders? Hold thy peace and say nothing. These are the meanes to tame and break a wilde and colith youth. True it is, that such as naturally be subiect to wantonnesse or carnall lust, and will not be reclaimed from it, nor give eare to those that rebuke them, ought to have wives of their owne and to be yoked in marriage: for surely this is the best and surest meanes to bridle those affections, and to keepe them in order. And when fathers are resolved upon this point, what wives are they to seeke for them? Surely those, that are neither in blood much more noble, nor in state farre wealthier than they: For an old fad law it is and a wife, Take a wife according to thy felie. As for those that wed women farre higher in degree, or much wealthier than themselves, I cannot say they be husbands unto their wives, but rather flaves unto their wives goods.

I have yet a few short lessons to annexe unto those above rehearsed, which when I have set downe, I will conclude, and knit up these precepts of mine. Above all things fathers are to take heed, that they neither commit any grosse fault, nor omit any one part of their owne dutie: to the end they may be as lively examples to their owne children; who looking into their life as into a cleere mirror, may by the precedents by them given, forbear to do or speake any thing 50 that

that is unseemely and dishonest: For such fathers who reprove their children for those parts which they play themselves, see not how under the name of their children they condemne their owne selves. But surely, all those generally who are ill liuers, have not the heart to rebuke so much as their owne seruants; much lesse dare they finde fault with their children. And that which is worst of all, in living ill themselves, they teach and counsell their seruants and children to do the same: For looke where old folke be shamelesse, there mult young people of necessitie be most graceles and impudent. Endeavour therefore we ought for the reformation of our children, to do our selves all that our dutie requireth: and hereint to imitate that noble Ladie Eurydice, who being a Slavonian borne, and so much barbarous, yet for the instruction of her owne 10 children, she tooke paines to learne good letters when she was well steep in yeeres. And how kinde a mother she was to her children, this Epigram which she her selfe made and dedicated to the Muses, doth sufficiently testifie and declare:

*This Cupid here of honest love a true Memorall is,
Which in his love Dame Eurydice of Hierapolis
To Muses mine did dedicate: where by in soule and mind
Conceits shew as in later daies and brought forth fruit in kind.
For when her children were well grownen: good as kient Lady see,
And careful mother tooke the paines to learne the A.B.C.
And in good letters did so far proceed, that in the end
She taught them those sage lessons which they might comprehend.*

But now to conclude this Treatise, To be able to obseve and keepe all these precepts and rules together which I have before set downe, is a thing haply that I may wish for, rather than give advice and exhort unto. Howbeit, to affect and follow the greater part of them, although it require a rare felicitie and singular diligence; yet it is a thing that man by nature is capable of, and may attaine unto.



HOW A YOONG MAN OUGHT TO HEARE POETS, AND HOW HE MAY TAKE PROFIT BY READING POEMES.

The Summarie.



10 **P**roasmuch as young Students are ordinarily allured as with a baite by reading of Poets in such sort, as willingly they employ their time therein, considering that Poetrie hath I wot not what Sympathie with the first heats of this age: therefore by good right this present discourse is placed next unto the former. And albeit, to speake properly it pertaineth unto those onely who read ancient Poets, as well Greeke as Latin, to take heede and beware how they take an impression of dangerous opinions, in regard either of religion or manners: yet a man may comprehend likewise under it all other profane authors, out of which a minde that is not corrupt may gather profit, so they be handled wisely and used with discretion. To 50 which effect Plutarch delivereth in this treatise good precepts: And after he hath shewed generally, that in Poetrie there is delight and danger withall: he resemeth briefly those who flatterly condemne it: Then, as he proceedeth to aduertise that this ground and foundation is to be laide, namely, that Poets are liers; he describeth what their fictions be, how they ought to be considered, and what the scope and marke is whereat Poetrie doth aime and shoot: Afterwards he adviseth, to weigh & ponder well the intention of Poets, unto which they adresse & accommodate their verses: so beware of their repugnance

ees and contradictions: and so the endeth that we be not so soon damned by any dangerous points which they deliver one after another, to oppose against them the opinions and counsels of other persons of better make. Which done, he addeth moreover and saith, That the sentences intermingled here and there in Poets, do reply sufficiently against the evil doctrine that they may seeme to teach elsewhere: also, in taking heed to the diverse significations of words to be rid and freed from great encumbrances and difficulties: discouraging moreover how a man may make use of their descriptions of vices and virtues: also, of the words and deeds of those personages whom they bring in: searching unto the reasons and causes of such speeches and discourses: thereunto to draw in the end a deeper sense and higher meaning, reaching even to *Moral Philosophie*, and the gentle framing of the minde unto the love of virtue. And for that there be some hard and difficult places, which like unto forked waies, may leave the minde of the Readers doubtfull and insuspect: he sheweth that it is an easie matter to apply the same well, and that withall, a man may reforme those sentences ill placed, and accommodate them to many things. And in conclusion, framing this discourse to his principall intention, he treateth how the praises and dispraises which Poets attribute unto persons, are to be considered: and that we ought to conforme all that which we finde good in such authors by testimonies taken out of *Philosophie*, the onely scope whereunto young men must tend in reading of Poets.

READING AND HEARING of Poemes and Poets.



That which the Poet *Philoxenus* said of flesh, that the sweetest is that which is least flesh: of fish likewise that the most favorite is that which is least fish, let us, O *Marcus Sedatus*, leave to be decided and judged by those, who as *Cato* said, had their palates more quick and sensible than their hearts. But, that young men take more pleasure in those Philosophicall discourses, which favour least of *Philosophie*, and seeme rather spoken in mirth than in earnest, and are more willing to give care thereto, and suffer themselves more easily to be led and directed thereby, is a thing to us notorious and evident. For we see, that in reading not only *Aesops* fables and the fictions of Poets, but also the booke of *Heraclides* entituled *Abaris*, and that of *Ariston*, named *Lycas*; wherein the opinions of *Philosophers* as touching the soule, are mingled with tales and feigned narrations devised for pleasure, they be ravished as one would say with great contentment and delight. And therefore such youtieues ought not onely to keepe their bodies sober and temperate in the pleasures of meate and drinke, but also much more to accustom their minds to a moderate delight in those things which they heare and read, using the same temperately as a pleasant and delectable sauce to give a better and more favorite taste to that which is healthfull, holisome and profitable therein. For neither those gates that be shut in a city do guard the same and secure it for being forced and won, if there be but one standing open to receive and let in the enemies: nor the temperance and continencie in the pleasures of other senses preserve a young man for being corrupted and perverted, if for want of foresight and heed taking he give himselfe to the pleasure onely of the eare. But for that the hearing approacheth neerer to the proper feat of reason and understanding (which is the braine) so much the more hurt it doth unto him that receiveth delectation thereby, if it be neglected, and not better heed taken thereto. Now forasmuch happily, as it is neither possible nor profitable, to refrain from the reading and hearing of Poemes, such young men as are of the age either of my sonne *Solarus*, or of your *Cleander*, let us I pray you, have a carefull eye unto them, as standing more in need of a guide now to direct them in their readings, then they did in times past to stay and dade them when they learned to go. This is the reason, that me thought in due time I was bound to fend unto you in writing, that which not long since I discoursed of by mouth, as touching the writings of Poets: to the end that you may reade it your selfe, and if you find that the reasons therein delivered be of no lesse vertue & efficacy than the fables called *Amethylls*, which fables take before and hang about their necks, to keepe them from drunkeinesse as they sit at banquetts, drinking wine merrily; you may impart and communicate the same to your sonne *Cleander*, to preoccupate and prevent his nature, which

which being not dull and heavey in any thing, but every way quick, lively and pregnant, is more apt and easie to be led by such allurements.

In Polytes head there is to be had,

One thing that good is, and another as bad,

for that the flesh thereof is pleasant and favorite enough in taste to him that feedeth thereupon: but (as they say) it causeth troublesome dreames in the sleepe, and imprinteth in the fantastical strange and monitrous visions. Semblable, there is in Poetrie much delectation and pleasure, enough to entertaine and feed the understanding and spirit of a young man: yet nevertheless, hee shall meet with that there which will trouble and carry away his minde into errors, if his hearing be not well guided and conducted by sage direction. For verie well and fity it may be said not onely of the land of *Aegypt*, but also of Poetrie;

Mixed drugs plentie, as well good as bad,

Medicines and poisons are there to be had,

which it bringeth forth and yeldeth to as many as converse therein. Likewise:

Therein sweet love and wantonnesse,

with dalliance, you shall finde;

And sugred words, which do beguile

the best and wisest minde.

For that which is so deceitfull and dangerous therein, toucheth not at all those that be witty lesse fors, fooles, and grosse of conceit. Like as *Simonides* answered upon a time to one, who demanded of him, Why he did not beguile and circumvent the *Theffalians* aswell as all other Greeks; Because, quoth he, they are too sottish for me to deale withall, and so rude, that I can not skill of deceiving them. *Gorgias* also the *Leontine* was wont to say of a Tragedie, That it was a kinde of deceit, whereby he that deceived became more just than he who deceived not; and he that was deceived, wiser than another who was not deceived. What is then to be done? Shall we constrain our youth to go aboard into the *Brigantine* or *Barke* of *Epicurus*, to saile away and flie from Poetrie, by plaiting and stopping their eares with hard and strong waxe, as *Vissus* sometimes served those of *Ithaca*? or rather by environing and defending their judgement with some discourse of true reason, as with a defensive band about it, to keepe and guard them, that they be not carried away with the allurements of pleasure, unto that which might hurt them: Shall we reforme and preserve them?

For sure, Lycurgus, though he was

The valiant sonne of stout Dryas,

shewed himselfe not wise nor well in his wits, when he went throughout his whole realme and caused all the vines to be cut downe and destroyed, because he saw many of his subjects troubled in their braines and drunken with wine: whereas he should rather have brought the nymphes (which are the spring waters) neerer, and keepe in order that foolish, furious and outrageous god *Bacchus* as *Plato* saith, with another goddesse that was wise and sober. For the mingling of water with wine, delayeth and taketh away the hurtfull force thereof: but killeth not withall the holisome vertue that it hath: Even so we ought not to cut off, nor abolish Poetrie, which is a part and member of the Muses and good literature: But when as the strange fables and Theatricall fictions therein, by reason of the exceeding pleasure and singular delight that they yeld in reading them, do spread and swell unmeasurably, readie to enter forcibly into our conceit so farre as to imprint therein some corrupt opinions: then let us beware, put forth our hands before us, keepe them backe and staie their course. But where there is a Grace and Muse met together, that is to say, delight conjoined with some knowledge and learning: where I say, the attractive pleasure and sweetnesse of speech, is not without some fruit nor void of utilitie, there let us bring in withall the reason of *Philosophie*, and make a good medley of pleasure and profit together. For as the herbe *Madragoras* growing neere unto a vine, doth by infusion transmit her medicinable vertue into the wine that commeth of it, and procureth in them that drinke afterwards thereof, a more milde desire and inclination to sleepe soundly: Even so, a Poeme receiving reasons and arguments out of *Philosophie*, and intermingling the same with fables and fictions, maketh the learning and knowledge therein contained to be right amiable unto young men, and soone to be conceived. Which being so, they that would be learned and *Philosophers* indeed, ought not to reject and condemne the works of Poetrie, but rather search for

for Philosophie in the writings of Poëts: or rather therein to practise Philosophie, by using to seeke profit in pleasure, and to love the same: otherwise, if they can finde no goodnesse therein, to be displeased and discontented, and to fall out therewith. And truly this is the very beginning of knowledge and learning: for according to the Poët *Sophocles*,

*Lay well thy ground, what ever thou intend:
For a good beginning, makes an happy end.*

First and formost therefore, the young man whom we would induct and traine to the reading of Poëticke, ought to have nothing in his heart so well imprinted, nor so readie at hand, as this common saying,

*Poets all so say a foorth
Are Liers stout, and speake untruth.*

And verily as Poets sometimes lie wilfully, so otherwiles they do it against their wils: wilfully and of purpose, for that being desirous to tickle and please the eares, a thing which most Readers desire and seeke after, they thinke that simple and plaine veritie is more aultere for that purpose then leasing: For truth recounting a thing as it was done, keepeth to it still, and albeit the stile and the end thereof haply be unpleasant, yet nevertheless the goeth not aside but reporteth it outright: whereas a tale or lie devised for delight, quickly diverteth out of the way, and soone turneth from a thing which greiveth, unto that which is more delightfome. For there is no fong in rime and metre, no trope or figurative speech, no loftie stile, no metaphor so fildly borrowed, no harmonic, no composition of words, how smoothly soever they run, that carrieth the like grace, and is either so attractive or retentive, as a fabulous narration well couched, artificially entlered, and aptly delivered. But as a picture drawn to the like, the colour is more effectfull to moove & affect our sense, then the simple purtraying and sinst draught, by reason of a certaine resemblance it hath to the personage of man or woman, which deceiveth our judgement: Even so, in Poëmes, a lie intermingled with some probabilitie and likelihood of a truth doth excite and stirre more, yea and please better by farre, than all the arte and studie that a man is able to employ either in composing excellent verses, or enditing any polished prose, without entlering fables and fictions Poëticall. Whereupon it came to passe, that *Socrates* who all his life time made great profession to be a defender and maintainer of the truth, being minded upon a time to take in hand Poetrie, by occasion of certaine dreames and visions appearing unto him in his sleepe: in the enterprise whereof finding himselfe to have no aptnesse nor grace at all in devising lies, did unto verse certaine fables of *Aesope*, supposing veritie there could be no Poëticke where there were no lies. Many sacrifices we know to have bene celebrated without piping and dauncing. But never was there knownen any Poetrie, but it was grounded upon some vaine fables & loud leasing. The verses of *Empedocles* and *Parmides*, the booke of *Nicander* entituled *Therisus*, where he treateth of the biting and stinging of venomous serpents, and of their remedies, The morall sentences of *Theognis* are writings which borrow of Poetrie their lofinesse of stile and measure of syllables, to beare them up mounted on high to avoid the base foorthe pace (as it were) of prose. When as we read therefore in Poeticall compositions, any strange and absurd thing, as touching the Gods, demy-gods, or vertue, spoken by some worthy personage of great renowne, he that beleeveth such a speech and receiveth it as an undoubted truth, wandereth in error and is corrupted in opinion: but he that ever and anon remembreth and setteth before his eyes the charmes and illusions that Poetrie ordinarily useth in the invention of lying fables, and can easily come to bleis himselfe and say thus thereto,

*O quene device, o the and craftie gin
more changeable than spotted Ounces skin:
Why jestest thou and yet thy browes doe knie?
deceiving me, yet seeme I to reach me wit.*

He I say, shall never take harme, nor admit into his understanding any evill impression, but reprehend and reprove himselfe when he feareth Neptune, and standeth in dread, least he shake cleave and open the earth, and so discover hell: he will rebuke also himselfe when he is offended and angrie with *Apollo*, the principal man of all the Greekes, of whom *Thetu* complaineth thus in the Poët *Aeschylus*, as touching *Achilles* her sonne.

*Himselfe did sing and say at good of me:
himselfe also at wedding present was:*

10

Yes

*Yet for all this, himselfe and none but he,
hath slaine and done to death my sonne alas.*

He will likewise repress the teares of *Achilles* now departed, and of *Agamemnon* being in hell, who in their desire to revive and for the love of this life, stretch forth their impotent and feeble hands. And if it chauce at any time that he be troubled with passions, and surpris'd with their enchantments and forcerie, he will not stick nor feare to say thus unto himselfe,

*Make hast and speed, without delay,
Recover soone the light of day;
Beare well in minde what thou seest heere:
And all report to thy bed fere.*

Homer spake this in mirth and pleasantly, sitting indeed the discourse, wherein he describeth hell as being in regard of the fiction a tale fit for the eares of women and none els: These be the fables that Poets do feigne voluntarily. But more in number there are which they neither devise nor counterfeit, but as they are perswaded and do beleve themselves, so they would beare us in hand and infect us with the same untruthes, as namely when *Homer* writeth thus of *Jupiter*,

*Two lers then of long sleeping death, he did in balance put,
One for Achilles hardy knight, and one for Hector stout:
But when he pist it just in mids, behold, for Hector death
Weigh'd downward unto hell beneath: Then Phoenix stoppt his breath.*

To this fiction *Aeschylus* the Poët hath aptly fitted one entire Tragedie, which he intituled *Pyschostasia*, that is to say, the weighing of Soules or ghosts in balance. Wherein he deviseth to stand at the scales of *Jupiter*, *Thetu* of the one side, and *Aurora* of the other, praying each of them for their sonnes as they fight. But there is not a man who seeth not cleerly, that this it but a made tale and meere fable devised by *Homer*, either to content and delight the Reader, or to bring him into some great admiration and astonishment. Likewise in this place:

*'Tis Jupiter that mooveth warre:
He is the cause that men doe jarre.*

As also this of another Poët:

*When God above some house will over brow,
He makes debate, 'twixt mortall men below.*

These and such like speeches are delivered by Poëts, according to the very conceit and beliefe which they have, whereby the error and ignorance which themselves are in as touching the nature of the gods they derive and communicate unto us. Semblably, the strange wonders and marvels of Hell: The descriptions by them made which they depaint unto us by fearefull and terrible termes, representing unto us the fantasticall apprehensions and imaginations of burning and flaming rivers, of hideous places and horrible torments: there are not many men but wot well ynough that therein be tales and lies good store: no otherwise than in meates and viands, you shall finde mixed otherwiles hurtfull poyson, or medicinable drugs. For neither *Homer* nor *Pindarus*, nor *Sophocles*, have written thus of Hell, beleeving certainly that there

were any such things there:

*From whence the dormant rivers dead
of blacke and shady night,
Cast up huge mists and clouds full darke,
that overwhelme the light:*

Likewise,

*The Ocean coast they sailed still along,
Fast by the cliffs of Leucas rocke among.*

As also,

*Here boyling waves of gulfes so deepe do swell,
Where lies the way and downfall into hell.*

And as many of them as bewailed and lamented for death as a most piteous and woful thing, or feared wof of sepulture as a miserable and wretched case, uttered their plaints and griefes in these and such like words:

*For sake me nor unburied so,
Nor unbewailed when you go.*

Semblably,

Semblably,
And then the soule from body flew,
and as to hell he went,
She did her death her losse of strength
and yout full yeeres lament.

Likewise,
Doe not we kill before my time,
for why? to see this light
Is sweet: force me not under earth,
where nothing is but night.

These are the voices I say of passionate persons, captivate before to error and false opinions. And therefore they touch us more neerely, and trouble us so much the rather, when they finde us likewise possessed of such passions and feeblenes of spirit, from whence they proceed. In which regard we ought to be prepared betimes, and provided alwaies before hand to encounter and withstand such illusions, having this fence readily evermore reforming in our eares as it were from a trunke or pipe, that Poetrie is fabulous, and maketh small reckoning of Truth. As for the truth indeed of these things, it is exceeding hard to be conceived & comprehended even by those who travell in no other business, but to search out the knowledge and understanding of the thing, as they themselves do confesse. And for this purpose these verses of *Empedocles* would be alwaies readie at hand, who saith that the depth of such things as these

No eye of man is able to perceive:
No eare to heare, nor spirit to conceive.

Like as these also of *Xenophanes*.

Never was man nor ever will be,
Able to sound the veritie
Of those things which of God I write,
Or of the world I do endite.

And I assure you, The very words of *Socrates* in *Plato* imply no lesse, who protesteth and bindeth it with an oath, that he cannot attaine to the knowledge of these matters. And this will be a good motive to induce yong men to give lesse credit unto Poets, as touching their certaine knowledge in these points, wherein they perceive the Philosophers themselves so doubtfull and perplexed, yea and therewith so much troubled.

Also the better shall we stay the mind of a yong man & cause him to be more warie, if at his first entrance into the reading of Poets, we describe Poetrie unto him: giving him to understand that it is an art of Imitation, & a science correspondent every way to the feat of painting: and not onely must he be acquainted with the hearing of that vulgar speech so common in every mans mouth, that Poëtic is a speaking picture, and picture a dumbe Poëtic: but also we ought to teach him, that when we behold a Lizard or an Ape wel painted, or the face of *Thersites* lively drawn, we take pleasure therein & praise the same wonderfully; not for any beantie in the one or in the other, but because they are so naturally counterfeited, for that which is foule of it selfe & illavored in the owne nature, cannot be made faire & seemly: but the skill of resembling a thing wel, be the same faire or be it foule is alwaies commended: whereas contrariwise, he that takes in hand to portray an illfavoured bodie, and makes thereof a faire & beautifull image, shall exhibite a sight neither seemly nor decent. Some painters you shall have to delight in painting of strange, foolish and absurd actions: as for example *Timonachus* represented in a table the picture of *Medea*, killing her owne children: *Thoen* painted *Orestes* murdering his owne mother: *Parrhasius* described with his penkill, the counterfeite race and madnesse of *Vlisses*, and *Cherephanes* portrayed the wanton dalliance, and dealing of men and women together unseemly. With which arguments and such like, a yong man is to be made acquainted, that he may learne thereby how the thing it selfe is not praise wortheie, whereof he seeth the expresse resemblance, but the art and cunning of the workman who could so artificially draw the same to the life. Semblably, for as much as Poëtic representeth many times by way of imitation, filthy actions, leaud affections, and vicious manners: it is the part of a yong man to know thus much, That the thing which is admired therein and found to be singular, he ought not either to receive as true, or prove as good, but to praise it so far forth onely as it is besitting the person, or appropriate

priate to the subject matter. For like as when we heare the grunting of a swine, the creaking of a cart wheele, the whistling noise of the winde, or the roaring of the sea, we take no pleasure therein, but are troubled and discontented: but contrariwise, if a merie fellow or jester can prettily counterfeite the same, as one *Parmeno* could grunt like a swine, and *Theodorus* creake like the said wheelles, we are delighted therewith. Also, as we shun a diseased person, and a Lazar full of filthy ulcers, as an unpleasant and hideous spectacle to beholde: but when we looke upon *Phidias* portrayed by *Aristophanes*; and queene *Jocasta* by *Silvian*: namely, how they be described to pine away, and ready to yeeld up the ghost, we receive no small contentment thereby: even so a yong man when hee shall reade what the ridiculous jester *Thersites*, or the amorous and wanton spoiler of maiden, *Sisyphus*, or the beastly bawd *Petrouchus*, is brought in by Poets to say or doe; let him be advertised and instructed to praise the art and sufficiency of the Poet, who knew how to paint the same so lively and naturally: but withall to blame, reject, and detest the acts and conditions which are thus represented. For there is a great difference betweene resembling a thing well, and a thing that is simply good: for when I say Well, I meane aptly, decently and properly: and so acts filthy and dishonest, are fit and becomming for lewd and dishonest persons. For the shoes of that lame creple *Demonides*, which he prayed to God might serve his feet that had stollen them from him, were in themselves misshapen and illfavoured; howbeit proper and fit for him: As for this speech,

If lawes of right and equitie
In any case may broken be,
What man alive would not begin
To do all wrong, a crowne to win?

And this:

Put on the face, I heere advise,
Of him that is just and right wife:
But see no deeds thou do forget,
Whereby thou maist some profit get.

Also:

Vnlesse I may my talent gaine
As cleere as giste, I am in paine.

Likewise:

How shall I live or take repose,
In case this talent I do lose?
Nay sleepe I will and feare no hell,
Nor torments there, but thinke all well:
What wrong I do, what plots I set,
My silver talent for to get.

Wicked words they be all, and most false; howbeit, becomming such as *Erevelas* and *Telesphorus* were, and becomming well an olde wifes: If therefore wee would advertise yong men, that Poets write thus, not as if they praised and allowed such speeches, but as they know full well that they be lewd and naughtie, so they do attribute them unto as wicked and godlesse persons, they should never take harme by any evil impressions from Poets: but contrariwise, the prejudicate opinion is ingrafted first, of such & such a man will presently breed a suspicion both of word and deed to be bad, as spoken and done by a bad and vicious person. Such an example is that of *Paris* in *Homer*, who flying out of the battell, went presently to bed unto faire *Helena*. For seeing that the Poet reporteth of no marvels, but only of this unchaste adulterous *Paris*, that he lay with his wife in the day time: it is an evident proofe that he reputed and judged such incontinencie to be reprochfull, and therefore made report thereof to his blame and shame both. In these cases also it would be well considered whether the Poet himselfe do not give some plaine demonstration, employing thus much, that he misliketh such speeches; and is offended therewith, as *Alcander* did in the Prologue of that Comedie, which he entituled *Thais*.

O laide, Mase now helpe me to endite
Of this faulde and unshamefaced queene,
Ter beautifull: who also hat a spirit
Perfwaite, and with words can carie cleane

*The wrongs that she unto her lovers all
Doth offer; whom she sheweth out of doores;
And yet for gifts she fill of them doth call,
And picks their purse, which is the cast of whores,
She none doth love, and yet she semblance makes
That she will, poore heart, for all their sakes.*

And verily in this kinde, *Homer* among all other Poets doth excell, and useth such advertisements with best discretion: for it is ordinarie with him both to premise some reprehension and blame of evill speeches, and also to recommend the good. And for an instance heereof, in this wise he giveth commendation of a good speech,

*And then anon, this speech right commendable
He spake, which was both sweet and profitable.*

Againe,
*Approching then, he stood unto him nere,
And staid him soone with words that gentle were.*

Seemably on the other side, reprooving bad and lewd speeches, he in a manner doth protest that he himselfe miliketh of them, and therewith denounceth likewise, and doth intimate unto the readers thus much in effect, That they should make no use thereof, nor take regard, otherwise than of wicked things and dangerous examples: as namely when he purposed to describe the rude and grosse termes that *Agamemnon* gave unto the Priest of *Apollo*, when he abused him 20 unmercifully, he premised this before;

*This nothing pleased Aeneas sonne, K. Agamemnon might;
But him he badly did intreat, and use with all despite.*

By this word Badly, he meaneth rudely, proudly, disdainfully, without regard of dutie or decency. As for *Achilles* he attributeth unto him their rash and outrageous speeches,

*Thou drunken for and dogs face that thou art
Thou courage hast no more then fearful Hound.*

But he inferred withall his owne judgement as touching those words in this manner,
*Achilles then for Pelcus sonne, still boiling in his blood
Gave Agamemnon words againe unseemly and not good.*

For it is not like that any thing could be well and decently spoken proceeding from such anger and bitter choler, he observeth the same not in words onely but also in deeds. For thus he saith,

*No sooner had he spoke the word, but presently he ment
To worthy Hector much disgrace, whose body up he bent,
He strips and spoiled it full soone, and then hard by the bed
Of sir Patroclus he it laid, and groveling there it spread.*

He useth also slyly to the purpose pretie reprehensions after things be done, delivering his own sentence, as it were by way of a voice given, touching that which was either done or said a little before: As for example, after the narration of the adultery betweene *Mars* and *Venus*, he reporteth that the gods spake in this sort:

*Laud Alets do never better speed; Lashow the slow and lame
Can overtake him him who for strength and swiftnes hath the name!*

And in another place, upon the audacious presumption and proud vaunting of *Hector*, thus he saith,

*These words he spake in braverie and swelling pride of heart;
But Lady Iuno was displeas'd, and tookt them ill in part.*

Likewise as touching the arrow that *Paris* shot,

*No sooner Pallas said the word, but foolish minded man,
He was perswaded, and therewith straight waies to loose began.*

And these be the sententious speeches, & opinions of Poets; by them expressly uttered, which any man may soone find & easily discern, if he will but take heed & give regard unto them. But yet over & besides these testimonies, they furnish us also with other instructions by their owne deeds. For thus it is reported of *Euripides*, that when up a time some reviled *Ision* & reproched him by the termes of Godlesse, Wicked & Accursed: he answered, True indeed quoth he, and therefore I would not suffer him to be brought fit to the Stage, before I had set him fast upon the wheele,

wheele, & broken both his armes & legs. True it is that this kinde of Doctrine in *Homer* is after a sort mute & not delivered in plaine & expresse termes: but if a man will consider more neerely, even those fables & fictions in him, which are most blamed & found fault withall, there may be found therein a profitable instruction & covert speculation: And yet some there be who wrest & writhe forcibly the said fables another way by their Allegories, (for so they call in these daies those speeches wherein one thing is spoken & another meant, whereas in times past they were termed *Hyppona*, for the hidden meaning couched under them) whereby they would make us believe that the fiction as touching the adulterie of *Mars* & *Venus* signifieth thus much, That when the Planet of *Mars*, is in conjunction with that of *Venus* in some Horoscopes and Nativities, such persons then borne shall bee inclined to adulteries: but if the Sun do then arise, passe, and overtake them, then such adulteries are in danger to be discovered and the parties to be taken in the very act. Now as touching *Iuno* how she embellished and adorned herselfe before *Jupiter*, as also the fiction and forcene about the needle worke girdle and cleering of the aire, as it approacheth neere to the fire: as if the Poet himselfe gave not the interpretation and exposition of such doubts: For in the tale of the adulterie of *Venus*, he meaneth nothing els, but to teach them that gave care thereto, how wanton musick, lascivious songs, and speeches grounded upon evill arguments and conceining naughtie matters, corrupt our manners, induce us to a luxurious, loose and effeminate life, and cause men to be subject unto pleasures, delights, sensualitie and lust, and given over to the love of women: as also

*To change off soones their beads of costly price,
Their rich array, hote baines, and ch device.*

And therefore the same *Homer* bringeth in *Vulffes*, commanding the Musician who sung to the Harpe in this wise

*Digresse good sir from such lewd songs, and ballads vaine as these,
Sing rather of the Trojan horse: you shall us therein please.*

Giving us thereby a good instruction, that Minstrels, Musicians and Poets should receive the matter and argument of their compositions from wise men, sober, sage and vertuous. And as touching that fable of *Iuno*, he sheweth how the love, favor, and acquaintance which women win of men by charmes, forceries and enchantments with fraud and deceit, is a thing not onely transitorie and of small continuance, unsure, and whereof a man hath soone enough and is quickly weary, but also that which many times turneth to hatred, anger and enmitie, so soone as the present pleasure is once past: For thus threatneth *Jupiter* and saith,

*Thou shalt then know that wanton love and dalliance in bed,
Whereby thou art deceived, shall serve thee in small need.*

For the shew and representation of wicked deeds, if there be propounded withall the shame and losse which befalleth unto them that have committed the same, doth no hurt at all, but rather much good unto the hearers. As for Philosophers verily, they use examples taken out of histories to admonish and instruct the readers, even by such things as be at hand, and either are or have beene really so: but Poets do in deed the same, and in effect, howbeit they devise and invent matter of their owne heads, they feigne fables I say, fitting their purpose. Ceres like as *Melembius* saith, betweene bord and good earnest, that the citie of Athens stood upright on foote and was preserved by meanes of the division, discorde and trouble which was among orators and Politicians; for that all the citizens leaned not altogether to a side, nor bare levelly upon one and the same wall, and so by reason of the variance which reigned among the States men, there was evermore some one counterpoise or other, weighing even against that which endangered the common-weale: even so the contradictions that are found in the writings of Poets, which draw the assent and beleefe of the readers reciprocally to and fro, and leave matters ambiguous and doubtfull, are a cause that they be not off to great moment and weight, as to endanger or endanger much. When as therefore we meet with such repugnant places among them, which being laid neere together do impleie evident contrarieties, we ought to incline to the safer side and favor the better part, As namely in these verses,

*The Gods in many things, my Ionne,
Have men deceived and them undone.*

But contrariwise, what faith the sonne againe?

*Sir, that's soone said: mens fault t' excuse,
Nothing more ready, than Gods t' accuse.*

Likewise in one place:

*In store of gold, then should'st have joy:
And count all knowledge but a toy.*

But elsewhere:

*Absurd it is in goods to stow,
And no good thing besides to know.*

Moreover when we read:

How then? should I die? For Gods cause die?

We must be ready with this

*What else? for love of God I judge
We ought no service for to grudge*

These and such like diversities of doubtfull sentences, are soone assailed and dissolved, in case, as I have before said, we direct the judgement of young men to adhere unto the better part. But say, we light upon some wicked and ungodly speech, without any answer adjoyned thereto for to refell the same presently: what then is to be done? Surely we must confute it, by opposing contrarie sentences of the same author in other places: neither are we to be angry or offended with the Poët in this case; but rather thinke they be words either merily spoken, or only to represent the nature of some person, & with him only to be displeased. Moreover, against these fictions in *Homer*, when he reporteth how the gods fall together by the eares, and throw one another downe; or that they be wounded in some battell by the hands of mortall men: also that they be at variance and debate: you may if you will by and by oppose that which he himselfe speaketh in another place, and so beath him with his owne rod: saying thus unto him,

*You know, sir if you list, you
Tell us better tales than this.*

And verily you both utter better wordes, and thinke of better matters otherwise in these places:

*The Gods in heaven do live at ease:
They know no trouble nor disease.*

Allo:

*Whereas, the Gods in bliss and joy
Do ever live, without annoy.*

Likewise:

*The Gods themselves are void of care:
Sorrow and sorrow-giuen lets they are.*

For these are the true and safe conceptions which we ought to have as touching the Gods: And for all other fabulous fictions and attributes given unto them, they have beene devised only to give contentment to the readers, or to moove their affections. In like case whereas *Enri-fides* saith:

*Gods over men, having power and mastery,
Abuse and deceive them with wiles and sophistrie*

It were not amisse to alledge and inferre that which he writeth better and more truly in another place:

*If Gods do harme, or what doth not becomm,
No Gods in truth, we are them for to deeme.*

Also when *Pindarus* speaketh verie bitterly and eagerly in one place, tending altogether to revenge:

*All meanes and ploys we may adresse,
To worke and compass our foes disresse;*

We may come upon him againe and answer thus: But you good Sir elsewhere affirme, That

*The joy we gaine by fraud and trecherie,
Turnes in the end to woe and miserie.*

Moreover, when we heare *Sophocles* in this song:

There it waies full pleasant is and sweete,

Although

Although it come by false meanes and unmeere.

Reply we ought and say thus: We have heard you sing in another tune:

*Deceitfull lies and false language,
Bring forth no fruit, that will beare age.*

Furthermore to encounter these speeches which are delivered as touching riches:

*Pow'rfull it riches to win, sorts steepe and high,
As well as places most plaine and accessible,*

*Whereas those pleasures, which ready be and nigh
To hold and enjoy, for poore is impossible.*

*And why? a toong that smooth and filed is
Will cause a man soule and unpersorable,*

Of no regard, whose parts be all amis

Faire for to seeme, full wise and commendable.

The Reader may alledge many opposite sentences of *Sophocles*, and these among the rest:

*I see no cause, but men in povertie,
May be advaunc'd to place of dignitie.*

Allo:

*A man is not the worse for his povertie,
In case he have both wisdom and honestie.*

Likewise:

*What joy, what grace can come of worldly pelfe,
If first by listis a man to it attaine:*

*And then with restless cares torment himselfe,
And take bad confesse the same to maintaine?*

And *Menander* verily in one place hath highly praised and extolled sensuall lust and concupiscence, whereby he set them forward who are of an hot nature, and of themselves prone to voluptuosity, namely, in these and such like amatorious words:

*What creatures soever do live and see
The sun light joy, that common treasure,*

*Are all, have beene, and ever shall be
Subject and thrall to fleshy pleasure.*

Howbeit, in another the same Poët hath turned us about, and forcibly drawn us unto honesty, repressing and bridling the insolent furie of a loose and luxurious life, saying in this wise:

*A fleshy life, though pleasant for the while,
With shame at last, doth all delights defile.*

These sayings are in some sort contrarie to the former, but far better and more profitable every way. And therefore the setting together and consideration of such contradictorie sentences, will bring forth one of these two effects: for either it will draw young men to the better way, or at leastwise derogate the credit of the worst.

But if peradventure it come to passe that the Poëts themselves do not solve and solve those strange and absurd sayings, which they seeme to set abroad: it were not amisse to oppose against them, the contrarie sentences of other famous authors: and when wee have weighed and compared them in balance, to make proofe thereby which are the better. As for example, if haply *Alexis* the Poët hath prevailed with some by these verses of his:

*If men be wise, above all they will chuse
By all meanes their pleasures to compass and use.*

*Whereof there be three most powerfull and wise,
Which wholly possesse and accomplish our life*

To eat, to drinke, to follow venerie:

As for the rest, I hold accessarie.

We must call to minde and remember, that the sage *Socrates* was of another opinion and spake the contrarie: for he was wont to say, that the wicked lived for to eate and drinke; but the virtuous did both eat and drinke, to live. Semblably, to meete with this verse of the Poët who ever it was that wrote thus:

To make thy part good with a person lewd

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Fight with like lewdnes, and be thou as shewd.

Bidding us in some sort to accommodate and frame our selves like to the lewd and wicked: we may be readie with that notable Apophthegme of *Diogenes*, who being asked how a man might be revenged best of his enemy, answered thus, If (quoth he) thou shew thy selfe a good and honest man. The wisdom also of the said *Diogenes* we must set against the Poet *Sophocles*, who troubled the minds and consciences of many thousands, with distrust and dispaire, by writing these verses as touching the religion and confraternity in the Mytheries of *Ceres*:

*How happy men and brice happy are they
Whose fortune it is, he secrets to see
Of Mysteries so sacred: and streight way
Downe into hell, for to descend with glee:
For they alone in blisse shall live for ay:
The rest in bale, must suffer paine away.*

How now, quoth *Diogenes*, when he heard such verses read: Saist thou so indeed? And shall *Paracletus* the notorious theefe be in better fate after this life when he is once departed, only because he was entred and professed in the orders of this confraternitie, than good *Epimondaus*? As for *Timotheus*, when upon a time in the audience of a full Theatre, he chaunted a Poeme which he had compiled in the honor of *Diana*, wherein he stiled her with the Attributes and Epithets, of *Athenas*, *Thyas*, *Phaebus* and *Lysias*, which signifie, Furious, Enraged, Possessed, and starke Mad: *Cumcius* presently cried presently aloud unto him, I would thou haddest a daughter of thine owne with such qualities. The like elegant answer *Bion* is reported to have made unto *Theognis*. For when *Theognis* came out with these verses,

*A man held downe with povertie
can no thing do or say:*

*For why? his tongue wants libertie,
and somewhat doth it stay.*

Bion hearing them, How cometh it then to passe quoth he, that thou thy selfe being but a beggar keepst such a prating as thou dost, and with thy vaine babling and garrulitie troublest our eares?

Moreover we must not in any wise omit and let passe the occasions which are ministred out of the words and sentences either adjoining, or intermingled with those speeches, for to reforme and correct the same: But like as Physicians are of opinion, that notwithstanding the Greene Flies *Cantharides* be of themselves venomous and a deadly poison; yet their wings and feete are helpfull and holisome: yea and of vertue to frustrate and kill the malice of the said flies: even so in the Poemes and writings of Poets, if there be one Nowne or Verbe hanging to a sentence that we feare will do harme, which Nowne or Verbe may in some sort weaken the said hurtfull force, we are to take hold thereof, and to stand upon the signification of such words more at large, as some do in these verses,

*This honour due to wretched men we keepe
Our haire to cut, and over them to weepe.*

*As also in these,
We men, Alas most miserable, live*

In paine and griefe, this lot the gods do give.

For the Poet doth not simply affirme that the gods have predestinate all men simply to live in woe & sorrow, but this he speaketh of foolish and wilde folk, who being ordinarily lewd and naughty, and therefore miserable and wretched for their wickednes, he is wont to call *ῥαυδοὶ* & *ῥαυδοί*.

Another way there is besides, to turne the doubtfull and suspected sentences in poeticall writings to the better sense, which otherwise might be construed in the worse part: namely, by interpreting words to the signification wherein they are usually taken: wherein it were better to exercise a young man, than in the interpretations of obscure termes, which we call Glosses. And verily a point this is favouring of great learning, and full besides of delectation: as for example, To know how the word *ῥαυδοί* in Poets signifieth, is as much to say, as ill death or a bad end; for that the Macedonians use to call death *ῥαυδοί*. Likewise the Acolians do terme victory which is achieved by long suffering, continuall perseverance and abiding, *ῥαυδοί*. Also among the

Dryopians,

Dryopians, those be named *ῥαυδοί*, who with other are called *Damones*, i. Saints or Heavenly wights. Furthermore, it is not only expedient, but necessarie also, if we would receive good, and not harme, by the reading of Poets; to know certainly, how and in what signification they take the proper names of gods, as also the appellative words of good and evil things. Likewise what they mean by the vocables *ῥαυδοί*, i. the foule; or *ῥαυδοί*, i. fatall destinie. Namely, whether these termes be taken by them in one sense, or have many significations? The same is to be said of many other words besides: for example sake, this Nowne *ῥαυδοί* sometimes signifieth an edifice or dwelling house, as when *Homer* saith,

ῥαυδοί *To the house built with an high broofe.*

10 otherwhiles it betokeneth goods and subltance: as in this piece of a verse.

ῥαυδοί *My house is eaten. i. My goods are waste and consumed.*

Also this word *ῥαυδοί* is taken in one place for life; as namely in these verses;

ῥαυδοί *God Neptune with his haire so blacke,
envying him long life,*

*De spitefully his daies cut short,
and ended all the strife.*

But in another for goods and riches: to wit,

ῥαυδοί *Meane while do others spend my goods.*

10 Semblably the Verbe *ῥαυδοί*, you shall finde put for to fret, be discontented and ill apaid: as when the Poet writeth thus;

ῥαυδοί *Which said, she seemed male-content,
And wounded so, away she went.*

And yet it is used sometime, for to joy and vaunt: as namely in the same Poet;

ῥαυδοί *And do you brag and boast so much in deed,
poore Ius that you beat in beggers need.*

30 In like sort the Verbe *ῥαυδοί*, signifieth either to moove or stirre with great violence: as in *Euripides*, *ῥαυδοί* *A whale out of the Atlanticke sea, we might describe from land*

Most forcibly to swimme, and then to shunt himselfe on land,

or to sit downe and take repose: as for example, when *Sophocles* saith thus,

ῥαυδοί *My friends what meane you in this wise so strangely for to sit,
With branches digbt about your heads, which suppliant do be sit?*

40 Moreover, it is verie pretie and commendable, when a man meeteth with words of divers acceptions, to make use thereof accordingly, and to accommodate them to the present occasions and subject matters: like as the Grammarians teach us to doe in vocables that admit sundry senses; as for example,

ῥαυδοί *You may well praise a little barke or barge,*

But see with wares, a mightie hulke you charge.

Here the Verbe *ῥαυδοί*, signifieth *ῥαυδοί*, i. to praise: and yet now in this place (to praise) is as much to say, as to refuse and reject: Like as in our common and daily speech wee use to say, *ῥαυδοί*, i. Tis wel: or when we bid *ῥαυδοί*, i. Farewel it: meaning by these termes, that we like not of a thing, or will none of it, nor accept thereof. And hereupon it is that some say, *ῥαυδοί* is called *ῥαυδοί*, which is as much to say as a goddesse blamed and to be found fault with. This difference then, and distinction in the significations of words, is principally to be observed in matters that be more serious and of greater consequence, to wit, in the names of gods. To beginne therefore with them, let us advertise and teach young men, that Poets in using the names of gods, sometimes meane thereby their very nature and essence: otherwhiles they attribute

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ferred to many things, and are taken in divers senses by Poets. Of which sort is the name of *Apoth.* 1. Vertue. For by reason that vertue not only causeth men to be wise, prudent, just, & honest both in word and deed: but also purchaseth ordinarily unto them, honour, glorie, authoritie and reputation in the world: therefore they give the name of Vertue unto renowne, power, and might: like as the Olive fruit, they call by the name *Oliva*. i. Olive tree, and the Beech-mast they terme also *olive* as well as the Beech tree. Our young man then, as he readeth in a Poet,

*The gods before vertue have set
Labour, travail, and painful labour.*

Or thus,

*The Greeks by vertue then downe bare
Their squadron thicke and battell square.*

Likewise,

*If die we must, most glorious is death,
For vertue, when we spend our vitall breath,*

presently ought to conceive thus much, That all is spoken of the best, most excellent, and divinest habitude in us, which we understand to be the verie rectitude and rule of reason and judgement, the height and perfection of our reasonable humane nature, yea, and the disposition of the soule, accordant with it selfe. But when he readeth againe these other verses there,

*Vertue in men love causeth for to grow
And fade: by him it doth both ebbe and flow.*

As also,

*Where worldly wealth and riches are,
Vertue and fame follow not farre.*

Let him not by and by set him downe, and by occasion of these words have the rich in woonderfull great admiration, as if they could anon buy vertue for money, and with their wealth have it at command: let him not thinke, I say, that it lieth in the power of Fortune, either to augment or to diminish vertue: but rather deeme thus, and make this construction, that the Poet under the name Vertue, signifieth Vvorship, Authoritie, Power, Prosperitie, or some such matter. For to the word *virtus* is sometimes taken by them in the native and proper signification, for a naughtie and wicked disposition of the minde, as when *Hesiodus* writeth thus,

*Of wickednesse a man maye evermore
Have foule great and plenteous store.*

But otherwise it is used for some other evill calamitie or infortunitie, as by *Homer*,

*Men quick'ly age and waxen olde,
in rebellion, with hunger and cold, &c.*

And much were he deceived, who should perswade himselfe that Poets take beatitude and blessednesse, which in Greeke is called *eudaimonia*, so precisely as Philosophers doe; who understand thereby, an absolute habitude, and entire possession of all good things, or rather an accomplished perfection of this life, holding on a prosperous course according to nature: for many times Poets abuse this word, calling a man blessed and happie, who is rich in world goods; and giving the terme of felicitie and happinesse unto great power, fame and renowne. As for *Homer*, he useth verily these termes aright and properly in this verse,

*Although much wealth I do holde and enjoy,
Yet in my heart I take no blessed joy.*

So doth *Alexander* when he writeth thus,

*Of goods I have and money great store,
And all men call me rich therefore:
But yet how rich forever I seeme,
Happie and blest none doth me deeme.*

Enripides maketh great disorder and confusion, when he writeth in this sort,

*I would not have that blessed life
Wherein I finde much paine and griefe.*

Also in another place,

*Why dost thou honor tyranny,
Happie injustice and villany?*

unless

unless a man, as I said before, take these termes as spoken metaphorically or by the figure *metonymie*. i. the abuse of them, otherwise than in their proper sense. And thus much may serve as touching this point.

Now for this that remaineth behind, yong men would be put in remembrance and admonished not once but oftentimes, that Poetrie, having for her proper subject an argument to be expressed by imitation; howsoever the use of the ornaments & beautifull furniture of figurative speeches, in setting out and describing those matters and actions which are presented unto her, yet nevertheless she doth not forgo the resemblance and likelihood of truth. For that imitation indeed delighteth the Reader so long only as it carrieth some shew of probability. And therefore that imitation which seemeth not altogether to square and depart from the rule of veritie, doth expresse the signes of vertues and vices both at once, entermingled one with another in actions. Such is the Poeme and composition written by *Homer*, which resteth not in the strange opinions and paradoxes of the Stoicks, who holde, That neither any evill at all can sort with vertue; ne yet one jot of goodnesse with vice: but he hath bidden farewell to such precise positions; namely, That a foolish and lewd person, in all his actions, when and wheresoever, doth offend and sinne: and semblably, the wise and virtuous man, at all times and in all places, can not chuse but do every thing well. These are the principles which the Stoicks schooles re-found withall. Howbeit, in the affaires of this world, and in our dayly life and conversation, as *Enripides* saith,

*It cannot be in everie point,
That good and bad should be disjoint:
But in all actions we dayly see,
One with another medled will be.*

But the Art of Poetrie setting apart the truth in deede, useth most of all varietie and sundry formes of phrases. For, the divers imitations are they, that give to fables that vertue to move affections & passions in the readers: these are they, that worke strange events in them, even contrarie to their opinion and expectation: upon which ensueth the greatest woonder, and astonishment, wherein lieth the chiefe grace, and from whence proceedeth the most delight and pleasure, whereas, contrariwise, that which is simple and uniforme, is not pathetically nor hath in it any fiction. Heereupon it is that Poets bring not in the same persons alwaies winners, alwaies happy and doing wel: and that which more is, when they feigne that the gods themselves meddle in mens affaires, they describe them not without their passions, nor yet exempt from errors & faults, for feare, lest that part of their Poetrie which stirreth up the affection, & holdeth in suspence and admiration the mindes of men, should become idle and dull, for want of some danger and adversaite as it were to excite and quicken it: which being so, let us bring a yong man to the reading of Poets works, not fore-stalled and possessed before with such an opinion as touching those great and magnificall names of ancient worthies, as if they had bene wise and just men, or virtuous Princes in the highest degree of perfection, and as a man would saie, the very Canon rule, and paterne of all vertue, uprightness and integritie: Otherwise he should receive great damage thereby, in case I say he were of this minde to approve and have in admiration all that they did or said as singular; and to be offended at nothing that he heareth from them: neither would he allow of him, who blameth and findeth fault with them when they either do or say such things as these.

*O father Iove, & Phoebus bright, & Pallas maiden pure:
That you would all bring this about, and make us warre secure,
That not one Trojan might escape, nor Greeke remaine alive
But we two knights: That we (I say) and none but we believe
May win the honor of this warre, and only reape the joy
Of victory, to race the walls and stately towers of Troy.*

Also

*I heard the voice most piteous of Pryams daughter bright,
Cassandra faire a virgin chaste: whom me for to delight,
My wife dame Clytemnestra slew, by cruel reacherie,
Because of us her jealous was for sinne of lecherie.*

Likewise

Likewise

*With concubine of Father mine shee connseld me to lie,
The old mans curse that I might have: persuaded so did I.*

And in another place,

*O Iupiter whom men do father call,
thou art a God most mischievous of all.*

Let not a young man in any wise be accustomed to praise such speeches: neither let him seek any colourable pretences to cloke and excuse wicked and infamous acts: he must not be studious and cunning in such inventions, to shew therein his subtiltie and promptnesse of wit. But rather he is to thinke thus, that Poësie is the verie imitation of maners, conditions and lives, yea and of men, such as are not altogether perfect, pure and irreprehensible, but in whom passions, false opinions and ignorance beare some way, yet so, as many times by the dexteritie and goodnesse of nature they be reformed and disposed to better waies. When a young man then is thus prepared, and his understanding so framed, that when things are well done and said, his heart is moved and affected therewith as by some heavenly instinct: and contrariwise not well pleased with lewd deeds or words, but highly offended thereat, certes, such instruction of his judgement will be a meane that he shal both hear: and read any Poemes without hurt and danger. But he that admireth al, & applieth himselfe so, that he embraceth every thing, he I say, that cometh with a judgement devoted and enthralled to those magnificent and heroicke names, like unto those disciples who converted to be crump shouldered and bunched backe like their 20 matter *Plato* or would needs flut, flammer and masse as *Aristotle* did: surely such a one will take no great heed, but soone apprehend and intertaine many evill things. Moreover this young beginner of ours ought not to be affected after a timorous and superstitious manner, as they are who being in a temple feare and dread every thing, and are ready to worship and adore whatsoever they see or heare: but boldly and confidently to pronounce and say as occasions serveth, This is ill done, or not decently spoken: no lesse than to give his acclamation and consent to that which is well and decently either said or done. As for example, *Achilles* seeing the soldiours how they fell like chaff in the campe, and not well appaid that the war was thus drawn out in length, especially to the hinderance of his owne honor, being a martiall man, of great prowesse and renouwe in the field, assembled a counsell of war and called the 30 Greeks together. But, (as he was a man other wise well seene in the skill of Physick) perceiving by the ninth day past, (which commonly is criticall, and doth determine of maladies one way or other by course of nature) that it was no ordinary disease, nor proceeding from usuall causes, stood up to make a speech, not framing himselfe to please and gratifie the common people, but to give counsell unto the king himselfe in this manner.

*I thinke we must when all is done, ô Agamemnon Laege,
Returne againe without effect to Greece and leave our seage.*

This was well and wisely said: these were modest and temperate words becoming his person: But when the prophet or soothsaier said, that he feared much the wrath and indignation of the mightiest man and soveraigne commander of all the Greeks, he answered then never a word for 40 her word; for having sworn a great oth, that no man should be so hardy as to lay hand on the said prophet so long as he remained alive, he added moreover and said full unfeinly,

*No if thou shouldst both me and name
King Agamemnon, I fear the same.*

Shewing plainly by these words, what little account he made of his prince, and how he contemned soveraigne authoritie: may he overpassed himselfe more yet, and proceeded farther in heat of choler, to lay hand upon his sword, yea and to draw it forth with a full purpose to kill the king: which was done of him neither well for his owne honour, nor wisely for the good of the State, But repenting himselfe immediately

*Into the skabbard then anon, he puts his daughters sword:
Minerva gave him that advice, and he obeyd her word.*

Herein againe he did well and honestly: for having not the power to extinguish and quench his choler quite, yet he delayed it well and repented it, yea and brought it under the obedience of reason, before it brake out into any excessive outrage, which had bene remediless. Semblably *Agamemnon* himselfe, for that which he did and said in the assembly of Counsell, he was 50 woorthy

woorthy to be scorned and laughed at. But in the matter concerning the Damocell *Chryseis*, he shewed more gravitie and princely Majestie, than in like case *Achilles* did: for he, when the faire *Briseis* was taken from him and led away:

*Sat weeping in great agonie
Retir'd apart from companie.*

But *Agamemnon* himselfe in person conducting her as farre as to the ship, delivering up and sending away to her owne father, the woman whom a little before he said that he loved more dearly than his owne espoused wife, did nothing unfitting himselfe or like a passionate lover, *Againe*, *Phoenix* being cursed by his father and betaken to all the hellish fiends for lying with 10 his concubine, brake out into these words,

*I mind once with sword of mine my fathers blood to bleed:
But that some god my rage repent, and put this in my head:
How men would cry much blame on me, and namely Gracians all
With one voice me a paricide or Father killer call.*

Which verses in *Homer*, *Aristarchus* was afraid to let stand, and therefore dashed them out. But verily, they serve in that place fitly for the purpose, namely, when *Phoenix* instructeth *Achilles*, what a violent passion anger is, and how there is no outrage but men will dare and do in the heat of choler, when they will not be guided with reason, or directed by the counsell of those that would appease them. For he bringeth in *Aleisger* also, who was angrie with his citizens, 20 howbeit afterwards pacified: In which example, as he wisely blameth and reprooveth such passions: so he praiseth and commendeth as a good and expedient thing, not to be led and carried away therewith, but to resist and conquer them, and to take up betime and repent. True it is, that hitherto in these places already cited, there is a manifest difference to be observed: but where there is some obscurity as touching the true sense and meaning of a sentence, we must reach a young man to stay himselfe there and pause upon the point, that he may be able to distinguish in this manner: If *Ausica* upon the first sight of *Vijses*, a meere stranger, falling into the same passion of love with him, as *Cubyp* did, and seeking nothing but wanton pleasure, as one living daintily, and being now ripe and ready for marriage, utter foolishly these and such like words, and that before her waiting maids:

*O that it were my hap, so brave
A Knight to wed who hath my hart:
O that he would with me vouchsafe
for to remaine and not depart.*

Her boldnesse and incontinencie is to be reprooved: but if by his speech and talke, she perceived that he was a man of wit and wise behaviour, and thereupon withed in her heart to be his wedded wife, and to dwell with him rather than with one of her owne countrie, who could skill of nothing else but to dance or be a minner, I cannot blame her, but thinke her praise woorthy. In like case, if when *Penelope* deviseth and talketh courteously with her woers, who sued unto her for marriage, and thereupon they court her againe and bestow upon her gay clothes, rich 40 jewels and other goodly ornaments fit for a Lady, *Vijses* her husband rejoice

*That she was well content to take
Their gifts, and did to them love make,
As though she would be kinde againe,
And yet her frowes were all but vaine.*

If I say he joyed, in that his wife received their courtesies and tokens, and so made a gaine of them, surely he surpasseth *Poliager* the notorious bawd, playing his part in the Comedies, of whom there goeth this by-word:

*Bawde Poliager happie man hee,
That keeps at home in house a free:
A heavenly goate whose influence,
Brings in riches with affluence.*

But if he did it to have them by that meane under his hand, whiles they upon hope of obtaining their suit, little thought of him how he watched them a shrewd turne: then his joy and content assurance was grounded well & upon good reason. Semblably in the counting that he made of those goods which the Phæacians had landed when they set him on shore; and having 50

so done, spied faile and departed backe againe: if being thus left solitarie alone and finding him selfe forlorne, he doubted of his estate and what should become of him, and yet his mind was so set upon his goods that he feared,

*Least part thereof they tooke away,
Whiles that on shore asleepe he lay,*

His avarice were lamentable, nay it were abominable, I assure you: But if as some do thinke and say, being not sure whether he were in the Ile Ithaca or no, he supposed that the safety of his gods and money, was a certaine prooffe and demonstration of the Phaeacians loyaltye and fidelitie (for never would they have transported him into a strange land but for lucre, nor when they left him and departed would have forborne his goods) he used herein no foolish argument, 10 and his providence in so doing is commendable. Some there be who finde fault with this verie landing of him upon the shore, in case the Phaeacians did it whiles he was asleepe in deed: and they say that it appeareth by a certaine Chronicle or Historie among the Tuskans which they keepe by them, that *Ulysses* was given by nature to be verie drowie; which was the cause, that to many he was not affable, and men oftentimes might hardly speake with him. Now if this was no sleepe in very truth, but that being both ashamed to send away the Phaeacians who had conducted him over sea, without feasting them & giving them presents and rewards for their kindness: and also in feare lest if they were seene there still upon the coast, whiles he entertained them so kindly, himselfe might be discovered by his enemies, he used this pretence of feigned sleepe to cover and hide the perplexitie wherein he was, or to shift off this difficultie wherein he stood in this case, they allow and commend him for it. In giving therefore to yong men such 20 advertisementes as these, we shall never suffer them to runne on still to the corruption of their manners, but rather imprint in them presently a fervent zeale and hartie desire to chuse better things, namely, if we proceed directly to praise this and to dispraise that. And this would be done especially in Tragedies, those I mean, wherein fine words and affected speeches be oftentimes framed to cloke dishonest and villanous deeds. For that which *Sophocles* saith in one place, is not alwaies true:

*If that it be a naughtie deed,
Of it good words cannot proceed.*

For even himselfe is wont many times to palliat wicked conditions, yea, and naughtie acts 30 with pleasant speeches and familiar apparant reasons, which carie a probabilitye of sufficient excuse. And even so platieth *Euripides* his companion, who shewed himselfe upon the same stage: for see you not, how he bringeth in *Phaedra* to begin with her husband *Theseus*, First, laying all the blame on him; as if forsooth the wrongs and abuses that he offered unto her, were the cause that she was enamoured upon *Hippolytus*? The like audacious and bold speech he putteth in *Helenus* mouth against queene *Heccuba*, in that Tragedie which is entituled *Troades*, objecting unto her, and saying, That she was rather to be punished, for bearing such a sonne as *Alexander Paris*, who committed the adulterie with her. A yong man then, ought not to accuse himselfe to thinke any such inventions as these to be pretie, gallant and wittie, ne yet laugh at such subtle and fine devices; but to abhorre and detest as much, or rather more, wanton and filthie 40 words, than loofe and dishonest deeds.

Moreover, it would be expedient, in all speeches to search the cause whereupon they do proceed; after the example of *Cato* when he was a litle boy: For, do he would whatsoever, his Master or Tutor bad; but ever and anon hee would be inquisitive and questioning with him the reason of his commandments. And yet we are not to beleewe and obey Poets, as we ought either Schoole-masters or Law-givers, unless the matter by them propofed have reason for the ground: and grounded then it shalbe thought upon reason, if it be good and honest: for if it be wicked, it ought to seeme foolish and vaine. But many of these men there be, who are verie sharpe and curious in searching and demanding what *Hesiodus* should meane in this verse,

*Whiles men are drinking, doe not set
The flagon over the wine goblet.*

as also what sense may be made of these verses in *Homer*:

*Another chorion who mount'd it,
when from his owne he is alight,
Must not his speare and invulnities,*

But

But trust thereto, and therewith fight.
but other sentences, iwis, of greater importance and danger, they admit soone, and give credite thereto, without further enquiry & examination: as for example, at these verses they sticke not,

*The privitie to fathers vice
Or mothers fault reproachable,
Will him debase, who otherwise,
Is hardie, stout, and commendable.*

no more than they doe at this,

*Vpon a man, if fortune frowne,
His heart therewith must be cast downe.*

And yet such sayings as these, come nere unto us, and touch the quicke, troubling our manner and behaviour in this life, imprinting in us perverſe judgements, base and unmanly opinions, unless we acquaint our selves to contradict ech of them in every point, after this manner. And wherefore ought he to beare an abject minde, who is crossed with adverse fortune? why rather should not he make head againe, and wrestle with her, bearing himselfe so much the more aloft, and never endure to be troden downe and depressed by her? what reason is there, that my heart should be done, for that my father was vicious and foolish, in case I be a wife and honest man my selfe? Is there greater cause that the ignorance and imperfection of my father should keepe me downe and discourage me, that I dare not looke up; than mine owne knowledge and valour 20 make me take heart and put my selfe forth? He that will thus encounter, withstand, and not give way to every speech, turning aside, as it were, to every puffe of wind, but rather esteeme that sentence of *Heraclitus* to be well and truly spoken,

*A foolish and witlesse man is he,
Whose every word who stricken will be.*

Such a one, I say, shalbe able to put by and repell many sayings of Poets, that are neither true nor profitable. And thus much as touching those observations which may serve a yong mans turne, that he may read and heare Poets safe without any danger.

But forasmuch as it falleth out, that as in Vines many times, the grapes lie hidden among the leaves and branches, and cannot be seene by reason that they are covered and shadowed therewith: so also in poeticall verses, under fables and fictions there be covertly couched many profitable and hollome lessons, which a yong man cannot espie by himselfe, and therefore he misseeth that commoditie and fruit which is to be reaped out thereof. Howbeit, we must not suffer this, nor let him turne away, and give over: he ought not (I say) to wander aside, but sticke close and fast to those matters especially, which leade unto vertue, and make any thing for the framing or reforming of manners. In which regard, I shall not do amisse, if I treat also of this matter briefly; making, as it were, a first draught onely, and touching summarily the principall points; leaving long discourses, by way of narration, confirmation, and a multitude of examples, to those that write of purpose for more shew and ostentation. First and formost therefore, when a yong man knoweth thoroughly the persons of men and women, their natures also and 40 manners both good and bad, let him then regard and consider well the sayings and doings which the Poet doth attribute aptly unto either of them. As for example, *Achilles* saith unto *Agamemnon* these words, although he speaketh them in choler,

*For never shall I honour have,
Nor equal recompense to you,
When populous Troy, that city brave,
The Greeks shall force, as they do now.*

But *Thersites* reviling the selfe same *Agamemnon*, useth these termes

*Much brasse vessel thou hast now in many a goodly tent,
Of captive women eke like chiefe, in beauty excellent,
In thy pavilion: whom we Greeks, as to our Sovereigne,
Do give, so soone as any towne by martiall force we gaine.*

Again *Achilles* in another place hath this humble speech,
*If Iupiter will be so good, as to fulfill our joy,
And grant that we one day may win the fately city Troy.*

But *Thersites* commeth out with this proud word,

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Whom

*Whom either I, or in my stead,
Some Greeke shall bound as captive lead.*

Scemably in another place, when in the review of the armie, *Agamemnon* passing along the bands, rebuked and taunted *Diomedes*, he answered not againe, nor gave him one crosse word:

*For why befeard in modestie
The checks of his dread Majestie.*

But *Sthenelus*, of whom no man made any reckoning, was so bolde as to reply and say,
*Sir Agamemnon Atreus, some, forbear thus for to lie,
You can, if that you list, with mere report a truth: for why?
Pronounce I dare, and it avow, we better warriors be
In these dayes honour fathers were, by many a degree.*

The difference which is in these personages, if the well marked, will teach a young man thus much: That to be modest, temperate, void of pride, and humble, is a most civill and excellent vertue; and contrariwise it will advertise him to take heed of pride and overweening; to beware also of boasting and vaunting much of himselfe, as a detestable vice. And heere in this place, expedient it is and profitable to observe the action of *Agamemnon*: He passed by *Sthenelus*, and would not stay to speake unto him: As for *Vlysses*, who found himselfe grieved, him he neglected not, but shapd him an answer: For as *Homer* writeth,

*No sooner he perceived him offended for to be,
But presently he spake againe, and thus replied he.*

For, as it is a bale and fervice thing, and not becoming the majestie of a Prince to answer everie one, and by way of Apologie to justify a thing done or said; so to despise and disdain all men, is meere pride and extreame follie. As for *Diomedes*, he did passing well to hold his peace during the time of the battell, when he was rebuked and reviled by the king, but after the fight was ended, he spake his minde freely and boldly in this wise:

*You are the first of all the Greeks, who in reprochfull wise
Have charged me for my false heart, and fearful cowardise.*

Good also it is, to see the difference betweene a wife man in deed and a vaine foorthsayer, who loved to be seene, and to heare himselfe speake among the multitude. For *Calebas* without all respect of chusing his time and a fit opportunitie, bashed not in publike place, and before all the people, to challenge king *Agamemnon*, imputing directly unto him, and to no other, the cause of the pestilence which reigned in the campe. But *Nestor*, contrariwise, intending to make a motion as touching the reconciliation and pacifying of *Achilles*, and to speake directlie unto that point, because hee would not seeme to blame and accule the king in the audience of the people; namely, that he had passed himselfe in choler, and done amisse, advieth him in this manner, saying:

*To supper bid the ancient peeres: this doth your person fit:
And when they are together met, in order as they sit,
Let them opine, Heave their advise, and looke who speaketh best,
His counsell take I needs, and then therein see that you rest.*

And after supper, he sent forth the Embassadors accordingly. This was the onely way to correct a fault, and amend that was amisse: whereas the other had bene a very injurious accusation, and a contumelious reproofe to his no small disgrace. Furthermore, there would be noted and considered the diversitie that is in sundry nations, and that after this manner: The Trojans give the charge in battell to their enemies with great shouts, out-cries, and exceeding violence: whereas the Greeks

*The onset give with all silence,
To leaders having reverence.*

For soldiours to dread and feare their captaines and commaunders, at what time as they be ready to joyne battaile with the enimie, is a signe both of valour and also of obedience and militarie Discipline. Which is the reason that *Plato* would inure us to be afraid of rebukes, reproofes and filthy acts, more than of any travels and dangers. *Cato* likewise was wont to say, That he loved those better who blushed and looked red, than the pale faced. As for promises, there is a proper worke also in them, whereby a man may discern whether they be wise or foolish. For *Dolon* promised in this manner

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*The campe of Greeks I enter will and passe on still outright
Vntill to Agamemnons ship, I come there for to fight.*

Contrariwise *Diomedes* promisseth nothing of himselfe, onely this he saith: That he should feare the lesse, if he were sent with some other to beare him companie. Whereby you may see that Prudence, Discretion and Forecast be civile vertues becoming the Greeks; but audacious raffines is naught, and fit for Barbarians. The one therefore we must embrace and imitate, the other reject and cast behinde us. Moreover it were a speculation not unprofitable to make the affections that befell unto the Trojans and to *Hector* at what time as he was ready to enter into combat and single fight with *Ajax*. *Aeschylus* being upon a time in place to behold the combats at the *Isthmian* games, it fell out so that one of the champions was hurt and wounded in the very face, whereupon the people that looked on, set up a great crie and shouted aloud: See, quoth he, what use and exercise is the Beholders crie out, but the man himselfe that is hurt, saith never a word. In like manner, when *Homer* the Poet saith, that *Ajax* was no sooner seene in his bright compleat harnish and armed at all pieces, but the Greekes rejoiced: whereas

*The Trojans all for feare did quake, and tremble every joint
Hector himselfe did feeble his heart to beate even at this point.*

who would not wonder to see this difference? The partie himselfe who was in danger, felt his hart onely to leape, as if he had bene (I assure you) to wrestle for the best game, or to run a race for the prize: but they that saw him, trembled and shaked all their bodie over, for feare of the noing also what odds and difference there is betweene the most resolute or valiant Captaine, and the greatest coward: For it is said of *Thersites* that

*Achilles of all that were in the Host
And also Vlysses he hated most.*

whereas *Ajax* as he alwaies loved *Achilles*, so he giveth an honorable testimonie thereof, when he speaketh unto *Hector* in this wise,

*In single fight with me alone what woorthy knight we have
In Grecian host, thou maist not see besides Achilles brave:
Achilles be, the Paragon of Prowesse whom we count
Whose Lions hart undaunted yet all others doth furburment.*

This is a singular commendation of *Achilles* particularly: but that which followeth afterwards, is aptly spoken to the praise of all in generall:

*Wot well that many of us there be
in Campe that dare and can
Make head, and maintaine fight with thee
in combat man to man.*

Marke, how he praiseth not himselfe, to be the man alone or the most valourous of all other, but is content to be raunged with many more as sufficient men to make their part good against him. Thus much may serve as touching the diversitie of persons, unlesse we will adde this moreover, That of Trojans we read there were many taken prisoners alive by their enemies, but of the Greeks not one: as also that divers of them became humble suppliants to their enemies and fell downe at their feete; namely *Adrastus*, the sonnes of *Antimachus* and *Lycanor*: yea and *Hector* himselfe befought *Achilles* to vouchsafe him buriall: whereas, there was not one of them that did the like: As if thus much were implied thereby, that it is the manner of Barbarians in fight, to make supplication, to submit, to kneele and lie prostrate before the enimie: but of Grecians, either to win the victorie by maine fight, or to die for it.

Moreover, like as in pasturage and feeding, the Bee setteth upon flowers: the goate searcheth after greene leaves and brouseth young buds: the Swine searcheth for roots, and other beafts for the feed & fruit; Even so in reading Poems, one gathereth the floure of the History: another cleaveth to the elegancie of phrase and furniture of words, as *Aristophanes* was wont to say of *Euripides*,

*His tongue so round doth please my mind,
In stile so smooth, content I finde.*

Others there be who affect morall sentences aptly fitted to the reformation of manners. Those therefore with whom now we have to deale, and to whom we direct our speech, we are to admo-

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nish, that it were a shame and unworthy thing, if either he who setteth his minde upon fables should marke well the witty narrations, and singular fine inventions therein: or he that delighteth in eloquence should note diligently the pure and elegant phrase, the artificiall rhetoricke also, as he readeth: whiles he, that would seeme to affect honor, to studie honesties, and to take Poets in hand not for delight, pleasure and pastime, but for the insight of learning, and for the treasure of knowledge, readeth and heareth carelessly and without fruits, those sentences which are penned and delivered by them to the recommendation of fortitude, temperance and justice: For as concerning valor and vertue you shall finde these verses,

*What is befall'n for Diomedes,
that we forget to fight?
How is it that our harts be done?
where is our Martiall might?
Come neere, stand close unto my side,
great shame it were for us,
if Hector should board our ships
and force our navie thins.*

For to see a most wife and prudent capitaine who was in daunger to perish, and to be overthrown together with the whole armie, not to be afraid of death, but to feare reproch and shamefull disgrace, the same no doubt will cause a young man to be woonderfully affectionate to vertue and prowesse.

For wisdom and justice these verses serve:
*Minerva then tooke great delight
To see the man wise and upright.*

Such a sentence as this, will give occasion to a young scollor thus to reason and discourse: The Poet here hath devised, that the goddesse joyed not in a rich man, in one that was faire, well favoured and personable, or mighty in bodily strength: but in him that was prudent and just withall. And in another place where the same goddesse saith, that she will not neglect nor forsake *Vlisses* and leave him destitute:

*For loong he hath and wit at will:
He is both wise and full of skill:*

The Poet sheweth plainly; That there is nothing in us but vertue onely, that is divine and beloved of the gods: if this be true that Like will to like, and Naturally every thing delighteth in the Semblable. Now forasmuch as it seemeth to be a great matter and rare perfections, as in truth it is no lesse, to be able to master and bridle anger: certes a greater vertue it is and a gift more singular to prevent and wisely to forecast, that we fall not into choler, nor suffer our selves to be surprisid therewith: And therefore the readers of Poets ought to be advertisid in these points, not coldly but in good earnest: as namely, how *Achilles*, a man by nature nothing meeke, milde and patient, giveth warning unto *Priamus* to be quiet, and not to provoke him, in these wordes:

*Take heed old father I thee need,
how thou my choler move:
I minded am thy sonne to yeld:
For why? from love above
A messenger hath warn'd me so:
Beware Gray-beard, I say,
Least that my tent will not thee save,
but forthwith I thee slay:
Although in humble wise thou come,
with suppliant habit dight,
And so I do transgresse Loves will
and breake the lawes of right.*

Who also after he had washed the corps of *Hector*, and wound it within Funerall clothes, bestowed the same with his owne hands in the chariot, before that *Priamus* his father should see it, so misused as it was,

For saw I least when he saw

his

*his sonne, so mangled and beraid
In griefe of heart old father he,
should not himselfe be staied
But with hot words Achilles move
in him to sheare his sword
With our regard of Iupiter, his hefts,
his will and word.*

For when a man is apt and prone to anger, as being of nature hot, rough and cholericke, to know himselfe so given, and therewith to prevent, decline and avoid all occasions of yre, and by the guidance of reason to hold off, in such sort, that even as it were against his will he shall not fall into any passionate fits, is a point of great wisdom and singular providence. After the same manner ought he that is given to wine, to be armed against drunkennesse: he also that is by nature amorous, should thus withstand wanton love: Like as *Agesslaus*, who would not abide to be kissed of a beautifull young boy coming toward him, and *Cyrus*, who durst not so much as set his eie upon faire *Pamphes*. Whereas contrariwise, those that be ill nourished and badly brought up, seek all meanes and occasions to kindle and enflame their foolish affections, ministering matter thereto, as fewell unto fire: casting themselves headlong and that wilfully into those vices, whereunto they are most prone and ready to fall by nature. But *Vlisses* not onely bridled and repressed his owne choler when he was chafed, but also perceiving by some words of *Telemachus* his sonne, that he was angrie and hatefully bent against lewd persons, he laboured to appease and mitigate his moode: he dealt with him before hand, willing and commanding him to be quiet, to forbear and have patience.

*My sonne, if that by word or deed
In mine owne house they me abuse,
Bite in thine anger, I thee need,
See thou endure, and patience use:
Nay if they draw me by the foot,
And out of doores me drag awone,
Or their sharpe arrowes at me shoot,
See all, say nought, what ever it done.*

For like as men use not to bridle their horses when they are running in a race, but before they begin their course; even so they that hardly can digest indignities, and upon occasion offered are quickly angrie, ought first to be preoccupied with reason: and being thus prepared beforehand, to bring them to the combat.

Over and besides, a young man must not negligently passe over the bare words as hee readeth. And yet I speake not this, as though I would have him play upon them, as *Cleumes* did, who making semblance to interpret and expound words, would otherwhiles cavill and make sport. For where as we read in *Homer*,

Σει μὲν ὠδὴν ἴσθαι καὶ λέγειν, καὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν αἰῶνα.

He would have us to reade these two last words in one, by way of *ipse*, thus, *Σει ἀνδρῶν αἰῶνα*, as if forsooth, the aire which by exhalation is elevated, and doth rise from the earth, should therefore be called *ἀνδρῶν αἰῶνα*. *Chrysippus* likewise many times comes in with his bald reasons, without all grace: and this he doeth not in jest and meriment, but he would seeme to devise reasons subtilly; and so forceth divers words impertinently: as namely, when he wresteth these words, *Euphrosyne* *Καγὶςθλου*, to this sense, as if *Aglossa* should signifie one that was eager and quicke in disputation or argument, surpassing others in force of eloquence. It were better for us to leave these nice subtilties of words and syllables unto Grammarians for to be scanned, and to consider more neerely other observations, which, as they yeeld greater profit, so they carry with them more probability and likelihood of truth: and namely to picke some good out of these verses;

*Most crosse unto my minde it is,
For taught I am proesse to win.
Allo,
Full well he knew, so every night
To shew himselfe a courteous knight.*

For hereby he declareth evidently, that valour and fortitude is gotten by teaching; as also, he

is of opinion, That to be milde, affable and kinde to every man, is a gracious vertue, proceeding from science and reason: whereupon he exhorteth us, not to be carelesse of our selves, but to learne good and honest things, by giving care unto our teachers: for that cowardise, follie, and perverse incivillite, be the defects of learning, and are meere ignorance indeed. Hereto accordeth very well, that which the same Poet *Homer* saith of *Jupiter* and *Xepturne*:

*Beholde one father both they had,
and countrey one them bread:
But Jupiter was former borne,
and had the wiser head.*

He declareth hereby that wisdom is a most divine and princely qualitie; wherein he placeth the soveraigne and highest excellencie of *Jupiter*, as esteeming all other good parts to accompany that soveraigne and heavenly vertue. We are likewise to acquaint a young man to heare, and that with no heave and dull care, but attentively and with a vigilant minde, these other verses;

*Right wise he is, and not you well,
A lie for no good will he tell.*

*Allo,
Antilocheus, reputed age for wise, you are to blame
My steeds to hurt, mine honour eke thus for to stain with shame.
Likewise,*

*You, a worthy knight, to speake so foolishly!
I would have said you had, in war, past all men verily.*

These sentences import thus much; That wise men will never speake untruths: neither will they in battell behave themselves as cowards, and use deceit in fight, ne yet charge unjust imputations upon others without reason. Also when the Poet saith, that he through his folly suffered himselfe to be induced & perswaded to breake the truce and league, he sheweth plainly, That he thinketh a wise man will in no wise commit unrighteousnesse. The like may of a young man be taught, as touching continencie and chastitie, especially, if he consider well these verses.

*K. Proetus wife, Dame Antea, him lov'd and woo'd soone
For to embrace her secretly, and lie with her anone:
But never would he yeeld thereto. Bellerophon was wise,
And in his heart he never let such thoughts for to arise.*

*As also these,
Dome Clytemnestro first was chaste, and wanton tricks rejected
All while she was by reason led, and wisdoms love directed.*

In these places wee see, that the Poet attributeth the cause of continency and pudicitie unto wisdom. Furtherward in those exhortations whereby capitaines use to encourage their soldiers to fight, when the Poet esteemes inferreth these and such like speeches,

*For sy for shame ô Lycians,
you are now light of soote,
To runne away thus as you do,
in it will not boot.*

*Allo:
A consill sharp is toward, Sirs,
wherefore let every one
Set shame and just revenge in fight,
else all, I doubt, is gone.*

By which words the Poet seemeth to ascribe fortitude vnto shamefastnesse and modestie: For that, those who are bashfull and ashamed to commit filthinesse, are able likewise not onely to overcome voluptuous pleasures; but also to undergoe all dangerous adventures. By occasion whereof *Timothens* also in his Poeme entituled *Perse* was mooved not unaptly to encourage the Greeces to fight, saying thus:

*Have honest shame in reverence
and honour her, I you advise.
She helpeth Prowesse, and from hence*

the

the victorie doth esteeme.

Aeschylus also reputeth it a point of wisdom, not to be vaine-glorious nor desirous to be seene of the multitude, ne yet to be lifted up with the puffs of popular praise, when he describeth *Amphiaraus* in this wise:

*He seeketh not to seeme the very best,
But for to be the best in word and deed:
He lov'd hath wit him his worthy best,
In furrow deepe, all good and vertuous seed,
Which yeeld both lease & fruit in season due,
I meane sage counsel join'd with honor true.*

For the part it is of a wise man and of good conceit, to stand upon his owne bottom, that is to say, to rest in himselfe, and to thinke highly of his owne resolutions and courses as the verie best. Thus you see how all good things being reduced unto prudence, there is no kinde of vertue but it cometh to a man afterwards, and is acquired by learning and discipline.

Moreover, like as Bees have this propertie by nature to finde and sucke the mildest and best hony, out of the sharpest and most eager flowers; yea and from among the roughest and most prickly thornes: even so children and young men if they be well nurtured and orderly inured in the reading of Poemes, will learne after a sort to draw alwaies some holisome and profitable doctrine or other, even out of those places which moove suspicion of lewd and absurd sense. At

the first sight, *Agamemnon* may seeme suspected of avarice and bribery, in that he exempted from warfare, that rich man in regard of the faire mare *Aetha* he gave unto him as a gift and gratuitie:

*That unto Troy that stately towne,
he might not with him go
To serve in armes: but stay at home,
and rest there far from woe:
Where he might live in solace much,
enjoying all his owne:
For Jupiter in measure great
had wealth on him bestowed.*

Howbeit, as *Aristotle* saith, he did very well in preferring a good mare before a man no better than he was: For I assure you a coward & hardiest man, flowing in abundance of riches, wallowing in pleasures and delight, and thereby made effeminate, is not in price comparable either to a dog or an ass. Semblably, it may seeme that *Thetis* did exceeding badly to incite her sonne to pleasures, and to put him in minde of the fleshy delights of *Pemus*: But even there, the continencie of *Achilles* is woorthie to be considered: who notwithstanding that he had beene enamoured of *Briseis*, and saw that she was returned againe unto him, yea and knew that he had not long to live, but that his end was neere; yet neither made he haste to enjoy his pleasures while he might, nor as many men use to do, bewailed the death of his friend, sitting idly the while, doing nothing at all and neglecting the duties of his calling: but as in sorrow and griefe of heart he forbore his delights and pleasures, so in action and conduct of his regiment, he shew'd himselfe a martiall and valorous man. In like manner *Archilochus* is not commended for this, that being to mourne and lament for the losse of his brother in law who married his sister, and was perished in the sea, he would seeme to conquer his sorrow with drinking wine & making good cheer: yet nevertheless he allegeth a cause of his doing so, which carrieth some appearance of reason in these words:

*For neither can my plaints and teares restore his life and heale:
Ne yet my mirth and pleasant sports will barme him ever a deale.*

And if he were of this minde, and had reason to thinke, that in following his delights, merriments, pastimes and bankets, he could not empaire the state of his brother departed; how should our present condition be the worse and our affaires go backward, by the studie and practice of Philosophie, by managing the government of publique weale, by frequenting the common hall and courts of pleas, by going downe to the Academic and schooles of learning, or by following Agriculture and husbandrie?

And therefore the corrections of some poeticall verses by changing certaine words which practise

practise *Cleanthes* and *Antisthenes* were wont to use are not amisse. For one of them upon a time when the *Athenians* in full Theatre tooke offence and made a great stirre at this verse:

*Tis filthy thing can be that breedeth shame?
Vnlesse they thinke it so, that use the same?*

quieted all the trouble presently by changing it and pronouncing another in this wise,

*A filthy thing, is foule and filthy still:
Thinke it, or thinke it not, 'Tis doth not skill.*

As for *Cleanthes* when he read these verses as touching riches:

Riches are but a shadowe of the good man's mind.

*Among good friends for to bestow, and spend upon your selfe
Your sickly body to preserve; thus use your worldly pelfe.*

He altered them in this manner, and wrote thus:

Riches are but a shadowe of the good man's mind.

*That you may in to harlots give, and pamper much your selfe:
A crasse body overthrow, abusing worldly pelfe.*

Semblably *Zeno* reading these verses of *Sophocles*,

*Who once in court of Tyrant serve, become
His slaves anon, though free they thither come.*

turned the same and wrote this againe,

*His slave you is he cannot bee,
If he at first came thither free.*

But you must not understand that he meaneth here by a free man, one, that is timorous, but

fearlesse, magnanimous, &c whose heart is not easie to be danted. What should hinder us then, 30 but that we also by such suggestions and corrections as these may reclaime and withdraw young men from the worse to the better. Whereas therefore we shall meete with these verses,

*The thing that men are for to wish and most desire is this,
That when they shoote at their delights, the arrow may not mis.*

Not so, but rather thus,

*That when they aime at their profit
The arrow may be sure to hit.*

For to reach into those things which a man ought not to desire, yea and to obtaine and have the

same is pittifull and lamentable, and in no wise to be wished for. Likewise, when we read in *Hom-
mer* thus,

*Thy part of weale and woe thou must to Agamemnon have,
For Athens did not thee beget, alwayes to win or save.*

We verily are thus to say rather,

*Thou art to joy, and never for to grieve,
But in a meane estate delight to live.
For Athens did not Agamemnon get
The world as will to have, and finde no let.*

Again, when we meet with this verse,

*Alas what mischief sent to men,
is this from gods above,
That they should see what thing is good,
and it not use nor love?*

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Sent from gods above? nay rather, it is a brutish, unreasonable, yea, a wofull and lamentable thing, that a man seeing that which is better, should for all that be caried away and transported to the worse, by reason of intemperance, sloth, and effeminate softnesse of the minde.

Also, if we light upon this sentence,

*Behaviour 't is and good carriage,
That do persuade, and not language.*

Not so iwis, but maners and words together are perswasive: or rather the maners by meanes of speech, like as the horse is ruled by the bit and bridle, and as the Pilot guideth the ship by the rudder or helme. For surely vertue is furnished with no instrument or meanes so gracious with

men and so familiar, as speech is.

Moreover, where you encounter these verses;

*For wanton love, how stands his minde?
To male more or to female kinde?*

Answer.

*Both hands are right, with him, where beauty is,
Neither of twaine to him can come amiss.*

Nay rather thus he should have answered:

*Where vertue is seated, and continence,
Both hands are like, there is no difference.*

And to speake truly and more plainly, in equall balance poised he is indeed, inclining neither the one way nor the other: Whereas contrariwise, he that with pleasure and beautie swaith 20 and fro, is altogether left handed, inconstant, and incontinent.

Read you at any time this verse?

Religion true, and right godlinesse

Make wise men too fearefull alwayes, more or lesse.

In no wise admit thereof, but say thus:

Religion true, and right godlinesse

Make wise men bolde, and hardy, more or lesse.

For in trueth, feare and despaire, by the meanes of religion, ariseth in the hearts of none but of 30 fooles, unthankfull and senselesse persons, who have in suspicion and do dread that divine power which is the first cause of all good things, as hurtfull unto them. Thus much concerning correction of sentences.

There is besides an amplification of that which we read, whereby a sentence may be stretched farther than the bare wordes import. And thus *Chrysippus* hath rightly taught us how to transfer and apply that which was spoken of one onely thing, to many of the like kinde, and so to make a profitable use thereof: for after this manner when *Hesiodus* saith,

*An ox or cow a man shall never loose,
If neighbour his be not malicious.*

40 He meaneth by ox or cow, his dog likewise and asse, yea, and all things else that may perishe. Semblably, whereas *Euripides* saith thus,

*A slave indeed, whom may we justly call?
Even him of death who thinketh not all.*

We must understand that he meant and spake, as well of labour, affliction and sicknesse, as of death. And verily, as physicians finding the nature and operations of a medicine applied and fitted to one maladie, by the knowledge thereof can skill how to accommodate the same to all others of the like nature, and use it accordingly; even so, when we meete with a sentence that is common, and whereof the profit may serve to many purposes, we ought not to oversee and neglect the manifold use thereof, and leave it as appropriate to one onely matter: but to handle the same so, that it may be applied to all of like sort: and herein we must inure and exercise 50 young men, to see and know readily this communion, and with a quicke conceit to transerre that which they finde apt and proper in many, and by examples to be practised and made prompt therein, so as they be able to marke at the first hearing the semblable: To the ende that when they come to read in *Menander* this verse,

A

*A happie man we may him call,
Who hath much wealth, and wit withall.*

They may verie well thinke that in naming wealth, he meant and included Honor, authoritie and eloquence. Also, that the imputation which *Vlyffes* charged upon *Achilles*, sitting idly in the Iland *Seyres*, among the yong maidens and damofels, in these words,

*You sir, whose father was a knight,
The best that ever drew
His sword of all the Greekes in fight
and many a capaine slew:
Sit you here caroling like a vench
and spinning wooll on rocke,
Thereby the glorious light to quench
of your most noble stocke?*

may be aptly said unto any loose liver and voluptuous wanton, unto a coverous and wretched miser, unto an idle huske, an untaught or ignorant lozell. As for example, in lieu of this verse in the forefaid imputation,

*What what, good sir? are you become a spinster now for need,
Whose father was of all the Greekes a knight of dauntiest deed.*

A man may read and not unfitly thus,

*Can you carouse so lustily and tosse the pot for round,
Whose father knew to shake a speare and stoutly stand his ground?
Or after this manner,*

*Your courage serves to hazard all at casting of three dies
Your fathers heart was tried in war and martiall jeopardies.
Either thus,*

*You cunning are to play at quites the game,
Whereas your sire by prowess was much fame.
Or in this wile,*

*Are you become indeed a Turnour,
Whose father was a worthy governour?
Or lastly thus,*

*In hundred ten, you can full well call for at such a day,
Your father tens and hundreds knew, so range in battell ray.*

And in one word, so well as you are defended there is no goodnes nor great thing in you wor-
thy the noble parentage. Moreover, where you happen upon these verses,

*What tell you me of Pluto and his chierieane,
For such a god as he with all his puissance,
I worship not: since that the lewdest wretch
In all the world to wealth may quickly reach.*

A man may say as much of glory, of outward beauty, of the rich mantels of a captaine generall, of a Bishops miter, and the sacred coronet of a priest, which we see the wickedest wretches in the world may attaine unto. Again, whereas the words of another verse import thus much onely:

*That children gotten of cowardise,
Beside and those whom men despise.*

The same verily do imply also, that Intemperance, Superstition, Envie, and all other vices and maladies of the minde, bring forth no better offspring. Now whereas *Homer* saide excellent well in one place:

*Paris a coward thou art for tooth,
For all thy face so faire and smooth.*

And

And in another,
*Sir Hector in the prime of age,
With lovely looks and faire visage.*

(For by these termes and epithits, he sheweth covertly that a man deserveth blame and reproch, who is endued with no better grace and gift than beautie) we may well and fitly apply this reprehension to such like things: namely, to plucke downe their peacocks plumes, who vaunt and glorifie themselves for matters of no moment and value: teaching yong men thereby, that such praises as these, be no better than contumelies and reproches: As for example, when a man is saluted in this manner: O most excellent for riches, for keeping a bountifull table, for many servitours: right excellent for singular good teames of draught oxen, caples and mules, for stables of steeds and great horses: yea or thus moreover to the rest: O surpassing orator and of woonderfull eloquence: for to speake a truth, a man is to aime at excellencie and preference before others in good and honest things, that in the chiefe and principall he may be the highest and for most: as also in great matters, the greatest: for the reputation that groweth from smal and base things is dishonorable, illiberal, vile, &c of no worth. And verily this example last alleaged, putteth us straightwaies in minde, to consider better the reprehensions and praises which offer themselves especially in the Poemes of *Homer*: For certes, they give us expressly to understand one notable instruction, to wit, Not highly to esteeme the gifts either of body or of fortune. For first and formeft (in those titles which they give one to another in reciprocall greetings) when they meet and shake hands, the manner is not to salute by the name of Beautifull, Rich or Strong,

but they use such commendations as these,
*Vlyffes ô most noble knight, from Iupiter so descended,
Laertes sonne, for wisdom, and much wit, yet most commended.*

Also

*O Hector sonne of Priamus king,
Equal to Iove in wisdom and cunning.*

Likewise,

*Achilles ô of Peleus the most redoubted sonne,
Chiefe glory of the worthy Greekes, their light and shining sunne.*

And againe,

*Patroclus ô sonne of Menætiüs,
Most lovely in my hart and gracious.*

Sensibly when they are disposed to revile and taunt, they twit not one another with any defects and imperfections of the bodie, but touch them expressly with the vices of the mind, after this manner,

*Thou drunken sir, as shamelesse as the dogs that use to barke
Thou coward base as hartlesse as the flags that run in parke.*

And thus,

*Thou wrangling Ajax of Barrotters chiefe
Dividing nought but evill and mischief.*

Sensibly,

*Idomeneus in snappling prompt,
What mean'st thou thus to prate?*

*This babbling little thee becomes,
Such clattering men do hate.*

As also,

*O Ajax sie for shame: how farr out of the way
Speake you, so bold and malapart? you brag too much I say.*

To conclude, *Vlyffes* revileth not *Troies*, with these termes: Thou halting and lame squire, so thou bald pate thou coplanke, thou that art camell backed, or crump shouldred: but rather reprocheth him with his vaine babling and undierect language. But rather on the contrarie side, the mother of *Vulcane* when she speaketh unto her sonne lovingly and in great kindnesse of hart, beginneth first with his lameness in this manner

*Come hither my sonne, come to me, come sweet hart
My poore limping creeple, come crooked legd as thou art.*

By

lively and cleere, as it: And even so, I say, yong men must be accustomed beforehand, yea, and from the very first day, to the light of the trueth, entermingled somewhat with fables among, that they may the better endure the full light and sight of the cleere trueth, without any paine and offence at all. For when they have either heard or read before in Poemes these sentences:

*Lament we ought for infants at their birth,
Entering a world of cares that they shall have;
Whereas the dead we should wish joy and mirth
Accompany, and bring them so to grave.*

*Also,
Of worldly things we need no more but twaine,
For bread to eat the earth doth yeld us graine:
And for to quench our thirst, the river cleere
Affords us drinke, the water faire and sheere.*

*Likewise,
O tyrannie so lov'd, and in request
With barbarous, but hatefull to thee.*

*Lastly,
The highest pitch of mans felicitie,
To seele the least part of adversitie.*

Lesse troubled they are & grieved in spirit, when they shall heare in the Philosophers schooles, That we are to make no account of death as a thing touching us: That the Riches of nature are definite & limited: That felicitie and soveraigne happines of man, lieth not in great summes of money, ne yet in the pride of managing State affaires, nor in dignities and great authority, but in a quiet life free from paine and sorrow: in moderating all passions, and in a disposition of the minde kept within the compasse of Nature. To conclude, in regard herof, as also for other reasons before alleged, A yong man had neede to be well guided and directed in reading of Poets, to the end that he may be sent to the studie of Philosophie not forestalled with sinister fumes; but rather sufficiently instructed before and prepared, yea and made friendly and familiar thereto by the meanes of Poetrie.



OF HEARING.

The Summarie.

By goodright, this present discourse was ranged next unto the former twaine. For seeing we are not borne into this world learned; but before we can speake our selves sensibly or any thing to reason, we ought to have heard men who are able to deliver their minds with judgement, to the end that by their aide and helpe we may be better framed and fitted to the way of vertue: requisite it is, that after the imbibition of good nourtment in childhood, and some libertie and license given to travel in the writings of Poets, according to the rules above declared. Yong men that are students should advance forward, and mount up into higher schooles. Now for that in the time when this Author, Plutarch, lived, besides many good bookes, there were a great number of professors in the liberal Sciences, and namely in those rites, into which Barbaisme crept afterwards: he propoeth and setteth downe these precepts now which they are to follow and observe, that goe to heare public lectures, orations and disputations, thereby to know how to behave themselves there, which training haply may reach to al that which we shall here spoken elsewhere; and is materiall to make us more learned and better mannered. In the first place therefore he sheweth that at what time as we grow to yeeres of discretion, we should have a feeling of our ignorance, to the end that we may be desirous to learne, and afterwards heare willingly. For to increase our affection, he toucheth those dangers into which they fall, who will needs be teachers, before they be taught.

taught themselves: adjoyning hereto those vices and inconveniences, which a yong man is to take heed of, in hearing, and above all others, to beware of envie: as also on the other side what he ought to studie. Now for that impossible it is, that teachers should be perfect and fully accomplished in all things, he proceedeth to declare with what minde and spirit we should take knowledge, and consider of their imperfections; giving us hall an advertisement how to avoid another extremitie, to wit, an excessive admiration of him that speaketh, namely, to leave the principall substance of doctrine: the which will be so much more accepted, in case it be commended and adorned with eloquence. He cometh afterwards to treat of those problems and questions which may be propounded in companies and meetings: also of the pleasure that we ought to take when we are told the truth: in such sort, that as we are not to envy them for their excellencie, who speake any thing to raise and set us aloft: so on the contrary side we ought to carie with us thither, a spirit favourable, gracions, well prepared, hating flattery, loving reprehensions, patient, void of that rustically bashfulness which we see in over burnt and dull natures, neither presumptuous nor yet discouraged, but keeping a good measure and meane betwene vaine curiositie and that supine sloth and idleness, which is in the most part of those that be hearers. To conclude, he would have him that hath diligently heard a certaine time, and with discretion, to exercise himselfe in devising and inventing some thing of his owne, in such sort that he may put the same forth so, as the outward part may discover well what goodnes there lyeth inclosed within.

OF HEARING.



His little treatise (my friend Alexander) which being gathered and compiled by starts, as my leysure would serve *As touching the manner of Hearing*, I lately put in writing, and send here unto you, To the end that you being delivered now from the subjection of Masters, who were wont to command you, and having put on your vile robe and grown to mans estate, may know how to heare him that giveth you good counsell. For this licentious easement and deliverie from all government, which some yong men for default of good nourtment and education do utterly terme *Libertie*, setteth over them more rough Lords and harder Masters by farre, than were those teachers, tutors and governours, under whom they were awed in their childhood, to wit, their owne irregular lusts and unordinate appetites, which now be (as it were) dischained & let loose. For like as a woman (to use the words of *Herostratus*) no sooner doth of her smocke or inner vesture, but therewithall the casteth off all shamefastnes and modestie; even so, some yong men there be, who together with the garments of infancie and childhood, lay by all grace, shame and feare: so that being once divested of that habit and appaell which became them so well, and gave them a modest and sober countenance, they are straightwaies full of stubbornesse and disobedience. As for you your selfe, who have oftentimes heard, that *To follow God*, and to obey Reason is all one, you ought to thinke, that the wiser sort and such as have wit indeed, repute not the passage and change from childhood to mans estate, an absolute deliverance and freedome from commandement and subjection, but an exchange onely of the commander: for that their life in freed either of a mercenarie hireling or some master bought with a peece of money, who was wont to govern in their nonage and minoritie, taketh then a divine and heavenly guide to conduct it, even Reason: unto which they that yield themselves obseiant, are to be reputed onely free and at libertie. For they alone live as they would, who have learned to will that which they should: whereas if our actions and affections both be disordinate and not ruled by reason, the libertie of our free-will is small, slender and feeble, yea and intermingled for the most part with much repentance. Like as therefore among new Burgoyises (who lately are enrolled free; Desirous to enjoy the Franchises and privileges of some citie) they that were mere aliens before and strangers new come from far and remote parts, finde themselves grieved at the first with many things that are done, yea and complaine thereof: but such as had beene inhabitants there sometime before they were made citizens, who partly by education were inured, and partly by custome and conversing, familiarly acquainted with the lawes and customes of the place, never thinke much, but can brooke well ynough, and undergo with patience all charges and impositions laid upon them; So it behooveth that a yong man should a long time have beene bred up

and (as it were) halfe nourished in Philofophie, accuftomed (I fay) he ought to have bene from the begining with intermingling all that he learneth or heareth in his tender yeeres, with Philofophicall reafons, that being thus made tractable, gentle and familiar before hand, he might now betake himfelfe wholly and in good earnest to Philofophie: which alone is able to array and adorne yong men with thofe robes and ornaments of reafon which are manlike indeed and everie way perfect. Moreover, I fuppofe you will be well pleafed and content, to give eare unto that which *Theophrastus* hath written of hearings; which of all the five fenfes given us by nature, prefenteth both the moft and alfo the greateft paffions unto the minde. For there is no object of the eye, nothing that we tafte or touch that caufeth fuch extafies, fo violent troubles or fudden frights, as thofe which enter and pearce into the foule, by the meanes of fome noifes, founds and voices, incident to our hearing. And albeit this fenfe lie thus open and expofed to paffions, yet is it more fit to admit reafon than fuch affections: for many places there be and parts of the bodie that make way and give entrance unto vices for to paffe unto the foule: but the only handle (as I may fo fay) wherewith vertue may take holde of yong men are their eares: provided alwaies, that they were kept cleane and neat at the firft from all flatterie, and defended againft corrupt and leawd fpeeches, that they touch them not.

Good reafon therefore had *Xenocrates*, to give order that children fhould have certaine articles or bolsters devifed to hang about their eares for their defence, rather than fencers and fword-plaies: for that thefe are in danger onely to have their eares fpoiled with knocks or cuts by weapons: but the other, to have their maners corrupted and marred with naughtie fpeeches.²⁰ Neither was it any part of *Xenocrates* his meaning, to deprive them altogether of hearing, and to commend deafenneffe: but to admonifh and exhort them, fo long to forbear the hearing of evil words, and to take heed, untill other good fayings, entertained and nourifhed there, in long continuance of time by Philofophie, had feized the place, and were well fetled in that part which is moft eafie to be moved and perfuaded by fpeech: where being once lodged, they might as good fentinels and guards prefeve and defend the fame. But verily, that ancient Sage, being commanded by king *Amasis*, to fend unto him the beft and worft piece of a beaft killed for facrifice, plucked forth the tongue onely, and fent it him; giving him thus much thereby to understand, That fpeech is the caufe both of moft good, and alfo of greateft harme. Many there be alfo, who ordinarily when they kiffe little children, both touch their eares withall,³⁰ and alfo bid them do the like: intimating thus much covertly, by way of mirth and fport, That they are to love thofe who profit them and doe them good by their eares. For this is certaine and evident, that a yong man deprived and debared of hearing, being able to tafte and conceive reafon, will not onely become barren altogether of fruit, and put out not fo much as any buds and flowers at all, which may give fome hope of vertue: but alfo contrariwife, will foone turne to vice, and fend forth of his corrupt minde many wilde and favage fhoots, like as a ground neglected and untilld, beareth nothing but briars, brambles and hurtfull weeds. For the motions and inclinations unto pleasures, and the finifter conceits and fufpitions of paines and travells (which are no ftrangers to us iwis, entering in directly from without forth by themfelves, or els let in by evil fuggeftions, but inbred with us, and the naturall fources of infinite⁴⁰ vices and maladies) if a man fuffer to run on end with the raines at large, whither by nature they would go, and not cut them off by fage remonftrances, or divert them another way, and thereby reforme the default of nature; furely there were not upon the face of the earth any wilde beaft, but would be more tame and gentle than man. Forasmuch as therefore the fence of hearing bringeth unto yong men fo great profit, and no leffe perill with it, I fuppofe it were well done, if a man would effoones both devile with himfelfe, and alfo difcours with others, as touching the order and manner of hearing. Forasmuch as we doe fee moft men in this point to offend and erre, in that they exercife themfelves in fpeaking before they were ufed to heare: fuppofing that good fpeech requirith a kinde of difcipline, meditation and praftife ere it be learned: as for hearing, though men use it without any art, it makes no matter how, yet they may receive⁵⁰ profit thereby as they thinke. And verily, albeit at Tennis play they that praftife the feat thereof, learne to take the ball as it cometh, and alfo to ftrike and fend it from them againe, both at once. Yet in the ufe of fpeech it is otherwife: for to receive it well, goeth before the utterance and deliverie thereof: like as conception and retention of the feed, doeth praeced birth of the infant. It is faid, That the egges laid by fowles, called Wind-egges, as they proceed of imperfect and falfe conceptions, fo they are the rudiments and beginnings of fuch fruits, as never will quicken and have life; even fo, The fpeeches that yong men let fall, fuch I meane, as ne-

ver knew how to heare, nor were wont to receive profit by hearing, are nothing els indeed but very winde: as was the Poet faith,

*Words vaine, obfcure, and foolifh every one,
Which under clouds fome vanifh and be gone.*

Certes if they would powre out any liquor out of one vefsell into another, they are wont to encline and turne downe the mouth of the one, fo, as the faid liquor may paffe into the receptorie without fhedding any part thereof, leaft in ftead of an infufion indeed there be an effufion onely and fpiilling of the fame: and yet thefe men cannot learne to be attentive and give good eare unto others, fo as nothing do efcape them, which is well and profitably delivered. But here¹⁰ is the greateft folly and moft ridiculous, that if they meet with one, who can relate the order of a feaft or great dinner, difcours from point to point of a folemne fhew or pompe, tell a tale of fome dreame, or make report of a quarrell and brablement betwene him and another, they harken with great f Silence, bid him fay on, and will not miffe every circumftance: Let another man draw them apart, to teach them fome good and profitable leffon, to exhort them to their dutie, to admonifh and tell them of a fault, to reproove them wherein they did amiffe, or to appeafe their moode when they be in choler, they can not abide and indure him: for either the will fet in hand to argue and refute him by arguments contending and contefting againft that which hath bene faid, (if they be able fo to doe:) or if they finde themfelves too wake, they flinke away, and run thither, where they may heare fome other vaine and foolifh difcours, defirous to fill²⁰ their eares (like naughtie and rotten vefells) with any thing rather then that, which is good and neceffarie. They that would keepe and order hofes well, teach them to have a good mouth, to reigne light, and to obey the bit: even fo, they that bring up children as they ought, make them obsequent and obfiant to reafon, by teaching them to heare much and fpeake little. For *Spintharus* praifing *Epaminondas* upon a time, gave out thus much of him, That he could hardly meet with another man who knew more than he, and fpeake leffe. And it is commonly faid, that nature herfelfe hath given to each us but one tongue and two eares, becaufe we ought to heare more than we fpeake. Now as Silence and Taciturnitie is everie where and at all times a fingular and fure ornament of a yong man; fo efpecially, if when hee heareth another man to fpeake he interrupt and trouble him not, nor baite and barke (as it were) at every word:³⁰ but although he do not very well like of his fpeech, yet nath patience and forbearth, giving him leave to make an end: and when he hath finifhed his fpeech, fetterh not upon him prefently, nor beginneth out of hand to confute him, but fuffereth him to paffe a while, and as *Aefchines* faith, giveth him fome time to breath and bethinke himfelfe to fee, if haply he thinke it good to adde any more to that which hath bene delivered already, or change fomething, or els retraft and unfay fomething: Whereas, they that by and by cut a man off, with contradictions, and neither heare, nor are well heard themfelves, but are ever replying upon other, whiles they fpeake, obferve no decorum nor grace at all, but thew a very undecent and unfeemly behavior. But he that is accuftomed to heare patiently, and with a modeft and fober countenance, better conceiveth and retaineth the good things uttered, and withall hath more leasure to marke, ob-⁴⁰ ferve and difcerne that which is either unprofitable or falfe: He fheweth himfelfe befides, to be a lover of the truth, and is not taken for a litigious quareller, a rafh wrangler, or a bitter brawler. And therefore, fome there be, who not unaptly fay, That we ought no leffe, but rather more, to void out of the minds of yong men that prefumption and foolifh opinion which they have of their owne felves, than to rid and exclude the winde and aire out of leather bagges or bladders wherewith they are puffed and blown up, if we meane to infufe and put any good thing into them: for otherwife, if they be ftill full of that fwelling winde of arrogantie and overweening of themfelves, they will never receive and admit any goodneffe.

Moreover, envie accompanied with a maligne cie and ill will is good in no action whatsoever where it is prefent: but as it is an impediment and hinderance to all honeft caufes; fo it is⁵⁰ the worft counfeller and affiant that he can have who would be an auditor, making all thofe things that be profitable and for his benefit, to feeme odious, unpleasant, harfh to the eare and hardly admitted; for that the nature of envious perfons is, to take more pleasure in any thing elfe than in that which is well foken. And verily, whofever pineth and is vexed at the heart, to fee others rich, beautiful or in authoritie, is onely envious: for grieved he is at the welfare of others: but he that taketh difcontentment in hearing a wife and fententious fpeech, is offended with the good of his owne felfe: for, like as the light is a benefit to them that fee; even fo is fpeech unto the hearers if they will embrace and entertaine the fame: As for thofe kinds of en-

vie which arise in regard of other things, there be some naughty passions and vicious conditions of the minde besides, that breed and ingender them: but that manner of envie which is conceived against them that speake excellently well, springeth from a certaine & important desire of vaine glorie, and unjust ambition, which will not suffer him that is so indisposed to give care and attend unto the words spoken, but troubleth, disquieteth, and distracteth the minde and understanding: both to consider at one instant his owne state and sufficiency, whether it be inferior to the conceit and eloquence of the speaker: and also to regard and looke upon the countenance of other hearers, whether they take contentment and are in admiration of him that maketh the speech: yea and withall, if happily he be praised, the same minde is wonderfully galled and amazed, angrie and ready to fall out with all that be present, in case they approve his speech with applause. Herewith it letteth slip also and rejecteth the matter and good sayings that were delivered already; for that the remembrance thereof is unflattering and unpleasant: and still he is disquieted and woteth not what to do, hearing out the rest with feare and trembling, lest haply they should be better than the former, never so desirous that the speakers should hasten to an end and have done, as when they discourse and speake best. Now when the Sermon is ended, and the auditorie dissolved, what doth this envious spirit then? not ruminate, be you sure, nor consider of the reasons and matter delivered; but he stirreth the affections and opinions straightwaies, and gathereth voices: (as it were in a scrutiny) of the audience. If he meet with any that give out good words to the praise of the Preacher, then hee avoideth and fleeth from, as if he were in a furious fit of madness: hapneth he upon such as finde fault, and be ready to misconstrue and pervert the words that were spoken, to the worst sense: these are they whom he loveth a life, to them he runneth, and with them hee fortheth and keepeth companie: But say that he finde none of that disposition, so as he can not wrest any words to a wrong construction, then he falleth to make comparisons, and to set against him, others younger than he; who of the same theme have discoursed better, with more plausible utterance and greater force of eloquence: he never ceaseth nor giveth over corrupting, misinterpreting, and disgracing the whole speech, until he have made the same altogether unprofitable and without any edification at all to his owne selfe. It behooveth therefore, that he who desireth to heare, take truce (for the time) with ambition; to the end that hee may give care with patience and mildnesse unto him that maketh an oration or sermon, and cary himselfe no otherwise than if he were admitted to some sacred and festiual banquet, or an invited guest to the first fruits of a solemne sacrifice; praising his eloquence when he hath spoken well and sufficiently to the point in any matter, accepting favourably, and in best part, his good will, to deliver and communicate to others, such things as he knew, and to persuade his hearers with those reasons and motives which had induced and perswaded himselfe. Neither must our auditours make this reckoning and conclusion, That whatsoever hath bene singularly well delivered by the speaker, ought to be ascribed to chance and fortune, as if he had let fall his words at adventure: but impute the fame to his diligence, labour and art: yea, and he ought to imitate the same with a kinde of zeale and admiration. But whereas he hath faulted and done amisse, it is the part of an hearer to bend his minde, and consider well and circumpectly, what might the cause and occasion be of such error: For like as (according to *Xenophon*) good householders know how to make profit and use, of all of their enemies as their friends; even so they that be vigilant and attentive hearers, take good, not onely by them that speake well, but by those also that misse and faile of their purpose: for barren, triviall and stale inventions; inproper, vaine and insignificant words; forced and foolish figures; abrupt, fond, and unseemly breakings forth with joy to some praise, and such like imperfections or defects, which often times befall unto them that speake in publicke places; are sooner espied by us that are hearers, than observed by themselves who are the speakers. And therefore we are to transference the inquisition and correction of any such fault, from them to our selves, by examining whether we also may not fault likewise, before we be aware? For there is nothing in the world more easie, than for a man to blame and reprehend his neighbour: but such a reprehension verily is vaine and unprofitable, unless it have a reference to correct and amend the like errors in himselfe. In which regard every one ought to be ready in this case, according to the advertisement of *Plato*, to say unto himselfe, Am not I also such an one? or doe not I the semblable otherwhiles? For even as we see our owne eyes shining within the ball or apple of our neighbours eyes, so we ought by the forme & manner of other mens orations to take the pattern and representation of our owne; to the end that we be not too forward and bolden desipping others, but may more carefully take heed to our selves when wee likewise come to speake. To this

this purpose also it would doe very well, to make a kinde of conference and comparison in this manner; Namely, to retire our selves apart when we have heard one make an oration, and to take in hand some points which wee thinke had not bene well and sufficiently handled, and then to assay either to supply that which was defective in some, or to correct what was amisse in others: or els to varie the same matter in other words, or at leastwise to discourse altogether thereof, with new reasons and arguments; like as *Plato* himselfe did upon the oration of *Lysias*. For, I assure you, no hard matter it is, but very easie to contradict the oration and reason by another pronounced; many to set a better by it, that is a peece of worke right hard and difficult. Much like, as when a certaine Lacedaemonian heard that *Philip* king of *Macedon* had demolished
 10 and raled the city *Olynthus*, Hath he so? quoth he, But he is not able to set up such another. Now when as we shall see that intreating of the same subject and argument, there is no great difference betweene our owne doings and other mens before us; and that we have not faile excelled them, we shall be reclaimed much from the contempt of others, and quickly repressed and stay our owne presumptuous pride and selfe-love, seeing it thus checked by this trial and comparison. And verily, to admire other mens doings, as it is a thing adverse and opposit to desipping, so it is a signe of a milder nature, and more enclined to indifferencie and equitie. But even herein also there would be no lesse heed taken (if not more) than in the contempt before said: for as they which are so presumptuous, bolde, and given so much to dispraise and despise others, receive lesse good and smaller profit by hearing; so the simple and harmlesse sort, addicted overmuch to others, and having them in admiration, are more subject to take harme and hurt thereby: verifying this sentence of *Heraclitus*,

A foolish sot astonished is none

At all he hear's, or seeth done.

As for the praises therefore, of him that speaketh, we ought favorable and of course without great affection to passe them out of our mouths: in giving credite unto their reasons and arguments we are to be more warie and circumspect: and as touching the phrase, utterance, and action of those that exercise to make speeches, we must both see and heare the same with a single hart and a kind affection: As for the utility and truth of those matters which are delivered, we should examine and weigh the same exactly & with more severitie of judgement. Thus we
 30 who be hearers shall avoid the suspicions of evil will and hatred, & they againe that are speakers shall do us no harme. For oftentimes it falleth out that upon a speciall faultine and good liking unto those that preach unto us, we take lesse heed to our selves and by our credulitie admit & embrace from their lips many false & erroneous opinions. The Lacedaemonian rulers & Lords of the Counsel of estate, upon a time liking wel of the good advice and opinion of a person who was an ill liver, caused the same to be delivered openly by another of approved life and good reputation: wherein they did very wisely & as prudent politicians, to accustom the people for to affect the behavior and honest carriage of their counsellors, rather than to respect their words onely. But in Philosophie it is otherwise: For we must lay aside the reputation of the man who hath in publicke place spoken his minde: and examine the matter apart by it selfe: For that, like
 40 as in warre (we say) there be many false alarms: so also in an auditorie there passe as many vanities: The goodly grey beard and hoarie head of the speaker, his solemne gesture and composing of his countenance, his grave eyebrows, his glorious words in behalfe of himselfe: but above all, the acclamations, the applause and clapping of hands, the leaping and shouting of the standers by and those that are present in place, are enough otherwhiles to trouble and astonish the spirits of a young hearer, who is not well acquainted with such matters, and carie him away perforce as it were with a streame: Over and besides, there is in the very style and speech it selfe a secret powre able to beguile and deceive a young novice; namely, if it runne round away, smooth and pleasant, and if withall there be a certaine affected gravitie, and artificiall port and loftinesse, to set out and grace the matter. And even as they that play upon the
 50 pipe, be it cornet, recorder or fife, fault many times in musick, and are not perceived by the hearers: so a brave and elegant tongue, a copious and gallant oration, dazeleth the wits of the hearer, so as he can not judge soundly of the matter in hand. *Melanthus* being demanded upon a time, what he thought of a Tragadie of *Diogenes*: I could not see it (quoth he) for so many words, wherewith it was choaked up. But the Orations & declamations for the most part of these Sophisters, who make shew of their eloquence, not onely have their sentences covered (as it were) with vailes and curtaines of words, but that which more is, they themselves do dulce their voice by the meanes of (I wot not what) devised notes, soft founds, exquisite and musically

accents

accents in their pronuntiation, so as they ravish the wits of the hearers, and transport them beside themselves: leading and carrying them which way they list: and thus for a certaine little vaine pleasure that they give, receive againe applause and glorie much more vaine: In somuch, as that befallth properly unto them which by report *Dionysius* answered unto a time: who seemed to promise unto a famous minstrell for his excellent play in an open Theatre, to reward him with great gifts, gave him in the end just nothing, but said he had recompensed him sufficiently already: For looke (quoth he) how much pleasure I have received from thee by thy song and minstrelly, so much contentment and joy thou hast had from me by hoping for some great reward. And verily such recompense as this have those Sophisters and great Orators at their heares hands: For admitted they are so long as they sit in their chaire, and give delight unto their auditors: No sooner is their speech ended, but gone is the pleasure of the one, and the glorie of the other. Thus the Auditours spend their time, and the speakers employ their whole life in vaine. For this cause, it behooveth a young hearer to sequester and set aside the ranke superfluitie of words and to seeke after the fruit it selfe: and here in not to imitate women, that plait and make garlands of flowres, but to follow the Bees: For those women laying for, and choosing fair flowres and odoriferous herbes, twist, plat and compose them so, as they make thereof a peece of worke (I must needs say) pleasant to the senses; but fruitlesse altogether, and not lasting above one day: whereas the Bees flying oftentimes over & over the meadows full of Violets, Roses and Crowtoes, light at length upon Thyme, an herbe of a most strong sent, and quick taste and there settle,

Intending then great paines to take

The yellow honie for to make,

and when they have gathered from them some profitable juice or liquor to serve their turne, they flie away unto their proper worke and businesse. Semblably ought an auditour who is studious of skill and knowledge, and hath his minde and understanding free from passions, to let passe affected, flourishing and superfluous words, yea, and such matters also as be fit for the Stage and Theatre, reputed them to be food meet for drone Bees (I meane Sophisters) and nothing good for honie: and rather with diligence and attentive heed to sound the very depth and profound intention of the speaker, for to draw that which is good & profitable: remembering elfe, that he is not come thither as to a Theatre, either to see sports & pastimes, or to heare musike and Poeticall fables, but into a schoole & auditors, for to learne how to amend and reforme his life by the rule of reason. And therefore he must enter into his owne heart and examine himselfe when he is alone, how he was moved and affected with the Lecture or Sermon that he heard; consider (I say) and reason he ought with himselfe whether he find any turbulent passions of his minde thereby dulced and appeased; whether any griepe or heavinesse that trouble him be mitigated and allwaged; whether his courage and confidence of heart be more resolute and better confirmed; and in one word, whether he feele any instinct unto vertue and honestie, to be more kindled and enflamed. When we rise out of the Barbars chaire, we thinke it meete presently to consult with a mirrour or looking glasse; we stroke our head to see whether he hath pulled and noted it well; we consider and peruse our beard and every haire whether we have the right cut, & be trimmed as we ought: a shame it were then, to depart from a schole or a lecture, and not immediately to retire apart and view our minde well, whether it have laide away any foolish thought that troubled it: whether it be eased of superfluous and wandering thoughts, that clogged it: and be thereby more lightsome and pleasant. For neither a Baine and Strich, as *Ariston* saith, nor a sermon doth any good, if the one do not foure the skin, and the other cleanse the heart.

A young man therefore is to take joy and delight if he have made profit by a lecture, or be better edified by hearing a sermon. And yet I write not this, as if this pleasure should be the finall end that he propoeth to himselfe when he goeth to such a lecture or sermon, neither would I have him thinke that he should depart out of the Philosophers schoole, with a merie note singing jocularly, or with a fresh and cheerefull countenance: ne yet to use means to be perfumed with sweete odors and ointments, whereas he hath more need of Embracements, Fomentations and Cataplasmes: but to take it well and be thankfull, if haply by some sharpe words and cutting speeches, any man hath cleansed and purified his heart full of cloudie mists and palpable darkenes, like as men drive Bee-hives and rid away Bees with smoke. For albeit, he that preacheth unto others ought not to be altogether careless and negligent in his stile, but that it may carrie with it some pleasure, delectation and grace, as well as probabilitie and reason: yea

young

young man when he cometh to heare should not stand so much thereupon, but have least regard thereto, especially at the first: marrie afterwards (I will not say) but he may well ynough have an eie unto it also. For like as those that drinke, after they have once quenched their thirst, have leysure to peruse the cups & turne them about every way, to view and consider the worke engraven or imprinted upon them: even so, when a young student or auditor is well replenished and furnished with doctrine, after he hath breathed and paused a while, may be permitted to consider farther of the speech, namely, what elegant and copious phrases it hath. As for him, who at the verie beginning attendeth not nor cleaveth unto the matter and substance, but hunteth after the language onely, desiring that it should be pure Atticke, fine and smooth: I can liken such a one to him, who being enpoisoned will not drinke any Antidote or counterpoison, unless the pot or cup wherein it is, be made of the Colian earth in *Attica*: or who in the cold of winter will not weare a garment, except it were made of the wooll that came from the Attike sheepes backe; but had rather sit still idle doing nothing and stirring not, with some thin mantell and overborne gaberline cast over him, such as be the orations of *Lysias* his penning. The errors committed in this kinde, have bene the cause why there is found so little wit and understanding, and contrariwise so much tongue and bibble-babble, such vaine chattering about words in young men throughout the Schooles: who never observe the life, the deeds, the carriage and demeanor in State government of a Philosopher, but give all praise and commendation to his fine termes and elegant words, onely setting out his eloquence, action and readie deliverie of his oration, but will not in any wise learne or enquire whether the matter so uttered be profitable or unprofitable, necessarie or vaine and superfluous.

Next to these precepts, how we should heare a Philosopher to discourse at large and with a continued speech, there followeth in good consequence a rule and advertisement as touching short questions and problemes. A man that cometh as a bidden guest unto a great supper, ought to be content with that which is set before him upon the table, and neither to call for any viands else, nor to finde fault with those that are present: He also that is invited to a Philosopher, call feast or banquet (as I may say) of discourses, in case they be matters and questions certaine and chosen long before for to be handled, ought to do nothing else but heare with patience and silence him that speaketh: for they that distrust and hale him away to other theames, interposing interrogations and demands, or otherwise move doubts or make oppositions as he speaketh, are troublesome and unfortunate hearers, such as be unfociable and accord not with an auditors; who besides that they receive no profit themselves, disturbe both the speaker and the speech also. But in case the partie that standeth *ad oppositum*, doe of himselfe will and pray his auditors to aske him questions and to propose what they will, then they ought to propound such demands as be either necessarie or profitable. *Plisies* verily in *Homer* was mocked by the woeters of his wife, because

He calld for shieves of bread to eat,

And not for swords or canthons near.

For it was reputed a signe of magnanimity to demand, as well as to give things of great price and value. Much more then might a man deride and laugh at the auditor, who will move unto a Master or Doctour of the Chaire, trifling, frivolous and fruitlesse questions, as otherwhiles some of these young men do: who taking pleasure to vaunt themselves, and to shew what great schollers they are in Logike or the Mathematickes, are wont to put fourth questions as touching the sectsions of things indefinite: also, what be littell motions or Diametricall? Vnto whom a man may verie well answer as *Philistinus* the Philistian did unto one that had a supuration in his chift, and by reason of an inward ulcer of his lungs was in a consumption, who comming to him for counsell, desired that he would give him a medicine for a little whit-flow growing about the roote of his naile: but *Philistinus* perceiving by his colour and shortnes of winde in what case he was; My good friend (quoth he) you have no such need of a cure for your whit-flow, you may hold your peace well enough at this time for any danger there: Even so, it may be said unto one of these young men; There is no time now to thinke or dispute upon such questions, but rather by what means you may be freed from presumptuous overweening of your selfe, from pride and arrogance, from wanton love and foolish roies: that you may be settled in a sound state of life, devoid of vanitie. Moreover, this young man is to have a good eie and regard unto the sufficiency of the speaker, whether it be by natural inclination, or gotten by experience and practise, and accordingly to frame and direct his questions in those points wherein he is most excellent: and in no wise to force him who is well read and studious

died in Morall Philosophie, to answer unto Physicall or Mathematicall questions: or him that is better scene in Natural Philosophy to draw unto Logick, for to give his judgment of Hypothetical propositions & to resolve them: or to move the knots & make solution of false Syllogisms, Elenches sophistical and such fallacies. For like as one that would goe about to cleave wood with a key, or unlocke a doore with an axe, seemeth not so much to doe hurt unto those instruments, as to deprive himselfe of the proper use and commoditie as well of the one as the other; Even so, they that require of a Speaker that which he is not apt unto by nature, or wherein he is not well practised, & will not reape, gather & take that which willingly cometh from him, and wherewith he is able to furnish them, are not only hurt therein, but incur the name and blame of a pievish, froward and malicious nature. Furthermore this heed would be taken, not to over-
lay him with many questions, nor oftentimes to urge him therewith. For this bewraeth one, that in some sort loveth to heare himselfe speake and would be scene: whereas, when another doth propose a question to give attentive eare, and that with mildnes and patience, is a signe of a studious person, and one that knoweth well how to behave himselfe in companie, and can abide that others should learne afwell as he: unlesse perhaps some private and particular occurred to urge the contrarie, or some passion do hinder, which had neede to be staied and repressed, or else some maladie and imperfection which requieth remedie. For peradventure as *Hieraculus* saith, it were not good for one to hide and conceale his owne ignorance, but to let it appeere and be knowne, and so to cure it. But say, that some fit of choler, some assault of scrupulous superstition, or some violent quarrell and jarre with one household and kinsfolke, or some furious passion proceeding from wanton lust,

*Which doth the secret heart springs move,
That eare were never stir'd with love,*

trouble our understanding, and put it out of tune, we ought not for the avoiding of a reproofe, to flie for refuge to other matters, and interrupt the discourse begun, but be desirous to heare of such things, even in open places of exercises; and after the exercise or lecture done, to take the Philosophers or Readers aside, and conferre with them, to be further enformed: not as many doe, who are well enough contented to heare Philosophers speake of others, and have them therefore in great admiration: but if it chance that a Philosopher leave other men, y and time his speech to them apart, to tell them freely and boldly what he thinketh, admonishing and putting them in minde of such things as do concerne them, then they are in a chafe, then they say he speaks besides the text and more then needs. For of this opinion are these men, That we are to heare Philosophers in Schooles for pastime, as plaiers of Tragedies in a Theatre upon the Stage: As for other matters out of the Schoole, they holde them no better men than themselves: and to say a trueth, good reason have they so to demeane of Sophisters, who are no sooner out of their chaires, or come downe from off the pulpit, and when their books, and pettie introductions are laid out of their hands, but in other serious actions and parts of this life to be dis-
courfed of, a man shall finde them as raw as other, and nothing better skilled than the vulgar sort. But to come unto those Philosophers indeed, who worthily are so to be called and esteemed, ignorant are such persons above reheard, that their words (be they spoken in earnest or in game) their becks, their nods, their countenance, whether it be composed to smiling or to frowning, but principally their words directed privately to every one a part, be all significant, and eare some fruit commodious to those that with patience will give them leave to speake, and are willing and used to hearken unto them.

As concerning the praises which we are to attribute unto them for their eloquence and well speaking, there would in this dutie some wise caution & meane be used: for that in this case, neither overmuch nor too little is commendable & honest. And verily that scholar, who seemeth not to be moved or touched with any thing that he heareth, is a heave and unsupportable auditor, full of a secret presumptuous opinion of himselfe, conceited inwardly of his owne sufficiency, of an inbred selfe-love and aptnesse to speake much of his owne doings, shewing evidently that he thinketh he can speake better than that which hath bene delivered: In regard whereof, he never flits brow any way decently, he uttereth not a word to testifie that he heareth willingly and with contentment: but by a certaine forced silence, affected gravitie, and counterfeited countenance, would purchase and winne unto himselfe the reputation of a staid man, of a profound and deepe clerke: and is as sparie of his praises, as of his purse and money in it, imagining that they bid him losse, who would have him part with any one jot thereof, as if he robbed himselfe of so much as he imparted to another. For many there be who misconster & interpret

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in ill sense one sentence of *Pythagoras*, when he saith, That he had gotten this fruit by the studie of Philosophie, namely, to have nothing in admiration. And these men are of this opinion, that because they are not to admire, praise, and honor others, therefore they must despise and dispraise them; and by the disdain and contempt of others they thinke themselves to seeme grave and venerable. For reason Philosophicall, although it rejecteth that wonder and admiration which proceedeth of doubt or ignorance, for that she knoweth the cause of everie thing, and is able to discourse thereof; yet for all that it condemneth not courtesie, magnanimitie and humanitie. For certes unto such as truly and certainly are good, a right great honor it is to honour those that are worthe of honor: also for a man to adorne another is an excellent ornament proceeding from a superabundance (as it were) of glorie and honor which is in himselfe, void of all envie and malice. Whereas those that be niggards in praising of another, seeme to be poore & bare themselves that way, & bewray how hungrie they be after their owne praises. Now on the contrarie side, he who without all judgement & discretion at everie word and syllable (in a manner) is ready to rise up & give acclamation, offendeth almuch another way, being a man of levitic and inconstancie, oftentimes displeased, even them that be the speakers, but alwaies is offensive and troublefome to other assistants about him: causing them to rise up elfoons & lift up themselves against their wils, drawing them perforce to doe as they see him do, and even for verie shame and modestie, to set up some cries and acclamations with him for companie. Now after that he hath reaped no fruit nor edification by the oration that he hath
heard, for that he had so troubled and disquieted the auditories by his unseasonable praises, he returneth from thence with one of these three additions to his stile: namely, either a Mocke, a Flatterer, or a Blockhead, who understood not what was said: A judge I must needs say, when he sitteth upon the seat of Iustice to heare and determine causes, ought to give eare unto both parties without harred or favour, void of all affection, and respective onely to right and equitie. But in the auditories where learned men are met together, there is neither law nor oath hindereth us, but that we may heare him with favour and benevolence, who doth speake and discourse unto us. And even our ancients in old time were wont to place and set *Mercure* in their temples neere unto the Graces, giving us thereby to know that above all things, a speech probably delivered, requieth a gracious and friendly audience: for they never thought that the
speaker would be such an outcast, or so farr from and insufficient; but if he were not able either to say somewhat of his owne invention phrase worthy, or to report from ancients that which is memorable, or to deliver the subiect matter of his speech together with his drift and intention, so as it deserved applaus: yet at leastwise, his eloquution and disposition of everie part might be commendable: for according to the old proverb,

*With Calbrap-shittlers rough and keen,
With prickly Rest harrow,
Close Scions faire and white are seen
With soft wallflowers to grow.*

For if some to shew their wit, have taken upon them the praise of vomiting, others of fever, and
some of a spot or caudron, and yet have not failed of favor and approbation: how can it otherwise be, but that the oration compassed by a grave personage, who in some sort is reputed, or at leastwise called a Philosopher, should minister unto benevolent, gracious and courteous Auditors some respite and opportunitie of time for to praise and commend the same? Al those that are in the flower and prime of their age, saith *Plato*, one way or other, do affect and move him that is enamoured on them: inso much as if they be white of colour, he calleth them the children of the gods: if blacke of hew, he termes them manly and magnanimous: be one hawke-nosed, such he nameth Roiall and of a kingly race: is he camoife or flat nosed, him he will have to be gentle, pleasant and gracious: and to conclude, looketh one pale & yellow, then to cover and mollifie in some sort that ill colour, he useth to call him Honey-face: and every one
of these defects, he loveth and embraceth as several beauties: For in love is no lacke, and of this nature it is to claspe and cleave to every thing that it can reach or meet withall, in manner of Ivy; much more then wil he that is a studious scholar & a diligent hearer, find alwaies one thing or other, for which he may seeme worthily to praise any one that mounteth up into the chaire for to declaim or discourse. For even *Plato* himselfe, who in the oration of *Lysias* commended not the invention; and as for the disposition thereof, utterly found fault therewith as disorderly and confused: yet he praised his stile and eloquution, & gave this attribute unto it, that every word was perspicuous and lightfome, and withall ran round, as if they all had bene artificiallie wrought

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wrought with the Turners instrument. A man that were so disposed, may seeme in reason to reprove in *Archylom* the argument and subject matter: in *Parmenides* the composition of his verses: in *Phocylides*, the meane and homely matter: the loquacity of *Empirides*, and the in-equalitye or uneven stile of *Sophocles*: After which sort, you shall have among Oratours and Rhetoricians, one who cannot expresse the naturall disposition of a man, another who hath no power in resembling passions & affections, and another againe who faileth in grace: and yett each one of them commendable enough for some particular and especiall gift, either to moove or to delight. In which regard, the hearers also, may find sufficient matter & pleasure enough to gratifie and content if they list, those that speake and make orations to them. For some of them it sufficeth although we do not reffuse our good liking of them by lively and open voice, to give them a favourable regard of the eie, to shew them a milde and gentle visage, a cheerefull look, an amiable disposition of the countenance, without any signe of sadnes and heavinesse. And verily, these things are grown now to be so common and ordinary, that we can afford them even to those who speake but so so and to no purpose at all; inso much, as every auditoric can skill thereof: But to fit still modestly in his place without any token of disdain, to beare the body upright, leaning neither one way nor other; to fixe the eie wisely upon him that speaketh, to shew a forward gesture, as if one gave great attention and marked every word seriously; to set and dispose the countenance plaine, pure and simple, without any signification at all, not onely of contempt or discontentment, but also of all other cares and thoughts whatsoever, be evident tokens of approbation, and tend all thereto. For, as in every thing els, beautie and favour is composed and framed (as it were) of many numbers meeting and concurring in one, and all together at the same time, and that by a certaine symmetric, consonance and harmonic: but that which is foule and ill favoured, is bred immediately by the least thing in the world, that either is wanting, or added and put to absurdly, otherwise than it should; even so we may notably observe in this action of hearing, not onely the knitting and bending of the browes, or the heave cheere of the visage, a crooked aspect and wandering cast of the eye, a writhing away or turning about of the bodie, an indecent change of the thighes crosse one over another: but a very nod of the head, or winke of the eye alone, the whispering or rounding one of another in the eare, a bare smile, gappings, and drowfie yawnings, as if a man were ready to drop asleepe: finally, the hanging downe of the head, and whatsoever gestures of that sort, wee are countable for as fault woorthy, and they would be carefully taken heed of. Howbeit, there be some of this opinion, that the speaker indeed ought to looke unto himselfe and his behaviour when hee is aloft; but the hearers beneath need not. They would (I say) have him who is to make a speech in public place, to come well prepared, and with diligent premeditation of that which he ought to say: but as for the hearers, they have no more to doe but to take their places, without any fore-thinking of the matter, without any care and regard at all of duetic and demeanour after they be set, as if they were come to a very supper, and nothing els, there to take their repast or ease themselves, whilst others take paine and travell. And yet a guest that goeth to suppe with another, hath something to doe and observe when he sits at the table, if hee would be thought civill and manerly: how much more then, in all reason, is an auditors bound so to do, who is to heare another speake. For he is partaker with him of his speech, yea, and by right, a coadjutor of him: he ought not then, to examine rigorously his faults escaped; hee is not to sit narrowly, and weigh in severall ballance each word of his, and every gesture; whilst hee himselfe (except from censure and contrivance, and without feare of being espied and searched into) committeth many enormities, unseemly parts, and incongruities in hearing. For like as at Tennis play, he that receiveth the ball, ought in the stirring and motion of his bodie to accommodate himselfe handsomely and in order to his fellow that smit it; even so betwene the speaker and the hearer, if both of them observe their duetic and decencie, there would be a mutual and reciprocal proportion. Now in yeelding praises unto the Reader or Speaker, we must not inconsiderately, use all manner of termes and acclamations without discretion: For *Epicurus* himselfe is not well liked, but odious, when he saith, That upon the reading of any letters missive from his friends unto him, they that were about him did set up excessive outcries and applauses, with troublesome clapping of their hands. And verily those who bring in now adays into the auditorie uncooth and strange noises by way of acclamation; they also who have brought up these termes; O heavenly and divine speech; The voice of God & not of man, uttered by his mouth; and, Who is able to come neere unto him? as though it were not sufficient, simply thus to say; O well said, Wisely spoken, or, Truly delivered; which were the testimonies and signes of praise

praise which *Plato*, *Socrates*, and *Hyperides* used in old time) such men, I say, doe highly offend, and passe the bounds of decencie exceeding much: nay, they doe traduce and abuse the speakers themselves, as though they did hunt after, and lay for such excessive and proud commendations. Those also be odious and unpleasant, who as if they were in some judicall Court, depose and give formal testimony as touching the honour of the speakers, and binde the same with an oath: neither be they in lesse fault, who without regard of the qualitie of persons, doe accommodate unto them their titles of praise beside all decorum: As for example, when they be ready to crie aloud unto a Philosopher, O quick and witty saying! and unto an olde man, O what a brave and jolly speech is this! transferring and applying unto Philosophers those words and termes that ordinarily are used or attributed to plaicars, or such as exercise and shew themselves in scholasticall declamations: and to a serious and sober oration, giving a praise more be-coming a light and wanton courtisan: which is as much, as if upon the head of a victorious champion, they should set a garland of lillies or roses, and not of the lawrell or wilde olive tree. *Empirides* verily, the Poet, when one overheard him as he prompted and ended unto the actors or persons in the *Chorus*, a certaine song set to musickall harmonie, and therewith laughed heartilie whilst he instructed them in singing the same; If thou wert not (quoth hee) some blockish and senselesse dolt, thou wouldest never laugh when I sing a heavy mixt-Lydian tune, or a note to a dumpe or dolefull dittie. Semblably, a grave Philosopher, and a man exercised in managing State affaires, might very well in mine advise, cut off, and repress the delicate insolency of some auditor, over wantonly disposed to mirth and jolity, by saying thus unto him; Thou seemest unto me a brainsick fellow, & untaught for otherwise whilst I am teaching, preaching, and reproofing vices, discoursing and reading of policie and the administration of Common weale, of the nature of the gods, or the duetic of a Magistrate, thou wouldest neither daunce thus and sing as thou dost. For consider with me in truth, what a disorder is this, That when a Philosopher is in the Schoole at this lecture reading, they within should keepe a crying and howling, and make such noises, as they that be without can not tell whether it be some piper, harper, or dauncer that they thus do praise, such a confused brute they make within. Moreover, we ought not to heare the reprehensions, rebukes, and corrections of Philosophers, recklesly without sense of griefe and displeasure, nor yet unmanly: for they that can so well abide to be reprov'd or blamed by a Philosopher, and make nothing a doe at it inso much as when they be found fault withall, they fall a laughing, or can finde in their hearts to praise those that do reprehend them, much like unto those flattering Parasites, who are content to extoll and commend their good masters that give them their meat and drinke, notwithstanding they be reviled and taunted by them: these fellows (I say) of all others, be most rash, audacious and bolde, shewing thereby their shamelesse impudencie, which is no good nor true argument of courage and fortitude. As for a pretie scoffe pleasantly delivered, and in mirth, without any wrong meant, or touch of credit, if a man know how to take it well, and be not moved thereby to choler and displeasure, but laugh it out, it doth argue no base minde, nor want of wit and understanding, but is a liberal and gentleman-like qualitie, favouring much of the ingenuous manner of the Lacedaemonians.

But to heare a sharpe checke that toucheth the very quicke, and a reprehension to reforme manners, delivered in cutting and tart words, much like unto an egar and biting medicine, and therewith not to be cast downe, and shrink together for feare, nor to run all into a sweat, or be ready to reele and stagger with a dizenesse in the head, for very shame that hath felt the heat on fire, but to seeme inflexible and nothing thereat moved, smiling in some sort, and dilly-fooling after a dissembling manner, is a notable signe of a most dissolute and illiberal nature, past all grace, and that batheth for nothing, being so long worried and injured to euill doing; in such sort, as the heart and conscience is hardened and overgrown with a certaine browne and thicke skinne, which will not receive the marke or wale of any laste, be it never so smart. And as there be many such, so you shall meet with other youths of another nature meerly contrary unto them; who if they happen but once to be checked and to heare ill, are soone gone, and will not turne againe, but quit the Philosophie schooles for ever. These being ended by nature with the good rudiments and beginnings of vertue tending unto felicity another day, to wit, Shamefastnesse and Abasement, loose the benefit thereof, in that by reason of their overmuch delicacy and effeminate minds, they can not abide reproofs, nor with generousitie endure corrections, but turne away their itching eares, to heare rather the pleasant and smooth tales of some flatterers or sopaphisters, which yeeld them no fruit nor profit at all in the end. For as hee, who after incision made, or the feat of dissembling performed by the Chyrurgian, runneth away from him, and

will not tary to have his wound bound up or feared, susteineth all the paine of the cure, but misfeeth the good that might ensue thereof: even so he, who unto that speech of the Philosopher which hath wounded and launced his follie and untowardnesse, will not give leasure to heale the same up, and bring it to a perfect & confirmed skin againe, goeth his waies with the painfull bit and dolorous sting, but wateheth all the helpe and benefit of Philosophie. For not onely the hurt that *Telephus* received, as *Euripides* saith,

*By scales of rust both ease and remedie found,
Fell from the speare, but first did make the wound.*

but also the pricke inflicted upon a towardy yong man by Philosophie, is healed by the same words that did the hurt. And therefore when hee findeth himselfe checked and blamed, feele he must and suffer some smart, abide (I say) he ought to be bitten, but not to be crushed and confounded therewith, not to be discouraged and dismaide for ever. Thus he is to thinke of himselfe being now inducted in Philosophie, as if he were a novice newly instituted and professed in some religious orders and sacred mysteries: namely, that after he hath patiently endured a while the first expiatory purifications and troubles, he may hope at the end thereof to see and finde some sweete and goodly fruit of consolation, after this present disquietnesse and agonie. Say also, that he were wrongfully and without cause thus snubbed and rebuked by the Philosopher, yet he shall do well to have patience and sit out the end. And after the speech finished, he may a *dreffe* an Apologie unto him and iustifie himselfe, praying him to reserve this libertie of speech and vehemency of reproofe which he now used, for to repress and redresse some other fault, which he shall indeed have committed. Moreover, like as in Grammar, the learning to spel letters and to reade: in Musicke also to play upon the Lute or Harpe; yea and in bodily exercise, the feat of wrestling and other activities, at the beginning be painefull, cumbersome, and exceeding hard, but after that one be well entred and have made some progresse therein, by little and little continuall use and custome (much after the manner of conversing and acquaintance among men) maketh maistrise, engendreth further knowledge, and then everie thing that was stronge and difficult before, prooveth familiar and easie yough both to say and doe: Even so, it fareth in Philosophie, whereat the first there seemeth no doubt to be some strangenesse, obscuritie, and I wot not what barrenesse, as well in the termes and words, as in the matters therein contained: Howbeit, for all that a yong man must not for want of heart be astonied at the first entrance into it, nor yet for faintnesse be discouraged and give over: but make prooffe and triall of every thing, persevere and continue in diligence, desirous ever to passe on still and proceed further, and as it were, to draw well before, waiting and attending the time which may make the knowledge thereof familiar by use and custome, the onely meanes which causeth everie thing that is of itselfe good and honest, to be also sweete and pleasant in the end. And verily this familiaritie will come on apace, bringing with it a great cleerenesse and light of learning: it doth ingenerate also an ardent love and affection to vertue, without which love, a man were most wretched or timorous, if he should apply himselfe to follow another course of life, having once given over for want of heart the studie of Philosophie. But peradventure it may fall out so, that yong men not well experienced, may find at the beginning such difficulties in some matters that hardly or uneth at all they shall be able to comprehend them. Howbeit, they are themselves partly the cause that they doe incurre this obscuritie and ignorance: who being of divers and contrarie natures, yet fall into one and the selfesame inconvenience. For some upon a certaine respectuouse reverence which they bare unto their Reader and Doctour; or because they would seeme to spare him, are afraid to aske questions, and to be confirmed and resolved in doubts arising from the doctrine which he delivereth: and so give signes by nodding their heads that they approve all, as if they understood everie thing verie well. Others againe by reason of a certaine importune ambition and vaine emulation of others, for to shew the quicknesse and promptitude of their wit, and their readie capacitie, giving out that they fully understand that which they never conceived, by that meanes attaine to nothing. And thus it cometh to passe, that those bathfull ones, who for modestie and shamefastnesse are silent and dare not aske that whereof they are ignorant, after they be departed out of the auditories, are in heavinesse and doubtfull perplexitie, untill at last they be driven of necessitie with greater shame to trouble those who have once already delivered their doctrine, to runne (I say) unto them backe againe and moove questions anew. And as for these ambitious, bold and presumptuous persons they are forced to palliat, cover and disguise their ignorance and blindness which abideth with them for ever. Therefore casting behinde us and rejecting all such stupiditie and

vanitie;

vanitie, let us take paines and, endeavour howsoever we do, so learne and thoroughly to comprehend, all profitable discourses that shall be taught unto us; and for to effect this, let us be content gently to beare the scoffes and derisions of others, that thinke themselves quicker of conceit than our selves: according to the example of *Cleambes* and *Xenocrates*, who being somewhat more grosse and dull of capacitie than others their school-fellows, ran not therefore away from school, nor were any whit discouraged, but the first that scoffed and made sport with themselves, saying they were like unto narrow mouthed vessels and brasse tables, for that they hardly conceived any thing that was taught them, but they retained and kept the same safe and surely when they had it once: for not onely as *Phylasides* saith,

*Who speaks in the end for goodness and for prates,
As else while must be accounted many wates.*

but also to suffer himselfe to be mocked oftentimes and to endure much reproch, to abide broad jests and skurrie scoffes: expelling ignorance with all his might: and maine: yea, and conquering the same.

Moreover, we must be careful to avoide one fault more, which many commit on the contrarie side; who for that they be somewhat slow of apprehension and idle withall, are verie troublesome unto their teachers, and importune them overmuch: when they be apart by themselves, they will not take any paines nor labour to understand that which they have heard; but they put their masters to new travell, who reade unto them: asking and enquiring of them ever and anon concerning one and the same thing, resembling herein yong callow birds which are not yet feathered and fledg'd, but alwaies gaping toward the bill of the damme, and so by their good will would have nothing given them, but that which hath bene chewed and prepared already. Now there be others yet, who desirous beyond all reason to be counted quick of wit and attentive hearers, wearie their masters even as they are reading unto the, with much pridle prattle, interrupting them everie foot in their lectures, demanding of them one thing or other that is needlesse and impertinent, calling for prooffs and demonstrations of things where no need is:

I thin they much paines for little take.

And of short way long journeyes make.

According as *Sophocles* said, making much worke, not onely for themselves, but also for others: For saying their teacher thus as they doe everie foote with their vaine and superfluous questions, as if they were walking together upon the way, they hinder the course of the lecture, being so often interrupted and broken off. These fellows then according to the saying of *Herom*, in this doing are much like to cowardly & dastardly curie dogs, which, when they be at home within house, will bite the hides and skines of wilde beasts, and lie tugging at their shagged haire: but they dare not touch them abroad in the field. Furthermore, I would give those others, who are but soft spirited and slow withall, this counsell that retaining the principall points of everie matter, they supplie the rest apart by themselves, exercising their memorie, and as it were leading it by the hand to all that dependeth thereto: to the end that when they have conceived in their spirit the words of others, as it were the elementarie beginning and the verie seede, they might nourish and augment the same: For that the minde and understanding of man is not of the nature of a vessel that requieth to be filled up: but it hath neede onely of some match (if I may so say) to kindle and set it on fire (like as the matter flandeth ever in need of the efficient cause) which may ingender in it a certaine inventive motion, and an affection to finde out the truth. Well then, like as if a man going to his neighbour for to fetch fire, and finding there good store, and the same burning light in the chimney, should sit him downe by it and warme himselfe continually thereat, and never make care to take some of it home with him, you would take him to be unwise: even so he, that cometh to another for to learne, and thinketh not that he ought to kindle his owne fire within and make light in his owne minde, but taketh pleasure in hearing onely, and there sitteth by his master still, and joyneth onely in this contentment: he may well get himselfe a kind of opinion by the words of another, like a fresh and red colour by sitting by the fire side: but as for the mosse or rust of his minde within, he shall never skour it out, nor disperse the darkenes by the light of Philosophie.

Now if there be neede yet of one precept more to achieve the dutie of a good auditour, it is this, That we ought to remember cleefoones that which now I have to say: namely, That we exercise our wit and understanding by our selves, to invent something of our owne, as well as to comprehend that which we heare of others: to the end that we may acquire within our selves a certaine habitude, not sophistical nor historical, that is to say, apparant onely, and able to

F 3

recite

recite barely that which we have beene taught by others, but a more inwardly-imprinted and philosophically making this account, that the very beginning of a good life is to heard well and as we ought.



OF MORALL VERTUE.

The Summarie.

BEfore he entres into the discourses of vertues and vices, he treateth of Morall vertue in generall: propounding in the first place the diversitie of opinions of Philosophers as touching this point: the which he dissolveth and examineth: Wherein after that he had begun to dispute concerning the composition of the soule, he adjoyneth his owne opinion touching that propertie, which Morall vertue hath particularly by it selfe, as also wherein it differeth from contemplative Philosophie. Then having defined the Mediocritie of this vertue, and declared the difference betweene Continence and Temperance, he speaketh of the impression of reason in the soule. And by this meanes addresth himselfe against the Stoicks, & disputeth concerning the affections of the soule: proving the inequality therein, with such a refutation of the contrary objections, that after he had taught how the reasonlesse part of the soule, ought to be managed, he discovereth by divers similitudes and reasons, the absurdities of the said Stoicke Philosophers, who instead of well governing and ruling the soule of man, have as much as lieth in them, extinguished and abolished the same.

OF MORALL VERTUE.

MY purpose is to treat of that vertue, which is both called and also reputed Morall, and namely wherein it differeth especially from vertue contemplative: as having for the subject matter thereof, the passions of the minde, and for the forme, Reason: Likewise of what nature and substance it is; as also, how it doth subsist and hath the Being: to wit, whether that part of the soule which is capable of the said vertue be endued and adorned with reason as appropriate and peculiar unto it; or, whether it borrow it from other parts, & so receiving it, be like unto things mingled, and adhering to the better: or rather, for that being under the government and rule of another, it be laid to participate the power and puissance of that which commendeth it: For, that vertue also may subsist and have an essentiall being, without any subject matter and mixture at all, I suppose it is very evident and apparent. But first and foremost, I hold it very expedient, briefly to run through the opinions of other Philosophers, not so much by way of an Historical narration and for an end, as, that when they be once shewed and laid abroad, our opinion may both appeare more plainly, and also be held more firmly.

Menedemus then, who was borne in the citie *Eretria*, abolished all pluralitie and difference of vertues, supposing that there was but one onely vertue, and the same known by sundry names: For he said, that it was but one and the same thing, which men called Temperance, Fortitude, and Iustice: like as if one should say, A Reasonable creature and a man, he meaneth the selfe same thing. As for *Ariston* the Chian, he was of opinion likewise, that in substance there was no more but one vertue, the which he termed by the name of Health: mary, in some divers respects, there were many vertues, and those different one from another: as namely for example, if a man should call our eye-sight, when it beholdeth white things *Leucotopia*: when it seeth black *Melanthis*: and so likewise in other matters. For vertue, (quoth he) which comprehendeth

considereth

considereth what we ought either to do or not to do, beareth the name of Prudence: when it ruleth and ordereth our lust or concupiscence, limiting out a certaine measure, and lawfull proportion of time unto pleasures, it is called Temperance: if it intermedle with the commerce, contracts and negotiation betweene man and man, then it is named Iustice: like as (to make it more plaine) a knife is the same still, although it cut, now one thing, and then another: and the fire notwithstanding it worketh upon sundry matters, yet it remaineth alwaies of one and the same nature. It seemeth also, that *Zeno* the Citician, inclined in some sort to this opinion, who in defining Prudence, saith, that when it doth distribute to every man his owne, it ought to be called Iustice when it is occupied in objects either to be chosen or avoided, then it is Temperance; and in bearing or suffering, it should be named Fortitude. Now, they that defend and maintaine this opinion of *Zeno*, affirme, that by Prudence he understandeth Science or Knowledge. But *Chrysippus*, who was of this minde, that ech vertue had a peculiar qualitie, and according to it, ought to be defined and set downe, wist not how (ere he was aware) he brought into Philosophie, and as *Plato* saith, raised a swarme of vertues never knowne before, and where-with the schooles had not beene acquainted. For like as of Valiant he derived Valour, of Iust Iustice, of Clement Clemencie: so also of Gracious, he comes in with Gratiostie, of Good, Goodnes, of Great, Greatnesse, of Honest, Honestie, and all other such like Dexterities, affabilities and courtesies, he termed by the name of vertues, and so pestered Philosophie with new, itrange and absurd words, more iwis than was needfull.

Now these Philosophers agree jointly all in this, that they set downe vertue to be a certaine disposition and power of the principall part of the soule, acquired by reason: or rather, that it is reason it selfe: and this they suppose as a truth confessed, certaine, firme and inrefragable. They hold also, that the part of the soule, subject to passions, sensuall, brutish and unreasonable, differeth not from reason by any essentiall difference, or by nature: but they imagine, that the very part and substance of the soule which they call understanding, reason, and the principall part, being wholly turned and changed, as well in fadaine passions, as alterations by habitude and disposition, becometh either vice or vertue, and in it selfe hath no brutishnesse at all: but is named onely unreasonable, according as the motion of the appetite and lust is so powerful, that it becometh mistress, and by that meanes she is driven and caried forcibly to some dishonest and absurd course, contrary to the judgement of reason: For they would have that very motion or passion it selfe to be reason, howbeit depraved and naught, as taking her force and strength from false and perverse judgement. Howbeit, all these (as it may seeme) were ignorant of this one point; namely, that ech one of us (to speake truly) is double and compound: And as for one of these duplicities, they never thoroughly saw; that onely which is of the twaine more evident to wit, the mixture or composition of the soule and body they acknowledge. And yet, that there is besides a certaine duplictie in the soule it selfe, which consisteth of two divers and different natures: and namely, that the brutish and reasonlesse part, in maner of another bodie is combined and knit into reason by a certaine naturall liike of necessitie: It seemeth that *Pythagoras* himselfe was not ignorant: And this we may undoubtedly gather and conjecture by his due diligence which he employed in that Musicke and Harmonie which he inferred for the dulcing, staving & appeasing of the soule: as knowing full wel, that all the parts thereof were not obedient and subject to instruction, learning and discipline, ne yet such as might by reason be altered and trained from vice to vertue: but required some other kinde of perfwisive power cooperative with it, for to frame the same and make it gentle and tractable: for otherwise it would be hardly or never conquered by Philosophie, and brought within the compasse of obedience: so obstinate and rebellious it is. And *Plato* verily was of this opinion (which he professed openly, and held as a firme and vndoubted truth) that the foule of this universall world, is not simple, uniforme, and uncompounded, but mixed (as it were) of a certaine power of *Identitie and of Diversity. For after one sort, it is governed and turned about continually in an uniforme maner, by means of one and the same order, which is powerful and predominant over all: and after another sort againe, it is divided into circles, sphoeres, and motions, wandering and contrary in maner to the other: whereupon dependeth the beginning of diversitie in generation of all things in the earth. Semblably (quoth he) the soule of man, being a part and portion of that universall soule of the world, composed likewise of proportions and numbers answerable to the other, is not simple and of one nature or affection, but one part thereof is more spirituall, intelligible and reasonable, which ought of right and according to nature have the soveraigntie and command in man: the other is brutish, sensuall, erroneous, and disorderly

* i. The same.

of it selfe, requiring the direction and guidance of another. Now, this is subdivided againe into two other parts; whereof the one is alwaies called Corporall or Vegetative; the other Thy-moëides, as one would say, Irascible and Concupiscible; which one while doeth adhere and stick close to the foresaid grosse and corporall portion: and otherwhiles to the more pure and spirituall part, which is the Discourse of reason; unto which according as it doth frame and apply it selfe, it giveth strength and vigor thereto. Now the difference between the one and the other, may be known principally by the fight and resistance that often times is between understanding and reason on the one side, and the concupiscence and wrathfull part on the other; which sheweth that these other faculties are often disobedient and repugnant to the best part. And verily, *Aristotle* used these principles and grounds especially above all others at the first, as appeareth by his writings: but afterwards, he attributed the irascible part unto the concupiscible, confounding them both together in one, as if fire were a concupiscence or desire of revenge. Howbeit, this he alwaies held to the very end, That the brutish and sensual part, which is subject unto passions, was wholly and ever distinct from the intellectuall part, which is the same that reason: not that it is fully deprived of reason, as is that corporall and grosse part of the soule, to wit, whereby we have sense only common with beasts, and whereby we are nourished as plants. But whereas, this being furd and deafe, and altogether incapable of reason, doth after a sort proceed and spring from the flesh, and alwaies cleave unto the bodie: the other sensual part which is so subject unto passions, although it be in it selfe destitute of reason, as a thing proper unto it: yet nevertheless apt and fit it is to heare and obey the understanding and discouraging part of the minde; inasmuch as it will turne vnto it, suffer it selfe to be ranged and ordered according to the rules and precepts thereof; unless it be utterly spoiled and corrupted, either by blinde and foolish pleasure, or els by a loose and intemperate course of life. As for them that make a wonder at this, and do not conceive how that part being in some sort brutish and unreasonable, may yet be obedient unto reason, they seeme unto me as if they did not well comprehend the might and power of reason: namely, how great it is, and forcible, or how farre forth it may peace and passe in command, guidance and direction; not by way of rough, churlish, violent, and irregular courses, but by faire and formall means, which are able to doe more by gentle inducements and persuasions, than all the necessarie constraints and enforcements in the world. That this is so, it appeareth by the breath, spirits, sinewes, bones, and other parts of the body, which be altogether void of reason: howbeit, so soone as there ariseth any motion of the will, which shaketh (as it were) the reins of reason never so little, all of them keepe their order, they agree together, and yeeld obedience. As for example, if the minde and will be disposed to run, the feet are quickly stretched out and ready for a course; the hands likewise settle to their businesse, if there be a motion of the minde either to throw, or take holde of any thing. And verily, the Poet *Homer* most excellently expresseth the sympathie and conformitie of this brutish part of the soule unto reason, in these verses;

*Thus wept the chaste Penelope,
and drench't her lovely face
With deawy teares, which from her eyes
ran trickling downe apace
For tender heart, bewailing sore
the losse of husband deere,
Ulysses sight, who was in place
set by her side full neere.
And he himselfe in soule, no lesse,
did pitee for to see
His best beloved thus to weepe:
but wise and as he be
Kept in his teares: for why?
his eyes within the lids were set
As fisse as yron, and sturdy borne,
one drop would they not shed.*

In such obedience to the judgement of reason he had his breath, spirits, his blood and his teares. An evident prooffe hereof is to be seene in those, whose flesh doth rise upon the first sight of faire and beautifull persons: for no sooner doth reason or law forbid to come neere and touch them, but presently the same falleth, lieth downe, and is quiet againe without any stirring or paining

paining at all. A thing verie ordinat and most commonly perceived in those, who be enamored upon faire women, not knowing at first who they were: For so soone as they perceive afterwards, that they be their owne sisters or daughters, their lust presently cooleth, by means of reason that toucheth it and interposeth it selfe betwene: so that the bodie keepeth all the members thereof decently in order, and obedient to the judgement of the said reason. Moreover, it falleth out oftentimes, that we eate with a good stomacke and great pleasure certaine meates and viands, before we know what they are: but after we understand and perceive once that we have taken either that which was uncleane or unlawfull and forbidden: not only in our judgement and understanding we finde trouble and offence thereby; but also our bodily faculties agree to our opinion are dismaied thereat: so that anon, there ensue vomits, sicke quannies, and overturnings of the stomacke, which disquiet all the whole frame. And were it not, that I greatly feared to be thought of purpose, to gather and inferre in my discourse such pleasant and youthfull inducements, I could inferre in this place *Plateries*, *Lutes*, *Harpes*, *Pipes*, *Flutes*, and other like muscicall instruments, how they are devised by Art, for to accord and frame with humane passions: for notwithstanding they be altogether without life, yet they cease not to apply themselves unto us, and the judgement of our minds, lamenting, singing, and wantonly disposing together with us, resembling both the turbulent passions, and also the milde affections and dispositions of those that play upon them. And verily it is reported also of *Zeno* himselfe, that he went one day to the Theatre for to heare the Musician *Amabeus*, who sung unto the
20 Harpe: saying unto his schollers, Let us goe Sirs and learne what harmonie and musick the entrailes of beasts, their sinewes and bones: Let us see (I say) what resonance and melodious wood may yeeld, being disposed by numbers, proportions and order. But leaving these examples, I would gladly demaund and aske of them, if when they see dogs, hories, and birds, which we nourish and keepe in our houses, brought to that passe by use, feeding and teaching, that they learne to render sensible words, to performe certaine motions, gestures, and divers leates, both pleasant and profitable unto us; and likewise, when they read in *Homer*, how *Achilles* encouraged to battell both horse and man; they doe marvell still and make doubt, whether that part and facultie in us, whereby we are angry, do lust, joy or grieve, be of that nature that it can well obey reason, and be so affected and disposed thereby that it may give assent thereto: considering especially, that it is not seated or lodged without, nor separated from us, ne yet framed by any thing which is not in us: no nor shapen by forcible means and constraint, to wit, by mold, stroke of hammer, or any such thing: but as it is fitted and forged by nature, so it keepeth to her, is conversant with her, and finally perfected and accomplished by custome and continuance. Which is the reason that verie properly Manners be called in Greeke by the name *idōs*, to give us to understand, that they are nothing else (to speake plainly and after a grosse manner) but a certaine qualitie imprinted by long continuance of time, in that part of the soule which of it selfe is unreasonable: and is named *idōs*, for that the said reasonlesse part framed by reason, taketh this qualitie or difference (call it whether you will) by the means of long time and custome which they terme *idōs*. For reason is not willing to roote out quite all passions (which were neither possible nor expedient) but onely it doth limit them within certaine bounds, and setteth downe a kinde of order: and thus after a sort causeth Morall vertues not to be impossibilities, but rather mediocrities and regularities, or moderations of our affections: and this it doth by the means of prudence and wisdom, which reduceth the power of this sensual and patheticall part, unto a civill and honest habitude. For these three things (they say) are in the soule of man, to wit, a naturall puissance or facultie, a passion or motion, and also an habitude. Now the said facultie or power is the verie beginning, and (as a man would say) the matter of passions, to wit, the power or aptnesse to be angry, to be ashamed, or to be confident and bold. The passion is the actual mooving of the said power: namely, anger it selfe, shame, confidence or boldnes. The habitude is a settled and confirmed strength established in the sensual or unreasonable
50 part by continuall use and custome: which if the passions be ill governed by reason, becometh to be a vice: and contrariwise, a vertue; in case the same be well ordered and directed thereby. Moreover, forasmuch as Philosophers do not hold and affirme, that everie vertue is a mediocritie nor call it Morall: to the end therefore, that we may the better declare and shew the difference, we had need to fetch the beginning of this discourse farther off.

Of all things then that be in the world, some have their essence and being of themselves absolutely and simply: others respectively and in relation to us. Absolutely have their being the earth, the heaven, the stars, and the sea: Respectively and in regard of us, Good, evil, profitable,

ble, hurtfull, pleasant, and displeasing. Now it being so, that reason doth contemplate and behold the one fort as well as the other: the former range of those things which are simply and absolutely so, pertaine unto science and speculation, as their proper objects: the second kinde of those things which are understood by reference and regard unto us, pertaine properly unto consultation and action. And as the vertue of the former fort is called Sapience: so the vertue of the other is named Prudence. For a difference there is betweene Prudence and Sapience: in this, that Prudence consisteth in a certaine relation & application of the contemplative facultie of the soule unto Action, and unto the regiment of the sensuall part according to reason: by which occasion, Prudence had need of the assistance of Fortune: whereas Sapience hath nothing to do with it, no more than it hath need of consultation, for to attaine and reach unto the ende it saymeth ar. For that indeed it concerneth such things as be ever one and alwaies of the same fort. And like as the Geometrician never consulteth as touching a triangle, to wit, whether it hath three angles equall to twaine that be right, or no? Because he knoweth assuredly that it hath (for all consultations are concerning things that varie and alter sometime after one fort, and otherwhiles after another, and never medleth with those that be firme, stable, and immutable) even so, the understanding and contemplative facultie of the minde, exercising her functions in those first and principall things which be permanent, and have evermore the same nature, not capable of change and mutation, is sequestred and exempt altogether from consultation. But Prudence which descendeth to things full of varietie, error, trouble, and confusion, must of necessitie entosome intermedle with casualties, and use deliberation in things 20 more doubtfull and uncertaine: yea and after it hath consulted to proceed unto action, calling and drawing unto it the reasonlesse part also to be assistant and present, as drawn into the judgement of things to be executed. For need those actions have of a certaine instinct and motion to set them forward, which this Morall habit doth make in each passion, and the same instinct requireth likewise the assistance of reason to limit it that it may be moderate, to the ende that it neither exceed the meane, nor come short and be defective: for that it cannot be chosen but this brutish and passible part hath motions in it; some overvehement, quick and sudden, others as slow againe, and more slacke than is meet. Which is the reason that our actions cannot be good but after one manner: whereas, they may be evil after divers sorts: like as a man cannot hit the mark but one way: marie he may misse fundrie waies, either by overshooting 30 or coming short. The part and dutie then, of that active facultie of reason according to nature, is to cut off and take away all those excessive or defective passions, and to reduce them unto a mediocritie. For whereas the said instinct or motion, either by infinitie, effeminate delicacie, feare, or slothfulness, doth faile and come short of dutie and the end required, there active reason is present ready to rouse, excite, and stirre up the same. Again on the other side, when it runneth on end beyond all measure, after a dissolute and disorderly manner, there reason is prest, to abridge that which is too much, and to repress and stay the same: thus ruling and restraining these pathetical motions, it breedeth in man these Morall vertues whereof we speake, imprinting them in that reasonlesse part of the mind: and no other they are than a meane betweene excess and defect. Neither must we thinke, That all vertues do consist in a 40 mediocritie: for Sapience or Wisedome, which stand in no need at all of the brutish and unreasonable part, and consist onely in the pure and sincere intelligence and discourse of understanding, and not subject to all passions, is the verie height and excellencie of reason, perfect and absolute of it selfe: a full and accomplished power (I say) wherein is engendred that most divine, heavenly and happie knowledge. But Morall vertue which favoureth somewhat of the earth, by reason of the necessities of our bodie, and in which regard it standeth in neede of the instrumentall ministerie of the pathetical part, for to worke and performe her operations, being in no wise the corruption or abolition of the sensuall and unreasonable part of the soule, but rather the order, moderation and embellishment thereof, is the extremitie and height of excellence, in respect of the facultie and qualitie: but considering the quantitie is rather a medio- 50 critie, taking away the excess on the one side and the defect on the other.

But now, forasmuch as this terme of Meane or Mediocritie may be understood diverse waies, we are to set downe what kinde of meane this Morall vertue is. First and foremost therefore whereas there is one meane compounded of two simple extremes, as a russet or browne colour betweene white and blacke: also that which containeth and is contained, must needs be the middelt betweene the thing that doth containe and is contained, as for example, the number of 3, is just betweene 12, and 4, like as that, which taketh no part at all of either extreme, as

namely

namely those things which we call *Adiaphora*, Indifferent, and do partake neither good nor ill: In most of these significations or senses can this vertue be called a meane or mediocritie. For surely it may not be in anywise a composition or mixture of two vices which be both worse: neither doth it comprehend the lesse and defective: or is comprehended of that which is overmuch above decency, and excessive; ne yet is it altogether void of passions and perturbations, subject to excess and defect, to more and lesse than is meet. But this morall vertue of ours, as it is indeed, so also it is called a Meane, especially in respect of that mediocritie which is observed in the Harmonie and accord of sounds. For like as in Musick there is a note or sound called the Meane, for that it is the middles betweene the treble and base, which 10 in Greeke be called *Hyppate* and *Nete*, and lieth just betwixt the height and loudnesse of the one, and the lownesse or basenesse of the other: Even so, morall vertue being a motion and facultie about the unreasonable part of the soule, tempereth the remission and intention, and in one word taketh away the excess and defect of the passions, reducing each of them to a certaine Mediocritie and moderation that falleth not on any side.

Now, to begin with Fortitude, they say it is the meane between Cowardise & rash Audacitie, of which twaine the one is a defect, the other an excess of the yrefull passion. Liberality, betweene Niggardise & Prodigality: Clemencie & Mildnesse, betweene senselesse Indolence and Crueltie: Iustice, the meane of giving more or lesse than due, in contracts and affaires between men: like as Temperance, a mediocritie betweene the blockish stupiditie of the minde moved 20 with no touch of pleasure, & an unbridled looseness whereby it is abandoned to all sensuality. Wherein especially & most cleerly is given us to understand & see the difference between the brutish & the reasonable part of the soule: & thereby evident it is that wandering passions be one thing, & reason another: for otherwise we should not discern Continenzie from Temperance, nor Incontinencie from Intemperance, in pleasure and lusts, if that facultie of the mind whereby we judge, and that whereby we cover and desire were all one and the same: but now, Temperance is, when reason is able to manage, handle and governe the sensuall and passionate part (as if it were a beast brought up by hand and made tame and gentle, so as it will be ready to obey it in all desires and lusts, yea and willing to receive the bit) whereas Continenzie is when reason doth rule and command and concupisance as being the stronger, and leadeeth it, but not without 30 some paines and trouble thereof, for that it is not willing to shew obedience, but strive, flingeth out sidelong, & goeth crossed, inasmuch as it hath enough to do for to master it with stripes of the cudgell, and with hard bits of the bridle to hold it in and restraine it, whiles it resisteth all that ever it may, and putteth reason to much agonie, trouble and travail: which *Plato* doth lively represent unto us by a proper similitude, saying, that there be two draught beasts which draw the chariot of our soules, whereof the worst doth both winde and strive against the other fellow in the same yoke, and also troubleth the coachman or charioteer, who hath the conduct of them; putting him to his shifts that he is faine alwaies to pull in and hold his head hard, otherwhiles glad to let him slacke and give him the head for feare, as *Symonides* saith,

*Least that his purple reins full some
out of his hands should slip amone.*

40 Thus you see what the reason is, why they do not vouchsafe Continenzie, the name of a perfect vertue in it selfe, but thinke it to be lesse than vertue. For there is not in it a certaine mediocritie arising from the Symphonie and accord of the worst with the better: neither is the excess of passion cut away, ne yet doth the appetite yeeld it selfe obedient and agreeable to reason: but doth trouble and vex, and is troubled and vexed reciprocally, being kept downe perforce and by constraints, like as in a seditious state, both parties at discord, intending mischief and warre one against another, dwell together within the precinct of one wall: inasmuch as the soule of a continent person for the fight and variance betweene reason and appetite, may apply be compared as *Sophocles* saith unto a city,

*Which at one time is full of incense sweete
Resounding mirth with loud triumphant song,
And yet the same doth yeeld in every street*

All signes of griefe, with plaints and groanes among.

And hereupon it is also, that they hold Incontinencie to be lesse than Vice: mary, Intemperance they will have to be a full & compleat vice indeed: For that in it as the affection is ill, so the reason also is corrupt & depraved: and as by the one it is incited & led to the appetite of filthinesse & dishonestie, so by the other through perverse judgement it is induced to give consent unto dishonestie

dishonest lusts, and withall growth to be senselesse & hath no feeling at all of finnes and faults which it committeth : whereas Incontinentie retaineth still a right and sound judgement by meanes of reason : Howbeit through the vehement and violent passion which is stronger than reason, it is carried away against the owne judgement. Moreover, in these respects, it differeth from Intemperance : For that the reason of the incontinent person is overmarched with passion : but of the other, it doth not so much as enter combat therewith. He, albeit he contradicth, gainsay, and strives a while, yet in the end yieldeth unto lusts and followeth them ; but the Intemperate man is led thereby, and at the first giveth consent, and approoveth thereof. Again, the Intemperate person is well content, and taketh joy in having sinned : whereas the other is presently grieved thereat. Again, he runneth willingly and of his owne accord to commit sinne and villanie ; but the incontinent man, maugre and full against his minde doth abandon honestie. And as there is this distinct difference plainly seene in their deeds and actions, so there is no lesse to be observed in their words and speeches. For the sayings ordinarily of the Intemperate person be these and such like,

*What mirth in life, what pleasure what delight,
Without content in sports of Venus bright ?
Were those jotes past, and I for them unmeet,
Ring out my knell, bring forth my winding sheet.*

Another faith,
*To eat, to drinke, so wench, are principall
All pleasures else, I Accept for call.*

As if with all his hart and soule he were wholly given to a voluptuous life, yea and overwhelmed therewith. And no lesse than those, he also who hath these words in his mouth,

*Now suffer me to perish by and by
It pleaseth may it booteth me to dy.*

speaketh as one whose appetite and judgement both were out of order and diseased. But the speeches of Incontinent persons be in another key and farre different : For one faith,

*My mind in good and thither doth sway,
My nature bad, and puts it away.*

Another,
*Alas, alas, To see, how Gods above
Have sent to men on earth this miserie
To know their Good, and that which they should love
yet wanting grace, to do the contrarie !*

And a third,
*Now plucks, now hales, of deadlyre a fire:
but surely, hold my reason can no more:
Than anchor flanke stay ship from being split,
when grounded 'tis on sands nere to the shore.*

He nameth improperly and without good grace the flank of an anchor resting lightly upon the loose sand, to signifie the feeble hold that reason hath which is not resolute and firmly feared, but through the weaknesse and delicacie of the soule, rejecteth and forsaketh judgement : And not much unlike hereunto, is this comparision also that another maketh in a contrarie sense ;

*Much like a ship which fastened is to land
With cordage strong, whereof we may be bold,
The winds do blow, and yet she doth withstand
And checke them all, her cables take such hold.*

He termeth the judgement of reason, when it resisteth a dishonest act, by the name of Cable and Cordage ; which notwithstanding afterwards may be broken by the violence of some passion (as it were) with the continual gales of a blustering winde. For to say a very truth, the intemperate person is by his lusts and desires carried with full saile to his pleasures ; hee giveth himselfe thereto, and thither directeth his whole course : but the incontinent person vendeth thither also : howbeit (as a man would say) crookedly and not directly, as one desirous and endeavouring to withdraw himselfe, and to repell the passion that draweth and moveth him to it, yet in the end he also slideth and falleth into some foule and dishonest act : Like as *Timon* by way of biting, scoffe, traduced and reproved *Anaxarchus* in this wise,

Here

*Here shew's it selfe the dogged force of Anaxarchus fell,
So Rubburne and so perment, when once he tooke a pinch :
Anax yet as wise as he would seeme, a wench (I heard folke tell)
He judged was : for that to vice and pleasures overmuch
By nature prone he was : a thing that Sages most do flum,
Which brought him backe out of the way, and made him dote anon,*

For neither is a wise Sage properly called continent, but temperate : nor a foole incontinent, but intemperate : because the one taketh pleasure and delight in good and honest things ; and the other is not offended nor displeased with foule and dishonest actions. And therefore in-
10 continencie resembleth properly a minde (as I may so say) Sophisticall, which hath some use of reason, but the same so weake, that it is not able to persevere and continue firme in that which it hath once knownen and judged to be right. Thus you may see the differences betweene Intemperance and Incontinencie : As for Continentie & Temperance, they differ also in certaine respects correspondent in some proportion unto those on the contrary side. For remorse, sorrow, displeasure and indignation, doe not as yet abandon and quit continuance : whereas in the minde of a temperate person, all lieth plaine and even on every side ; nothing there but quietnesse and integritie ; in such sort, as whosoever seeth the great obedience and the marvellous tranquillitie whereby the reasonlesse part is united & incorporate together with the reasonable, might well say,

*And then anon the winds were downe,
A calme ensued straightway :
No waves were seene, some power divine
The sea asleepe did lay.*

namely, when reason had once extinguished the excessive, furious, and raging motions of the lusts and desires. And yet these affections and passions which of necessity nature hath need of, the same hath reason made so agreeable, so obedient, so friendly and cooperative, yea, and ready to second all good intentions and purposes ready to be executed ; that they neither run before it, nor come dragging behinde ; ne yet behave themselves disorderly, no, nor the least disobedience : so as each appetite is ruled by reason, and willingly accompanieth it,

*Like as the sucking soule doth go
And run with dam, both to and fro.*

The which confirmeth the saying of *Xenocrates*, touching those who earnestly studie Philosophie, and practise it : For they onely (quoth he) doe that willingly, which others doe perforce and for dread of the law : who forbear indeed to satisfie their pleasures, and turne backe, as if they were scared from them for feare of being bitten of some curst mative or throwed cat, regarding nothing els but danger that may ensue thereupon. Now, that there is in the foule a sense and perceivance of that strength, firmity, and resolution to encounter sinfull lusts and desires, as if it had a power to strive and make head againe, it is very plaine and evident : howbeit, some there be, who holde and maintaine, That Passion is nothing different from Reason : neither (by
40 their saying) is there in the mind a distension or sedition (as it were) of two divers faculties ; but al the trouble that we feele, is no more but an alteration or change of one & the selfe same thing to wit, reason both waies ; which we our selves are not able to perceive, for that forthwith it changeth suddenly and with such celeritie : never considereth all the while, that the same faculty of the minde is framed by nature to concupiscence and repentance both : to be angrie and to feare : inclined to commit some foule and dishonest fact, by the allurements of pleasure, and contrariwise restrained from the same for feare of paine. As for lust, feare, and all such like passions, they are no other (say they) but perverse opinions and corrupt judgements not arising and engendered in any one part of the soule by it selfe, but spread over that which is the chiefe and principall, to wit, reason and understanding ; whereof they be the inclinations, affections, motions,
50 and in one word, certaine operations : which in the turning of an hand be apt to change and passe from one to another : much like unto the sudden braids, starts and runnings to and fro of little children, which how violent soever they be and vehement, yet by reason of their weaknesse are but slippery, unstedfast and unconstant.

But these assertions and oppositions of theirs, are checked and refuted by apparant evidence and common sense : For what man is he that ever felt in himselfe a change of his lust and concupiscence into judgement : and contrariwise an alteration of his judgement into lust : neither doth the wanton lover cease to love when he doth reason with himselfe and conclude, That such love

love is to be repressed, and that he ought to strive and fight against it: neither doth he then give over reasoning and judging, when being overcome through weaknesse, he yeeldeth himselfe prisoner and thrall to lust: but likewise when by advertisement of reason he doth resist in some sort a passion arising, yet the same doth still tempt him: so likewise when he is conquered and overcome therewith, by the light of the same reason at that verie instant, he seeth and knoweth that he sioneth and doth amisse: so, that neither by those perturbations is reason lost and abolished; nor yet by reason is he freed and delivered from them: but whiles he is tossed thus to and fro, he remaineth a neuter in the mids, or rather participating in common of them both. As for those who are of opinion, that one while the principall part of our soule is lust and concupiscence: and then anon that it doth resist & stand against the same: are much like unto them, who imagine & say, that the hunter & the wild beast be not twaine, but one bodie, chaunging it selfe, one while into the forme of an hunter, and another time, taking the shape of a savage beast: For both they in a manifest and apparant matter should seeme to be blind and see nothing: and also these beare witness and depose against their owne sense, considering that they finde and feele in themselves really not a mutation or change of one onely thing, but a sensible strife and fight of two things together within them. But here they come upon us againe and object in this wise. How cometh it to passe then (say they) that the power and facultie in man which doth deliberate and consult is not likewise double (being oftentimes distracted, carried, and drawn to contrarie opinions, as it is, namely, touching that which is profitable and expedient) but is one still and the same? True, we must confesse, that divided it seemeth to be: But this comparison doth not hold, neither is the event and effect alike: for that part of our soule wherein prudence and reason is seated, fighteth not with it selfe, but using the helpe of one and the same facultie, it handleth divers arguments, or rather being but one power of discourse, it is employed in sundry subjects and matters different: which is the reason that there is no dolor and griefe at one end of those reasonings and discourses which are without passion; neither are they that consult forced (as it were) to hold one of those contrarie parts against their minde and judgement; unless peradventure it so fall out, that some affection lie close to one part or other, as if a man should secretly and under hand lay somewhat besides in one of the balances or scales, against reason for to weigh it downe. A thing (I assure you) that many times falleth out: and then it is not reason that is poised against reason; but either ambition, emulation, favour, jealousy, feare, or some secret passion, making semblance as if in these speeches, two reasons were at variance and differed one from another. As may appeere by these verses in Homer:

*They though it seeme the combat sore reject,
And yet for feare they durst not it accept.*

Likewise in another Poet:

*To suffer death is dolorous
though with renoument mee:et:
Death to avoide is cowardise:
but yet our life is sweeter.*

And verily in determining of controversies betweene man and man in their contracts and suits of law, these passions comming betweene, are they, that make the longest delays, & be the greatest enemies of expedition and dispatch: like as in the counsels of kings and princes, they that speake in favour of one partie and for to win grace, doe not upon any reason of two sentences incline to the one, but they accomodate themselves to their affectio, even against the regard of utility & profit. And this is the cause that in those States which be called Aristocracies, that is to say, governed by a Senate or Counsel of the greatest men: the Magistrates who sit in judgement, will not suffer Orators & Advocates at the Barre to move affections in all their Pleas: for in Truth, let not the discourse of reason be impeached and hindered by some passion, it will of it selfe tend directly to that which is good and just. But in case there do arise a passion betweene, to crosse the same, then you shall see pleasure and displeasure to raise a combat and diffension, to encounter that which by consultation would have bene judged and determined. For otherwise, how cometh it to passe that in Philosophicall discourses and disputations, a man shall never see it otherwise, but that without any dolor and griefe, some are turned and drawn oftentimes by others into their opinions, and subscribe thereto willingly? Nay even *Aristotle* himselfe, *Demetrius* also and *Chrysippus* have bene knowne to retract and recant some points, which before time they held, and that without any trouble of mind, without griefe and remorse, but

but rather with pleasure and contentment of heart: because in that speculative or contemplative part of the soule, which is given to knowledge and learning onely, there reigneth no passions to make resistance, in so much as the brutish part being quiet and at repose, loveth not curiously to entermelle in these and such like matters: By which meanes it happeneth, that the reason hath no sooner a sight of truth, but willingly it inclineth thereto, and doth reject untruth and fallacie: for that there lieth in it and in no other part else, that power and facultie to beleve and give assent one way, as also to be perswaded for to alter opinion and goe another way. Whereas contrariwise, the counsels and deliberations of worldly affaires, judgements also, and arbitrations, being for the most part full of passions, make the way somewhat difficulte for reason to passe, and put her to much trouble. For in these cases, the sensuall and unreasonable part of the soule is ready to stay and stop her course; yea and to fright her from going forward, meeting her either with the object of pleasure; or else casting in her way stumbling blocks of feare, of paine, of lusts and desires. And verily the deciding and judgement of this disputation lieth in the sense, which feeleth aswell the one as the other, and is touched with them both: For say that the one doth surmount and hath the victorie, it doth not therefore defeat utterly and destroy the other; but drawn in it is thereto perforce, and making resistance the while. As for example, the wanton and amorous person when he checketh and reprooveth himselfe therewith, with the discourse of reason against the said passion of his; yet so, as having them both, actually subfitting together in the soule: much like as if with his hand he repressed and kept downe the one part, enflamed with an hot fit of passion, and yet feeling within himselfe both parts, and those actually in combat one against the other. Contrariwise, in those consultations, disputes, and inquisitions which are not passionate, and wherein these motions of the brutish part have nothing to do, such I meane as those be especially of the contemplative part of the soule: if they be equall and go continue, there ensueth no determinat judgement and resolution: but a doubt remaineth, as if it were a certaine pause or stay of the understanding, not able to proceed farther, but abiding in suspense betweene two contrarie opinions. Now if it chance to incline unto one of them, it is because the mightier hath overweighed the other & annulled it, yet so, as it is not displeased or discontent, nor no contesteth obstinately afterwards against the received opinion. To be short, & to conclude all in one general word; where it seemeth that one discourse and reason is contrarie unto another; it argueth not by and by a conceit of two divers subjects, but one alone in sundrie apprehensions and imaginations. Howbeit, whensoever the brutish and sensuall part is in a conflict with reason, and the same such that it can neither vanquish, nor be vanquished without some sense of grievance: then incontinently this battell divideth the soule in twaine, so as the warre is evident and sensible. And not onely by this fight a man may know how the source and beginning of these passions differeth from that fountaine of reason: but no lesse also by the consequence that followeth thereupon. For seeing that possible it is for a man to love one childe that is ingenuous and towardly disposed to vertue: as also affect another as well, who is ill given and disolute: considering also that one may use anger unjustly against his owne children or parents: and another contrariwise justly in the defence of children or parents against enemies and tyrants. Like as in the one there is perceived a manifest combat and resistance of passion against reason; so in the other, there may be scene as evident a yeelding and obedience thereof, suffering it selfe to be directed thereby, yea and willingly running and offering her assistance and helping hand. To illustrate this by a familiar example, it happeneth otherwhiles, that an honest man espouseth a wife according to the lawes, with this intention onely to cherish and keepe her tenderly, yea and to companie with her duly, and according to the lawes of chastitie and honestie: howbeit afterwards in tract of time, and by long continuance and conversing together, which hath bred in his heart the affection of love, he perceiveth by discourse of reason, and findeth in himselfe that he loveth her more dearly and entirely, than he purposed at the first. Semblably, yong scholars having met with gentle and kinde masters, at the beginning, follow and affect them in a kinde of zeale, for the benefit onely that they reape by them. Howbeit afterwards in proceesse of time, they fall to love them; and so in stead of familiar and daily disciples, they become their lovers, and are so called. The same is usually to be scene in the behaviour and carriage of men toward good magistrates in cities, neighbours also, kinsfolke and allies: For they begin acquaintance one with another, after a civill sort onely, by way of dutie or necessitie and use: but afterwards by little and little ere they be aware, they grow into an affectionate love of them, namely, when reason doth concur, per-

swading & drawing unto it that part of the mind which is the seat of passions and affections. As for that Poet whoeuer he was, that first wrote this sentence,

*Two sorts there be of businesse,
the one we cannot blame,
The other troubleth many an hower,
and doth decay the soue.*

Doth he not plainly shew that he hath found in himselfe by experience oftentimes, that even this affection by means of lingring delay, and putting off from time to time, hath put him by the benefit of good opportunities, and hindered the execution of many brave affaires? Vnto these proofes and allegations precedent, the Stoikes being forced to yeeld, in regard they be so cleere and evident: yet for to make some way of evasion and escape, they call shame, bashfulness; pleasure, joy; and feare, warinesse or circumspection. And I assure you, no man could justly finde fault with these disguisements of odious things with honest termes: if to be they would attribute unto these passions the said names when they be ranged under the rule of reason, and give them their owne hatefull termes indeed, when they strive with reason and violently make resistance. But when convinced by the teares which they shed, by trembling and quaking of their joints, yea by change of colour going and comming, in stead of naming Dolour and Feare directly, come in with (I wot not what) pretie devised termes of Morfures, Contractions or Conturbations: also when they would cloke and extenuate the imperfection of other passions, by calling lust a promptitude of forwardnes to a thing: it seemeth, that by a flourish of fine words, they devise shifts, evasions, and justifications, not philosophicall but sophistical. And yet verily they themselves againe do terme those joies, those promptitudes of the will, and waile circumspections by the name of *Eupathies*, i. good affections and not of *Apithies*, that is to say, *Eupathies*: wherein they use the words aright and as they ought. For then is it truly called *Eupathie*, i. a good affection, when reason doth not utterly abolish the passion, but guideth and ordereth the same well in such as be discreet and temperate. But what befalleth unto vicious and dissolute persons? Surely, when they have fet downe in their judgement and resolution, to love father and mother as tenderly as one lover may another, yet they are not able to performe so much. Many say, that they determine to affect a courtesan or a flatterer, presently they can finde in their hearts to love such most dearly. Moreover, if it were so, that passion and judgement were both one, it could not otherwise be, so soone as one had determined that he ought to love or hate, but that presently love or hate would follow thereupon. But now it falleth out cleane contrarie; for that the passion as it accordeth well with some judgements and obiects; so it repugneth with others, and is obstatinate and disobedient: whereupon it is, that themselves enforced thereto by the truth of the thing, do affirme and pronounce that every judgement is not a passion, but that onely, which stireth up and mooveth a strong and vehement appetite to a thing: confessing thereby, no doubt, that one thing it is in us which judgeth, and another thing that suffereth, that is to say, which receiveth passions: like as that which moveth, and that which is mooved be divers. Certes, even *Chrysippus* himselfe, defining in many places what is Patience and what is Continency, doth avouch, That they be habitudes, apt and fit to obey and follow the choise of reason: whereby he sheweth evidently that by the force of truth, he was driven to confesse and avow, That there is one thing in us which doth obey and yeeld, and another which being obeyed, is yeelded unto, and not obeyed, is resisted.

Furthermore, as touching the Stoicks, who hold, That all finnes and faults be equall, neither wil this place, nor the time now serve to argue against them, whether in other points they swerve from the truth: howbeit, thus much by the way I dare be bolde to say, That in most things they will be found to repugne reason, even against apparent and manifest evidence. For according to their opinion, every passion or perturbation is a fault, and whoeover give griefe, feare or lust, do sinne: but in those passions great difference, there is scene, according to more or lesse: for who would ever be so grosse, as to say, that *Dolons* feare was equall to the feare of *Ajax*? who as *Homer* writeth,

*As he went out of field did turne
and looke behinde full oft:
With knee before knee decently,
and fortrewd soft.*

or compare the sorrow of King *Alexander*, who would needs have killed himselfe for the death

of

of *Chytus*, to that of *Plato* for the death of *Socrates*? For dolours and griefs encrease exceedingly when they grow upon occasion of that which hapneth besides all reason; like as any accident, which falleth out beyond our expectation, is more grievous, and breedeth greater anguish than that whereof a reason may be rendered, and which a man might suspect to follow. As for example, if he who ever expected to see his sonne advanced to honour, and living in great reputation among men, should heare say that he were in prison, and put to all manner of torture, as *Parmeno* was advertised of his sonne *Pilotas*. And who will ever say, that the anger of *Agaveon* against *Anaxarchus*, was to be compared with that of *Magas* against *Philemon*, which arose upon the same occasion, for that they both were spitefully reviled by them in reprochful termes, 10 for *Agaveon* caused *Anaxarchus* to be braid in a mortar with yron pestles: whereas *Magas* commanded the Executioner to lay a sharpe naked sword upon the necke of *Philemon*, and so to let him go without doing him any more harme. And therefore it is, that *Plato* named anger the finewes of the soule, giving us thereby to understand, that they might be stretched by bitterness, and let slacke by mildnesse. But the Stoicks, for to avoid and put backe these objections and such like, denie that these stretchings and vehement fits of passions be according to judgement, for that it may faile and erre many waies: saying, they be certaine pricks or stings, contractions, diffusions or dilatations, which in proportion and according to reason, may be greater or lesse. Certes, what variety there is in judgement, it is plaine and evident. For some there be that deeme povertie not to be ill: others holde, that it is very ill: and there are againe, who 20 account it the worst thing in the world; inso much as to avoid it, they could be content to throw themselves headlong from high rocks into the sea. Also you shall have those, who reckon death to be evil, in that onely it depriveth us of the fruition of many good things: others there be, who thinke and say as much, but it is in regard of the eternal torments & horrible punishments that be under the ground in hell. As for bodily health, some love it no otherwise than a thing agreeable to nature and profitable withall: others take it to be the soveraigne good in the world, as without which they make no reckoning of riches, of children,

*Ne yet of crowne and regall dignitie,
Which men do match even with divinitie.*

Nay, they let not in the end to thinke and say, That vertue it selfe serveth in no stead, and availeth nought, unlesse it be accompanied with good health: whereby it appeareth, that as touching judgement, some erre more, some lesse. But my meaning is not now to dispute against this evasion of theirs. Thus much onely I purpose to take for mine advantage out of their owne confession, in that themselves do grant, That the brutish and sensuall part, according to which, they say that passions be greater and more violent, is different from iudgement: and howsoever they may seeme to contest and cavill about words and names, they grant the substance and the thing it selfe in question, joining with those who mainteine that the reasonlesse part of the soule which enterteineth passions, is altogether different from that which is able to discourse, reason and judge. And verily *Chrysippus* in those books which he entituled, Of Anomologie, after he had written and taught, that anger is blinde, and many times will not permit a man to see those 40 things which be plaine and apparent, and as often casteth a darke mist over that which he hath already perfectly learned and known; proceedeth forward a little further: For (quoth he) the passions which arise, drive out and chase forth all discourse of reason, and such things as were judged and determined otherwise against them, urging it still by force unto contrary actions. Then he useth the testimonie of *Menander* the Poet, who in one place writeth thus, by way of exclamation:

*Wo worth the time, wretch that I am,
how was my minde distraught
in body mine? where were my wits?
some folly (sure) me caught,
What time I fell to this. For why?
thereof I made no choise.
Farre better things they were, wits,
which had my former voice.*

The same *Chrysippus* also going on still: It being so (quoth he) that a reasonable creature is by nature borne and given to use reason in all things, and to be governed thereby: yet notwithstanding we reject and cast it behinde us, being over-ruled by another more violent motion that carrieth us away. In which words, what doth he else but confesse even that which hapneth

upon the diffention betwene affection and reason? For it were a meere ridiculous mockerie in deed, as *Plato* saith, to affirme that a man were better & worse than himselfe: or that he were able now to master himselfe, & anon ready to be mastered by himselfe, and how were it possible that the same man should be better & worse than himselfe, and at once both master and servant, unless every one were naturally in some sort double, and had in him somewhat better and somewhat worse? And verily by that means, he that hath the worse part, obedience to the better; hath powre over himselfe, yea, and is better than himselfe: whereas he that fretteth the brutish and unreasonable part of his soule to command and go before, so as the better and more noble part doth follow, and is serviceable unto it, he no doubt is worse than himselfe: he is (I say) incontinent or rather impotent, and hath no power over himselfe, but disposed contrary to nature. For according to the course and ordinance of nature, meet and fit it is that reason being divine and heavenly, should command and rule that which is sensuall and voide of reason: which as it doth arise and spring out of the very bodie, so it resemblith it, as participating the properties and passions thereof, yea and naturally is full of them, as being deeply concorporate and thoroughly mixed therewith: As it may appeare by all the motions which it hath, tending to no other things but those that be materiall and corporeall, as receiving their augmentations and diminutions from thence, (or to say more properly) being stretched out and let slacke more or lesse, according to the mutations of the body. Which is the cause that young persons are quick, prompt, and audacious tal: also, for that they be full of bloud, and the same hot, their lusts and appetites, are likewise fiery, violent and furious: whereas contrariwise in old 20 folke because the source of concupiscence seated about the liver is after a sort quenched, yea and become weake and feeble: reason is more vigorous and predominant in them: as much as the sensuall and passionate part, doth languish and decay together with the body. And verily this is that which doth frame and dispose the nature of wilde beasts to divers passions: For it is not long of any opinions good or bad which arise in them, that some of them are strong, venterous and fearelesse: yea and ready to withstand any perils presented before them: others againe be so surprized with feare and fright, that they dare not stirre or do any thing: but the force and power which lieth in the bloud, in the spirits and in the whole bodie, is that which causeth this diversitie of passions, by reason that the passible part growing out of the flesh 30 as from a roote, doeth bud forth and bring with it a qualitie and pronoune fensible. But in man that there is a sympathie and fellow moving of the body together with the motions of the passions, may be proved by the pale colour, the red flushing of the face, the trembling of the joints, and panting and leaping of the heart in feare and anger: And againe on the contrary side by the dilations of the arteries, heart and colour, in hope and expectation of some pleasures. But when as the divine spirit and understanding of man doeth moove of it selfe alone without any passion, then the body is at repose and remaineth quiet, not communicating nor participating any whit with the operation of the minde and intendment, no more than it being disposed to studie upon any Mathematicall proposition or other science speculative, it calleth for the helpe and assistance of the unreasonable part: By which it is manifest, that there be two distinct parts in us, different in facultie and power one from another. In summe, Go 40 through the universall world, al things (as they themselves affirme, and evident experience doth convince) are governed and ordered, some by a certaine habitude: others by nature: some by sensuall and unreasonable soule: others by that which hath reason and understanding. Of all which man hath his part at once, yea, and was borne naturally with these differences above said. For, contained he is by an habitude: nourished by nature: reason & understanding he useth: the hath his portion likewise of that which is unreasonable and inbred, there is together with him the source and primitive cause of passions, as a thing necessary for him, neither doth it enter into him from without: in which regard it ought not to be extirped utterly, but hath neede onely of ordering and government: whereupon Reason dealeth not after the Thracian manner, nor like king *Lycorgus*, who commanded all vines without exception to be cut downe, because wine caused drunkenness: it rooteth not out (I say) all affections indifferently one with another, the profitable as well as the hurtfull: but (like unto the good gods *Phytalmius* and *Hemerides*, who teach us to order plants that they may fructifie, and to make them gentle which were savage) to cut away that which groweth wilde and ranke, to save all the rest and so to order and manage the same, that it may serve for good use. For neither do they shed and spill their wine upon the floure, who are afraid to be drunke, but delay the same with water: nor those who feare the violence of a passion, do take it quite away, but rather temper and qualifie the same:

like

like as folke use to breake horses and oxen from their flinging out with their heeles, their stiffnes & curfines of the head & stubburnes in receiving the bridle or the yoke, but do not reſtraine them of other motions in going about their worke and doing their deed. And even ſo verily, reaſon maketh good uſe of theſe paſſions, when they be well tamed and brought (as it were) to hand: without over weakening or rooting out cleane, that part of the ſoule which is made for to ſecond reaſon, and do it good ſervice: For as *Pindarus* ſaith,

*The horſe doth ſerve in chariot at the thill,
The oxe at plough doth labour hard in field,
Who liſt in chieſe the wild Bore ſay to kill,
The hardy bound he muſt provide with ſkill.*

- 10 And I aſſure you, the entertainment of theſe paſſions and their breed, ſerve in farre better ſteady when they doe aſſiſt reaſon and give an edge (as it were) and vigour unto vertues, than the beaſts above named in their kind. Thus moderate ire doth ſecond valour and fortitude: hatred of wicked perſons helpeth the execution of Juſtice: and indignation is juſt and due unto thoſe, who without any merit or deſert enioye the felicity of this life: who alſo for that their heart is puffd up with fooliſh arrogancie, and enflamed with diſdainfull pride and infolence in regard of their proſperitie, have neede to be taken downe and cooled. Neither is a man able by any meanes (would he never loſe ſaſe) to ſeparate from true friendſhip, naturall indulgence, and kind affection: nor from humanitie, commiſeration and pittie; ne yet from perfect benevolence and good will, the fellowſhip in joy and ſorrow. Now if it be true (as it is indeed) that 20 they do groſſely erre, who would abolish all love, becauſe of fooliſh and wanton love: ſurely they do amiſſe, who for covetouſnes ſake and greedines of money, do blame and condemne quite all other appetites and deſires. They do (I ſay) aſmuch as thoſe, who would forbid running altogether, becauſe a man may ſtumble and catch a fall as he runneth: or debarre ſhooting for that we may overſhoot and miſſe the marke: or to condemne hearing of muſicke, becauſe a diſcord or jare is offenſive to the eare. For like as in founds, muſicke maketh an accord and harmony, not by taking away the loud and baſe notes: And in our bodies Phyſicke procureth health, not by deſtroying heat and cold, but by a certaine temperature and mixture of them both in good proportion: Even ſo it ſtareth in the ſoule of man, wherein reaſon hath the pre- 30 dominance and victorie: namely, when by the power thereof, the paſſions, perturbations and motions are reduced into a kind of moderation and mediocritie. For no doubt exceſſive ſorrow and heavines, immeaſurable joy and gladneſſe in the ſoule, may be aptly compared to a ſwellng and inflammation in the body, but neither joy nor ſorrow ſimply in it ſelfe. And therefore *Homer* in this wiſe ſentence of his

*A man of worth doth never colour change,
Exceſſive feare in him is verie ſtrange,*

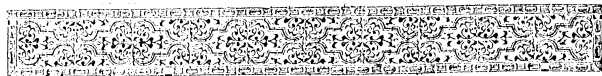
- doth not abolish feare altogether, but the extremities thereof: to the end, that a man ſhould not thinke that either valour is deſperate follie, or confidence audacious temeritie. And therefore in pleaſures and delights, we ought likewiſe to cut off immoderate juſt: as alſo in taking pleaſure 40 ment, extreme hatred of malefactours. He that can do ſo, ſhall be reputed in the one not indolent, but temperate, and in the other not bitter and cruell, but juſt and righteous. Whereas let paſſions be rid cleane away (if that were poſſible to be done) our reaſon will be found in many things more dull and idle: like as the pilot and maſter of a ſhip hath little to do, if the winde be laid and no gale at all ſtirring. And verily (as it ſhould ſeeme) wiſe Law-makers, ſeeing this well enough, have with great policie given occaſion in cities and common-wealths of Ambition and Emulation among citizens one with another: and in the field againſt enemies deviſed to excite the courage of ſouldiours, and to whet their ire and manhood by ſound of trumpets, ſiſes, drums, and other inſtruments. For not onely in Poetrie (as *Plato* ſaith verie well) he that is inſpired and (as it were) raviſhed with the divine inſpiration of the Muſes, will make a ridiculous fool: 50 of him, who otherwiſe is an excellent Poet, and his crafts-maſter as having learned the exquisite knowledge of the art: but alſo in battels, the heat of courage ſet on fire with a certaine divine inſpiration is invincible and cannot be withſtood: This is that martiall fire, which (as *Homer* ſaith) the gods do inſuſe or inſpire rather into warlike men:

*I thus having ſaid be dead inſpire,
The Princes hearts with might and ire,*

And againe,
One god or other ſurely doth him aſſiſt

Elfe faring thus, he neuer could perist.

As if to the discourse of reason they had adjoined passion as a pricke to incite, and a chariot to set it forward. Certes, even these verie Stoicks with whom now we argue, and who seeme to reject all passions, we may see oftentimes, how they stirre up young men with praises, and as often rebuke them with sharpe admonitions and severe reprehensions. Whereof there mult needs ensue of the one part pleasure, and of the other part displeasure. For surely checks and fault-findings, strike a certaine repentance and shame: of which two, the former is comprised under sorrow, and the latter under feare: and these be the meanes that they use principally to chastise and correct withall. Which was the reason that *Diogenes* upon a time, when he heard *Plato* highly praised and extolled. And what great and worthy matter (quoth he) finde you in that man, who having been a Philosopher so long & taught the precepts thereof, hath not in all this time greeved and wounded the heart of any one person? For surely the Mathematicall sciences a man cannot so properly call the cares or handles of Philosophie (to use the words of *Xenocrates*) as he may affirme that these affections of young men, to wit, bathfulnessse, desire, repentance, pleasure and paine are their handles, whereof reason and law together taking hold by a direct apt and hole some touch, bring a young man speedily and effectually into the right way. And therefore the Lacedaemonian schoolemaster and governour of children said verie well, when he professed, that he would bring to passe that the child whom he tooke into his tuition, should joy in honest things, and grieve in those that were foule and dishonest. Then which there cannot possibly be named a more worthy or commendable end of the liberrall education 20 and bringing up of a young youth well defended.



OF VERTUE AND VICE. 30

The Summarie.

In this little treatise adjoynd aptly unto the former, the Author prooveth, that outward and corruptible things be not they that set the soule in repose, but reason well ruled and governed: And after that he hath depainted the miserable estate of wicked and foolish persons, troubled and tormented with their passions both night and day, he prooveth by proper and apt similitudes, that Philosophie together with the love of vertue, bringeth true contentment and happinesse indeed unto a man.

OF VERTUE AND VICE. 40



Let seemeth, and commonly it is thought, that they be the garments which do heat a man; and yet of themselves they neither doe heat nor bring any heat with them: for take any of them apart by it selfe, you shall finde it colde; which is the reason that men being verie hote, and in a fit of a fever, love often to change their clothes, for to coole and refresh their bodies. But the truth is this; Looke 50 what heat a man doth yeeld from himselfe, the clothes or garments that cover the body do keepe in the same, and unite close together: and being thus included and held in, suffer it not to evaporate, breathe out, and vanish away. The same error in the state of this

life hath deceived many man, who imagine that if they may dwell in stately and gorgeous great houses, be attended upon with a number of servants, retaine a sort of slaves, and can gather together huge summes of golde and silver, then they shall live in joy and pleasure: whereas in verie

sooth,

sooth, the sweete and joyfull life proceedeth not from any thing without. But contrariwise, when a man hath those goodly things about him, it is himselfe that addeth a pleasure and grace unto them, even from his owne nature and civill behaviour, composed by morall vertue within him, which is the very fountaine and lively spring of all good contentment.

For if the fire do always burne out light,

More stately is the house, and sure in sight.

Seemably, riches are more acceptable, glorie hath the better and more shining lustre; yea, and authoritie carrieth the greater grace, if the inward joy of the soule be joined therewith: For surely men doe endure povertie, exile and banishment out of their owne countries; yea, and beare the burden of olde age willingly and with more ease, according as their manners be milde, and the minde disposed to meeknesse. And like as sweet odours, and Aromaticall perfumes, give a pleasant smell unto shred-bare and ragged clothes; but contrariwise, the rich robes of dainties yeelded from under it stinking matter and corrupt blood; which as the Poet saith,

Ran downe by drops upon his cloake.

Off like so fine, and so adoke.

Even so, with vertue, any sort of life, and all maner of living is pleasant & void of sorrow: whereas contrariwise, vice causeth those things which otherwise seemed great, honourable, and magnificent, to be odious, loathsome and unwelcome to those that have them, if (I say) it be mingled therewith, according to the testimonie of these vulgar verses:

This man who while he walks abroad in street

Or market place, it ever happy thought:

No sooner sets within his owne house feet,

Thrice wretched but he is, and not for nought.

His wife (as master) hateth of all the power,

She bids, commands, she chides and fighs each hour.

And yet one may with ease be rid and divorced from such a curst and shrowd wife, if he be a man in deed, and not a bond-slave; but for thine owne vice, no meanes will serve to exempt thee from it. It is not enough to command it to be gone, by sending a litle script or bill of divorce; ment, and to thinke thereby to be delivered from troubles, and so to live alone in quiet repose. For it cleaveth close within the ribbes, it sticketh fast in the very bowels, it dwelleth there both night and day,

It burneth thee, yet fire-brand none is seene,

And hasteneth age apace before thou wene.

A troublesome companion it is upon the way, by reason of arrogancy and presumption: a costly and sumptuous guest at the table for gluttonie and gourmandise: an unpleasant and comberbed fellow in the night, in regard of thoughts, cares and jealousies which breake the sleepe, or trouble the same with fantasies. For whiles men lie asleepe, the bodie is at rest and repose, but the minde all the while is disquieted and affrighted with fearefull dreames and tumultuous visions, by reason of superstitious feare of the gods,

If thus I sleepe, when sorrowes me surprize,

Then fearefull dreames me kill before I rise.

faith one. And euen so do other vices serve men to wit, Envie, Feare, Wrath, Varition, Love, and Unbridled lust. For in the day time, vice looking out, and composing it selfe somewhat unto others abroad, is somewhat ashamed of herselfe; and covereth her passions: the given not herselfe wholly to her motions and perturbations, but many times doth strive againe and make resistance: but in sleepe, being without the danger of lawes and the opinion of the world, being farre removed (as it were) from feare and shame: then it setteth all lusts a worke, then it quickeneth and raiseth up all lecheries, and then it displayeth all lascivious varitionnesse. Item, *Plato* saith, a man to have carnall dealing with his owne mother, and to eat of forbidden 50 and unlawfull meats: there is no villanie that he forbearth; executing (so far forth as it is) all abomination; and hath the fruition thereof, if it be but by illusions and fantasticall dreames, which end not in any pleasure, nor accomplishment of concupiscence, but are powerfull onely to excite, stirre, and provoke still the fits of fester passions, and maladies of a corrupted heart. Wherein lieth then, the pleasure and delight of sinne, if it be so that in no place nor at any time it be void of painesvenesse, care and griefe, if it never have contentment, but alwaies in moderation and trouble, without repose? As for carnall delights and earthly pleasures, the good complexion and sound constitution of an healthfull bodie, giveth thereby meanes, place, opportunity

nity and breeding. But in the soule it is not possible that there should bee engendred any mirth, joy and contentment, unless the first foundation be laied in peace of conscience, and tranquillitie of spirit, void of feare, and enjoying a settled calme in all assurance and confidence; without any shew of tempest toward. For otherwise, suppose that some hope doe smile upon a man; or say, that delight tickle a little; the same anon is troubled, and all the sport is marred by some carefull cogitation breaking forth: like as the object and concurrence of one rocke troubleth and overthroweth all, though the water and weather both be never so calme.

Now gather gold and spare not by heapes, take and scrape together masses of silver, build faire, gallant and stately walking places, replenish all thy house with slaves, and a whole citie with debtours: unless withall thou doe allay the passions of thy minde; unless thou stay and appease thy insatiable lust and desire; unless thou free and deliver thy selfe from all feare and carking cares: thou dost as much as streine wine, or make Iporcras for one that is sicke of a fever, give honie to a cholericke person diseased with the raging motion of choler, offer meates and viands to those that be sicke of the stomachicall flux, continuall laske, ulceration of the guts and bloody flux, who neither take pleasure therein, nor are the better but the worse rather a great deale for them. See you not how sicke folkes are offended, and their stomacks rise at the most fine, costly and deintiest meates that be offered unto them? how they spit them forth againe, and will none, though they be forced upon them? And yet afterwards, when the bodie is reduced againe into good temperature: when pure spirits and good fresh blood is engendred, and when the naturall heate is restored and become familiar 20 and kind: then they rise up on their feete to their meate, then their stomacks serve to eat full favorably of counse bread with cheefe or cresles, and therein they take great pleasure and contentment: The like disposition in the minde doth reason worke. Then and never before shalt thou be pleased and at peace with thy selfe, when thou hast once learned what is good and honest indeed: In povertie thou shalt live deliciously like a king; or in a private and quiet state sequestered from civill and publike affaires, thou shalt live as well as they who have the conduct of great armies, and governe the common-weale. When thou hast studied Philosophie and professed therein, thou shalt never lead a life in discontentment, but shalt learne how to away with any estate and course of life, and therein find no small joy & harts ease. Thy riches thou wilt rejoyce 30 in, because thou shalt have better meanes to do good unto all men: In povertie likewise thou wilt take joy in regard thou shalt have fewer cares to trouble thee: Glorie will turne to thy so-lace, when thou shalt see thy selfe so honoured: and thy low estate and obscure condition will be no lesse comfort, for that thou shalt be safe and secured from envie.



THAT VERTUE MAY BE TAUGHT AND LEARNED.

The Summarie.

Plutarch refusing heere the error of those, who are of opinion, That by good and diligent instruction a man cannot become better; recom-mendeth sufficiently the study of vertue. And to prove this assertion of his, he sheweth that the apprenticeship 40 of that, which is of small consequence in this world, witnesseth enough, that a man ought to be trained from day to day to the knowledge of things that are becomming, and worthy his person; afterwards he declareth that as much travell should be employed to make him comprehend such things as be far distant from the capacity and excellence of his spirit: in which discourse he taxeth covertly those raine and giddy heads, who (as they say) runne after their owne shadow, whereas they should stay and rest upon that which is firme and permanent.

THAT

THAT VERTUE MAY BE TAUGHT AND LEARNED.



WE dispute of vertue, and put in question, whether Prudence, Justice, Loialtie and Honestie may be taught or no? And do we admire then the works of Oratours, Sailers and Shipmasters, Architects, Husbandmen and an infinite number of other such which be extant? Whereas of good men we have nothing but their bare and simple names, as if they were *Hippo-Centaures*, *Gyants* or *Cyclopes*; and mervaille we that of virtuous actions which be entier, perfect, and unblameable, none can be found: ne yet any maners so composed according to dutie, but that they be tainted with some passions and vicious perturbations? yea and if it happen that nature of her selfe bring forth some good and honest actions, the same straightwaies are darkened, corrupted and in a manner marred, by certaine strange mixtures of contrarie matters that creepe into them, like as when among good corne there grow up weeds and wilde bushes that choke the same; or when some kinde and gentle fruit is cleane altered by savage nourishment; 20 Men learne to sing, to daunce, to read and write, to till the ground, and to ride horses, they learne likewise to shew themselves, to do on their apparell decently; they are taught to wait at cup and trencher, to give drinke at the table, to season and dresse meate: and none of all this can they skill to performe and do handsomely, if they be not trained thereto: and yet shall that, for which these and such like qualities they learne, to wit, good life and honest conversation, be reckoned a meere casuall thing, comming by chance and fortune, and which can neither be taught nor learned? Oh good sirs, what a thing is this! In saying, That vertue cannot be taught, we denie withall that it is, or hath any being. For if it be true, that the learning of it, is the generation and breeding thereof, certes he that hindereth the one disannulleth the other: and yet denying that it may be taught, we graunt that no such thing there is at all: And yet as *Plato* 30 faith, for the necke of a Lute not made in proportion to the rest of the bodie, there was never known one brother go to warre with another, nor a friend to quarrell with his friend, ne yet two neighbour cities to fall out and mainteine deadly feud, to the interchangeable working and suffering of those miseries and calamities which follow open warre: Neither can any man come forth and say, that by occasion of an accent (as for example, whether the word *Telchines* should be pronounced with the accent over the second syllable or no) there arose sedition and dissention in any city; or debate in a house betwene man and wife, about the warpe and woufe of any webbe: Howbeit never man yet would take in hand to weare a peece of cloeth, nor handle a booke, nor play upon the lute or harpe, unless he had learned before; for albeit he were not like to susteine any great losse and notall damage thereby, yet he would feare to be mocked 40 and laughed to scorne for his labor, in which case as *Heracitus* faith, it were better for a man to conceale his owne ignorance: and may such an one thinke then, that he could order a house well, rule a wife, and behave himselfe as it becommeth in marriage, beare magistracie, or governe a common weale as he ought, being never bound and brought up to it? *Diogenes* eyspying upon a time a boy eating greedily, and unmanerly gave his master or Tutor a good cuffe on the eare: and good reason he had so to do, as putting the fault rather to him, who had not taught, than to the boy, who had not learned better manners. And is it so indeed? ought they of necessity, who would be manerly at the table, both in putting hand to a dish of meate, and taking the cup with a good grace, or as *Aristophanes* saith,

At board not feeding greedily,
Nor laughing much, and decently,
Nor crosing feet full wantonly.

to be taught even from their infancie. And is it possible that the same should know how to behave themselves in wedlocke, how to manage the affaires of State, how to converse among men, how to beare office without touch and blame, unless they have learned first how to cary themselves one toward another? *Aristippus* answered upon a time, when one said unto him, And are you sit ever where? I should (quoth he, laughing merrily) cast away the fare for seriage, which I pay unto the mariner, if I were every where. And why might not a man say likewise, if children be

be not the better for their teaching, the salarie is lost which men bestow upon their Masters and Teachers. But wee see that they taking them into their governance presently from their nources, like as they did forme their limmes and joints featly with their hands, do prepare and frame their maners accordingly, & set them in the right way to vertue. And to this purpose answered very wisely a Laconian Schoole-master to one who demanded of him, what good he did to the childe of whom he had the charge? Mary (quoth he) I make him to take joy and pleasure in those things that be honest. And to say a trueth, these teachers and governours instruct children to holde up their heads straight as they go in the street, and not to beare it forward: also, not to dip into fauce, but with one finger: not to take bread or fish but with twaine: to rubbe or scratch after this or that maner: and thus and thus to truffle and holde up their clothes. What 10
scoure the morpew, or heale a whit-flaw: but not to cure a pleurisie, fever, or the phrensic? And what differeth he from them, who holde that there be schooles and rules to teach petics and little children how to be manerly, and demean themselves in small matters, but as for great, important and absolute things, it must be nothing els but use and custome, or els meere chance and fortune that doth effect them? For like as he were ridiculous, and worthy to be laughed at, who should say, that no man ought to lay hand upon the oare for to row, but he that hath bene prentise to it; but sit at the sterne and guide the helme he may, who was never taught it: even so, he, who mainteineth, that in some inferior arts there is required apprenticeship, but for the attaining of vertue none at all, deserveth likewise to be mocked. And verily, he should doe contrary unto the Scythians: For they, as *Herodotus* writeth, use to put out the eyes of their slaves 20
only, to the end that being blinde, they might turne round about with their milke, & so stirre and shake it. But he forsooth putteth the eie of reason into these base and inferior arts, which are no better than servants waiting upon others; but plucketh it from vertue. *Sphierates* answered contrariwise, being demanded of *Callias* the sonne of *Chabrias*, by way of contempt and derision, in this wise, What are you fir? An Archer? A Targetier? A man at armes? or a light armed fouldiour? I am none (quoth he) of all these, but rather one of those who commandeth them all. Well, ridiculous then is he, and very absurd, who would say, There were an art to be taught, of drawing a bowe & shooting, of fighting close at hand being armed at all pieces, of discharging bullets with a sling, or of sitting and riding an horse; but forsooth to leade and conduct an army, 30
there was none at all: as who would say, that feat, were a thing not learned, but comming by chance, I know not how. And yet I must needs say, more sottish and foolish were he, who should hold and affirme that Prudence onely could not be taught, without which no other Arts and Sciences be worth ought, or availe any whit. That this is true, and that she is alone the guide which leadeth and guideth all other Sciences, Arts and Vertues, giving them every one their due place and honour, and making them profitable to mankinde, a man may know by this, if there were nothing els, That there would be no grace at a feast, though the meat were never so well dressed and served up by skilfull Cooks, though there were proper Efcuirs or Shewers to set the dishes upon the board, Carvers, Tafters, Skinkers, and other Servitours 40
and Waiters enough, unless there be some good order observed among the said Ministers, to place and dispose every thing as ought.

(* *)



HOW



HOW A MAN MAY DISCERNE A FLATTERER FROM A FRIEND.

The Summarie.

The traveller hath great occasion and cause to rejoyce, if in his journey he goe with a good companion, who by his pleasant and profitable discourses may make him forget the tedious difficultie of the way: even so in this life, happy is the man, who can finde and meet with those to beare him company, by whom he may both easily passe through the occurrent dangers that are presented unto him, and also advance forward a cheere- 20
fully unto vertue. In which regard, our author *Plutarch* having discoursed as touching the Nourture, education, and instruction of youth, as also of Vice and Vertue in generall, by good order and in great reason, sheweth in this Treatise, what sort of people we ought carefully to avoid, and with whom to joine and be acquainted. And as he was a man well experienced and practised in the affaires of this world, he affirmeth and proveth by very sound and firme reasons, That there is nothing whereof we are to be more wary and heedfull, than false friendship, which he callith Flatterie. Moreover, this being a matter of so great importance, as every wise man may well thinke and perceive, he draweth out this present discourse in length: and for that his purpose is to instruct us in those meanes whereby we may be able to distinguish betwene a flatterer and a true friend, he sheweth him in the first place, That the onely principall remedie to stop up the entrie against all flatterers, is to know our selves well: for other- 30
wise, we shall have such array and ornaments hangd upon us, that we shall not easily perceive and discerne who we are. And contrariwise, it happeneth often times, that we esteeme them to be our perfect friends, so skilfull are they in counterfeiting; and withall, when they finde us disposed to entertaine such companie, our owne indiscretion depriveth us of that true insight and view, which our soule ought to have in discerning a false friend from a true. Being willing therefore to aid and helpe us in this point, he describeth a crafty and wily flatterer, he discovereth his cunning casts, and depainterh him in his colours, shewing the very draught of lineaments which may direct us to the knowledge of him, to wit, That he doth conforme and frame himselfe to the humor and nature of those whose companie he haunteth; how he is unconstant and mutable, changing and turning into many and sundry fashions, without any right and sincere affection, applying himselfe all the while to every thing els but vertue, willing to 40
be reputed alwaies more laud and vicious, than those whom hee flattereth: without regard of doing them good any way or seeking their profit, he onely aimeth at this, to please them and follow their vice in all things by custome and use, bringing him that will give eare unto his words, to this passe, That he shall thinke vice to be vertue: working covertly and under-hand for to deceive more cleanly, transforming vertue into vice, and making it nothing strange and coy to blame himselfe, for to do the more mischief afterwards to another: then he flattereth most, when he maketh no semblance or shew at all that he mindeth any such thing, and exalteth up to the skie those that be most vicious, and worst of all others, so they will give him entertainment. Likewise, for that flatterers shew themselves otherwise, very forward and bolde to speake their minds and to finde fault, which is one of the best and surest marks of true friendship, he reatech consequently of this libertie and freedom of speech, how a 50
man may know whether there be any flatterie there or no. He declareth therefore, how flatterers use this franke reprehension in vaine and frivolous things, and never in those finnes and grosse faults which are in deed blame-worthy: so that this maner of reprehension, is a kinde of soothing them up, and lulling men asleepe in their notorious vices: or els they charge them with faults cleane contrarie. Now after he hath shewed how a man should take heed and beware of them, he discovereth of those services which may make flatterers, and wherein the same differ from the offices and duties of friends, and in pursuing and prosecuting this Antithesis, he proveth that a flatterer is prest and ready to do his pleasure in shamefull matters, whereas a friend sheweth his good will in those that be honest: also that a flatterer

flatterer is envious, and so is not a friend. And for that our nature is proud and blinde withall, having need of good friends to guide and direct it, he describeth with what manner of eye, and care we ought to see and heare those that procure our good, albeit they may seeme to carie with them a kinde of severitie. Meane while, he exhorteth friends, so to temper and qualifie their libertie in reprehension, that all impudencie and importunate rigor beswre from it. But forasmuch as this is (as it were) the principall thing in amitie he sheweth, That first we must cut away selfe-love in all our reprehensions; and secondly all injurious, bitter and biting speeches: then he adjoineth moreover, in what seasons; and upon what occurrences, a man ought to reprove and say his minde frankly: and with what dexterity he is to proceed: that is to say, that sometimes, yea, and more often, he ought to rebuke his friend apart, or under the person of another: wherein he is to looke unto this, That he eschue all shame, glorie, and reason his reprehensions with some praise among, to make them more acceptable and better taken. Consequently, he teacheth us, how we must receive the advertisements, admonitions, and reprehensions of a true friend: and returning to the very point in deed, of amitie and friendship, he sheweth what meane a man should keepe for to avert and turne away the neighbour vice, and to urge our friends forward to their devoir: adding moreover, That all remembrance and admonition ought to be tempered with mildnesse and lenitie: wherein he concludeth this whole Treatise, which I assure you is to be well read and marked in these doies of all persons, but those especially, who are advanced above others in worldly wealth or honourable place.

HOW A MAN MAY DISCERNE a flatterer from a friend.



Lato writeth (6 Antiochus Philopappus) that all men do willingly pardon him, who professeth, That he loveth himselfe best: Howbeit thereby (quoth he) is ingendred in us, this fault and inconvenience among may others the greatest: that by this meane no man can be a just judge of himselfe, but partiall and favourable. For the lover is ordinarily blinded in the thing that he loveth, unlesse he have beene taught, yea and accustomed long before, to affect and esteeme things honest above those that be his owne properly, or inbred and familiar to him. This is it, that giveth unto a flatterer that large field, under pretence of friendship, where he hath a fort (as it

were) commodiously seated, and with the vantage to assaile and endamage us, and that is, Selfe-love: whereby everie man being the first and greatest flatterer of himselfe, he can be verie well content, to admit a stranger to come neere and flatter him, namely, when he thinketh and is well willing withall, to wimselfe with him and to confirme that good selfe-conceit and opinion of his owne. For even he, who is justly reproched to be a lover of Flatterers, loveth himselfe notwithstanding exceeding well: and for that good affection that he hath, is both very willing, yea and fully perswaded also, that all good things are in himselfe: and the desire whereof is not simply bad, and unlawfull: but the perswasion is it, that is dangerous and slipperie, having need to be restrained with great heed and carefulnesse. Now if Truth be an heavenly thing, and the verie source yielding all good things (as Plato saith) as well to the gods as to men: we ought thus to judge, That a flatterer is an enemy to the gods, and principally to Apollo: For opposite he is alwaies and contrarie to this precept of his, *Know thy selfe*: causing a man to be abused and deceived by his owne selfe, yea and to be ignorant of the good and evil things that be in him; in making the good gifts which are in him to be defective & imperfect: but the evil parts incorrigible and such as cannot be reformed. Now if it were so, that flatterie (as the most part of other vices) touched either onely or especially, base, meane, and abject persons, it were perhaps so neither so hurtfull, nor so hard to be avoided as it is. But like as wormes breed most of all and soonest in frimme, tender and sweet wood: even so, for the most part the generous and gentle natures, and those mindes that are more ingenuous, honest, amiable, and milde than others, are readiest to receive and nourish the flatterer that hangeth upon him. Moreover, as *Simonides* was wont to say, that the keeping of an escurie or stable of horses, followeth not the lame or oile cunct, but the rich corne fields: that is, it is not for poore men to entertaine great horses, but those rather who are landed men and with their revenewes able to maintaine them:

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Even so, we see it is ordinarie, that flatterie keepeth not companie nor forthwith poore folke, or such persons as live obscurely & are of no abilitie: but commonly it is the ruine and decay of great houses, & a maladie incident to mighty States; which oftentimes undoeth & overthroweth whole Monarchies, Realmes, and great Seignories. In which regard it is no small matter, nor a thing that requirerh little, or no forecast & providence to search & consider the nature thereof: least being so active and busie as it is, and readie to meddle in everie place (nothing so much) it do no hurt unto friendship, nor bring it into obloquie and discredit. For these flatterers resemble lice for all the world: And why? These vermine we see never haunt those that be dead, but leave and forsake the corps so soone as ever the blood (whereof they were wont to feede) is extinct or deprived of vitall spirit: Semblably, a man shall never see flatterers, so much as approach unto such persons as are in decay, whose state is crackt and credit waxeth coole; but looke where there is the glorie of the world, where there is authoritie and power, thither they flocke, and there they grow: no sooner is there a change of fortune but they meane and flinke away, and are no more scene. But we ought not to attend to long and stay for this triall, being unprofitable, or rather hurtfull and not without some danger: For it goeth verie hard with a man, if at the verie instant and not before, even when he hath most need of friendship, to perceive those to be no friends whom he tooke to be, and namely, when he hath not with him at hand, a good and faithfull friend, to exchange for him that is untrue, disloyal and counterfeite. For if a man did well, he should be provided before hand of an approved and tried friend, ere he have need to employ him, as well as of current and lawfull money; and not then to make triall of him and finde him faultie, when he is in greatest need and standeth in most need: For we ought not to make proofe with our losse, and finde him to be false to our cost and detriment; but contrariwise to be skillfull in the meanes of smelling out a flatterer, that we receive no damage by force: For otherwise, that might befall us, which happeneth unto those who for to know the force of deadly poisons, take the assay, and taste first themselves thereof: well may they indeed come to the judgement thereof: but this skill is deereely bought, when they are sure to die for it. And like as we do not commend such; no more can we praise and approve of those, who measure friendship onely by honestie and profit: thinking withall, That such as converse and company with them pleasantly, are straight waies to be attained as flatterers, no lesse then if they were taken in the very act of flatterie: For surely a friend should not be unpleasant & unfavoure, without any feasoning (as it were) of delightfome qualities: neither is friendship to be accounted venerable in this respect, that it is austere or bitter; but even that verie beauty and gravitie that it hath is sweet and delectable, and as the Poet saith,

About her alwaies seated be
Delightfome Love and Graces three.

And not he onely who is in calamitie,

Doth great content and comfort find
To see the face of fruite friend.

according as *Euripides* saith, but true amitie addeth no lesse grace, pleasure, and joy unto those that be in prosperitie, than it catcheth them of sorrow and griefe who are in adversitie. *Evemus* was wont to say, that of all pleasant fauce, fire was the best and most effectfull: And even so God having mingled friendship with this life of ours, hath made all things joyous, sweete, pleasant and acceptable, where a friend is present and enioieth his part. For otherwise a man can not devise nor expresse, how and in what sort a flatterer could insinuate himselfe and creepe into favour, under the colour of pleasure, if he saw that friendship in the owne nature never admitted any thing that was pleasant and delectable. But like as false and counterfeite peeces of gold which will not abide the touch, represent onely the lustre and bright glittering of gold: So a flatterer resembling the sweete and pleasant behaviour of a friend, sheweth himselfe alwaies joyous, mery and delightfome, without crossing at any time. And therefore we ought not presently to suspect all them to be flatterers who are given to praise others: For otherwhiles to commend a man, so it be done in time and place convenient, is a propertie no lesse befitting a friend, than to blame and reprehend: Nay contrariwise, there is nothing so adverse and repugnant to amitie and societie, than testinesse, thwarting, complaining, and evermore fault-finding: whereas, if a man knoweth the good will of his friend to be ever preft and readie to yeeld due praises, and those in full measure to things well done, he will beare more patiently and in better part another time, his free reprehensions and reproofe for that which is done amisse: for that he is verily perswaded of him that as he was willing yough to praise, so he was as loth to dis-

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praise, and therefore taketh all in good worship. A difficult matter then it is, will some one say, to discerne a flatterer from a friend, seeing there is no difference between them, either in doing pleasure, or yielding praise: for otherwise, we see oftentimes, that in many services, countesses and kindnesse besides, a flatterer is more readie and forward than a friend. True it is indeed we must needs say: a right hard matter it is to know the one from the other; especially if we speake of a right flatterer indeed, who is his owne crafts-master, and can skill how to handle the matter artificially, and with great cunning and dexteritie: if (I say) we make no reckoning of them for flatterers, as the common people doe, who are the ordinarie smell-sealts, and as ready as flies to light in everie dish: these parasites (I say) whose tongue (as one said verie well) will be walking so soone as men have washed their hands, and be readie to sit downe to meat, cogging and footing up their good masters at everie word, who have no honestie at all in them, and whose scurrilitie, profane, and irreligious impuritie, a man shall soone finde with one dish of meat and cup of wine. For surely there was no great need to detect and convince the flatterie of *Melancthon* the Parasite and feller of *Alexander Phraus* the Tyrant, who being asked upon a time how *Alexander* his good Lord and master was murdered, Mary with a thrust (quoth he) of a sword, which went in at this side, and came as farre as into my belly: neither of such as a man shall never see to faile, but where there is a good house and plentifull table kept, they will be sure to gather round about it, in such sort as there is no fire nor iron grates, or brasle gates, can keep them backe, but they will be readie to put their foot under the boord: no nor of those women who in times past were called in *Cyprus*, *Colchides*, i. Flatterers; but after they were come to *Syriz*, men named them, *Chimacides*, as one would say, *Ladder-ssers*, for that they used to lie along, & to make their backs stepping stools or ladders as it were for *Queenes* & *Great mens* wives to get upon when they would mount into their coaches. What kinde of flatterer then is it so hard and yet needfull to beware of? Forsooth, even of him who seemeth none such, and professeth nothing lesse than to flatter: whom a man shall never finde about the kitchen where the good meate is dressed, nor take measuring of shadows to know how the daie goes, and when it is dinner or supper time: ne yet see drunken and lying along the ground untowardly, and full like a beaft: But for the most part sober he is enough; he loveth to bee a curious Polypragmon; he will have an oare in every boat, and thinks he is to intermeddle in all matters; he hath a minde to be privie and partie in all deepe secrets; and in one word he carrieth himselfe like a grave Tragedian, and not as a Comicall or Satyricall player, and under that vison and habit he counterfeiteth a friend. For according to the saying of *Plato*, it is the greatest and most extreme injustice for a man to make semblance of being just when he is not: even so we are to thinke, that flatterie of all others to be most dangerous, which is covert and not apert or professed; which is serious (I say) and not practised by way of jest and sport. And verily such glozing and flatterie as this, causeth men oftentimes to mistrust true friendship indeed, and doth derogate much from the credit thereof: for that in many things it jumpeth so even therewith, unless a man take verie good heed and looke narrowly into it. True it is, that *Gobrias* being runne into a darke and secret roome, together with one of the usurping Tyrants of *Persia*, called *Magi*, whom he persued hard, and at handy gripes struggling, grappling, and wrestling close together, cried out unto *Darius* comming into the place with a naked sword, and doubting to thrust at the Viceroy, for feare he should runne *Gobrias* thorough also; Thrust hardly and spare not (quoth he) though you dispatch us both at once. But we who in no wise can allow of that common saying, Let a friend perish, so he take an enemy with him: but are desirous to plucke and part a flatterer from a friend, with whom he is coupled and interlaced by meanes of so many resemblances: we (I say) have great cause to feare and beware, that we do not cast and reject from us the good with the bad: or least in pardoning and accepting that which is agreeable and familiar unto us, we fall upon that which is hurtfull and dangerous. For like as among wilde seeds of another kind, those that being of the same forme, fashion, and bignes with the graines of wheat are intermingled therewith, a man shall hardly trie out from the rest, for that they will not passe thorough the holes of the sieve, riddle or trie, if they be narrow; and in case they be large and wide, out goeth the good come together with such; even so it is passing hard to separate flatterie from friendship, being so intermeddled therewith in all accidents, motions, affaires, dealings, employment and conversation as it is. For considering that a flatterer seeth well enough, that there is nothing in the world so pleasurable as friendship, nor yeeldeth more contentment unto man than it doth: He windeth himselfe into favour by meanes of pleasure, and wholly is imploied to procure mirth and delight. Also for that both grace and commoditie, doth alwayes

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accompany amitie; in which regard the common Proverbe saith, that a friend is more necessarie than either fire or water. Therefore a flatterer is readie to put himselfe forward, and offereth his service with all double diligence, striving in all occasions and businesse to be ever prompt and officious. And because the principall thing that linketh and bindeth friendship sure at the beginning, is the conformitie and likenesse of manners, studies, endeavours and inclinations, and in one word seeing that to be like affected, and to shew pleasure or displeasure in the same things, is the chiefe matter that knitteth amitie and both combineth, and also keepeth men together, by a certaine mutuall correspondencie in naturall affections: the flatterer knowing so much, composeth his nature (as it were) some unformed matter ready to receive all sorts of impressions, studying to frame and accommodate himselfe wholly to all those things that he taketh in hand; yea and to resemble those persons just by way of imitation whom he meaneth to set upon and deceive, as being soule, soft, and pliable, to represent them lively in everie point, so as a man may say of him after this manner,

Achilles (enough) thinks you he is?

Nay, even Achilles himselfe is.

But the craftiest cast of all other, that he hath, is this, That seeing (as he doth) libertie of speech, (both in truth, and also according to the opinion and speech of the whole world) to be the proper voice of friendship (as a man would say) of some living creature; inso much, as where there is not this freedome of speaking frankly, there is no true friendship nor generositie in deed. In this point also, he will not seeme to come short, nor leave it behinde for want of imitation; but after the fashion of fine and excellent cookes, who use to serve up tart, bitter and sharpe sauces together with sweet & pleasant meats, for to divert & take away the fatietie and fulnesse which soone followeth them. These flatterers also use a certaine kind of plaine and free speech; howbeit, neither sincere and naturall is it, nor profitable, but (as we commonly say) from teeth outward, or (as it were) beckening and winking slightly with the eye under the browes, not touching the quick, but tickling aloft onely, to no purpose. Well, in these respects above specified, hardly and with much adoe is a flatterer discovered, and taken in the manner; much like unto those beasts, who by nature have this propertie, To change their colour, and in hue to resemble that bodily matter or place whereon they settle, and which they touch. Seeing then it is so, that he is so apt to deceive folke, and lieth hidden under the likeness of a friend; our part it is, by unfolding the differences that are so hidden, to turne him out of his masking habit, and being despoiled of those colours and habiliments that he borroweth of others, for want of his owne (as *Plato* saith) to lay him naked and open to the eye: let us therefore enter into this discourse, and fetch it from the very first beginning.

We have already said, that the originall of friendship among men (for the most part) is our conformitie of nature and inclination, embracing the same customes and maners, loving the same exercises, affecting the same studies, and delighting in the same actions and imployments concerning which, these verses well and fitly runne;

Olde folke love best with aged folke to talke,

And with their feeser young children to disport:

Women once met, do let their tongues walke,

With such likewise, such persons best do sport:

7 he wretched man his miseries doth lament

With those, whose fate like fortunes do torment.

The flatterer then, being well aware that it is a thing naturally inbred in us, to delight in those that are like our selves, to converse with them, and to use and love them above all others, endeavoureth first and formost to draw and approach, yea, and to lodge neere unto him whom he meaneth to enslave and compasse, even as if he went about in some great pasture to make toward one beatt, whom he purposeth to tame and bring to hand, by little and little joining close unto him, as it were, to be incorporated in the same studies and exercises, in the same affections, employments and course of life: and this he doth so long, untill the party whom he laith for, have given him some advantage to take holde by, as suffering himselfe gently to be touched, clawed, handled and stroked; during which time, he letteth slip no opportunitie to blame those persons, to reproove those things, and contes of life, which he perceiveth the other to hate: contrariwise, to praise and approve all that which he knoweth him to take delight in: and this he doeth not after an ordinary manner and in a meane, but excessively and beyond all measure, with a kinde of admiration and wonder; confirming this love or hatred of his, to a thing, not

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as if he had received these impressions from some sudden passion, but upon a staied and settled judgement. Which being so: how, and by what different marks shall he be known and convinced, that he is not the like or the same in deed, but only a counterfeit of the like and of the same? First, a man must consider well, whether there be an uniforme equalitie in all his intentions and actions or no? whether he continue and persist still, taking pleasure in the same things, and praising the same at all times? whether he compose and direct his life according to one and the same molde and paterne? like as it becommeth a man who is an ingenious lover of that friendship and conversation which is ever after one manner, and alwaies like it selfe: for such a one in deed is a true friend. But a flatterer contrariwise is one who hath no one permanent feat in his manners and behaviour, nor hath made choise of any life for his owne content, but onely 10 to please another, as framing and applying his actions wholly to the humor of another, is never simple, uniforme, nor like himselfe, but variable and changing alwaies from one forme to another, much like as water which is powred out of one vessel into another, even as it runneth forth, taketh the forme and fashion of that vessel which receiveth it. And herein he is cleane contrarie to the ape; for the ape as it should seeme, thinking to counterfeit a man, by tuming, hopping and dancing as he doth, is quickly caught: but the flatterer, whiles he doth imitate and counterfeit others, doth entice and draw them, as it were, with a pipe or call, into his net, and so beguileth them. And this he doeth not alwaies after one manner; for with one he daunceth and singeth; with another he will seeme to wrestle, or otherwise to exercise the bodie in feats of activitie: if he chance to meet with a man that loveth to hunt, and to keepe hounds, him he will follow hard at heeles, setting out a throat as loud in a manner as *Hippolytus* in the Tragedie *Phœdra*, crying,

*So ho, this is my joy and onely good,
With erie to lure, with teasing borne to winde,
By leave of gods to bring into the wood
My hounds, so rouse and chafe the dapple Hinde.*

And yet hath he nothing to do at all with the wild beastes of the Forrest, but it is the hunter himselfe whom hee laith for to take within his net and toile. And say that hee light upon a young man that is a student & given to learning, then you shall see him also as deepe poring upon his booke, and flutend in his Studie; you shall have him let his beard grow downe to his foot, like a 30 grave Philosopher: who but he then, in his side thred-bare students cloake, after the Greeke fashion, as if he had no care of himselfe, nor joy of any thing els in the world: not a word then in mouth, but of the Numbers, Orthangles and Triangles of *Plato*. If peradventure there fall into his hands an idle do-nothing, who is rich withall, and a good fellow, one that loveth to eat and drinke and make good chere,

*That wily Fox Vlysses the
Tirragged garments will off do.*

off goes then his bare and overorne studying gowne, his beard he causeth to be cut & thorne as neere as a new mowen field in harvest, when all the corne is gone: no talke then but of flagons, bottles, pots, and cooling pans to keepe the wine cold: nothing now but merie 40 conceits to moove laughter in everie walking place and gallerie of pleasure: Now hee letteth flie frumpes and scoffes against schollers and such as studie philosophie. Thus by report it fell out upon a time at *Syracusa*: For when *Plato* thither arrived, and *Denys* all on a sodaine was set upon a furious fit of love to Philosophie, his palace and whole court was full of doct and fand, by reason of the great recourse thither of Students in Geometrie, who did nothing but draw figures therein. But no sooner had *Plato* incurred his displeasure and was out of favor: no sooner had *Denys* the tyrant bidden Philosophie farewell, & given himselfe againe to belly-chere, to wine, vanities, wantonnesse, and all loosenesse of life: but all at once, it seemed the whole court was transformed likewise, (as it were by the forcierie and enchantment of *Cyrces*) into hatred and detestation of good letters; so as they forgot all goodnesse, and betooke themselves to 50 folly and sottishnesse. To this purpose it were not amisse for to alledge as testimonies, the fashions and acts of some notorious flatterers, such I meane as have governed Common-wealths, and affected popularitie. Among whom the greatest of all other was *Alcibiades*, who all the while he was at Athens used to scoffe, and had a good grace in merie conceits & pleasant jests: he kept great horses, and lived in jollitie, most gallantly, with the love and favor of all men: when he fojournd in *Sparta*, he went alwaies thaven to the bare skin, in an overorne cloke, or else the same very course, and never washed his bodie but in cold water. Afterwards, being

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in *Thrace*, he became a soldior, and would carrouse and drinke lustily with the best. He came no sooner to *Tisaphernes* in *Asia*, but he gave himselfe to voluptuousnes and pleasure, to riot, wantonnes, and superfluous delights: Thus throughout the whole course of his life, he wan the love of all men, by framing himselfe to their humors and fashions wherefoever he came. Such were not *Epaminondas* and *Agessilaus*: For albeit they conversed with many sorts of people, traivelled divers cities, and saw sundry fashions and manners of strange nations; yet they never changed their behavior, they were the same men still, retaining evermore a decent port: which became them, in their apparel, speech, diet, and their whole carriage and demeanor. *Plato* like wife was no changeling, but the same man at *Syracusa*, that he was in the Academie or College at Athens: and looke what his carriage was before *Dion*, the same it was and no other in *Denys* 10 his court.

But that man may very easily finde out the variable changes of a flatterer, as of the fish called the Pourcuttle, who will but straine a little and take the paines to play the dissembler himselfe, making shew as if he likewise were transformed into divers and sundry fashions; namely in misliking the course of his former life, and sodainly seeming to embrace those things which he rejected before, whether it be in diet, action or speech: For then he shall soone see the flatterer also to be inconstant, and not a man of himselfe, taking love or hatred to this or that, joying or grieving at a thing, upon any affection of his owne that leadeh him thereto, for that he receiveth alwaies as a mirror the images of the passions, motions and and lives of other men. If you 20 chance to blame one of your friends before him, what will he say by and by? Ah well, You have found him out I see now at last though it were long since: I wis I liked him not long a great while ago: Contrariwise, if your minde alter, so that you happen to fall a praising of him againe: Very well done will he say, and binde it with an oath, I can you thank for that: I am very glad for the mans sake, and I beleeve no lesse of him. Do you breake with him about the alteration of your life, and beare him in hand that you meane to take another course, as for example, to give over State affaires, to betake your selfe to a more private and quiet life. Yea marie (quoth he) and then you do well, it is more than high time so to do: For long since we should have beene disburdened of these troubles so full of envie and perill. Make him beleeve once that you will change your copie, and that you are about to shake off this idle life, and to betake 30 you selfe unto the Common-weale, both to rule and also to speake in publicke place: you shall have him to sooth you up, and second your song, with these and such like responds: A brave mind (beleeve me) and becomming a man of your worth and good parts: For to say a truth, this idle and private life, though it be pleasant, and have ease enough, yet it is but bale, abject, and dishonorable; when you finde him there once, muffle his nose immediately with this posie,

*Good sir me thinks you soone do turne your stile,
You seeme much chang'd from him you were ere while.*

I have no neede of such a friend, that will alter as I doe, and follow me every way (for my shadow can do that much better) I had rather have one that with me will follow the truth, & judge according to it and not otherwise. Avant therefore, I will have nought to do with thee. Thus 40 you see one way to discover a flatterer.

A second difference we ought to observe in his imitations and resemblances, for a true friend doth not imitate all that he seeth him whom he loveth to do; neither is he forward in praising everie thing, but that onely which is best: For according to *Sophocles*,

*In love he would his fellow be,
But not in hate and enmitie.*

And verily one friend is ready and willing to assist another in well doing, and in honest life, and never will yeeld to be companion in leaudnesse, or helpe him to commit any wicked and heinous fact; unlesse peradventure through the ordinarie conversation, and continuall acquaintance together, he be tainted with infection of some ill qualitie and vicious condition, even 50 against his will and ere he be well aware: much like as they who by contagion catch rheumaticke and bleered eies: or as the familiar friends and schollers (by report) of *Plato* did imitate him in stouping forward: and those of *Aristotle* in his stammering and maffling speech; and the Courtiers of *Alexander* the Great, in bending of his necke, and rough voice when he spake. For even so, some there be who receive impression of their manners and conditions at unawares and against their wils. But contrariwise, it fareth with a flatterer even as with the Chameleon; For as he can take upon him any colour save onely white; semblably, a flatterer cannot possibly frame himselfe to any thing that good is and of importance; but there is no naughtinesse and 60 badnesse

badnesse in the world which he will not quickly imitate. And well I may compare such fellows to ill painters, who when through insufficiency in their art they be not able to draw to the life, the beaute and fauour of a good face, will be fure yet to expresse the riuels, warts, moles, freckles, carres and such like deformities. For euen so a flatterer can imitate verie passing well, Incontinencie, foolish superstition, haflines and choler, bitterneffe towards household seruants, distrust and diffidence in friends & kinsfolke, yea and treacherie against them: for that by nature he is alwaies inclined to the woofe; and besides, so far he would be thought from blaming vice, that he undertaketh to imitate the same. For those that seeke for amendment of life and reformation of manners are euer suspected: such (I say) as shew themselves displeased and offended at the faults and misdemeanors of their friends. And this was it that made *Dion* odious to *Derys*, the Tyrant, *Samius* to *Philip*, and *Cleomenes* to *Protophanes*, and in the ende was their ruine and overthrow. The flatterer who desireth to be both pleasant and faithfull at once, or at leastwise so to be reputed, for excessive love and friendship that he pretendeth, will not seeme to be offended with his friend for any lewd parts, but in all things would be thought to carie the same affection, and to be in manner of the same nature and incorporate into him: whereupon it cometh to passe also, that euen in casuall things and the occurrences of this life, which happen without our will and counsell, he will needes have a part, there is no remedie. This he is disposed to flatter sicke persons, hee will make as though hee were sicke also of the same disease for companie: and if hee have to doe with such as bee dimme sighted or hard of hearing, hee will be thought neither to see nor heare well for fellowship. Thus the flatterers about *Derys* the Tyrants, when he had an impediment in his eies that he could not see clearly, fained that themselves likewise were halfe blinde, and to make it good, hit one upon another at the board, and overthrow the dishes upon the table as they fate at supper. Others there be that proceed farther than so, and because they would appeere more touched with a fellow-feeling of affections, will enter as farre as to the verie inward secrets that are not to be revealed. For if they can perceive that they whom they do flatter, be not fortunate in their marriage, or that they are growen into distrust, jealousie, and sinister opinion, either of their owne children, or their neer kinsfolke and familiars; they spare not themselves but begin to complaine, & that with griefe of heart and sorrow of their owne wives and children, of their kindred and friends, laying abroad some criminous matters, which were better (wis) to be concealed and smothered, than uttered and revealed. And this resemblance and likeness that they take upon themselves, causeth them to seeme more affectionate and fuller of compassion. The other then, thus flattered, thinking that by this means they have received from them a sufficient painne and assurance of their fidelitie, sicke not to let fall from their mouth some matter of secrecie also; and when they have once committed it unto them, then they are euer after bound to use them, yea and be afraid to mistrust them in any thing. I my selfe knew one who seemed to put away his owne wedded wife, because his friend whom he flattered had divorced his before: and when he had so done, was known to go secretly unto her, and messengers there were who passed to and fro betweene them under hand: which the divorced wife of the other perceived and found out well ynough. Certes little knew he what a flatterer was, and he had no experience of him who thought these Iambicke verses to expresse the Sea-crab better than him,

A beast whose body and belly are meet,

This eie doth serve each way to see;

With teacubit creeper, they stand for see,

And ad now what creature this may be?

For this is the very portraiture and image of a parasite, who keeps about the frying pan (as *Eupolis* saith) of his good friends, and waiteth where the cloth is laid. But as touching these things, let us reserve them to their proper place for to be discoursed more at large. Howbeit, for the present let us not leaue behinde us one notable devise and cunning cast, that a flatterer hath in his imitations; to wit, that if he do counterfeit some good qualitie that is in him whom he doth flatter, yet he giueth him alwaies the upper hand: For among those that be true friends, there is no emulation at all, no jealousie or envy betweene one & another: but whether they be equall in well doing or come behinde, they take all in good part and never grieve at the matter. But the flatterer bearing wel in minde that he in euerie place, is to play the second part, yeeleth alwaies in his imitation the equalitie from himselfe, and doth affect to counterfeit another so, as he will be the inferiour, giving the superiouritie unto the other in all things but those which are naught, for therein he chalengeth to himselfe the victorie over his friend. If he be somewhat mal-content

and

and hard to be pleased, then will the flatterer profess himselfe to be sticke melancholike: if his friend be somewhat too religious or superstitious, then will he make semblance as though he were rapt and transported altogether with the feare of the gods: If the other be amorous, he will be in love furious: when the other saith I laughed a good; but I (will he say againe) laughed untill I was well neere dead. But in good things it is cleane contrarie, for when he speaketh of good footmanship he will say, I runne swiftly indeed; but you fly away. Again, I sit a horse and ride reasonable wel; but what is that to this Hippo-Centaure here for good horsemanship? Alas, I have a pretie gift in Poetrie (I must needs say) and am not the worst verifiers in the world; but

To thunder verses I have no skill,

To Iupiter there leave that I will.

in these and such like speeches two things at once he doth: for first he seemeth to approve the enterprise of the other as singular good, because he doth imitate him; and secondly he sheweth that his sufficiency therein is incomparable and not to be matched, in that he confesseth himselfe to come short of him. And thus much of the different marks betwene a flatterer and a friend as touching their resemblances.

Now, forasmuch as there is a communite of delectation and pleasure in them both (as I have said before) for that an honest man taketh no lesse joy and comfort in his friends, than a lewd person in flatterers, let us consider likewise the distinction betweene them in this behalfe. The onely way to distinguish them a funder in this point, is to marke the drift and end of the delectation both in the one and the other: which a man may see more clearly by this example: There is in a sweete ointment an odoriferous smell; so is there also in an Antidote or medicine; but herein lieth the difference, for that in the ointment above said, there is a reference to pleasure onely, and to nothing else; but in the Antidote, beside the delectation that the odor yeeldeth, there is a respect also of some medicinable vertue, namely either to purge and cleanse the bodie, or to heate and chafe it, or else to incarnate and make new flesh to come. Again, Painters do grinde and mixe fresh colours and lively tinctures; so the Apothecarie hath drugs and medicines of a beautifull and pleasant colour to the eie, that it would do a man good to look upon them. But wherein is the difference? Is there any man so grosse that conceiveth not readily, that the odds lieth in the use or end, for which both the one and the other be ordained? Scarcely the mutuall offices and kindnes that passe from friend to friend, beside the honestie and profite that they have, bring with them also that which is pleasing and delectable, as if some deinty and lively flowers grew thereupon: For sometime friends use plaies and pastimes one with another: they invite one another, they eate and drinke together: yea and otherwhiles (believe me) you shall have them make themselves mery and laugh hartly, jesting, gauding, and disporting one with another; all which serve as pleasant fauces to season their other serious and honest affaires of great weight and consequence. And to this purpose serve wel these verses:

With pleasant discourses from one to another

They made themselves mery, being met together.

Allo,

And nothing else disjoined our amity;

Nor parted our pleasures and mutual joyty.

But the whole worke of a flatterer, and the onely marke that he shooteth at, is alwaies to de-vise, prepare and coniect, as it were, some play or sport, some action and speech, with pleasure and to do pleasure. And to knit up all briefly in one word, he is of opinion that he ought to do all for to be pleasant: whereas the true friend doing alwaies that which his dutie requieth, many times pleaseth, and as often againe he is displeased: not that his intention is to displease at any time; howbeit if he see it expedient and better so to do, he will not sicke to be a little harsh and unpleasant. For like as a Physician when neede requieth, putteth in some Saffron or Spiknard into his medicine: yea and otherwhile permitteth his patient a delicate bath, or libellall

casteth in *Castoreum*,

Or Polium which strong sent doth yeeld

And sinks most of all herbes in field:

or else he bruseth and stampeth some Ellibore, and forceth his patient to drinke of that potion: not proposing either in the former medicine pleasure, nor in the latter displeasure for the end: but both by the one and the other, training the sicke person under his hand to one & the same effect of his cure, to wit, his good and the health of his body: even so it is with a true friend:

one

one while with praises and gracious words he extollet and cheereth up his friend, inciting him thereby alwaies to that which is good and honest, as he in *Homer*,

*Deere heart Sir Teucer worth the sonne
of Telamon that Knight,
Come Prince and floure of valiant knights,
Shoot thus your arrowes flight,
And another,
How can I ever put out of minde
Heavenly Vlysses a Prince so kinde?*

Contrariwise, another while where there is need of chastisement and correction, he will not spare but use sharpe and biting words: yea, and that free speech which carrieth with it an affection carefull to do good, and such as in deed becometh a tutor and governour, much after this manner:

*What Menelaus! how ever thou
from Iupiter you descend:
Thou play the foole for folly such
I cannot pen commend.*

It falleth out so likewise, that sometime he addeth deeds to words. And thus *Mene demus* (that the doore against the sonne of *Alepiades* his friend, and would not deigne once to salute him, because he was a riotous youth, and lived dissolutely and out of all order: by which meanes he was reclaimed from loose life, and became an honest man. *Arcesilau* in like maner excluded *Battus* out of his schoole, and would not suffer him to enter, because in a Comedie that he composed, he had made one verse against *Cleambes*; but afterwards *Battus* repenting of that he had done, and making satisfaction unto *Cleambes*, was pardoned and received againe into his favor. For a man may offend his friend with intention to do him good; but he must not proceed so farre in displeasing him, that thereby he breake or undo the knot of friendship: he ought (I say) to use a sharpe rebuke, as a Physician doth play more bitter or tart medicine, to save or preserve the life of his patient. And a good friend is to play the part of a Musician, who to bring his instrument into tune, and so to keepe it, setteth up these strings, and letteth downe those: and so ought a friend to exchange profit with pleasure, and use one with another, as occasion serveth, observing till this rule often times, to be pleasing unto his friend, but alwaies profitable: whereas the flatterer being used evermore to sing one note, and to play upon the same string, that is to say, To please: and in all his words and deeds, to aime at nothing els but the contentment of him whom he flattereth, can not skill either in act to resist, or in speech to reprove and offend him; but goeth on still in following his humor, according alwaies with him in one tune, and keeping the same note just with him.

Now, as *Xenophon* writeth of king *Agesslau*, that he was well apaid to be commended of them, who he knew would also blame him if there were cause; so we are to thinke well of friendship when it is pleasant, delightome and cheerefull, if otherwhiles also it can displease and crosse againe; but to have in suspicion the conversation and acquaintance of such, as never doe or say any thing but that which is pleasing, continually keeping one course without change, never rubbing where the gall is, nor touching the sore, without reproofe and contradiction. We ought (I say) to have ready alwaies in remembrance the saying of an ancient Laconian, who hearing king *Charilus* so highly praised and extolled; And how possibly (quoth he) can he be good, who is neuer sharpe or severe unto the wicked? The gad-flie (as they say) which useth to plague bulles and oxen, setteth about their eares, and so doth the tick deale by dogges: after the same maner, flatterers take holde of ambitious mens eares, and possesse them with praises; and being once set fast there, hardly are they to be removed and chased away. And here most needfull it is, that our judgement be watchfull and observant, and doe discerne whether these praises be attributed to the thing or the person; wee shall perceive that the thing it selfe is praised, if they commend men rather absent than in place: also if they desire and affect that themselves, which they do so like and approve in others: again, if they praise not us alone, but all others, for the semblable qualities: likewise, if they neither say nor do one thing now, and another time the contrary. But the principall thing of all other, is this, If we our selves know in our owne secret confidence, that we neither repent nor be ashamed of that, for which they so commend us: yet wish in our hearts, that we had said or done the contrary: for the inward judgement of our mind and soule bearing witness against such praises, and not admitting thereof, is void of affections and

and passions, whereby it neither can be touched nor corrupted and surpris'd by a flatterer. However, I know not how it commeth about, that the most part of men can not abide nor receive the consolations which be ministred unto them in their adversities, but rather take delight and comfort in those that weep, lament and mourne with them: and yet the same men having offended or being delinquent in any dutie, if one come and find fault or touch them to the quick therefore, do strike and imprint into their hearts remorse and repentance, they take him for no better than an accuser and enemy: contrariwise, let one highly commend and magnifie that which they have done; him they salute and embrace, him they account their well-willer and friend in deed. Now, whosoever they be that are ready to praise and extoll with applause and clapping of hands, that which one hath done or said, were it in earnest or in game; such (I say) are dangerous and hurtfull for the present onely, and in those things which are next hand: but those, who with their praises pierce as farre as to the maners within, and with their flatteries proceed to corrupt their inward natures and dispositions, I can liken unto those slaves or household servants, who rob their masters, not onely of that come which is in the heape, & lieth in the garners, but also of the very feed; for the inclination and towardsse of a man, are the seed that bring forth all his actions, and the habitude of conditions and maners, are the very source and head from whom runneth the course of our whole life, which they pervert in giving to vices the names of virtues. *Theydides* in his storie writeth: That during civil seditions and warres, men transferred the accustomed significations of words unto other things, for to iustifie their deeds: for de lay and temporizing, was taken for decent cowardise: Modestie and temperance, was thought to be a cloke of effeminate unmanliness: a prudent and wary circumspection in all things, was held for a generall sloth and idleness. According to which precedent, we are to consider and observe in flatterers, how they terme prodigallie by the name of liberalitie; cowardise is nothing with them but heedfull warinesse: bramikewit they entitle promptitude, quicknesse, and celeritie: base and mechanical niggardise, they account temperate frugallitie. Is there one full of love and given to be amorous? him they call good fellow, a boun-companion, a man of a kind and good nature. See they one haughty, wrathfull, and proud withall? him they will have to be hardie, valiant and magnanimous: contrariwise, one of a base minde and abject spirit, they will grace with the attribute of fellow-like, and full of humilitie. Much like to that which *Plato* hath written in one place: That the amorous lover is a flatterer of those whom he loveth. For if they be flat nosed like a shooing horse, such they call lovely and gracious: be they hawk nosed like a griffin, oh, that is a kingly sight say they: those that be blacke of colour, are manly: white of complexion, be Gods children. And as for the terme *Melicholus*, that is, Hony-coloured, it is alwaies (verily) a flattering word, devised by a lover, to mitigate and diminish the odiousnesse of a pale hue, which he seemeth by that sweet name, not to mislike, but to take in the best part. And verily if hee that is foule & ill favoured, be borne in hand that he is faire and beautifull, or one of small & low stature made beleefe that he is goodly & tall, he neither continueth long in this his error, neither is the damage that he sustaineth thereby greivous & great, nor unrecoverable: but the praises which induce & inure a man to beleefe, That vice is vertue, in so much that he is nothing at all discontented in his sinne and greewed therefore, but rather taketh pleasure therein: those also which take away from us all shame and abashment to commit faults; such were they that brought the Sicilians to ruine, and gave them occasion to beautifie or colour the tyrannic and crueltie of *Dems* and *Phalaris*, with the goodly names of Iustice and Hatred of wickednesse: These were the overthrow of *Aegypt*, in cloaking the effeminate wantonnesse, the furious superstition, the yelling noises after a fanaticall maner of king *Pholomeus*, together with the marks that he caried of Lillies and Tabours in his body, with the glorious names of Devotion, Religion, and the service of the gods. And this was it that at the same time went very neere, and had like to have corrupted and spoiled for ever the maners and fashions of the Romanes, which before were so highly reputed, to wit, naming the riotousnes of *Antonie*, his looseness, his superfluous delights, his sumptuous shewes & publike feasts, with their profusion and wasting of so much monie, by smooth and gentle termes of courtiesse, and meriments full of humanie, by which disguisements and pretexts, his fault was mollified or diminished in abusing to excessively the grandence of his puissance & fortune. And what was it else that made *Pholomeus* to put on the masque or muffle (as it were) of a piper, and to hang about him pipes and flutes? What was it that caused *Zeuxo* to mount up the Stage to act Tragedies, with a vifour over his face, and buskins on his legs? was it not the praise of such flatterers as these? And are not

not most of our kings being when they sing small and fine, after a piling manner, saluted *Apollos* for their musick: and if they drinke until they be drunke, honored with the names of *Bacchus* the god of wine: and when they seeme a little to wrestle or trie some feats of activitie, fliled by and by with the glorious addition of *Hercules*, brought (think you) to exceeding dishonour & shame by this grosse flatterie, taking such pleasure as they do in these gallanturnames. And therefore we had most need to beware of a flatterer in the praises which he giveth, which himselfe is not ignorant of, but being carefull and very subtil in avoiding all suspition, if haply he meet with one of these fine fooles, and delicate minions, well set out in gay apparell: or some rustical thicke-skin, carying on his backe a good leather pitch; or (as they say) one that feedeth grossly: such he will not spare but abuse with broad flattery, and make common laughing flocks of them: Like as *Struthius*, making a very asse of *Bias*, and riding him up and downe, yea & insulting upon him for his sottishnesse with praises that he would seeme to hang upon him: Thou hast (quoth he) drunk more than king *Alexander* the great, & with that turning to *Cyprius* laughed as hard as ever he could till he was ready to sinke againe. But if a flatterer chance to deale with them that be more civill and elegant, and do perceive that they have a speciall eie unto him in this point, namely that they stand well upon their guard in this place, for feare lest they be surprisid by him: then he goes not to worke directly in praising of them, but he keepeth aloofe, he ferleth about many compasses a great way off at first, afterwards by little and little he winneth some ground and approcheth neerer and neerer, making no noyse untill he can touch and handle them, much after the manner of those that come about wilde beasts, affaying how to bring them to hand and make them tame and gentle. For one while he will report to such a one the praises that some other give out of him: imitating herein the Rhetoricians, who many times in their orations speake in the third person, and after this manner he will begin: I was not long since (quoth he) in the market place, where I had some talke with certaine strangers, and other ancient personages of good worth, whom I was glad at the heart to heare, how they recounted all the good in the world of you, and spake wonderfully in your commendation. Otherwhiles he will devise and fetch out of his owne fingers ends some light imputations against him, yet all forged and false, agreeable to his person and condition, making semblance as if he had heard others what they said of him, and very cunningly will be close with him, and beare him in hand that he is come in all haste to know of him, whether ever he said or did so as was reported of him: And if the other do denie it, (as it is no other like but he will) thereupon he takes occasion to enter into the praise and commendation of the man in this wise: I marvel truly how that you should abuse and speake ill of any of your familiars and friends, who were never wont so much as to miscall or say otherwise than well of your very enemies: or how it possibly could be, that you should be ready to gape after other mens goods, who use to be so liberal and bountifull of your owne? Other flatterers there be, who like as Painters to set up their colours and to give them more beautifull light and lustre unto them, lay neere unto them others that be more darke and shadowie: so they in blaming, reprooving, reproching, traducing & deriding the contrarie vertues to those vices which are in them whom the meane to flatter, covertly and underhand do praise and approve those faults and imperfections that they have, and so in praising and allowing, do feede and cherishe the fame: As for example, if they be among prodigall ding-thrifs and wasters, riotous persons, covetous misers, mischievous wretches, and such as have raked & scraped goods together by hooke and crooke, and by all indirect means they care not how: before them they will speake basely of Temperance and Abstinence, calling it rusticitie: and as for those that live justly and with a good conscience, contenting themselves with their estate, and therein reposing suffisance, those they will nickname, heartlesse, and base minded folke, altogether insufficient to do or dare any thing. If it fall out, that they converse and be in companie with such as be idle larks, and love to sit still at home and do nothing, forbearing to meddle with ordinarie affaires abroad in the world: they will not bafn to finde fault with policie and civill government, calling the managing of State matters and common weale, a thanklesse intermeddling in other mens affaires, with much travaile and no profit. And as for the minde and desire to be a magistrate and to sit in place of authoritie, they will not let to say it is vaine glory and ambition, altogether fruitlesse. For to flatter and claw an orator, they will reprove in his presence a Philosopher. Among light huswives that be wantonly given, they winne the price, and are very well accepted, if they call honest matrons and chaste dames (who content themselves with their owne husbands, and them love alone) rude and rusticall women, untaught, ill bred, unlovely and having no grace with them. But herein is the

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very height of wickednesse, that these flatterers for advantage will not spare their owne selves: For like as wrestlers debate their owne bodies and stoupe downe low otherwhiles, for to overthrow their fellows that wrestle with them, and to lay them along on the ground; so in blaming and finding many faults with themselves, they winde in, and creepe closely to the praise and admiration of others: I am (quoth one of them) a very coward, and no better than a verie slave at sea: I can away with no labour and travell in the world; I am all in a heat of choler, and raging mad, if I heare that one hath given me any bad termes; many as for this man (meaning him whom he flattereth) he casteth doubts at no perill and danger, all is one with him, sea or land, he can endure all hardnesse, and he can yett nothing painfull, no hurt there is in him, a singular man he is, and hath not his fellow, he is angry at nothing, he beareth all with patience: But say he meet with one at adventure, which standeth upon his owne bottom, and hath some great opinion of his owne sufficiency for wit and understanding, who hath a desire to be austere, and not to depend upon the conceits of others, but refteth in his owne judgement; and upon a certaine uprightnesse in himselfe, if soones hath these verses in his mouth:

*Sir Diomede, do not me praise
So much to more or lesse,
Nor out of measure me dispraise,
I love not such excess.*

This flatterer then, who is his owne crafts-master and hath thoroughly learned his trade, goeth not the old way to worke in setting upon him, but he hath another engin and device in store to assaile such a grim fir withall. He will make an errand to him for counsell in his owne affaires, as being the man whom he esteemeth to have more wit and wisdom than himselfe. There be divers others (quoth he) with whom I have better acquaintance and familiaritie than with your selfe: Howbeit, sir I am forced of necessitie to make bold and to importune you a little: For whither else should wee ingram men repaire, that have neede of advice? and to whom are we to have recourse in matters of trust and secreesse. And then after he hath heard once what he will say, and it makes no matter what it be; he will take his leave, saying, that he hath received no counsell from a man, but an oracle from some god. Now before he departeth, if haply he perceive that he taketh upon him good skill and insight in literature, he will present unto him some compositions of his owne penning, praying him withall to peruse them, yea and to correct the same. *Mithridates* the king, affected and loved the art of Physicke verie well: by reason whereof some of his familiar friends about him, came and offered themselves to be cut and cauterized by him: which was a meere flatterie in deed and not in word. For it seemed that they gave great testimonie of his soule, in that they put their lives into his hands:

*Of subtil spirits, thus you may see,
That many formes and shapes there be.*

But this kind of dissimuled praises, requiring greater and more warie circumspection to be taken heed of, if a man would detect and convince, hee ought of purpose when hee is tempted and assailed with such flatterie, to obtunde and propose unto the flatterer absurd counsell, if he seeme to demand and aske it: advertisements also and properly of the same kinde, yea and corrections without all sense and to no purpose, when he shall offer his labours to be read and perused: In so doing, if he perceive the partie suspected to be a flatterer, doth not gainely nor contradict any thing, but alloweth of all and receiveth the fame, yea and more than that, when he shall to everie point crie out and say, Oh well said and sufficiently: O excellent wit: be sure, then he is caught in a trap: then I say it will be found plainly according to the common by-word,

*That when he did a watchword crave,
Some other thing he sought to have:
Or as we say in Proverbs old*

that is to say, he waited for some occasion and opportunitee, by praising to puffe him up with vanitie and overweening of himselfe. Moreover, like as some have defined painting to be a mute Poësie; even so praising is a kind of silent and secret flatterie. Hunters (we see) then soonest deceive the poore beasts, when they seeme to do nothing lesse then to hunt, making semblance as though they either travelled like wayfaring men, or tended their flocks, or else tilled the ground. Semblably flatterers touch those whom they flatter, neereft and enter to the verie quick by praising, when they make no shew thereof, but seeme to do nothing lesse than praise.

For

For he that giveth the chaire and seat to another comming in place, or as he is *speaking* an oration either in publike place before the people, or in Councell house to the Senate, breaketh off his owne speech, and yeeldeth unto him his roome, giving him leave to speake or to opine, and remaineth silent himselfe: by this his silence sheweth, that he doth repute the other a better man, and of more sufficiencie for wisdom and knowledge than himselfe, much more than if he should pronounce and ring it out aloud to the whole audience. And hereupon it is that this sort of people who make profession of flatterie, take up ordinarily the first and highest seats, aswell at sermons and publike orations whither men flocke to heare, as at the Theaters and then places, not that they thinke themselves worthe of such places, but because they may rise and make roome for better & richer persons as they come, and thereby flatter them kindly. This we see also, that in solemne assemblies and great meetings or auditories, they are by their good wils the first that put themselves forth, and make offer to begin speech; but it is for nothing else, but that afterward they would seeme to quit the place and give assent to their betters, soone retracting their owne opinions, when they heare a mightie man, a rich or noble personage in authoritie to contradict & say the contrarie. And here we ought most of all to be circumspect and warie, that we may evict them of this, That all this courting, this giving place, this yeelding of the victorie and reverence made unto others, is not for any more sufficiencie that they acknowledge in them, for their knowledge, experience and vertues; ne yet for their worthinesse in regard of elder age, but only for their wealth, riches, credit, and reputation in the world. * *Apelles* a great Lord belonging to the kings court of *Persia*, came upon a time to visit *Apelles* the painter: and sitting by him in his shop to see him worke, began of his owne accord to discusse I wot not what, of lines, shadows and other matters belonging to his art: *Apelles* hearing him, could not hold but laid unto him; See you not fit these little pretense boies here that grinde Oler and other colours? So long as you face still and said never a word, they advised you well and their cie was never off, wondering to see your rich purple robes, your chaines and jewels of gold, no sooner began you to speake, but they fell to teighing, and now they laugh you to skorne, talking thus as you doe of those things which you never learned. And *Solon* being demanded once by *Cresus* King of *Tydia*, what men he had seene whom he reputed most happie in this world? named unto him one *Tellus*, none of the great men of *Athenis*, but a good plaine and meane citizen, *Cleobis* also and *Biton*; and these he said were of all others most fortunate. But these flatterers will affirme that Kings and Princes, rich men and rulers, are not onely blessed, happie and fortunate; but also excell all others in wisdom, knowledge and vertue. There is not one of them that can endure so much as to heare the Stoicks, who hold, that the sage and wiseman (such a one as they depaint unto us) ought all at once to be called, rich, faire, noble, yea and a king: whereas our flatterers will have the rich man onely, whom they are disposed to flatter, to be an Oratour and a Poet; yea and if he will himselfe, a painter, a good piper, passing light of foote and strong of limmes; in so much, as whosoever wrestleth with him, shall be faine to take the soile and lye along; and whomsoever he runneth with in the race, he shall come behinde him a faire deale, but how? Surely even as *Crisson* the Himeræan lagged for the nose behind King *Alexander* the Great, when he ran with him for the best game: for which the King was highly displeased & wroth at him, when he once perceived it. *Cameades* was wont to say, that the sons of Kings and great rich men, learned to do nothing well and right, but onely to sit and ride on horse. For that their masters are wont to flatter and praise them in all their schooles where they be taught: for if they be at the exercise of wrestling, you shall have him that wrestleth with them, of purpose to take a fall and lye under them: Marie, the horse not knowing nor having the reason to discern a private mans sonne from a prince; nor whether he be poore or rich that sits upon his backe, will be faine to cast him over his head and lay him along whosoever he be, that cannot skill how to hold and rule him. *Bion* therefore was but a verie lob and foole in saying thus: If I wist that with praising a peece of ground I could make it good, rich and fertile, it should want for no praises; and rather would I commend it than toile and moile in digging, tilling, & doing worke about it. And yet I will not say, that a man is too blaine and doth amisse in praising: if so be, that those who are praised be the better and more fruitfull in all good things for it. Howbeit to come againe into the ground before said; a field being praised never so much is not the worse nor lesse fertile therefore: but I assure you they that commend folke falsely, and beyond their desert and due, puffe them full of winde and vanitie, and worke their overthrow in the end. But now having discoursed sufficiently upon this article and point of praises, let us proceed forward to treat of franknes and libertie of speech.

And

And verily meete and reason it had beene, that as *Patroclus* when he put on the armour of *Achilles*, and brought forth his horses of service to battell, durst not meddle with his speare *Pelias*, but left it onely untouched; so a flatterer also, although he maske and disguise himselfe with other habits, ornaments and enignes of a friend, should let this libertie onely of speech alone, and not once go about to touch or counterfeite it, as being indeed

*A baston of such poise and weight
So big withall so stiffe and straight,*

that of all others it belongeth onely to friendship for to be caried and welded by it. But for as much, as our flatterers now a daies are afraid to be detected in laughing in their cups, in their jests, scoffes, and game some wirth; therefore to avoide such discovery, they have learned forsooth to knit and bend the browes, they can skill iwis, to flatter, and yet looke with a frowning face and crabbed countenance, and chiding checks among: let us not overpasse this point untouched, but consider and examine the same likewise. For mine owne part I am of this minde: That as in a Comedie of *Menander*, there comes in a counterfeite *Hercules* to play his part upon the stage with a club on his shoulder, that is (you may bee sure) nothing massie, heave, stiffe and strong, but some device and gawd, hollow and emptic within, made of browne paper or such like stufte; Even so, that plaine and free speech which a flatterer useth, will be found light, soft, and without any strength at all to give a blow: much like (to say truly) unto the soft bed pillows that women lie on, which seeming full and plump to resist and beare out against their heads, yeeld and sinke under the same so much the more: For after the same maner, this counterfeite free speech of theirs puffd up full of winde, or else stufled with some deceitfull light matter, seemeth to rise up, to swell, and beare out hard & stiffe, to the end that being pressed downe once (and both sides as it were coming together) it might receive, enlap and enfold him that chaunceth to fall thereupon, and so carie him away with it. Whereas the true and friendly libertie of speech indeed, taketh hold of those that are delinquent and do offend, bringing with it a kinde of paine for the time, which notwithstanding is wholesome and healthfull: resembling here in the nature of honie, which being applied to a fore or ulcerous place, at the first doth smart and sting; but it doth cleanse and mundifie withall, and otherwise is profitable, sweete and pleasant. But as touching this plaine dealing and franke speech, I will write a part of purpose in place convenient. As for the flatterer he maketh shew at the first, that he is rough, violent, and inexorable in all dealings with others: For over his servants he carrieth a hard hand, and is not pleased with their service, with his familiars, acquaintance and kinsfolke he is sharpe and eager, ready to finde fault with every thing; he maketh no reckoning nor account of any man but himselfe; he despiseth and disdaineth all the world besides; there is not a man living that he will pardon and forgive; he blameth and accuserth every one; and his whole studie is to win the name & reputation of a man that hateth vice, & in that regard careth not whom he doth provoke, and whose displeasure he incur: as who, for no good in the world would he hired to hold his tounge, nor willingly forbore to speake plainly the truth; who with his good will would never speake or do any thing to sooth up and please another: Then will he make semblance as though he neither saw nor tooke knowledge of any great and grosse finnes indeed: but if peradventure there be some light and small outward faults, he will make foule a doo thereat; he will keepe a wounding and crying out upon them: then shall you have him in good earnest exclaim and reprove the delinquent with a loud and founding voice: As for example, if hee chance to espie the implements or any thing else about the house lie out of order; if a man be not well and neatly lodged; if his beard be not of the right cut, or his haire grow out of fashion; if a garment fit not handfomly about him, or if a horse or hound be not so carefully tended as they should be. But say that a man set nought by his parents, neglect his owne children, misuse his wife, disdain and despise his kined, spend and consume his goods; none of all these enormities touch and moove him: Heere he is mute and hath not a word to say; he dares not reprove these abuses: much like as if a Master of the wrestling schoole, who suffeth a wrestler that is under his hand to be a drunkard and a whooremonger, should chide and rebuke him sharply about an oile cruse or curry-combe; or as if a Grammarian should finde fault with his scholar and chide him for his writing tables or his pen, letting him goe away cleere with solacifines, incongruities and barbarismes, as if he heard them not. Also I can liken a flatterer to him, who will not blame an ill authour, or ridiculous Rhetorician in any thing as touching his oration it selfe; but rather reproveth him for his utterance, and sharply taketh him

up

* *Plinius* reporteth this of *Apelles*, the painter, & sonne of *Apelles*.

* *ἡ δὲ ψαλμῶν-
τις ἡ ψαλμῶν-
τις. Some ex-
pound rebuk-
ing his sub-
jects with
cudgels, and
oppressing the
with excessive
exactions.*

up for that by drinking of cold water he hath hurt his winde-pipe, and so mard his voice; or to one who being bidden to reade over and peruse a poore feely Epigram or other writing that is nothing worth, taketh on and farch against the paper wherein it is written, for being thicke, couf or rugged; or against the writer, for negligent, slovenly or impure otherwile. Thus the claw-backs and flatterers about king *Protonotus*, who would seeme to love good letters, and to be desirous of learning, used ordinarily to draw out their disputations and conferences at length, even to midnight, debating about some glosse or signification of a word, about a verse, or touching some historie: but all the while there was not one among so many of them, that would tell him of his cruditie, of his wrongs and oppressions, ne yet of his drumming, tabouring, and other enormous indignities, under the colour of religion; and seeke to reforme him. Certes a foolish fellow were he, who coming to a man diseased with tumors, swellings, impostumes, or hollow ulcers, called *Fibulas*, should with a Chirurgicalian lancet, or Barbers razor, fall to cut his haire, or pare his nailes; even so it farch with these flatterers, who apply their libertie of speech to such things, as neither are in paine, nor yet do any hurt. Moreover, some others there bee of them, who being more cunning and craftie then their fellows, and use this plainnesse of language and reprehension of theirs, for to please and make sport withall. Thus *Agis* the *Argive*, seeing how *Alexander* the great, gave very great rewards and gifts to a certaine pleasant and odde fellow that was a jester, cried out for verie envie and dolour of heart; O great abuse and monstrous absurditie: The King hearing it, turned about unto him in great displeasure and indignation, demanding of him what he had to say? I confesse (quoth he) indeed, that I am grieved, and I thinke it a great indignitie, when I see all you that are defended from *Iupiter* and his sonnes, to take pleasure in flatterers and jesters about you, for to make you merrie. For even so *Hercules* tooke a delight to have in his company certaine ridiculous *Cecropes*, and *Bacchus* had ever in his traine the *Silenes*. In your court likewise, a man may see such to be in credite and highly esteemed. When *Tiberius Cæsar* the Emperor upon a certaine day was come into the Senate house of Rome, one of the Senators who knew how to flatter, arose and stood up, and with a good loud voice; Meete it is (quoth he) o *Cæsar* that men free borne, should likewise have the libertie of speech, and speake their minds frankly, without dissimuling or concealing any thing which they know to be good and profitable: with this speech of his, he stirred up the attention of the whole house, so as they gave good care unto him, and *Tiberius* himselfe listened what he would say. Now when all was still and in great silence; Hearken (quoth he) o *Cæsar*, what it is that we all accuse and blame you for, but no man dare be so bolde as to speake it out: You neglect your selfe, and have no regard of your owne person; you consume and spoile your body with continuall cares and travels for our sake, taking no rest nor repose either day or night. Now when he had drawn out a long traine of words to this purpose, *Cæsius Severus* a Rhetorician, stood up, and by report said thus; Such libertie of speech as this, will be the utter undoing of this man. But these flatteries are of the lightest sort, and doe lesse hurt: there be other more dangerous, which worke the mischief and corruption of those who are not wise, and take no heed unto them; namely, when flatterers set in hand to reprove them whom they flatter, for the contrary vices to those that be in them. Thus *Homerus* the flatterer reproached a certaine rich man of *Athens*, the veriest pinching miser and the most covetous withall, that was in the whole city, with the imputations of prodigality, and negligence about his owne profit and gaine; charging him that one day he would smart for it, and both he and his children be hunger-starved for want wherewith to susteine themselves, if he looked no better to his thrift: or when they object miserable niggardie and beggerie, unto those that are known to be prodigall spenders, and consume all. After which manner, *Titus Petronius* reprooved *Nero*. Again, if they come to princes and great lords, who deale cruelly and hardly with their subjects and tenants, saying unto them, That they must lay away this overmuch lenity and foolish pittie of theirs, which neither is feemly for their persons, nor yet profitable for their state. And very like to these, is he who maketh semblance to him who is a very senselesse for and foolish soole, that he stands in great feare and doubt of him, lest he should be circumvented by him, as if he were some cautious, crafty and cunning person. He also, that doth rebuke another, who is an ordinary slanderer, who taketh pleasure (upon sight and envie) to be ever railing on all men, and backe-biting them, if hee chance any one time to breake out into the praise of some worthy and excellent personage, saying in this manner unto him; This is a great fault that you have, and a disease that followeth you, thus to praise men of no worth: What is he (I pray you) whom you thus commend? what good parts be in him? hath

hath he at any time done any doughty deed, or delivered any singular speech that might deserve such praises? But in amatorious and love matters they passe: there you shall have them most of all to come over those whom they flatter and lay on load; to them they will joine close, and set them on a flaming fire. For if they see brethren at some variance, or setting nought by their parents, or els to deale unkindly with their owne wives, and to set no store by them, or to be jealous and suspicious of them; they never admonish, chaffice or rebuke them for it, that they may amend; but rather they will kindle more coales betwene, and encrease their anger and discontentment on both sides: Nay, it is no great matter (will they say,) it is even well enough; you will never fee and know who you are; you are the cause of all this your owne selfe; and lesse do, you evermore have borne your selves so pliable, submisive and lowly toward them, that you are but rightly served. But say there be some itching heat of love, or smart anger upon jealousie, in regard of a courtesan or married wife, whom the party is amorous of; then shall you see a flatterer ready at hand to display his cunning openly, and to speake his minde freely unto him, putting fire to fire and feeding his love; you shall have him to lay the law upon this lover, accusing and entring processe against him in these termes: You have broken the lawes of love; you have done and said many things not so kindly as becommed a true lover, but rather dealt hardly with your love, and enough to lose her heart, and incurre her hatred for ever;

Vnthankfull person thus thou art.

For kisses so many of thy sweet hart.

20 Thus the flatterer friends of *Antonius*, when he burned in love of the Aegyptian queene *Cleopatra*, would persuade and make him beleve, that she it was who was enamoured upon him, and by way of opprobrious imputation they would tell him to his face, that he was proud, disdainfull, hard hearted, and void of all kinde affection. This noble queene (would they say) for-faking so mighty and wealthy a kingdome, so many pleasant palaces, and stately houles of blessed abode, such means and opportunities of happinesse, for the love of you pineth away, and consumeth herselfe, trudging after your campeto and fro, for to doe your Honour content and pleasure with the habit and title of your Concubine,

Whiles you in brest do carry an hart

Which will not be wrought by any art.

30 neglecting her (good lady) and suffering her to perish for sorow and hearts griefe. Whereupon he being well enough pleased to heare himselfe thus charged with wrong doing to her, and taking more pleasure in these accusations of theirs, than if they had directly praised him, was so blinde that he could not see how they that seemed thus to admonish him of his dutie, perverted and corrupted him thereby so much the more. For this counterfeit liberty of plaine dealing and plaine speech, may be very well likened to the wanton pinches and bitings of luxurious women, who tickle and stirre up the lust and pleasure of men by that which might seeme to cause their paine. For like as pure wine, which otherwise of it selfe is a sure remedy against the poison of hemlocke, if a man doe mingle it with the juice of the said hemlocke, doth mightily enforce the poison thereof, and make it irremediable, for that by means of the heat it conveyeth the same more speedily unto the heart; even so these low and mischievous flatterers, knowing full well that franke speech is a singular helpe and remedy against flattery, abuse it to flatter withall. And therefore it seemeth that *Bias* answered not so well as he might have done, to one that asked of him, which was the shrewdest and most hurtfull beast of all other: If (quoth he) your question be of wilde and savage, a Tyrant is worse; if of tame and gentle, a Flatterer. For hee might have said more truly; that of flatterers some be of a tame kinde, such (I meane) as these parasites are who haunts the baines and stoupes; those also that follow good cheere and keepe about the table. As for him, who (like as the Poorcuttle fish stretcheth out his clawes like branches) reacheth as farre as to the secret chambers and cabinets of women, with his busie intruding, with his calumniationes and malicious demeanors, such a one is savage, fell, intractable and dangerous to be approached.

Now one of the meanes to beware of this flatterie, is to know and remember alwaies, that our soule consisteth of two parts, whereof the one is addicted to the truth, loving honestie and reason; the other more brutish, of the owne nature unreasonable, given to untruth and withall passionate. A true friend assisteth evermore the better part, in giving counsell and comfort, even as an expert and skillfull Physician, who hath an eye that ainieth alwaies at the maintenance and encrease of health: but the flatterer doth apply himselfe, and setteth to that part which is void of reason and full of passions: this he scratcheth, this he tickleth continually, this

he stroweth and handleth in such sort, by devising some vicious and dishonest pleasures, that he withdraweth and turneth it away quite from the rule and guidance of reason. Moreover, as there be some kind of viands, which if a man eat, they neither turne unto blood, nor ingender spirits, ne yet adde vigor and strength to the nerves and the marrow; but all the good they do, is haply to cause the flesh or genitall parts to rise, to flirre and loose the belly, or to breed some foggie, fantom and halfe rotten flesh, which is neither fast nor found within; even so, if a man looke neerely and have good regard unto a flatterer, he shall never finde that all the words he useth, minister or procure one jot of good to him that is wise and governed by reason; but feed fooles with the pleasant delights of love; kindle and augment the fire of inconsiderate anger; provoke them unto envie; breed in them an odious and vaine presumption of their owne wit; increase their sorrow and griefe, with moaning them and lamenting with them for companie; set on worke and exasperate their inbred naughtinesse and lewd disposition; their illiberall minde and covetous nature; their diffidence and distrustfulnesse of others; their base and servile timidity, making them alwaies worse, and apt to conceive ill; more fearefull, jealous and suspicious, by the means of some new accusations, false surmises and conjecturall suggestions, which they be ready to put into their heads. For evermore it getteth closely into some vicious passion and affection of the minde, and there lurketh; the same it nourisheth and feedeth fat, but anon it appeareth like a botch, rising up soones upon the corrupt, diseased or inflamed parts of the soule. Art thou angry with one? punish him (saith he.) Hast thou a minde to a thing? buy it, and make no more ado: Art thou never so little afraid? let us flie and be gon: Suspectest thou this or that? belevee it confidently (saith he.) But if peradventure, he can hardly be seene and discovered about these passions, for that they be so mightie and violent, that oftentimes they chafe and expell all use of reason, he will give some vantage to be sooner taken in others that be not so strong and vehement, where we shall find him alwaies the same and like himselfe. For say, a man do suspect that he hath taken a surfeit, either by over liberrall feeding or drinking headie wine, and upon that occasion make some doubt to bathe his bodie, or to eat presently againe and lay gorge upon gorge (as they say.) A true friend wil advice him to forbear & abstaine; he will admonish him to take heed to himselfe and looke to his health: In comes a flatterer, and he will draw him to the baine in all haste; he will bid him to call for some noveltie or other to be set upon the boord, willing him to fall fresh to it againe, and not to punish his body and do himselfe injurie, by fasting and refusing his meate and drinke: Also if he see him not disposed to take a journey by land or voyage by sea, or to go about any enterprise whatsoever it be, slowly and with an ill will, he will say unto him; either that there is no such great need, or the time is not so convenient, but it may be put off to a farther daie, or it will serve the turne well enough to send others about it. Now if it fall out so, that he having made promise to some familiar friend, either to lend or let him have the use of some money, or to give him it freely, do change his minde and repent of his promise; but yet be somewhat abashed and ashamed thus to breake his word; the flatterer by and by will put himselfe to the worke and lighter end of the ballance, and make it weigh downe on the purse side, soone excluding and cutting off all shame for the matter: Vvhat man! (will he say) Spare your purse and fave your silver; you are at a great charge; you keepe a great house, and have many about you which must be maintained and have sufficient; in such sort, that if we be not altogether ignorant of our selves, and wilfully blinde, not seeing that we be covetous, shamelesse, timorous and base minded, we cannot choise but start and finde out a flatterer; neither is it possible that he should escape us. For surely he will evermore defend and maintaine these imperfections, and frankly will he speake his minde in favour thereof, if he perceive us to over passe our selves therein. But thus much may suffice as touching these matters.

Let us come now to the uses and services that a flatterer is employed in: For in such offices he doth confound, trouble, and darken much the difference betweene him and a true friend; shewing himselfe in apparence, alwaies diligent, ready and prompt in all occurrences, without seeking any colourable pretences of shifiting off, and a refusing to do any thing. As for a faithfull friend, his whole carriage and behaviour is simple, like as be the words of truth, as saith *Empyrides*, without welts and gards, plaine without plaits, and nothing counterfeite; whereas the conditions of a flatterer to lay a truth,

By nature are dressed much,

And medicines needfull are for such,

not only with wisdom to be ministered and applied, but also many in number, and these (I assure you)

you) of a more exquisite making and composition than any other. And verily as friends many times when they meet one another in the street, passe by without good-morrow or god-speed, or any word at all betweene them; onely by some light some looke, cheerefull smile, or amiable regard of the eie reciprocally given and taken, without any other token els, there is reftified the good-will and mutuall affection of the heart within: whereas the flatterer runneth toward his friend to meet him, followeth space at his heeles, spreadeth forth both his armes abroad, and that a farre off, to embrace him: and if it chance that he be saluted and spoken to first, because the other had an eie on him before, he will with brave words excuse himselfe, yea, and many times call for witnesses, and bind it with great oathes good store, that he saw him not. Even so likewise in their affaires and negotiations abroad in the world, friends omit and overslip many small and light things, not searching narrowly into matters, not offering or expecting againe any exquisite service; nothing curious and busie in ech thing, ne yet putting themselves forward to everie kinde of ministerie: but the flatterer is herein double diligent, he will be continually employed and never rest, without seeming at any time to be weary, no place, no space nor opportunity will he give the other to do any service; he looketh to be called unto and commanded; and if he be not bidden, he will take it ill and be displeased; nay you shall have him then out of heart and discouraged, complaining of his ill fortune, and protesting before God and man, as if he had some great wrong done unto him. These be evident marks and undoubted arguments to such as have wit and understanding, not of a friendship sound, sober & honest, but rather smelling of wanton and whorish love, which is more ready to embrace and clip, than is decent and seemely. Howbeit, to examine the same more particularly, let us consider what difference there is betweene a flatterer and a friend, as touching the offers and promises that they make. They who have written of this theme before us, say very well, that a friends promise goeth in this forme,

If that I can, or if it may be done,

Fulfill I will your minde, and that right soone.

but the offer of a flatterer runneth in this maner,

What would you have? say but the word to me,

Without all doubt, effected it shall be.

For such franke promisers and braggers as these, the Poets also use to bring unto the Stage in their Comedies, after this sort;

Now of all loves, Nicomachus, this I crave,

Set me against this souldier here so brave,

I will so swing his coat, you shall it see,

That like a pompon his sleigh shall tender be:

His face, his head I shall much softer make,

Than is the sponge that grows in sea or lake.

Moreover, you shall not see a friend offer his helping hand or aide in any action, unless he were called before to counsell, and his opinion asked of the enterprise, or that he have approved and set downe the same upon good advisement, to be either honest or profitable: whereas as the flatterer, if a man should do him so much credit, as to require his consent and approbation, or otherwise request him to deliver his opinion of the thing, he, not onely upon a desire to yeeld unto others and to gratifie them; but also for feare to give any suspicion that he would seeme to draw backe and avoid to set his hand to any worke or businesse whatsoever, is ready with the foremost to applie himselfe to the appetite and inclination of another, yea and withall, pricketh and inciteth him forward to enter upon it. And yet lightly you shall find even of rich men and kings, but few or none who can or will come forth with these words;

Would God some one that needy is and poore,

Tea, worse than he that begs from doore to doore,

Would come to me (so that he were my friend)

Without all feare, and speake to me his mind.

But now adides it is farre otherwise; for they are much like unto composers of Tragedies, who will be provided of a quire or dance of their friends to sing with them, or desire to have a Theatre of purpose to give applause and clap their hands unto them. And verily whereas *Metropen* in a certaine Tragedie giveth these sage and wise advertisements;

Take those for friends, I need, and holdeth them so,

Whose speech is sound, and waves not to and fro:

But those that please thy minde in word and deed,

Count lewd, and such Locke forth of doore with speed.

Our Potentates and Grand Seigneurs doe cleane contrary; for such as will not follow their humors, and foote them up at every word, but gaine say their courses, in making remembrance of that which is more profitable and expedient: such they disdain and will not vouchsafe them a good looke. But for those wicked wretches, base minded varlets, and cooſening impoſtors, who can curry favor, they not only fet their doores wide open for ſuch, and receive them into their houſes, but they admit them alſo to conferences with their inward affections and the very ſecrets of their heart. Among whom you ſhall have one more plaine perhaps and ſimple than the reſt, who will ſay, that it is not for him, neither is he woorthy to deliberate and conſult of ſo great affaires; may he could be content, and would take upon him, to be a poore ſervitor and miniſter, to execute whatſoever were concluded and enjoined him to doe: another more craftie and cunning than his fellowes, is willing enough to be uſed in counſell, where he will heare all doubts and perils that be caſt; his eie-browes ſhall ſpeake if they will, his head and eies ſhall nod and make ſignes, but his tongue ſhall not ſpeake a word: Say that the partie whom he mindeth to flatter, do utter his minde and what he thinketh good to do: then will he crie out aloud and ſay, By Hercules I ſwear, it was at my tongues end to have ſaid as much, had you not prevented me and taken the word out of my mouth, I would have given you the verie ſame counſell. For like as the Mathematicians doe affirme, that the ſuperficial and outward extremities, the limmes alſo of the Mathematicall bodies, doe of themſelves and in their owne nature, neither bend nor ſtretch, ne yet move at all: for that they be intellectuall onely or imaginative, and not corporal, but according as the bodies do bow, reach or ſtirre, ſo do they; ſo you ſhall ever finde that a flatterer, will pronounce, opine, thinke and be moved to anger, according as he ſeeth another behave him. And therefore in this kind, moſt eaſie it is to obſerve the difference between a flatterer and a friend. But yet more evident you ſhall ſee it in the manner of doing ſervice. For the offices and kindneſſes which come from a friend, are ever beſt, and (as living creatures) have their moſt proper vertues inwardly, carrying leaſt in ſhew, and having no outward ſhew of glorious pompe. And as it falleth out many times a Phyſician cureth his patient, and ſaith little or nothing at all unto him, but doth the deed as he be aware; even ſo, a good friend whether he be preſent or departed from his friend, doth him good ſtill, and taketh care for him when he ſhall little knoweth of it. Such a one was *Arceliſmus* the Philoſopher, who beſide many other kind parts which he ſhewed unto his friend *Apelles*, the painter of *Chios*, comming one day to viſite him when he was ſicke, & perceiving how poore he was, went his way for that time: and when he returned againe, brought twentie good drachmes with him: and then fitting cloſe unto *Apelles* by his beds ſide: Here is nothing here (quoth he) I ſee well, but theſe foure bare Elements that *Empedocles* writteth of,

Hot Fire gold Water, ſweere and ſoft;
Groſſe Earth pure Aire that ſpreads doſt.

But me thinkes you lie not at your eaſe; and with that he remooved the pillow or bolſter under his head, and ſo conveyed underneath it privily, the ſmall pieces of coine aforeſaid. The old woman his nouriſe and keeper, when ſhe made the bed, found this money: whereat ſhe marvelled not a little, and told *Apelles* thereof, who laughing thereat: This is (quoth he) one of *Arceliſmus* his theewit chaſts. And for that it is a Maxime in Philoſophie, that children are borne like their parents, one *Lacydes* a ſchollar of *Arceliſmus* aforeſaid, being aſſiſtant with many others to a friend of his named *Cephiſerates*, when he came into his triall in a caſe of treaſon againſt the State: in pleading of which cauſe, the accuſer his adverſarie called for *Cephiſerates* his ring, a pregnant evidence that made againſt him, which he had cleaſly ſlipped from his finger & let it fall to the ground; whereof the ſaid *Lacydes* being adviſed, ſet his foot ſuddenly over it, and ſo kept it out of ſight: for that the maine proove of the matter in queſtion lay upon that ring. Now after ſentence paſſed on *Cephiſerates* his ſide, and that he was cleerely acquit of the crime, he went privately to everie one of the judges for to give them thanks: One of them who (as I ſhould ſeeme) had ſeene what was done, willed him to thanke *Lacydes*: and with that told how the caſe ſtood, and how it went with him as it did: but all this while *Lacydes* himſelfe had not ſaid a word to any creature. Thus I thinke verily, that the gods themſelves doe beſtow many benefites and favours upon men ſecretly, and whereof they be not aware; being of this nature to take joy and pleaſure in bountifulneſſe and doing good. Contrariwiſe, the office that a flatterer ſeemeth to performe, hath nothing in it that is juſt, nothing true, nothing ſimple, nothing liberal: onely you ſhall ſee him ſweat at it; you ſhall have him runne up and downe; keepe a loude crying

crying & a great ado, and ſet his countenance upon the matter, ſo as that he maketh right good ſemblance & ſhew that he doth eſpecial ſervice, taketh much care & paines about his buſineſſe: & maketh haſte to diſpatch it: and much like are all his doings to a curious picture, which with ſtrange colours, with broken plats, wrinkles and angles, affecteth and ſtriveth (as it were) to ſhew ſome lively reſemblance. Moreover, much ado he maketh, & is troubleſome in telling how he went to and fro, wandering here and there about the matter; alſo what a deale of care he tooke therein; how he incurred the evil wil & diſpleaſure of others; and a thouſand hinderances, troubles & dangers, as beſides he reckoneth up; in ſomuch as a man that heareth, would ſay: All that ever he did was not worth ſo much as the twittle twattle that he maketh. For ſurely a good turne that is upbraided in that wiſe, becometh burthenſome, odious, & not thankfully accepted, but intollerable. In all the offices & ſervices of a flatterer, you ſhall finde theſe upbraidings and ſhamefull reports, that would make one bluſh to heare them, and thoſe not onely after the deed done, but at the verie inſtant when he is about it. But in ſpeed hereof, a true friend, if it fall out ſo, that he be forced and urged to relate what is done, maketh a plaine report and narration in moſt ſimple manner; but of himſelfe he will never ſay word. After which ſort did the Lacedaemonians in times paſt, when they had ſent come unto the Smyrnaeans, which, in their extreme neceſſitie they craved at their hands: For at what time as the men of Smyrna magnified, and wonderfully extolled this liberalitie of theirs, they returned this anſwere againe: This is not ſo great a matter that it ſhould deſerve ſo highly to be praized or wondered at: for (ſay they) gathered we have thus much, and made this ſupply of your neceſſities, onely by cutting our ſelves and our labouring beaſts ſhort of one daies pittance and allowance. Bountie in this wiſe performed, is not onely gentleman-like and liberall indeed, but alſo more welcome and acceptable to the receivers; in as much as they thinke it was no great damage, nor much out of their way that did it. Furthermore, not onely this odious faſhion of doing any ſervice with ſuch paine and trouble, or the readineſſe to make offer and promiſe ſo quickly, doth principally bewray the nature of a flatterer: but herein alſo much more he may be diſcovered: for that a friend is willingly employed in honeſt cauſes: but a flatterer in ſhamefull and diſhoneſt: as alſo in the divers ends that they purpoſe; for the one ſeeketh to proſite hiſ friend, the other to pleaſe onely a friend; as *Gorgias* was wont to ſay, will never require that his friend ſhould do him a pleaſure, but in juſt things onely: whiles a flatterer ſerveth his tunc in many things that are unjuſt: For why?

To do good deeds friends ſhould be joyned,

But not to ſtune to any point.

whereas he ſhould endeavour to avert and withdraw him from that which is not decent, or ſeemly: Now if it happen that the other will not be perſwaded by him, then were it not amiſſe to ſay unto him, as *Antipater* once answered *Phocion*; You cannot have me to be a friend and flatterer too (that is to ſay) a friend, and no friend. For one friend is to ſtand to another, and to aſſiſt him in doing, and not in miſdoing, in conſulting, and not in comploting and conſpiring, in bearing witneſſe with him of the truth, and not in circumventing any one by falſhood, yea and to take part with him in ſuffering calamitie, and not to beare him company in doing injurie: For ſay that we may chance to be privie unto ſome ſhamefull and reprochfull deeds of our friend; yet we ought not to be partie unto them therein, nor willing to aide them in any undecent action. For like as the Lacedaemonians being deſaied in battell by king *Antipater*, and treating with him about the capitulations and articles of peace, made requelt unto him, That he would impoſe upon them what conditions he would himſelfe, were they never ſo chargeable and diſadvantageous unto them, but in no wiſe enioine them to do any ſhamefull indignitie; even ſo a faithfull friend ought to be ſo diſpoſed, that if his friends occasions do require any matter of expence, danger, or travail, he ſhew himſelfe at the firſt call and holding up of his finger, ready to come, and cheerefully to take his part and undergo the ſame, without any ſhifting off, or allegation of any excuſe whatſoever: may if there be never ſo little ſhame or diſhonor that may accrew thereby, he ſhall then reſuſe and pray him to hold him excuſed; he ſhall requite pardon and deſire to have leave for to be diſmiſſed and depart in peace. The flatterer is quite contrary: for in painfull, difficult and dangerous affaires, which require his helpe and aſſiſtance, he draweth backe, and is ready to plucke his necke out of the collar: if (I ſay) in this caſe you ſeeme for triall ſake to knocke (as it were upon a pot) to ſee whether he be right, he will not ring cleere; but you ſhall ſee by the dead found of his pretended and forged excuſes, that he is full of cracks and flaws: contrariwiſe, in diſhoneſt, vile, baſe and ſhamefull miniſteries, I am for you (will he ſay) I am yours to command; doe with me what you will, tread me under your foot, abuſe me at your

your pleasure : to be short, he will thinke nothing to be an ignominious indignity unto him. See you not the ape? good he is not to keepe the houle and to give warning of thieues, as dogs do; cary upon his backe any burdens he can not, like the horse; neither yet is he fit to draw or to plough the ground, as the ox doth; and therefore he beareth all kinde of abuse and misusing, all wrongs, all unhappy sports and trickes that can be devised, serving only as an instrument of mockerie, and a mere laughing stocke. Even so it fareth with a flatterer, being not meet to plead at the barre for a friend, to assist him in counsell, to lay his hand to his purse and supply his wants that way, nor to fight as his champion in maintenance of his quarrell, as one that can away with no labour, no paines taking, or serious employment; and in one word, fit for nothing, that good is: many in such affaires as may be done under the atme, that is to say, which be close secret and filthy services, he is the forwardest man in the world, and maketh no excuses. A true friend he is betwene, in love matters, in finding favour with a bawd and bringing a wench or harlot to your bedde, he is excellent, and hath a marvellous gift; to make the short, and cleere the reckoning of any sumptuous feast or banquet he is ready and perfect; in providing for a great dinner or supper, and setting the same forth accordingly, he is nothing fowle, but nimble enough. To give entertainment unto concubines he is very handsome, obsequious and serviceable; if one bid him to speake audaciously and malapertly against a father in law, a guardian, tutor, or any such, or to put away his true espoused wife, like as he seeth his good master do before him, he is without all shame & mercy: so that even herein all he is no hard matter to see what kinde of man he is, and how much he differeth from a true friend: For command him to commit what villanie and wickednesse you will, ready he is to execute the same, and so he may gratifie and pleasure you that set him on worke, he careth not to do any injurie to himselfe.

There is moreover another meanes not of the least consequence, whereby a man may know how much a flatterer differeth from a friend indeed, namely, by his disposition and behaviour towards his other friends: for a true friend findeth contentment in nothing so much as to love many, and likewise to be loved of many; and herein he laboureth especially with his friend to procure himselfe many others to love and honor him: for being of this opinion, that among good friends all things are common, he thinketh that nothing ought to be more common than friends themselves. But the supposed, false and counterfeit friend, being privie to his owne conscience, that he doth great injurie to true amitie and friendship, which he doth corrupt in manner of a bale piece of money: as he is by nature envious, so he exerciseth that envie of his, upon such as be like himselfe, striving with a kinde of emulation to surpassse them in scurrile speech, giving of taunts and garrulitie, but before such as he knoweth better than himselfe, he trembleth and is afraid, and in truth dare not come neere nor shew his face to such an one, no more (I assure you) than a footman to go and keepe pace (according to the Proverb) with a Lydian chariot, or rather (as *Simonides* saith,

*Lead to fine gold rided cleane from drosse,
It hath not so much as lead so grosse.*

Being compared with true, sound and grave friendship, which (as they say) will endure the hammer, he cannot choise but finde himselfe to be but light, falsified and deceitfull: seeing then that he must needs be detected and known, for such an one as he is, what doth he thinke you? Surely he plaith like an unskilfull painter, who had painted certaine cockes, but verie badly: For like as he gave commandment to his boy for to keepe away naturall and living cockes in deed, fare ynough off from his pictures; so a flatterer will doe what he can to chase away true friends, and not suffer them to approach neere; or if he be not able so to do, than openly and in publike place, he will seeme to currie favour with them, to honor and admire them, as farre better than himselfe: but secretly, underhand, and behinde their backs, he will not let to raise some privie calumnies, & sowe slanderous reports tending to their discredit: but if he see that by such privie girds and pinches which will fret and gall the fore, he cannot at the first bring his purpose about: yet hee remembereth full well and observeth the saying of *Medius*. This *Medius* was the chiefe captaine of the troupe, or the master rather of the quire (if I may so say) of all those flatterers that used the court of king *Alexander* the great, & came about his person; the principall Sophister also that opposed himselfe and banded against all good men, and never refused to slander and backbite them: This rule and lesson he taught his scholars and quillisters that were under his hand, To cast out slanders boldly, and not to spare, therewith to bite others: For (quoth he) although the fore may heale up againe, yet the scarre will remaine

and

and be ever seene. By these cicatrices and scarres of false imputations, or (to speake more properly and truly) by such gangrenes and cankerous ulcers as these, *Alexander* the king being corroded and eaten, did to death *Callisthenes*, *Parmenion*, and *Philotas*, his fast & faithfull friends but to such as *Agnon*, *Bagoas*, *Aggeias* and *Demetrius* were, he abandoned and gave himselfe wholly to be supplanted and overthrown at their pleasure, whiles he was by them adored, adorned, arrayed gorgeously with rich robes, and set out like a Barbarian image, statue or idoll. Lo what is the force and power of flatterie to win grace and favor; and namely in those, who would be reputed the mightiest monarches and greatest potentates of the world, it beareth most sway: For such are perswaded, and desirous also, that the best things should be in themselves; and this is it, that giveth both credite and also boldnesse unto a flatterer. True it is I must confesse, that the highest places and forts situate upon the loftiest mounts, are least accessible and most hard to be gained by those who would surprize and force them; but where there is an high spirit and haughtie minde by nature, not guided by the same judgement of reason, but lifted up with the favors of fortune, or nobilitie of birth, it is the easiest matter in the world even for most base and vile persons to conquer such, and the avenues to them lie ready and open, to give the vantage of easiest entrance. And therefore as in the beginning of this Treatise I gave warning; so now I admonish the Readers againe in this place; That every man would labour and strive with himselfe to roote out that selfe-love and overweening that they have of their owne good parts and worthinesse: For this is it that doth flatter us within, and possesseeth our minds before hand, whereby we are exposed and lie more open unto flatterers that are without, finding us thus prepared already for to worke upon. But if we would obey the god *Apollon*, and by acknowledging how much in all things we ought to esteeme that oracle of his, which commandeth us To know our selves, search into our owne nature, and examine withall our nouriture and education: when we finde there an infinite number of defects, and many vanities, imperfections and faults, mixed untowardly in our words, deeds, thoughts and passions, we would not so easily suffer these flatterers to tread us under their secte, and make a bridge of us as they do at their pleasure. King *Alexander* the great was wont to say, that two things there were especially which moved him to have lesse beleefe in them, who saluted and greeted him by the name of a God: The one was Sleepe, & the other the use of *Venus*: in both which he found that he was worse than himselfe, that is to say, subject to infirmities and passions more than in any thing else. But if we would looke into our selves and ever and anon consider, how many grosse vices, troublesome passions, imperfections and defects we have, surely we shall finde that we stood in great need, not of a false friend to flatter us in our follies, and to praise and extoll us; but rather of one that would frankly finde fault with our doings, and reprove us in those vices that ech one privately and in particular doth commit. But very few there be among many others, who dare freely and plainly speake unto their friends, but rather sooth them up and seeke to please them in every thing: And even in those, as few as they be, hardly shall you find any that know how to do it well, but for the most part they thinke that they speake freely, when they do nothing but reprove, reproch and raile. Howbeit, this libertie of speech whereof I speake, is of the nature of a medicine, which if it be not given in time convenient and as it ought to be, besides, that it doth no good at all, it troubleth the body, worketh greivance, and in stead of a remedie prooveth to be a mischief: For even so, he that doth reprehend and find fault unseasonably, bringeth forth the like effect with paine, as a flatterer doth with pleasure. For men are apt to receive hurt and damage, not onely by overmuch praise; but also by inordinate blame when it is out of due time: for it is the onely thing that of all others maketh them soonest to turne side unto flatterers, and to be most easily surprized by them; namely, when from those things that stand most opposite and highest against them, they turne aside like water, and run downe those waies that be more low, easie, and hollow. In which regard it behooveth that this libertie in fault finding, be tempered with a certaine amiable affection, and accompanied with the judgement of reason, which may take away the excessive vehemencie and force of sharpe words, like the over-bright shining of some glittering light, & for feare lest their friends being dazzled as it were and frighted with the flashing beames of their rebukes, seeing themselves to reproved for ech thing, and blamed every while, may take such a grieffe and thought therupon, that for sorrow they be ready to stie into the shadow of some flatterer, and turne toward that which will not trouble them at all. For we must avoid all vice, (& *Philopappus*) and seeke to correct the same by the meanes of vertue (& not by another vice contrary unto it) as some do; who for to shun foolish and rustical bashfulness, grow to be overbold and impudent; for to clew

rude

ruide incivillitie, fall to be ridiculous jesters and pleafants; and then they thinke to be farthest off from cowardise and effeminate tendernesse, when they come neereft to extreme audacitie and boasting braverie. Others there be, who to prove themselves not to be superfluities, become meere Atheists; and because they would not be thought and reputed idiots and fooles, prove artificiall conny-catchers. And surely in redressing the enormities of their manners, they do as much as those, who for want of knowledge and skill to fet a peece of wood (streight that twinneth and lieth crooked one way, do curbe and bend it as much another way. But the most shamefull means to avoid & shun the suspition of a flatterer, is to make a mans selfe odious & troublefome without profit, and a very rude and rusticall fashion this is, of seeking to win favor, and that with favour of no learning, skill, and civillitie, to become unpleasant, harsh, and sower to a friend, for to shunne that other extreame, which in friendship seemeth to be bale and servile; which is as much, as if a freed slave newly franchised, should in a Comedie thinke that he could not use and enjoy his libertie of speech, unlesse he might be allowed licenciously to accuse another without controulment. Considering then, that it is a foule thing to fall to flatterie, in studying to please, as also for the avoiding of flatterie, by immoderate libertie of speech, to corrupt and marre, as well the grace of amitie and winning love, as the care of remedying and reforming that which is amisse; and seeing that we ought to avoid both the one and the other: and as in all things else, so free speaking, is to have the perfection from a meane and mediocritie; reason would, and by order it were requisite, that toward the end of this Treatise, we should adde somewhat in manner of a corollarie and complement, as touching that point.

Forasmuch as therefore we see that this libertie of language and reprehension hath many vices following it, which doe much hurt: let us assay to take them away one after another, and begin first with blinde selfe-love and private regards: where we ought especially to take heed that we be not scene to do any thing for our owne interest, and in respect of our selves; and namely, that we seeke not, for wrong that we have received our selves, or upon any griefe of our owne, to reproch, upbraid, or revile other men: for they will never take it as done for any love or good will that we beare unto them, but rather upon some discontentment and heart-burning that we have, when they see that our speech tendeth unto a matter wherein we are interested our selves; neither will they repute our words spoken by way of admonition unto them, but rather interpret them as a complaint of them. For surely the libertie of speech whereof we treat, as it respecteth the welfare of our friend, so it is grave and venerable; whereas complaints favour rather of selfe-love and a base minde. Hereupon it is that we reverence, honour and admire those who for our good deliver their minds frankly unto us: contrariwise, we are so bolde as to accuse, challenge and charge reciprocally, yea, and contemne those that make complaints of us. Thus we read in *Homer*, That *Agamemnon*, who could not beare and endure *Achilles*, when he seemed to tell him his minde after a moderate manner; but he was well enough content to abide and suffer thyffes, who touched him neere, and bitterly rebuked him in this wise:

*Ab wretch, would God some object hoost
beside us, by your hand
Condemned were; so that in field
you did not see command.*

As sharpe a checke as this was, yet being delivered by a wise man, proceeding from a careful minde, and rendering the good of the common weale, he gave place thereto, and kicked not againe: for this *thyffes* had no private matter, nor particular quarell against him, but spake frankly for the benefit of all *Greece*: whereas *Achilles* seemed to be offended and displeased with him principally, for some private matter betwene them twaine. And even *Achilles* also himselfe, although he was never known for to be a man of a gentle nature and of a milde spirit,

*But rather of a stomack full,
and one who would accuse
A guiltlesse person for no cause,
and him full loose abuse.*

endured *Patroclus* patiently, and gave him not a word againe, notwithstanding he taunted and tooke him up in this wise:

*Thou merciesse and cruel wretch,
for Peleus valiant knight
Was never (for) thy father true,
ne yet dame Thetis bright*

Thy

*Thymother kinde: but sea so greene,
or rocks so steepe and hard
Thee bare, (thy heart of pittie hath
so small or no regard.)*

For like as *Hyperides* the Oratour required the Athenians (who complained that his orations were bitter) to consider of him, not onely whether he were sharpe & eager simply, but whether he were so upon no cause, nor taking any fee; even so, the admonition and reprehension of a friend, being sincere and cleansed pure from all private affection, ought to be revered: it carrieth (I say) authority with it, and no exceptions can well be taken, nor a man dare lift up an eie against it: in such sort, as if it appeare that he who chideth freely, and blameth his friend, doeth let passe and reject all those faults which he hath committed against him, and maketh no mention thereof, but toucheth those errors & misdemeanors only which concerne others, and they spare him not, but pierce & bite to the quick: the vehemency of such free speech is invincible, and can not be challenged, for the mildnes & good will of the chastiser, doth fortifie the austeritie & bitterness of the chastisement. Well therefore it was said in old time; That whensoever we are angry, or at some jarre & variance with our friends, then most of all we ought to have an eie unto their good, and to study how to do somewhat that is either profitable unto them, or honorable for them. And no lesse materiall is this also to the maintenance of friendship, if they that thinke themselves to be despised and not well regarded of their friends, do put them in mind, and tell them frankly of others, who are neglected by them, and not accounted of as they should be. Thus dealt *Plato* with *Dionys*, at what time he was in disgrace, and saw how he made no reckoning at all of him: For he came unto the Tyrant upon a time, and requested that he might have a day of audience and leave to conferre with him: *Dionys* granted his request, supposing verily that *Plato* had a purpose to complaine and expostulate with him in his owne behalfe, and thereupon to discourse with him at large: But *Plato* reasoned and debated the matter with him in this manner: Sir (quoth he) *Dionys*, if you were adverted and knew that some enemy or evil willer of yours were arrived and landed in *Sicilie*, with a full intention to do you some displeasure, although he had no opportunitie or meanes to execute and effect the same, would you let him faile away againe & depart from *Sicily*, with impunity, and before he were talked withall?

30 I to not *Dionys* (quoth *Dionys*) but I would looke to him well enough for that: For we ought to hate & punish not the actions onely, but the verie purposes and intentions also of enemies. But how and if (quoth *Plato* againe) on the contrarie side; some other being expressly and of purpose come for mere love and affection that he beareth unto you, and fully minded to doe you some pleasure, or to advice you for your good, you will give him neither time nor opportunitie therefore, is it meet (think you) that he should be thus unthankfully dealt withall, or hardly entreated at your hands? With that *Dionysius* was somewhat mooved, and demanded who that might be? *Aeschines* (quoth *Plato*) is he, a man faire conditioned, and of as honest carriage and behaviour, as any one that ever came out of *Socrates* schoole, or daily and familiarly conversed with him; sufficient and able by his eloquence and pittie speech to reforme the manners of those

40 with whom he keepeth companie: This *Aeschines* (I say) having taken a long voyage over sea and arrived here, intending for to conferre with you philosophically is nothing regarded, nor set by at all. These words touched *Dionys* so to the verie quick, that presently he not onely took *Plato* in his armes, embracing him most lovingly, and yielding him great thanks for that kinde, & highly admiring his magnanimity; but also from that time forward, entreated *Aeschines* right courteously, and did him all the honor that he could.

Secondly, this libertie of speech which now is in hand, we ought to cleere and purge cleane from all contumelious and injurious words, from laughter, scoffes, and scurrile taunts, which are the hurtfull and unholmesome fauces (as I may say) wherewith many use to season their free language. For like as a Chirurgian, when he maketh incision and cutteth the flesh of his patient, had need to use great dexteritie, to have a nimble hand and an even; yea and every thing neat and fine belonging to this worke and operation of his: as for all dauncing, gesticulations besides of his fingers, toyish motions, and superfluous agitation thereof, to shew the agilitie of his hand, he is to forbear for that time: So this libertie of speech unto a friend, doth admit well a certaine kind of elegancie and civillitie, provided, alwaies that the grace thereof retaineth still a decent and comely gravitie, whereas if it chance to have audacious braverie, faucie impuritie, and insolencie, to the hurt or hinderance of credit, it is utterly marred and looseth all authority. And therefore it was not an improper and unelegant speech, wherewith a musician upon a time stopped

stopped King *Philips* mouth that he had not a word to say againe: For when he was about to have disputed and contested against the false minstrell, as touching good fingering, and the sound of the severall strings of his instrument: Oh sir (quoth he) God forbid that every you should fall to so low an estate, as to be more cunning in these matters than I. But contrariwise *Epicharmus* spake not so aptly and to the purpose in this behalfe: For when King *Hiero* who a little before had put to death some of his familiar acquaintance, invited him not many daies after to supper. Yea marie sir, but the other day when you sacrificed, you had not your friends to the feast. And as badly answered *Antiphon*, who upon a time when there was some question before *Demys* the Tyrant, what was the best kinde of brasse: Marie that (quoth he) whereof the Athenians made the Statutes of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. Such speeches as these, are tart, and biting, and no good can come thereof, neither hath that scurrillite and scoffing manner any delight, but a kinde of intemperance it is of the tooong, mingled with a certaine maliciousnes of minde, implying a will to do hurt and injurie, and shewing plaine enmitie, which as many as use, worke their owne mischiefe and destruction, dauncing (as the Proverb saith) a daunce inwardly about a pits brinke, or jelling with edged tooles. For surely it cost *Antiphon* his life, who was put to death by the said *Demys*. And *Timagenes* lost for ever the favour and friendship of *Augustus Caesar*, not for any franke speech and broad language that ever he used against him; but onely because he had taken up a foolish fashion at everie least or banker, whereunto the Emperor invited him, and whensoever he walked with him, cistooones and to no purpose he would come with these verses in *Flomer*,

*For naught else but to make some sport
Among the Greekes he did resort.*

pretending that the cause of that favour which he had with the Emperor, was the grace and gift that he had in flouting and reviling others: and even the verie comical Poets in old time, exhibited and represented to the Theaters, many grave, austere and serious remonstrances, and those pertaining to policy & government of State; but there be scurrillite speeches intermingled among, for to move laughter, which (as one unfavoure dish of meate among many other good viands) marre all their libertie of speech and the benefit thereof; so as it is vaine and doth no good at all: And even to the Authors and Actors of such broad jests get nothing thereby, but an opinion and imputation of a malicious disposition and impure scurrillite: and to the hearers there accreth no good nor profit at all. At other times and in other places, I hold well with it, and grant, that to jest with friends and move laughter is tolerable enough: but surely the libertie of speech then, ought to be serious and modest, shewing a good intention without any purpose to gall or sting. And if it do concerne weightie affaires indeed, let the words be so fet and couched, the affliction to appeere, the countenance be so composed, and the gesture so ordered, and the voice so tuned, that all concerning together may win credite to the speech, and be effectually to move. But as in all things els, fit opportunity overslipt and neglected doth much hurt; so especially it is the occasion that the fruit of free speech is utterly lost, in case it be omitted and forgotten. Moreover this is evident, that we must take heed how we speake broad at a table where friends be met together to drinke wine liberally and to make good chere: for he that amid pleasant discourses and merry talke mooveth a speech that causeth bending and knitting of browes, or others, maketh men to frowne and be frowning, he doth as much as overcast faire weather with a blacke and darke clouds, opposing himselfe unto that God * *Elysus*, who by good right hath that name, as *Pindarus* the Poet saith,

*For that the cord he doth untie
Of cares that breed anxietie.*

Besides, this neglect of opportunitie bringeth with it great danger; for that our minds and spirits, kindled once with wine, are easie enflamed with cholera; yea and oftentimes it falleth out, that a man after he hath taken his drinke well, when he thinketh but to use his freedome of tongue for to give some wholesome advertisement and admonition, ministreth occasion of great enmitie. And to say all in few words, it is not the part of a generous, confident, and resolute heart, but rather of a craven kind and unmanly, to forbear plaine speech when men are sober, and to keepe a barking at the boord, like unto those cowardly cur dogs who never faile but about a bone under the table. And now of this point, needlesse it is to discourse any longer.

But forasmuch as many men neither will nor dare controll and reforme their friends when they do amisse, so long as they be in prosperitie; as being of opinion that such admonition can not have access nor reach into a fortunate state that standeth upright; and yet the same persons

* Some read *Elysus*.

sons when men are falling, are ready to lay them along, and being once downe, to make a football of digne, or tread them under feet, or else keepe them so when they be once under the battens, giving their libertie of speech full scope to run over them all at once; as a brooke-water which having bene kept up perforce against the nature and course thereof, is now let go, and the flood-gates drawn up, rejoicing at his change and infortunitie of theirs, in regard as well of their pride and arrogancie, who before did disdain and despised them; as also of themselves, who are but in meane and low estate: it were not impertinent to this place for to discourse a little of this matter, and to answer that verse of *Euripides*,

When fortune doth upon men smile,

What need have they of friends the while?

10 Namely, that even then when as they seeme to have fortune at command, they stand in most needfullie, and ought to have their friends about them, to plucke downe their plumes and bring under their haughtinesse of heart, occasioned by prosperitie: for few there be who with their outward felicitie continue wise and sober in mind, breaking not forth into insolence; yea & many there are who have need of wit, discretion and reason to be put into them from without, to abate and depeesse them being set a gog and puffed up with the favours of fortune: But say, that the Divine power do change and turne about, and overthrow their state, or clip their wings and diminish their greatnesse and authoritie, then these calamities of themselves are scourges sufficient, putting them in minde of their errors, and working repentance: and then in such distress there is no use at all either of friends to speake unto them frankly, or of pitching and biting speeches, to molest, and trouble them, but to say a truth, in these mutations

It greatly doth content our minds

To see the face of pleasant friends.

who may yeeld consolation, comfort and strength to a distressed heart, like as *Xenophon* doth write, that in battailes and the greatest extremities of danger, the amiable visage and cheerful countenance of *Clearchus* being once seene of the souldiors, encouraged them much more to play the men and fight lustily: whereas he that useth unto a man distressed, such plaine speech as may gall and bite him more, doth as much as one who unto a troubled and inflamed eie applyeth some quicke eie-salve or sharpe drug that is proper for to cleere the sight: by which 30 meane he cureth not the infirmities before said, neither doth he mitigate or alay the paine, but unto sorrow and griefe of minde already addeth anger moreover, and doth exasperate a wounded heart. And verily so long as a man is in the latitude of health, he is not so testie, froward, and impatient, but that he will in some sort give care unto his friend, and thinke him neither rough nor altogether rude and uncivil, in case he tell him of his loosenesse of life, how he is given too much either unto women or wine; or if he finde fault with his idleness and sitting still, or contrariwise his excessive exercise; if he reprove him for haunting too often the baines or hot-houses, and never lying out of them, or blame him for gourmandise and belly chere, or eating at undue houres. But if he be once sicke, then it is a death unto him and a griefe insupportable, which doth aggravate his maladie, to have one at his bedside founding ever in his 40 cares; See what comes of your drunkenesse, your idleness, your surfeiting and gluttony, your wenching and lecherie, these are the causes of your disease. But what will the sicke man say againe: Away good sir with these unseasonable words of yours: you trouble me much, and do me no good wits: I am about making my last will and testament; my Physicians are busie preparing and tempering a potion of *Scammonie*, or a drinke of *Castorium* for me: and you come preaching unto me with your Philosophicall reasons and admonitions to chastise me: I have no need of them now, nor of such friends as you. Semblably it fareth with those who are fallen to decay & be downe the winde; for capable they be not of sententious sawes; they have no need as the case now stands of free reprehensions: then lenitie and gentle usage, aide and comfort are more meet for them. For even so, kinde nurses when their little babes and infants 50 have caught a fall, run not by and by to rate or chide them, but to take them up, wash and make them clean where they were berayed, and to still them by all means that they can; afterwards, they rebuke and chastise them for looking no better to their feet. It is reported of *Demetrius* the Phalerian, when being banished out of his country, he lived at *Thebes* in meane estate and very obscurely, that at the first he was not well pleased to see *Crates* the Philosopher, who came to visit him, as looking ever when he would begin with some rough words unto him, according to that libertie of speech which those Cynicke Philosophers then used: but when he heard *Crates* once speake kindly unto him, and discoursing after a milde maner, of the state of his banishment;

ment: namely, That there was no miserie fallen unto him by that meanes, nor any calamitie at all, for which he should vex and torment himselfe; but rather that he had cause to reioice, in that he was quessted and delivered from the charge and management of such affaires as were ticklish, mutable and dangerous; and withall exhorting him to plucke up his heart, and be of good cheere, yea, and repose all his comfort in his owne selfe and a cleere conscience. Then *Demetrius* being more lightsome, and taking better courage, turned to his friends and said, Shame take those affaires and busineses; out upon those troublesome and restless occupations, which have kept me from the knowledge and acquaintance of such a worthy man: For

*If men be in distresse and griefe,
Sweet words of friends do bring reliefe:
But foolish sots in all their actions,
Have need of sennes of sharpe corrections.*

And verily this is the manner of generous and gentle friends; but other base minded and abject fellows, who flatter and fawne wheiles fortune doth smile; like unto olde ruptures, spaines and cramps (as *Demosthenes* saith) do then stirre and shew themselves, when any new accident hapneth unto the bodie, so they also stick close to every change and alteration of fortune, as being glad thereof, and taking pleasure and contentment therein. For, say that a man afflicted, were to be put in mind of his fault and misgovernment of himselfe, by reason that he hath taken lewd courses and followed ill counsell, and so fallen into this or that inconvenience, it were sufficient to say thus unto him,

*Thou never tooke by mine advice this course,
Against the same how oft did I discourse?*

In what cases and occurrences then, ought a friend to be earnest and vehement? and when is he to use his libertie of speech, and extend it to the full? even then, when occasion is offered, and the time serveth best to repress excessive pleasure, to restrain unbridled choler, to restrain intolerable pride and infolencie, to stay insatiable avarice, or to stand against any foolish habitude and inconsiderate motion. Thus *Solon* spake freely unto king *Craesus*, when hee saw how he was cleane corrupted, and grown beyond all measure arrogant upon the opinion that he had of his felicitie in this world, which was vicerat, advertising him to looke unto the end. This *Socrates* clipped the wings of *Alcibiades*, and by convincing his vice and error, caused him to weep bitterly, and altered quite the disposition of his heart. Such were the renaonances and admonitions of *Cyru* to *Cyaxares*, and of *Plato* to *Dion*, even when he was in his greatest ruffe, in the very height of his glory: when (I say) all mens eyes were upon him, for his worthie acts and great successes in all affaires, willing him even then to take heed and beware of arrogance and selfe-conceit, as being the vice that dwelleth in the same house together with solitude, (that is to say) which maketh a man to live apart from the whole world. And to the same effect wrote *Spensippus* also unto him, when he had him looke to himselfe, and not take a pride and presume much upon this; That there was no talke among women and children, but of him; rather that he should have a care so to adorne *Stille* with religion and pietie towards the gods, with justice and good lawes in regard of men, that the schoole of the Academic might have honour and credit by him. Contrariwise, *Eulæus* and *Eulæus*, two minions and favourites of king *Perseus*, who followed his veine and pleased his humor in all things, like other courtiers of his, all the while that he flourished, and so long as the world went on his side: but after he had lost the field in a battell against the Romans, fought neere the citie *Pydna*, and was fled, they let flie at him grosse reames and reprochfull speeches, bitterly laying to his charge all the misdemeanors and faults that he had before committed, casting in his dish those persons whom he had evill intreated or despised; which they ceased not to doe so long, untill the man (partly for sorrow, and partly for anger) was so moved, that he stabbed them both with his dagger, and slew them in the place. Thus much in general may suffice, to determine and define as touching the opportunity of free speech to friends: meane while a faithfull and careful friend must not reject such occasions as many times are presented unto him by them, but to take hold thereof quickly, and make good use of them: for otherwhiles if falseth out, that a demand or question asked, a narration related, a reprehension or commendation of like things in other persons, open the doore and make way for us to enter, and giveth us leave to speake frankly. After this manner it is said, that *Demetrius* tooke his vantage to utter his minde freely: who coming upon a time from *Corinth* to *Macedonie*, when as King *Philip* was in some termes of dissension with his wife and sonne, was friendly received by *Philip* and bidden kindly welcome. Now after salutations and other

other complements passed betwene; the King asked him whether the Greekes were at accord and unitie one with another? *Demetrius*, as he was a friend veiled inward with him, and one that loved him hartly, answered thus; It becommeth you well in deed first to enquire of the concord and agreement betwene the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, when in the meane while you suffer your owne house to be full of domestick quarrels and debates. Well did *Diogenes* likewise, who being come into the campe of King *Philip*, when he had an expedition or journey against the Greekes, was taken and brought before the King, who not knowing what hee was, demanded of him; If hee were not a spie: Yes marie (quoth hee) and come I am to spie out your inconsiderate folly (o *Philip*) and want of foresight, who being not urged but 10 compelled by any man, are come thus farre to hazard in one bowe the State of your kingdom and your owne life, and to lay all upon the chance and cast of a die. But some man peradventure will say, This was a speech somewhat with the sharpest, and too much biting. Moreover, another fit time and occasion there is of admonition, when those whom we minde to reprove, having bene reproched and taunted already by others for some faults which they committed, are become submisive and cast downe to our hands. Which opportunitie a wife and skilfull friend will not omit, but make especial good use of: namely, by seeming in open place to check those that thus have slandered them, yea and to repulse and put backe such opprobrious imputations; but privately he will take his friend apart by himselfe, and put him in minde to live more warily and give no such offence, if for no other thing else; yet because his enemies should not 20 take vantage, and beare themselves insolently against him: For how shall they be able to open their mouths against you, & what mis-word can they have to say into you; if you would leave these things and cast them behinde you, for which you heare ill and are grown to some obdiquie? In this sort if the matter be handled, all the offence that was taken shall light upon the head of the first slanderer, and the profit shall be attributed unto the other that gave the friendly advertisement, and he shall goe away with all the thanks.

Some there be moreover who after a more cleanly and fine manner in speaking of others, admonish their owne familiar friends: for they will accuse strangers in their hearing for those faults which they know them to commit, and by this meanes reclaim them from the same. Thus *Ammonius* our master perceiving when he gave lecture in the after-noonne that some of us his scholars, had taken a larger dinner, and ate more than was meet for students, commanded a servant of his a franchised, to take up his owne sonne and to beate him, and why so? He cannot forsooth make his dinner (quoth he) but he must have some vineger to his meat. And in saying so, he cast his eye upon us, in such sort, that as many as were culpable, tooke themselves to be rebuked, & thought that he meant them. Furthermore, this good regard would be observed; that we never use this fashion of free speech, and reproving our friend in the presence of many persons, but we must remember that which befell unto *Plato*; for when upon a time, *Socrates* in a disputation held at the table, inveighed somewhat too bitterly against one of his familiars before them all: had it not bene better (quoth *Plato*) to have told him of this privately, but thus to shame him before all this companie? But *Socrates* taking him presently therewith 40 And you also might have done better to have saide this to my selfe, when you had found him alone. *Pythagoras* by report gave such hard tearmes by way of reprove to one of his scholars, and acquaintance in the hearing of many, that the young man for very griefe of heart was weary of his life and hanged himselfe. But never would *Pythagoras* after to his dying day, reprove or admonish any man, if another were in place. And to say a truth, as well the detection as the correction of a sinne ought to be secret, and not in publique place, like as the discovery and cure also of some filthie and foule disease: it must not I say be done in the view of the world (as if some shew or pompe were to be exhibited unto the people) with calling witnesses or spectators thereto. For it is not the part of a friend, but a trick of some Sophister, to seeke for glorie in other mens faults, and affect outward shew and vaine ostentation in the presence of others: much like to these Mount-bank Chirurgeians, who for to have the greater practise, make shew of their cunning casts, and operations of their art in publique Theatres, with many gesticulations of their handy-woike. Moreover, besides that there should no infamie grow to him that is reprovod (which in deed is not to be allowed in any cure or remedie) there ought also to be some regard had of the nature of vice and sinne, which for the most part of it selfe is opinative, contentious, stubborn and apt to stand to it, and make meanes of defence. For as *Euripides* saith,

*We daily see, not onely wanton love
Doth presse the more, when one doth it reprove.*

K 2

But

But any vice whatsoever it be and euerie imperfection, if a man do reprove it in publike place before many and spare not at all putteth on the nature of impudence and turneth to be shamelesse: like as therefore *Plato* giveth a precept, that elder folke, if they would imprint shame and grace in their young children, ought themselves first to shew shamefast behavior amongst them; even so, the modest and bashfull libertie of speech which one friend useth, doth strike also a great shame in another. Also to come and approach by little and little unto one that offendeth, and after a doubting manner with a kind of feare to touch him, is the next way to undermine the vice that he is prone and given unto, and the same, whiles he can not chöoſe but be modestly disposed, who is so modestly and gently entreated. And therefore it would be alwaies verie good in those reprehensions to observe what he did, who in like case reprooving a friend,

Held head full close unto his eare,

That no man els but he might heare.

But lesse seemly and convenient it is for to discover the fault of the husband before his wife, of a father in the presence of his sonnes; of a lover before his loves; or of a schoolmaster in the hearing of his scholars: that were enough to put them beside their right wits, for abger and griefe when they shall see themselves checked and discredited before those of whom they desire to be best esteemed. And verily of this mind I am, that it was not the wine so much that set king *Alexander* in such a chafe & rage against *Clitus* whē he reproved him, as for that he did it in the presence and hearing of so many. *Aristomenes* also, the master and tutor of king *Ptolomeus*, for that in the sight of an embassador he awaked him out of a sleepe, & willed him to give care unto the embassage that was delivered, ministred unto his evil-willers and the flatterers about the court great vantage, who thereupon tooke occasion to seeme discontented in the kings behalfe, and thus to say: VVhat if after so many travels that your Majestie doth undergo, and your long watching for our sakes, some sleep do overtake you otherwhiles; our part it were to tell you of it privately, & not thus rudely to lay hand as it were upō your person in the presence of so many men. VVhereupon *Ptolomeus* being mooved at these suggestions, sent unto the man a cup of poison, with commandement that he should drinke it off. *Aristophanes* also, callesth this in *Cleon* his teeth,

For that when strangers were in place,

The towne with termes he did disgrace,

and thereby provoke the *Athenians* & bring their high displeasure upon him. And therefore this regard would be had especially above all others, that when we would use our libertie of speech, we do it not by way of ostentation in a vaine glorie to be popular, and to get applause, but onely with an intention to profit and do good, yea and to cure some infirmities thereby. Over and besides that which *Thucydides* reporteth of the *Corinthians*, how they gave out of themselves and not unſilly, that it belonged unto them, and meet men they were to reprove others; the same ought they to have in them that will take upon them to be correctours of other persons. For like as *Islander* answered to a certaine Megarian who put himselfe forward in an assemblie of associates and allies to speake frankly for the libertie of *Greece*: These words of yours (my friend) would become to have beene spoken by some puissant State or citie; even so it may be said to every one that will seeme freely to reprehend another, that he had need himselfe to be in 40 maners wel reformed. And this most truly ought to be inferred upon all those that will seeme to chastise and correct others, namely, to be wiser and of better government than the rest: for thus *Plato* protesteth that he reformed *Peisippus* by example of his owne life: and *Xenocrates* likewise casteth but his eie upon *Polemon*, who was come into his schoole like a Russian, by his very looke onely reclaimed him from his loose life: whereas on the contrary side, if a light and lewd person, one that is full of bad conditions himselfe, would seeme to finde fault with others: and be busie with his tongue, he must be sure alwaies to heare this on both sides of his eares,

Himselfe all full of foies inuare

Will others seeme to heale and cure.

Howbeit, forasmuch as oftentimes the case standeth so, that by occasion of some affaires we be driven to chastise those with whom we converse, when we our selves are culpable and no better than they: the most cleanly & least offensive way to do it, is this, 'To acknowledge in some sort that we be likewise faulty and to include and comprehend our owne persons together with them: after which manner it is that reprove in *Homer*,

Sir Diomedes what aileth he?

how is it come about?

That we should thus forget to fight,

who

who earst were I thought so stout?

Also in another place:

And now we all unweorthy are.

With Hector onely to compare.

Thus *Socrates* mildly and gently would seeme to reprove young men, making semblance as if himselfe were not void of ignorance, but had need also to be instructed in verue, and professing that he had need with them to search for the knowledge of truth: for such commonly do win love and credit, yea and sooner shall be beleaved, who are thought subject to the same faults, and seeme willing to correct their friends like as they do their owne selves; whereas he 10 who spreadeth and displaith his owne wings, in clapping other mens, justifying himselfe as if he were pure, sincere, faultlesse, and without all affections and infirmities, unlesse he be much elder than we, or in regard of some notable and approved verue in farre higher place of authoritie and in greater reputation than our selves, he shall gaine no profit nor do any good, but be reputed a busie body and troublesome person. And therefore it was not without iust cause that good *Phanix* in speaking to *Achilles* alleged his owne misfortunes, and namely how in a fit of choler he had like one day to have killed his owne father, but that suddenly he be thought himselfe and changed his minde,

Least that among the Greekes I should be nam'd

A parricide and ever after sham'd.

20 which he did no doubt to this end, because he would not seeme in chiding him to arrogate this praise unto himselfe, that he was not subject to anger, nor had ever done amisse by occasion of that infirmity and passion. Certes such admonitions as these enter and pierce more effectually into the heart, for that they are thought to proceed from a tender compassion; and more willing are we to yeeld unto such as seeme to have suffred the like, than to those that despise and contemne us. But forasmuch as neither the cie when it is inflamed can abide any cleere and shining light, nor a passionate minde endure frank speech, or a plaine and bare reprehension, one of the best and most profitable helps in this case, is to intermingle therewith a little praise, as we reade thus in *Homer*,

Now (sure) me thinks you do not well,

thus for to leave the field,

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Who all are knownen for doughty knights,

and best with speare and shield.

A coward if I saw to flee,

him would I not reprove:

But such as you, thus for to shrinke,

my heart doth greatly moove.

Likewise,

O Pandar, where is now thy bowe,

where are thine arrowes flight:

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Where is that honour, in which none

with thee dare strive in fight?

And verily such oblique reprehensions also as these, are most effectuell and wonderfull in reclaiming those that be ready to run on end, and fall to some grosse enormities: as for example,

What is become of wise Oedipus,

In riddles areeding who was so famous.

Also,

And Hercules, who hath endur'd such paine,

Speakes he these words, so foolish and so vaine?

For this kinde of dealing doth not onely asswage and mitigate the roughnesse and commanding power that is in a reprehension and rebuke, but also breedeth in the partie in such sort reprov'd, a certaine emulation of himselfe, causing him to be abashed and ashamed for any follies and dishonest pranks, when he remembereth and callesth to minde his other good parts and commendable acts, which by this meanes he setteth before his eyes, as examples, and to taketh himselfe for a patterne and president of better things: But when we make comparifon betwene him and others, to wit, his equals in age, his fellow-citizens, or kinsefolks; then his vice, which in the owne nature is stubborne and opinionative enough, becommeth by that meanes more froward and exasperate, and often times he will not sticke in a fume and chafe to thing

away, and grumble in this wise, Why goe you not then to those that are so much better than I? why can you not let me alone, but thus trouble me as you do? And therefore we must take heed especially, that whiles we purpose to tell one plainly of his faults, we do not praise others, unless haply they be his parents: as *Agamemnon* did unto *Diomedes*,

*A sonne (twis) for Tidesus left behinde,
Unlike himselfe, and much grown out of kinde.
And thysses in the Tragedie entitled Seyry,
You sir, whose father was a knight,
The best that ever drew
A sword, of all the Greeks, in field,
and many a captive slew,
Sit you heere carding like a wench,
and spinning wooll on rocke,
Therby the glorious lights to quench
of your most noble stocke?*

But most unseemely it were and undecent of all other, if when one is admonished by his friend, he should fall to admonish him againe; and being tolde freely of his fault, serve him the like, and quit him with as much: for this is the next way to kindle coales, and to make variance and discord; and in one word verily, such a rejecting & spurning againe as this, may seeme in effect to bewray, not a reciprocal libertie of rending one for another, but rather a peevisish minde that can abide no manner of reproofe. Better therefore it is, to endure patiently for the time, a friend that telleth us plainly of our faults; and if himselfe afterwards chance to offend and have need of the like reprehension, this after a fort giveth free libertie unto him that was rebuked afore, to use the same libertie of speech againe unto the other: For calling to minde by this occasion, without any remembrance of old grudge and former injurie, that himselfe also was wont not to neglect his friends when they did amisse and forgot themselves, but tooke paines to reprove, redresse, and teach them how to amend, he will the sooner yeeld a fault, and receive that chastisement and correction, which he shall perceive to be a retribution of like love and kindeesse, and not a requittall of complaint and anger. Moreover, like as *Thucydides* saith, That the man is wife and well advised, who incurth the envie of men for matters of greatest weight and importance; even so we say: That if a friend will adventure the danger and heavy load and ill will for blaming his friends, hee must make choise of such matters as be of great moment and much consequence: for if he will take exceptions at every trifle and little thing indifferent; if he will seeme evermore to be finding fault, and cary himselfe not like a kind and affectionate friend, but a precise, severe and imperious schoole-master, to spee all faults, and correct every point and tittle; certes he shall finde afterwards, that his admonitions even for the greatest offences, shall not be regarded, nor any whit effectuall: for that he hath used already to no purpose, his franke reprehension (the soveraigne remedie for grosse and maine faults) in many others that are but slight, and not woorthy reproofe: much like unto a Physician, who hath employed and spent a medicine that is strong and bitter, howbeit, necessary and costly, in small infirmities, and of no reckoning to speake of. A friend therefore is to looke unto this; That it be not an ordinary matter with him to be alwaies quarrellsome, and desirous to finde one fault or other. And if per-adventure he meet with such a companion as is apt to search narrowly into all light matters, to cavill and wrangle for every thing, and ready to raise calumnies like a petty Sycophant for totes and trifles, he may take the better advantage and occasion thereby for to reprove him againe, in case he chance to faile in greater and more grosse faults.

Philottus the Physician answered prettily unto one, who having an impostume grown to suppuration about his liver, shewed unto him a finger that was sore, and troubled with some blister or whitlaw, and desired his counsell for the same: My good friend (quoth he) the disease that you are to looke unto, is not a whitlaw nor about your naille roote; even so, there may be occasion and opportunitie offered unto a friend, to say unto one that ever and anon is finding fault, and reprooving small errors not woorth the noting, to wit, sports and pastimes, feasting and merrie meeting, or such like trifling trickes of youth: Good sir, let us finde the meanes rather, that this man whom you thus blame, may cast off the harlot that he keeps, or give over his dice playing; for otherwise, he is a man of excellent and woonderfull good parts. For he that perceiveth how he is tolerated or winked at, yea and pardoned in small matters, will not be unwilling, that a friend should use his libertie in reprooving his greater vices: whereas he that is

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evermore

evermore urgent upon one, pressing and lying hard unto him; alwaies bitter and unpleasant, prying and looking into everie corner, and taking knowledge of all things: such an one (I say) there is neither childe nor brother will endure; nay, he is intolerable to his verie servants: But likeas *Euripides* saith,

*All is not naught that old age brings,
We may in it finde some good things.*

No more is the folly of friends so bad but that we may picke some goodnes out of them: we ought therefore to observe diligently, not onely when they do amisse, but also when they doe well: and verily at the first to be willing and most readie to praise: but afterwards we must doe as the *Smithes* who temper yron: For when they have given it a fire, and made it by that meanes soft, loose and pliable, they drench and dip it in cold water, whereby it becommeth compact and hard, taking thereby the due temperature of stiffe Steele; even so, when we perceive that our friends be well heat and relaxed (as it were) by hearing themselves praised by us, then we may come upon them by little and little with a tincture (as I may so say) of reproofe, and telling them of their faults. Then will it be a fit time to speake unto a friend thus: How say you, are these pranks woorthie to be compared with those parts? See you not the fruits that come of vertue? Loe what we your friends require of you: these are the duties and offices which are befitting your person: for these hath nature made and framed you, As for those lewd causes, fie upon them,

*Send such away, confine them farre,
unto the mountaine wild,
Or into roaring seas from land
let them be quite exil'd.*

For like as an honest minced and discreet Physitian, will choose rather to cure the maladie of his patient by rest and sleepe, or by good nutriment & diet, than by *Castorium* or *Scammionum*: even so, a kinde & courteous friend, a good father and gentle schoolemaster, taketh pleasure and joyeth more to use praises than reproofes, in the reformation of manners. For there is nothing that maketh the man, who boldly findeth fault with his friends to bee so little offensive unto them, or to do more good and cure them better, than to be voide of anger, and to seeme after a mild sort in all love and affectionate good will to addresse himselfe unto them, when they doe amisse. And therefore neither ought he to urge them overmuch, and seeme too eagerly to convince them if they denie the thing, ne yet to debarre them of libertie to make their answer and cleere themselves: but rather to helpe them out, and after a fort to minister unto them some honest and colourable prentises, to excuse and justifie their facts: and when a man seeth them do amisse by reason of some woorthie cause indeed, to lay the fault upon another occasion that is more tolerable: As *Hector* when he said unto *Paris*,

*Unhappy man, alas, you do not well
To beare in breast a heart so fell.*

As if his brothers retire out of battell and refusal to combat with *Menelaus*, had not beene a meere flight and running away, but verie anger and a curst stomake. Likewise *Nestor* unto *Agamemnon*,

*But you gave place unto your haughty mind:
And feede those fits which come to you by kind.*

For in mine advice a more mild reprehension is this than to have said: This was injuriously done of you, or this was a shamefull and vilanous part of yours; As also to say unto one, You could not tel what you did; you thought not of it; or you were altogether ignorant what would come thereof, is better and more civill, than bluntly to charge him and say: This was a meere wrong, and a wicked act of yours. Also thus, Do not contest and quarrell in this wife with your brother, is lesse offensive than to say: Deale not thus enviouly and spitefully against your brother: Likewise it were a more gentle manner of reproofe to say unto a man: Avoid this woman that spoileth and abuseth you; than thus: Give over this woman, spoile and abuse her no more. Thus you see what meanes are to be used in this libertie of speech, when a friend would cure a maladie.

But for to prevent the same, there would be practised a cleane contrarie course: for when it behooveth to avert and turne our friends from committing a fault, whereto they are prone and inclined; or to withstand some violent and disordinaire passion, which carrieth them a cleane contrarie way; or when we are desirous to incite and stirre them forward unto good things, being

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ing of themselves slow and backward when, I say, we would give an edge unto them, who are otherwise dull, and heat them being cold, we ought to transerre the thing or act in hand to some absurd causes, and those that be unseemly and undecent. Thus *Ulysses* pricked on *Achilles* in a certaine Tragedie of *Sophocles*, when he said thus unto him: It is not for a supper *Achilles* that you are so angrie, but

*For that you have already scene
The walls of Troy, your fearfull teene.*

And when upon these words *Achilles* tooke greater indignation, and chafed more and more, saying, that he would not faile forward but be gone backe againe, he came upon him a second time with this rejoynder:

*I wote well why you gladly would depart:
Tis not because at checks or raunts you chafe,
But Hector is not far: he kills your hart;
For dread of him to stay it is not safe.*

By this meanes when we fear a valiant and hardy man with the opinion of cowardise; an honest, chaste and civill person, with the note of being reputed loose & incontinent; also a liberall and sumptuous *Magnifico*, with the feare to be accounted a niggard or a mechanicall micher; we do mightily incite them to wel doing, and chafe them from bad waies. And like as when a thing is done and past, and where there is no remedie, there should be borne a modest and temperate hand, in such fort that in our libertie of speech we seeme to shew more commiseration, pittie and fellow-griefe of minde for the fault of a friend, than eager reprehension; so contrariwise where it stands upon this point that he should not fault, where (I say) our drift is to fight against the motion of his passions, there we ought to be vehement, inexorable and never to give over nor yeeld one jot unto them. And this is the very time when we are to shew that love of ours and good will which is constant, felled, and sure, and to use our true libertie of speech to the full. For to reprove faults already committed, we see it is an ordinary thing among arant enemies. To which purpose said *Diogenes* very well; That a man who would be an honest man ought to have either very good friends, or most shrewd and bitter enemies: for as they do teach and instruct; so these are ready to finde fault and reprove. Now far better it is for one to abstaine from evill doing, in beleaving and following the sound counsell of his friends, than to repent afterwards of ill doing, when he seeth himselfe blamed and accused by his enemies. And therefore if it were for nothing els but this, great discretion and circumspection would be used in making remontrances & speaking freely unto friends: and so much the rather, by how much it is the greater and stronger remedie that friendship can use, and hath more need to be used in time and place convenient, and more wisely to be tempered with a meane and mediocrity. Now forasmuch as I have said sundry times already, that all reprehensions whatsoever are dolorous unto him that receiveth them; we ought in this case to imitate good Physicians and Chirurgians: for when they have made incision or cut any member, they leave not the place in paine and torment still, but use certaine fomentations and lenitive infusions to mitigate the anguish: No more do they that after a civill manner have chid or rebuked, run away presently so soone as they have bitten and pricked the partie, but by changing their manner of speech, entertaine their friends thus galled and wounded, with other more mild and pleasant discourtes; to alwaie their griefe and refresh their hart againe that is cast downe and discomforted; and I may well compare them to these cutters and carvers of images, who after they have rough hewen and scabbled over certaine peeces of stone for to make their statues of, do polish and smoothe them faire, yea and give them a lightfome lustre. But if a man be stung and nipped once, or touched to the quick by some oburgatorie reprehension, and so left rough, uneven, disquieted, swelling and puffing for anger, he is ever after hardly quieted or reclaimed, and no consolation will serve the time to appease and comfort him againe. And therefore they who reprove & admonish their friends, ought to observe this rule above all others; Not to forsake them immediately when they have done, nor to breake off their conference sodainly, or to conclude their speech with any word that might greeve and provoke them.

OF MEEKENES, OR HOW A MAN SHOULD RE- FRAINÉ CHOLER.

A TREATISE IN MANER of a Dialogue.

The persons that be the Speakers:
SYLLA and FUNDANUS.

The Summarie of the Dialogue.

After we are taught how to discerne a flatterer from a friend, it seemeth that this Treatise, as touching Mildnesse and how we ought to bridle Anger, was set liues in his proper place. For like as we may soone erre grossly in choise of those whom we are willing and well content to have about us, and in that respect are to be circumspect, and to stand upon our guards; so we have no lesse cause to consider how we should behave ourselves among our neighbours. Now of all those vices and imperfections which defame mans life, and cause the race & course thereof to be difficult & wondrous painful to passe, anger is one of those which are to be ranged in the first ranke; in such sort, that it boortheth not to be provided of good friends, if this fiery humor get the mastery over us: like as contrariwise flatterers & such other pestilent plagues have not so easie entrance into us, nor such ready meanes to be possessed of us, so long as we be accompanied with a certaine wise and prudent mildnesse. In this discourse then, our author doings be part of an expert Physician, laboureth to purge our minde from all choler, and would traine thereto a modestie and humanitie, so farre forth as Philosophie morall is able to performe. And for to straine us into so great a benefit, he sheweth in the first place, that we ought to procure our friends for to observe and make our imperfections, that by long continuance of time we may accustom our selves so to holde in our judgements by the bit of reason. After certaine proper similitudes serving for this purpose, and a description of the inconveniences and harmes that come by wrath, he provoveth; that it is an easie matter to refrain and repress the same: to which purpose he setteth downe divers maxims, upon which he discourses at better his usuall manner; that is to say, with reasons and inductions, enriched with notable similitudes and examples: afterwards, having spoken of the time and manner of observing and correcting those vices under our power and governance, he proposeth a few certaine remedies to cure choler, as precepts, maxims to keepe us from relapsing into it againe: Which done, he representeth briefly, as in a painted table, to the end that those who suffer themselves to be surprised therewith by bad humors, may be abused and ashamed of their unhappy state; and therewith be given to

five notable advertisement for to attaine thereto, which be as in
were preceptives; by meanes whereof we should
not feel our selves strait any more
with this maladie.

OF MEEKENES, OR HOW A man should refraine choler.

A TREATISE IN MANNER
of a Dialogue.

SYLLA.



It seemeth unto me (δ Fundanus) that painters doe verie well and wisely, to view and consider their workes often and by times betwene, before they thinke them finished and let them go out of their hands: for that by setting them so out of their sight, and then afterwards having recourse thither againe to judge thereof, they make their eyes (as it were) new judges, to spie and discern the least fault that is, which continuall looking thereupon, and the ordinarie view of one and the same thing doth cover and hide from them. But forasmuch as it is not possible that a man should depart from himselfe for a time, and after a certaine space returne againe; nor

that he should breake, interrupt and discontinue his understanding and sense within (which is the cause that each man is a worse judge of himselfe than of others.) A second meanes and remedie therefore in this case would be used: namely, to review his friends sundrie times, and oftentimes likewise to yeeld himselfe to be scene and beheld by them; not so much to know thereby whether he aged apace and growne some old; or whether the constitution of his bodie be better or worse than it was before, as to survey and consider his manners and behaviour, to wit, whether time hath added any good thing, or taken away ought that is bad and naught. For mine owne part, this being now the second yeere since I came first to this citie of Rome, and the fifth month of mine acquaintance with you, I thinke it no great wonder, that considering your towardsness and the dexterity of your nature, those good parts which were already in you, have gotten so great an addition and be so much increased, as they are: but when I see how that vehement inclination, and great motion of yours to anger, wherunto by nature you were given, is by the guidance of reason become so milde, so gentle and tractable, it cometh into my minde to say thereunto, that which I read in Homer,

*O what a woonderous change is here?
Much milder are you than you were.*

And verily this gentleness and meekenes of yours is not turned into a certaine sloth, and generall dissolution of your vigour: but like as a peece of ground well tilled, lieth light and even, and besides more hollow than before; which maketh much for the fertility thereof; even so, your nature hath gotten in stead of that violent disposition and sudden propension unto cholere, a certaine equalitie and profunditie, serving greatly to the management of affaires, whereby also it appeareth plainly that it is not long of the decaying strength of the bodie, by reason of declining age; neither yet of the owne accord, that your hastinesse and cholerick passion is thus faded, but rather by means of good reason and instructions well cured. And yet verily (for unto you I will be bold to say the truth) at the first I suspected and could not well beleve Eras our familiar friend, when he made this report of you unto me; as doubting that he was ready to give this testimonie of you in regard of affection and good will, bearing me in hand of those things which were not indeed in you, but ought to be in good and honest men: and yet (as you know well enough) he is not such a man, as for favour of any person, and for to please, can be easily perwaded and brought to say otherwise than he thinketh. But now as you he is freed and acquit from the crime of bearing false witness: so you (since this journey and travell upon the way affordeth you good leisure) will (I doubt not) at my request, declare and recount unto us the order how you did this cure upon your selfe, and namely what medicines and remedies you used, to make that cholerick nature of yours, so gentle, so tractable, so soft and supple, so obedient (I say) and subject wholly to the rule of reason?

FUNDANUS.

But why do you not your selfe (δ Sylla) my dearest and most affectionate friend, take heed, that

that for the amitie and good will which you beare unto me, you be not deceived and see one thing in me for another? As for Eras, who for his owne part hath not alwaies his anger fledfastly staid with the cable and anchor of Homers *Pejla* (that is, obedient and abiding firme in one place) but otherwhiles much moved and out of quiet, for the hatred that he hath of vice and vicious men it may verie well be, and like it is that unto him I seeme more milde and gentle than before: like as we see in changing and altering the notes of prick-song, or the Gamut in musick, certaine Notes or notes which are the base in one 8, being compared which other Notes more low and base, become Hypates, that is, the Trebles.

SYLLA.

It is neither so nor so (δ Fundanus) but of all loves, do as I desire you, for my sake.

FUNDANUS.

Since it is so (Sylla) among many good advertisements of *Misofonus* which come to my minde, this is one; That whosoever would live safe and in health, ought all their life time to looke to themselves, and be as it were in continuall Physicke. For I am not of this minde, neither doe I thinke it convenient that like as *Elleborus*, after it hath done the deed within a sicke mans bodie and wrought a cure, is cast up againe together with the maladie; so reason also should be sent out after the passion which it hath cured, but it ought to remaine still in the mind for to keepe and preserve the judgement. For why? reason is not to be compared with medicines and purgative drugs, but rather to holmesome and nourishing meates, engendering mild-ty in the minds of them unto whom it is made familiar, a good complexion and fast habit together with some perfect health: whereas admonitions and corrections applied or ministred unto passions when they swell and rage, and bee in the height of their heat and inflammation, hardly and with much adoe worke any effect at all, and if they doe, it is with much paine. Neither differ they in operation from those strong odors which well may raise out of a fit those who are fallen and be subject to the *Epilepsy* or falling sickness; but they cure not the disease, nor secure the patient for falling againe: True it is that all other passions of the minde, if they be taken in hand at the very point and instant when they are in their highest furie, do yeeld in some sort, and they admit reason coming from without into the minde for to helpe and succour, but anger not onely, as *Melantinus* saith,

*Commis lewd parts, and reason doth displace
Out of her seat, and proper resting place.*

but also turneth her cleane out of house & home, shutteth and locketh her out of doores for all together; nay it fareth for all the world like to those who set the house on fire over their owne heads, and turne themselves and it together: it filleth all within full of trouble, smoke, and confused noises, in such sort that it hath neither eie to see, nor eare to listen unto those that would, & might assist and give aide: and therefore sooner will a ship abandoned of her master in the mids of the sea, and there hulling dangerously in a storme and tempest receive a pilot from some other ship without; than a man tossed with the waves of furie and anger, admit the reason and remonstrance of a stranger; unless his owne reason at home were before-hand well prepared:

But like as they who looke for no other but to have their citie besieged, gather together and lay up safe their owne store and provision, and all things that might serve their turne, not knowing nor expecting any aide or reliefe abroad during the siege; even so ought we to have our remedies ready and provided long before, and the same gathered out of all parts of Philosophie and conveyed into the minde for to withstand the rage of cholere: as being assured of this, that when neede and necessitie requireth to use them, we shall not easily admit the same, and suffer them to have entrance into us. For surely at such a time of extremitie, the soule heareth not a word that is said unto it without, for the trouble and confusion within, unless her owne reason be assistant ready both to receive and understand quickly every commandment and precept, and also to prompt the same accordingly unto her. And say that she doth heare: looke what is said unto her after a milde, calme, and gentle manner, that she despiseth; againe, if any be more instant, and do urge her somewhat roughly, with those she is displeased, and the worse for their admonitions: for wrath being of the owne nature proud, audacious, untuly, and hardly suffering it selfe to be handled or stirred by another, much like unto a tyrant attended with a strong guard about his person, ought to have something of the owne which is domestically, familiar, and (as it were) in-bred together with it, for to overthrow and dissolve the same. Nowe the continuall custome of anger and the ordinary or often falling into a chafe, breedeth in the minde an ill habit called wrathfulness, which in the end groweth to this passe; that it maketh a

man cholerick and hasty, apt to be mooved at every thing; and besides, it engendreth a bitter humor of revenge, and a testiness implacable, or hardly to be appeased; namely, when the mind is exultate once, taking offence at every small occasion, quarreling and complaining for toys and trifles, much like unto a thin or a fine edge that entrencheth with the least force that the graver putteth it to. But the judgement of reason opposing it selfe straightwaies against such motions and fits of choler, and ready to suppress & keepe them downe, is not onely a remedie for the present mischief, but also for the time to come dooth strengthen and fortifie the mind, causing it to be more firme and strong to resist such passions when they arise. And now to give some instance of my selfe: The same hapned unto me after I had twice or thrice made head against choler, as befall sometimes to the Thebans; who having ones repelled and put to flight the Lacedemonians (warriors thought in those daies invincible) were never in any one battell afterward defeated by them. For from that time forward I tooke heart and courage, as seeing full well, that conquered it might be with the discourse of reason. I perceived moreover, that anger would not onely be quenched with cold water poured and cast upon it, as *Aristotle* hath reported unto us, but also that it would go out and be extinguished, were it never to light a fire before, by presenting neere unto it some object of feare: nay (I assure you) by a sudden joy coming upon it unlooked for, in many a man, according as *Homer* saith, choler hath melted, dissolved & evaporated away. And therefore this resolution I made, that anger was a passion not incurable, if men were willing to be cured: for surely the occasions and beginnings thereof are not alwaies great and forcible; but wee take a jest, a scoff, some sport, some laughter, a wink of the eye, 20 or nod of the head, and such small matters, hath set many in a pelting chafe: even as *Lady Helena* saying no more but thus unto her niece or brothers daughter at their first meeting,

Electra virgin, long time since I you saw &c.

drive her in such a fit of choler, that therewith she was provoked to breake off her speech with this answer,

*Wife now at last, though all too late,
you are I may well say,
Whom hitherto left your husbands house,
and ran wildjane away.*

Likewise *Cassius* mightily offended *Alexander* with one word, who when a great boile 30 of wine went round about the table, refused it as it came to his turne, saying: I will not (I trust) drinke to your health *Alexander*, that I shall have need thereby of *Asclepius* (i. a Physician). A fire that newly hath caught a flame with haire or comies haire, drie leaves, hurds and light straw, stubble and rakings, it is an easie matter to put out and quench; but if it have once taken to found swell and such matter as hath solidity, substance and thickenesse in it, soone it burneth and consumeth as *Aeschylus* saith:

*By climbing up and mounting hie
The flately works of Carpenters.*

Sensibly, he that will take heed unto choler at the beginning, when he seeth it once to smoke or flame out by occasion of some merry speech, flouting, scoffes, and foolish words of no moment, needs not to strive much about the quenching of it: for many times if he do no more but hold his peace, or make small account or none at all of such matters, it is enough to extinguish and make it go out. For he that minneth not fewell to fire, putteth it out; and who- 40 soever feedeth not his anger at the first, and bloweth not the coales himselfe, doth coole and repress the flame. And therefore *Hieronymus* the Philosopher, although otherwise he have taught us many good lessons and instructions; yet in this point he hath not pleased and satisfied me, when he saith: That a man is not able to perceive himselfe the breeding of anger, (so quick and sudden it is) but onely when it is bred, then it may be felt: for surely, there is no vice or passion in us, that giveth such warning, or hath either too evident a generation or so manifest an augment whiles it is stirred and mooved, as anger, according as *Homer* himselfe right skillfully, 50 and as a man of good experience, giveth us to understand, who bringeth in *Achilles* fore mooved to sorrow and griefe of heart, even with a word, and at the very instant, when he heard the speeches of *Agamemnon*: for thus reporteth the Poet of him:

*Out of the king his soveraignes mouth,
the word no sooner pass,
But straight a blacke and mistie cloud
of ire him overcast.*

But

But of *Agamemnon* himselfe, he saith, that it was long ere he was angry; namely, after he had bene kindled with many hard speeches, that were dealt to and fro, which many third person stepping betwene, would have staied or turned away, certes their quarrell and debate had not growen to such tearmes of extremity as it did. And therefore *Socrates* so often as he felt himselfe somewhat declining and more mooved than he should, against any one of his friends, and avoiding as it were a rocke in the sea, before the tempest came and the billowes arose, would let fall his voice, throw a smiling countenance, and compose his looke and visage to mirth and lenitie, and thus by bending and drawing another way, that whereunto his affection inclined, and opposing himselfe to a contrary passion, he kept upright on his feet, so that he fell not, nor 10 was overflown. For there is (my good friend) a ready meanes in the very beginning, to breake the force of choler, like as there is a way to dissolve a tyrannicall rule and dominion, that is to say, not to obey at the first, not to give eare and be ruled by her commandment, when she shal bid thee to speake & cry out aloud, or to looke with a terrible countenance, or to knocke or beat thy selfe; but to be still and quiet, and not to re-enforce and encrease the passion, as men do exasperate a sicknesse with strugling, striving, tossing and roaring out aloud. For those things which ordinary lovers and amorous young men practise, that is to say, to go in a wanton and merry maske, to sing and dance at the doores of their sweet hearts and mistresses, to bedecke their windowes with coronets & floure-garlands, bring some ease and alleviation (such as it is) of their passions, and the same not altogether undecent and uncivill, according to that which 20 we recide in the Poet:

*And when I came, aloud I cried not,
And asked who she was, or daughter whose?
But kiss my love full sweetly, that I wot:
If this be mine? but mine I can not choose.*

Also that which we permit those to doe who are in sorrow, namely, to mourne, to lament and weepe for losses or mishaps; certainly with their sighs which they fetch, & teares that they shed, they do send out and discharge a good part of their griefe and anguish. But it is not so with the passion of anger: for surely, the more that they rage and speake who are surprised therewith, the more hote it is, and the flame burneth out the faster; and therefore the best way is, for a man to 30 be quiet, to lie and keepe him out of the way, or els to retire himselfe into some haven of security and repose, when he perceiveth that there is a fit of anger toward, as if he felt an access of the falling evill coming. This (I say) we ought to do, for feare lest we fall downe, or rather runne and rush upon some one or other. But who be they that we run upon? Surely our very friends, for the greatest part, & those we wrong most. As for our affection of love, it standeth not to all things indifferently, neither do we hate ne yet feare we every thing alike: But what is it that ire setteth not upon? nothing is there but it doth assaile and lay hands on; we are angry with our enemies; we chafe with our friends; with children, with parents are we wrath; nay, the very gods themselves we forebore not in our cholerick mood; we flie upon dumbe and brute beasts; we spare not so much as our utensile vessels and implements which have neither sense nor life at 40 all, if they stand in our way, we fere like *Thamyras* the Musician,

*Who brake his cornet, finely bound
And tipt with golde: his lute he bent,
Well string and tw'd to pleasant sound,
And it anon to fifters rent.*

Thus did *Pandarus* also, who curled, and betooke himselfe to all the fiends in hell, if he did not burst his bowe and arrows with his owne hands, and throw them into the fire when he had so done. As for *Xerxes*, he stucke not to whip, to lash and scourge these, and to the mountaine *Athos* he sent his minatorie letters in this forme; *Thou wretched and wicked Athos, that bearest up thy head aloft into the skies, see thou bring forth no great craggie stones, I advise thee, for my 50 works, and such as be hard to be cut and wrought: otherwise, if thou doe, I shall cut thee through and tumble thee into the maine sea.* Many fearefull and terrible things there be that are done in anger, and as many for them againe, as foolish and ridiculous, and therefore of all passions that trouble the minde, it is both hated and despised most. In which regards expedient it were, to consider diligently awell of the one as the other: for mine owne part, whether I did well or ill, I know not; but surely, when I began my cure of choler in my selfe, I did as in old time the Lacedemonians were wont to do by their Ilotes, men of base and servile condition: For as they taught their children what a foule vice drunkenness was; by their example when they were 1 drunken,

drunke, so I learned by observing others, what anger was, and what beastly effects it wrought. First and foremost therefore, like as that maladie according to *Hippocrates*, is of all others, worst and most dangerous, wherein the visage of the sicke person is most disfigured and made unlike it selfe; so, I seeing those that were possessed of choler, and (as it were) beside themselves thereby, how their face was changed, their colour, their countenance, their gate and their voice quite altered, I imagined thereupon unto my selfe a certaine forme and image of this maladie, as being mightily displeased in my minde, if haply at any time I should be seene of my friends, my wife and the little gittles my daughters, so terrible and so farre mooved and transported beside my selfe: not onely fearefull and hideous to beholde, and farre otherwise than I was wont, but also unpleasant to be heard; my voice being rough, rude and churlish: like as it was in my hap to see some of my familiar friends in thar case, who by reason of anger could not retaine and keepe their ordinary fashions and behavior, their force of visage, nor their grace in speech, ne yet that affability and pleasantnesse in company and talke as they were wont.

This was the reason that *Cains Gracchus* the Oratour, a man by nature blunt, rude in behaviour, and withall over-carnest and violent in his manner of pleading, had a little flute or pipe made for the noyce, such as Musicians are wont to guide and rule the voice gently by little and little up and downe, betwene base to treble, according to everie note as they would themselves, teaching their scholars thereby to have a tunable voice. Now when *Gracchus* pleaded at the barre at any time, he had one of his servants standing with such a pipe behinde him: who observing when his master was a little out of tune, would sound a more mild and pleasant note unto him, whereby he reclaimed and called him backe from that loude exclaiming, and so taking downe that rough and swelling accent of his voice,

*Like as the Neat-hear-d pipes soft rill
made of the marish reeds, so light is
The joints whereof with waxe they fill,
resound at tune for their delight:
Which while the beavain field they keepe,
Bring'st them at length to pleasant sleepe.*

dulced and allayed the cholerick passion of the orator. Certes my selfe, if I had a pretie page to attend upon me, who were diligent, necessarie and handsome about me, would not be offended but verie well content, that when he saw me angrie he should by and by present a mirror or looking glasse unto me, such a one as they use to bring and shew unto some that newly are come out of the baine, although no good or profit all they have thereby. But certainly for man to see himselfe at such a time, how disquieted he is, how farre out of the way and beside the course of nature, it were no small meanes to checke this passion, and to set him in haired therewith for ever after. They who are delighted in tales and fables, doe report by way of merrie speech and pastime, that once when *Athena* was a piping, there came a Satyre and admonished her, that it was not for her to play upon a flute; but the for the time tooke no heed to that advertisement of his, notwithstanding he spake thus unto her:

*This forme of face becomes you not,
Lay up your pipes, take awies in hand:
But first this would not be forgot,
your cheekes to lay, that put now stand.*

But afterwards when he had seene her face in a certaine river, what a paire of cheekes she had gotten with her piping, she was displeased with her selfe and flung away her pipes: And yet this art and skill of playing well upon the pipe, yeeldeth some comfort and maketh amends for the deformitie of a disfigured visage, with the melodious tune and harmonie that it affordeth; yea and afterwards, *Marsyas* the Minstrell (as it is thought) devised first with a certaine hood and muzzell fastened round about the mouth, as well to retrain and keepe downe the violence of the blast enclosed thus by force, as also to correct and hide the deformitie and undecent inequalitye of the visages

*With glittering gold both cheekes as farr
as temples he did bind:
The tender mouth with long lippes likewise,
fast knit the necke behinde.*

But anger contrariwise, as it doth puffe up and stretch out the visage after an unseemly maner, so much more it sendeth out undecent and unpleasant voice,

And

*And first the strings at secret nose of beare
Which touched should not be, but by a part.*

The sea verily, when being troubled and disquieted with blustering winds, it casteth up mofse, reits, and such like weeds (they say) it is cleansed and purged thereby: but the dissolute, bitter, scurrile, and foolish speeches, which anger sendeth out of the minde when it is turned upside downe, first pollute and defile the speakers themselves, and fill them full of infamy, for that they be thought to have their hearts full of such ordure and filthinesse at all times; but the time looketh there, untill that choler discovereth it: And therefore, they pay most deerly for their speech, the lightest matter of all others (as *Plato* saith) in that they suffer this heave and grievous punishment, to be held and reputed for malicious enemies, cursed speakers, and ill conditioned persons. Which I seeing and observing well enough, it falleth out that I reason with my selfe, & alwaies call to mind, what a good thing it is in a fever, but much better in a fit of choler to have a tongue faire, even and smooth: For in them that be sicke of an ague, if the tongue be not such as naturally it ought to be, an ill signe it is, but not a cause of any harme or indisposition within. Howbeit, if their tongues who are angry, be once rough, foule, and running disolutely at random to absurd speeches, it casteth forth outragious and contumelious language, the verie mother and work-mistresse of irreconcilable enmitie, and bewraeth an hidden and secret maliciounesse. As for wine, if a man drinke it, of it selfe undelated with water, it putteth forth no such wantonnesse, no disordinate and lewd speeches, like to those that proceed of ite.

*For drunken talke serveth to make mirth, and to procure laughter rather than any thing else:
but words of choler are tempered with bitter gall and rankor. Moreover, he that sitteth silent at the table when others drinke merrily, is odious unto the companie and a trouble: whereas in choler there is nothing more decent and becoming gravitie, than to be quiet and say nothing: according as *apophth* doth admonish,
When furious choler once is up,
disper it and spread in brest,
To keepe the tongue then apt to barke,
and let it lie at rest.*

The consideration of these things collected thus together, serveth not onely to take heede alwaies unto them that are subject to yre and therewith possessed, but also besides to know thoroughly the nature of anger: how it is neither generous or manfull, nor yet hath anie thing in it that favoereth of wisdom and magnanimitie. Howbeit the common people interpret the turbulent nature thereof to be active and meere for action: the threats and menaces thereof, hardinesse and confidence, the peevish and froward unreasonnesse to be fortitude and strength. Nay some there be who would have the crueltie in it, to be a disposition and dexterity to achieve great matters; the implacable malice thereof to be constancie and firme resolution: the morositie and difficultie to be pleased; to be the hatred of sinne and vice; howbeit herein they do not well but are much deceived, for surely the very actions, motions, gestures, and countenance of cholerike persons do argue and bewray much baseness and imbecillitie: which we may perceive not onely in these brain-sicke fits that they fall upon little children, and them pluck, twitch, and misuse; lie upon poore feeble women, and thinke that they ought to punish and beat their hottes, hounds and mules, like unto *Cressphon* that famous wrestler and professed champion, who stucke not to spurne and kicke his mule; but also in their pyrramical and bloody murders, wherein their crueltie and bitternesse which declareth their pyrramicality & bale mind; their actions which shew their passions & their doing to others, bewraying a suffering in themselves, may be compared to the stings and bitings of those venomous serpents which be very angrie, exceeding dolorous and burne most themselves when they do inflict the greatest inflammation upon the patients, and put them to most paine: For like as swelling is a symptome or accident following upon a great wound or hurt in the flesh: even so it is in the tenderest and softest minds, the more they give place and yeeld unto dolor and passion, the more plentie of choler and anger they utter forth as proceeding from the greater weakness. By this you may see the reason why women ordinarily be more waspish, curst and shrewd than men; sicke folke more restie than those that are in health; old people more waiward and froward than those that be in the floure and vigor of their yeeres; and finally such as be in adversity and upon whom fortune frowneth, more prone to anger than those who prosper and have the world smiling upon them. The covetous mizer and pinching peni-father is alwaies most angrie with his steward: that saith forth his monie; the glutton is ever more displeased with

L. 2

his

his cooke and eater; the jealous husband quickly falleth out and brawleth with his wife; the vaine-glorious foole is soonest offended with them that speake any thing amisse of him; but the most bitter and intollerable of all others, are ambitious persons in a citie, who lay for high places and dignities, such also as are the heads of a faction in a sedition; which is a trouble and mischief (as *Pindarus* saith) conspicuous and honorable. Lo, how from that part of the mind which is wounded, grieved, suffred most and especially upon infirmities and weaknesse, ariseth anger, which passion resembleneth not (as one would have it) the finewes of the soule, but is like rather to their stretching spreines and spasmatick convulsions, when it streineth and striveth overmuch in following revenge.

Well, the examples of evill things yeeld no pleasant fight at all, onely they be necessary and profitable; and for mine owne part supposing the precedents given by those who have caried themselves gently and mildly in their occasions of anger, are most delectable, not onely to behold, but also heate: I begin to contemne and despise those that say thus:

To man thou hast done wrong: be sure

At mans hand wrong for to endure.

Likewise

Downe to the ground with him, spare not his coate,

Sparne him and set thy foote upon his throue,

and other such words which serve to provoke wrath and whet choler; by which some go about to remove anger out of the nursery, and womens chamber into the hall where men do sit and keepe; but herein they do not well: For prowess and fortitude according in all other things with justice, and going fellow-like with her, me thinks is at strife and debate with her about meeknesse and mildnesse onely, as if she rather became her, and by right appeteneed unto her: For otherwhiles it hath bene knowne that the worst men have gone beyond and surmounted the better. But for a man to erect a Trophie and set up a triumphall monument in his owne soule against ire (with which as *Heraculus* saith the conflict is hard and dangerous: for what a man would have he bueth with his life) it is an act of rare valour and victorious puiſſance, as having in truth the judgement of reason, for sinewes, tendons, and muskles to encounter and resist passions. Which is the cause that I studie, and am desirous alwaies to reade and gather the sayings and doings, not onely of learned clearks and Philosophers; who as our Sages and wise men say, have no gall in them, but also and much rather of Kings, Princes, Tyrants, and Potentates: As for example, such as that was of *Antigonus*, who hearing his fouldiors upon a time revile him behinde his pavilion, thinking that he heard them: not, put forth his staffe from under the cloth unto them and said: A whorson knaves, could you not go a little farther off, when you meant thus to raile upon us. Likewise when one *Acadian* an *Argive* or *Achean* never gave over reviling of King *Philip*, and abusing him in most reprochfull tearmes, yea and to give him warning

So far so fte, until he thither come

Where no man knew nor heard of Philips name.

And afterwards the man was seene (I know not how) in *Macedonia*; the friends and courtiers of king *Philip* were in hand with him to have him punished, and that in any wise he should not let him go and escape: *Philip* contrariwise having him once in his hands, spake gently unto him, used him courteously, sending unto him in his lodging gifts and presents, and so sent him away. And after a certaine time he commanded those courtiours of purpose to enquire what words he gave out of him unto the Greekes: but when everie one made report againe and testified that he was become another man, and ceased not to speake woonderfull things in the praise of him; Lo (quoth *Philip*) then unto them: Am not I a better Physician than all you, and can I not skill how to cure a foule tongued fellow? Another time at the great solemnities of the Olympian games, when the Greekes abused him with verie bad language, his familiar friends about him said they deserved to be sharply chastised and punished, for so miscalling and reviling him, who had bene so good a benefactor of theirs: what would they doe and say then (quoth he) if I should deale hardly by them and doe them shrewd turnes? Semblably, notable and excellent was the carriage of *Pisistratus* to *Thraibulus*: of king *Porſenna* to *Mutius* and of *Atagias* to *Philonon*, who in a publike and frequent Theatre, had mocked and scoffed at him: in this manner,

*Magas, there are some letters come
unto you from a king*

But

*But letter Magas none can reade,
nor write for any thing.*

Now it chanced afterwards that by a tempest at sea he was cast upon the Port-towne *Paratonium*, whereof *Magas* was governor, and so fell into his hands, who did him no other harme, but commanded one of his guard or officers about him, onely with his naked sword to touch his bare necke, and so gently to goe his waies and do no more to him: marie afterwards, he sent unto him little bones for cock-all, and a pretie ball to play withall, as if he had bene a childe that had no wit nor discretion, and so sent him home againe in peace. King *Protonomus* upon a time getting and scoffing at a simple and unlearned Gramarian, asked him, who was the father of *Peleus*: I will answer you sir (quoth he) if you tell me first who was the father of *Lagus*: This was a drie flout and touched King *Protonomus* very neere, in regard of the meane parentage from whence he was descended: whereat, all about the King were mightily offended, and thought it was too broad a jest and frump intolerable. But *Protonomus*, if it be not seemely for a King to rake and put up a scorne: surely as little decent it is for his person to give a scorne. *Alexander* the Great was more bitter and cruell (than otherwise his ordinarie manner was to others) towards *Callisthenes* and *Chytus*. But King *Porus* being taken prisoner by him in a battell, befought that he would use him royally, or like a King. And when King *Alexander* demanded moreover what he had more to say, and what he would have else? No more (quoth he) for under this word Royally is comprised all. And therefore I suppose it is, that the Greekes call the King of the gods, by the name of *Melchior*, that is to say, Milde and sweete as honie, And the Athenians named him *Mumacles*, which is as much as, Ready to helpe and succour: For to punish and torment, pertaineth to devils and the furious fiends of hel: there is no celestiall, divine, and heavenly thing in it. And like as one said of King *Philip*, when he had rated & destroyed the citie *Olynthus*: Yea marie, but he is not able to set up such another citie in the place: even so, a man may well say unto Anger; Thou canst overthrow, demolish, marre and pull downe: but to reare and erect againe, to save, to pardon, and to endure; be the properties of meeknesse, clemencie, mildnes, patience, and moderation: they be the parts (I say) of *Camillus*, *Metellus*, *Artilides* and *Socrates*: whereas to sticke close unto the flesh, to pinch, pricke and bite, are the qualities of pismires, flies and mice. Moreover and besides, when I looke unto Revenge, and the manner thereof, I finde for the most part, that if men proceede by way of choler, they misse of their purpose: for commonly all the heat & desire of revenge is spent in biting of lips, gnashing and grating of teeth, vaine running to and fro, in railing words with foolish threats and menaces among, that favour of no wit at all: By which means it fareth with them afterwards, as with little children in running of a race, who for feeblenesse being not able to hold out, fall downe before they come unto the goale, whereunto they made such ridiculous and foolish haste. And therefore in my conceit, it was not an improper answer where a certaine Rhodian made unto one of the Licours and officers of a Romane Generall or Lord Praetor, who with wide mouth bawled at him, and made a glorious bragging and boasting, I passe not (quoth he) one whit what thou saist; I care rather for that which he thinketh there, that saith nothing.

In like manner *Sophocles* when he had brought in *Eurpylus* and *Neopolemus* all armed, speaketh bravely in their commendation thus,

They deale no thrutes in vaine, no taunts

they made, nor boasting words:

But to't they went and on their shields

they laid on load with swords.

And verily, some barbarous nations there are who use to poison their swords, & other weapons of iron; but valour hath no need at all of the venom of choler, for dipped it is in reason & judgement; whereas whatsoever is corrupted with ire and furie is brittle, rotten, and easie to be broken into pieces. Which is the reason that the Lacedaemonians doe allay the choler of their fouldiors, when they are fighting with the melodious sound of flutes and pipes; whose manner is also before they goe to battell, to sacrifice unto the Muses, to the end that their reason and right wits may remaine in them still, and that they may have use thereof: yea, and when they have put their enemies to flight, they never pursue after nor follow the chafe, but reclaime and hold their furious anger within compasse, which they are able to weld and manage as they list; no lesse than these daggers or courtlaes which are of a meane size and reasonable length. Contrariwise, anger hath bene the cause that many thousands have come short of the execution of vengeance, and miscarried by the way. As for example, *Cyrus* and *Pelopidas* the Theban among the

the rest. But *Agathocles* endured patiently to heare himselfe reproched and reviled, by those whom hee besieged: and when one of them said: You Potter there? Heare you? Where will you have silver to pay your mercenarie souldiers and strangers their wages? Hee laughed againe and made answer; Even out of this citie when I have once forced it. Some there were also that mocked and scorned *Amigonus* from the verie walles, and twitted him with his deformitie and evill favoured face. But he said no more than thus, Why! And I tooke my selfe before to have bene verie faire and well favoured. Now when he had woon the towne he fold in open port-fale those that had so flouted him, protesting withal unto them, that if from that time forward they mocked him any more, he would tell their masters of them and call them to account.

Moreover, I doe see that hunters, yea, and oratours also commit many faults in their choler. And *Aristotle* doth report, that the friends of *Satyrus* the Oratour, in one cause that he had to plead for them, stopped his eares with waxe, for feare lest that he, when he heard his adversaries to raile upon him in their pleas, should marre all in his anger. And do not (I pray you) we our selves many times misse of punishing our servants by this meanes, when they have done some faults: for when they heare us to threaten, and give out in our anger, that we will do thus and thus unto them, they be so frighted that they runne away farre enough off from us. Like as nurses therefore, are wont to say unto their little children: Crie not, and you shall have this or that; so we shall do very wel, to speake unto our choler in this wise; Make no such halfe, loft and faire, keepe not such a crying, make not so loud a noise, be not so eager and urgent upon the point: so shall you fee every thing that you would have, sooner done and much better. And thus a father, when he seeth his childe going about to cut or cleave any thing with a knife or edge toole, taketh the toole or knife out of his hand, and doth it himselfe; even so he that doth take revenge out of the hands of choler, punisheth not himselfe, but him that deserbeth it: and thus he doth surely, putting his owne person in no danger, without damage and losse, nay, with great profit and commoditie. Now, whereas all passions whatsoever of the minde had need of use and custome, to tame (as it were) and vanquish by exercise, that which in them is unruly, rebellious and disobedient to reason: certes, in no one point besides had we need to be more exercised, (I meane as touching those dealings that we have with our household servants) than in anger: for there is no envy & emulation that ariseth in us toward the, there is no feare that we need to have of them, neither any ambition that troubleth or pricketh us against them; but ordinary and continuall fits of anger we have every day with them, which breed much offence and many errours, causing us to tread awry, to slip and do amisse sundry waies, by reason of that licentious libertie unto which we give our selves, all the whiles that there is none to controll, none to stay, none to forbid and hinder us: and therefore being in so ticklish a place, and none to sustaine and holde us up, soone we catch a fall, and come downe at once. And a hard matter it is (I may say to you) when we are not bound to render an account to any one, in such a passion as this, to keepe our selves upright, and not to offend; unlesse we take order before-hand to reſtraine and empale (as it were) round about, so great a libertie with meeknesse and clemencie, unlesse (I say) we be well inured and acquainted to beare and endure many shrewd and unshaply words of our wives, much unkinde language of friends and familiars, who many times do chalenge us for being too remisse, over-gentle, yea, and altogether carelesse and negligent in this behalfe. And this in truth, hath bene the principall cause that I have bene quicke and sharpe unto my servants, for feare lest they might prove the woofe for not being chastised. But at the last, though late it were, I perceived, First, that better it was by long leniſſance and indulgence, to make them somewhat woofe, than in seeking to reforme and amend others, to disorder and spoile my selfe with bitterness and choler: Secondly, when I saw many of them often-times, even because they were not so punished, feare and shame to do evil, and how pardon and forgiveness was the beginning of their repentance and conversion, rather than rigour and punishment; and that I assure you, they would serve some more willingly with a nod or wink of the eie, and without a word spoken, than others with all their beating and whipping: I was at last perswaded in my minde and resolved, that reason was more woofe to command and rule as a master, than ire and wrath. For true it is not that the Poet saith:

Where ever is feare,
Shame also is there:

but cleane contrary: Looke who are bashfull and ashamed; in them there is imprinted a certaine feare that holdeth them in good order: whereas continuall beating and laying on without mercy,

mercy, breedeth not repentance in servants for evill doing, but rather a kinde of forecast and providence, how they should not be spied nor taken in their evill doing. Thirdly, calling to remembrance, and considering evermore with my selfe, that he who taught us to shoot, forbade us not to draw a bowe or to shoot an arrow, but to misse the marke: no more will this be any let or hinderance, but that we may chastise and punish our servants, if we be taught to do it in time and place, with moderation and measure, profitably, and decently as it apperthieneth. And verily I do enforce my selfe, and strive to master my choler and subdue it principally, not denying unto them who are to be punished, the libertie and meanes to justifie themselves, but in hearing them to speake what they can for their excuse. For as time and space doeth in the meane time finde the passion occupied another way, and withall bring a certaine delay, which doeth slacke and let downe (as it were) the vehemencie and violence thereof; so judgement of reason, all the while meeteth both with a decent maner and also with a convenient meane and measure of doing punishment accordingly. And besides, this course and maner of proceeding, leaveth him that is punished, no cause, occasion or pretence at all, to resist and strive againe, considering that he is chastised and corrected not in choler and anger, but being first convinced, that he had well deserved his correction: and (which were yet woofe than all the rest) the servant shall not have vantage to speake more justly and to better reason than his master. Well then, like as *Phocion* after the death of *Alexander* the great, having a care not to suffer the Athenians to rise over-foone, or make any insurrection before due time, ne yet to give credit rashly unto the newes of his death: My masters of *Athens* (quoth he) if he be dead to day, he will be dead to morrow also, and three daies hence to; even so should a man (in mine opinion) who by the impulsion and instigation of anger, maketh haste to take punishment, thus suggest and secretly say to himselfe: If this servant of mine hath made a fault to day, it will be as true to morrow, and the next day after that he hath done a fault; neither will there be any harme or danger at all come of it, if hee chance to be punished with the latest: but beleeve me, if he be punished over-foone, it will be alwaies thought that he had wrong, and did not offend: a thing that I have known to happen full often. For which of us all is so curst & cruel, as to punish and scourge a servant, for burning the roast five or ten daies ago? or for that so long before he chanced to overthrow the table? or was somewhat with the slowest in making answer to his Master; or did his errand or other busines not so soone as he should? and yet we fee these & such like be the ordinary causes for which (whiles they be fresh and new done) we take on, we stampe and stare, we chafe, we frowne, we are implacable and will heare of no pardon: And no marvelle, for like as any bodies seeme bigger through a mist; even so every thing appereth greater than it is, through anger. And therefore at these and such like faults, we should winke for the time, and make as though we saw them not, and yet thinke upon them neverthelesse, and beare them in minde. But afterwards when the storme is well overblowne, we are with our passion, & do not suspect our selves, then we may do well to consider thereof: and then if upon mature deliberation, when our mind is staied and our senses settled, the thing appeere to be naught, we are to hate and abhor it, and in no wise either to for-let and put of, or altogether to omit and forbeare correction, like as

40 they refuse meates who have no stomacke nor appetite to eat. For certainly it is not a thing so much to be blamed, for to punish one in anger, as not to punish when anger is past and alaid, and so to be retchlesse and desolute: doing as idle mariners, who so long as the sea is calme and the weather faire, loiter within the harbor or haven, but afterwards when a tempest is up, spread sailes and put themselves into danger. For even so we, condemning and neglecting the remission and calmnesse of reason in case of punishment, make haste to execute the same during the heat of choler, which no doubt is a blustering and turbulent winde. As for meat he calleth for it in deed, and taketh it naturally who is a hungrie: but surely he executeth punishment best, who neither hungreth nor thirsteth after it: neither hath he need to use choler as a sauce or deintie dish for to get him a stomacke and appetite to correct: but even when he is far-
50 theft off from desire of revenge, then of necessity he is to make use of reason and wisdom to direct him: for we ought not to do, as *Aristotle* writeth in his time the maner was in *Turkane*; To whip servants with sound of flutes and hautboies; namely to make a sport and pastime of punishing men, and to solace our selves with their punishment for pleasures sake, and then afterwards when we have done, repent us of it: for as the one is brutish and beastlike; so the other is as womanish and unmanly: but without griefe and pleasure both, at what time as reason and judgement is in force, we ought to let justice take punishment, and leave none occasion at all for choler to get advantage. But peradventure some one will say, that this is not properly the way

way to remedie or cure anger; but rather a putting by or precaution that we should not commit any of those faults which ordinarily follow that passion: Unto whom I answer thus; That the swelling of the Spleene is not the cause but a symptome or accident of a fever: howbeit if the said humour be fallen and the paine mitigated, the fever also will be much eased, according as *Hieronymus* saith. Also when I consider by what meanes choleric is engendered: I see that one faulteth into it upon this cause, another upon that: but in all of them, it seemeth this generall opinion there is, that they thinke themselves to be despised and naught for by. And therefore we ought to meet with such as seeme to defend and mainteine themselves, as being angry for just cause, and to cure them after this maner; namely, by diverting and removing from them, as far as ever we can, all fuspicion of contempt and contumacie in those that have offended them and smoooth their anger; in laying the fault upon inconsiderate follie, necessitie, sicknesse, infirmite and miserie, as *Sophocles* did in these verses,

*For those my Lords whose state is in distresse,
Have not their spirits and wits as heretofore:*

As fortune frownes, they waxen ever lesse,

Nay gone are quite, though fresh they were before.

And *Agamemnon*, albeit he laid the taking away of *Briseis* from *Achilles* upon *Ate* (that is to say) some fatal infortunite, yet

*I see willing was and prest him to content,
And unto him rich gifts for so present.*

For to beleeche and intreat, are signes of a man that despiseth not, and when the partie who hath given offence becometh humble and lowly, he removeth all the opinion that might be conceived of contempt. But he that is in a fit of choler must not attend and waite until he see that, but rather helpe himselfe with the answer of *Diogenes*. These fellows here said one unto him, do deride thee *Diogenes*; but I (quoth he againe) do not finde that I am derided; even so ought a man who is angry not to be perswaded that he is contemned of another, but rather that himselfe hath just cause to contemne him, and to thinke that the fault committed did proceed of infirmite, error, heady-rashtnesse, sloth and idlenesse, a base and illiberrall minde, age or youth. And as for our servants and friends we must by all meanes quit them hereof, or pardon them at leastwise: For surely they cannot be thought to contemne us, in regard that they thinke us unable to be revenged, or men of no execution if we went about it: but it is either by reason of our remissions and mildnesse, or else of our love and affection that we seeme to be finally regarded by them, whiles our servants presume of our tractable nature, easie to be pacified, and our friends of our exceeding love that cannot be soone shaken off. But now we are provoked to anger, not onely against our wives, or servants and friends, as being contemned by them; but also many times in our choler we fall upon In-keepers, Mariners and Muliters, when they be drunke, supposing that they despise us. And that which more is, we are offended with dogs when they bay or bathe at us; and with asses if they chance to fling out and kicke us. Like unto him who lifted up his hand to strike and beat him that did drive an ass; and when the man cried that he was an Athenian: But thou I am sure art no Athenian (quoth he) to the ass, and laid upon the poore beast as hard as he could, and gave him many a blow with his cudgell. But that which chiefly causeth us to be angrie, and breedeth a continuall disposition thereto in our minds, causeth us so often to breake out into fits of choler, which by little and little was ingendred and gathered there before, is the love of our owne selves, and a kinde of froward surlinesse hardly to be pleased, together with a certaine daintinesse and delicacie, which all concurring in one, breed and bring forth a swarme (as it were) of bees, or rather a walpes neast in us. And therefore there cannot be a better meanes for to carrie our selves mildly and kindly towards our wives, our servants, familiars and friends, than a contented minde, and a singlenesse or simplicitie of heart, when a man resteth satisfied with whatsoever is present at hand, and requirerh neither things superfluous nor exquisite,

*But he that never is content
With roist or sod, but cooke is bent:
How ever he be serv'd, I meane
With more, with lesse, or in a meane:
He is not pleas'd nor one good word
Can give of wounds set on board,
Without some Jew who drinks no draught,*

Nor

*Nor eateth bread in market bought.
Who tastes no meate, it's never so good,
Serv'd up in dish of earth or wood:
And shins no bed nor pillow soft;
Unlesse with downe like sea aloft
Stir'd from beneath his firt and swell;
For otherwise he sleepes nor well.*

who with rods and whips plieeth and halsneth the servitors at the table, making them to runne untill they sweat againe, crying and bawling at them to come away apace, as if they were not carrying dishes of meat, but plasters and cataplasmes for some inflammation or painfull impostume: subjecting himselfe after a slavish manner to a servile kinde of diet and life, full of discontentment, quarrels and complaints: little knoweth such an one how by a continuall cough, or many concussions & distemperatures, he hath brought his soule to an ulcerous and rheumaticke disposition about the feat and place of anger. And therefore we must use the body by frugalitie to take up and learne to be content with a competent meane (forasmuch as they who desire but a little, can never be disappointed nor frustrated of much) finding no fault, nor keeping any stir at the beginning about meat, but standing satisfied without saying a word, with that which God sendeth whatsoever it be, not fretting, vexing and tormenting our selves at the table about every thing, and in so doing, serving both our selves and our companie about us of friends, with the most unfavore melle of meat, that is to wit, choler:

*A supper worse than this I do not see
How possibly one can be abus'd bee.*

Namely, whiles the servants be beaten, the wife chidden and reviled for the meat burnt, for smoke in the parlor, for want of salt, or for the bread over-stale and drie. But *Aresflau* upon a time with other friends of his, feasted certaine strangers and hosts of his abroad, whose guest he had beene; and after the supper was come in, and meat set upon the boord, there wanted bread, by reason that his servants had forgotten and neglected to buy any: for such a fault as this, which of us here would not have cried out that the walles should have burst withall, and beene readie to have thrown the house out of the window? And he laughing at the matter: He had need be a wife man (quoth he) I see well, that would make a feast and set it out as it should be. *Socrates* also upon a time, when he came from the wrestling schoole, tooke *Euthydemus* home with him to supper: but *Xantippe* his wife fel a chiding and scoulding with him at the boord, reviling him with most bitter tearmes, so long, until at last in an anger downe went table and all that was upon it: Whereupon *Euthydemus* arose, and was about to depart; but *Socrates*: Will you be gone (quoth he?) Why, do you not remember that the other day as we sat at supper in your house, there flew up to the boord a hen and did as much for you? and yet were not we offended nor angrie for the matter. And in verie truth, we must entertaine our friends and guests, with courtesie, mirth, a smiling countenance, and affectionate love: and not to brow-beat them, nor yet put the servitors in a fright, and make them quake and tremble with our frowning looks. Also we ought so to accustome our selves that we may be content to be served with any kinde of vessels whatsoever, and not upon a daintinesse to have a minde to this, rather then to that, but to like all indifferently. And yet there be some fo divers, that although there be manie cups and goblets standing upon the boord, choose one from the rest, and cannot drinke forth but out of that one: according as the Stories doe report of *Atinus*, who loved one mazar, and could drinke out of no other. Thus they doe by their oile cruets and currying combs or rubbers, when they are at the baines or stoupes, taking a fancie and affection to some one above the rest: but if it chauce that one of them be crackt, broken, or be lost and miscarie any way; then they are exceeding angrie and fall to beating of their servants. Such men therefore as finde themselves to be cholericke, should do well to forebare all rare and exquisite things, to wit, pots, cups, scale rings of excellent workmanship and pretious stones. For that such costly jewells if they be marred or lost, breed more anger and set men out of order, more than those which be ordinarie and easie to be come by. And therefore when *Nero* the Emperour had caused to be made a certaine pavilion or tabernacle eight square, which was both for the beautie and cost, exceeding faire and sumptuous, and indeed an admirable piece of worke. In this Tabernacle (quoth *Seneca*) unto him, you have bewraied o *Cesar* that you are but a poore man: for if you lose this once, you shall never be able to recover and get the like againe. And so it fell out indeed, for the ship, wherein the same Tabernacle was, chanced to be cast away upon

on

on the sea, and all was drowned. But *Nero* calling to minde the words of *Seneca*, tooke the losse more patiently.

Moreover, this contentment of mind, and easinesse to be pleased with any thing in the house, causeth a man also to be more gentle, milde, and better contented with his servants and people about him: now if it worke this effect in us toward our household servants, evident it is that we shalbe likewise affected to our friends & those that be under our government. We see also, that slaves new bought, are inquisitive as touching him who hath bought them; nor whether he be superstitious and envious; but whether he be cholericke and hasty or no. And to be briefe, neither can husbands endure the pudicity and honesty of their wives; nor wives the love of their husbands; ne yet friends the mutual conversation one with another, if there doe an angry and cholericke humor goe withall. Thus we see, that neither mariage nor amity be tollerable with choler. Contrariwise, if anger be away, even drunkennesse it selfe is tollerable and we can easily abide it: for the very *ferula* of god *Bacchus* is a sufficient punishment of drunkennesse, if so be there be not choler therewith, which may cause *Bacchus*, that is, Strong wine, in stead of *Lyans* and *Chorins*, that is to say, The Looser of cares and Leader of daunces (which are his fumes) to be called *Omelles* and *Menoles*, which signifie Cruell and Furious. As for simple madnesse of it selfe alone, the *Elleboro* growing in *Amyra*, is sufficient to cure: but if it be mingled with choler, it causeth Tragical fits, and those so strange, that a man would repute them for meeke fables. And therefore we must not give place to anger, neither in sport and pastime; for in lieu of good will it breedeth enmitie: nor in conference and disputations; for it turneth the love and desire of knowledge into debate and contention: nor in deciding and judging causes; because to authority it addeth violence and insolency: nor in the teaching and instruction of our children; for it maketh them desperate and haters of learning: nor in prosperity; for it encreaseth the envy and grudge of men: ne yet in adversity, because it taketh away pity and compassion, when they who are fallen into any misfortune, shew themselves testie, froward and quarellous to those who come to moane and mourne with them. This did *Priamus*, as we read in *Homer*:

Arrise (quoth he) you chiding guests,
you whom mates be gone:
Have you no sorowes of your owne,
but you come to moane?

On the other side, faire conditions and milde behaviour, yeeldeth succour and helpe in some cases; compoeth and ordereth matters aright in others; dulceth and alaieth that which is tart and fowre: and in one word, by reason of that kinde, meeke and gentle quality, it overcommeth anger and all wayward testinesse whatsoever. Thus it is reported of *Euclides* in a quarrell or variance betweene him and his brother: For when his brother had contested and said unto him; I would I might die, if I be not revenged of thee: he inferred againe; Nay, let me die for it, if I perswade thee not otherwise before I have done; by which one word he presently wooon his brothers heart, so that he changed his mind, and they parted friends. *Polemon* likewise at a certaine time, when one who loved precious stones, & was sicke for faire & costly rings & such like curious jewels, did raile at him outrageously; answered not a word againe, but looked very wistly upon one of the signets that the other had, and well considered the fashion and workmanship thereof: which when the party perceived, taking as it should seeme no small contentment, and being very well pleased that he so persued his jewell; Not so *Polemon* (quoth he againe) but looke upon it thus, betweene you and the light, and then you will thinke it much more beautifull. *Aristippus* fell out upon a time (I know not how) with *Aeschines*, and was in a great choler and fit of anger: How now *Aristippus* (quoth one who heard him so high & at such hot words) where is your amity & friendship all this while? *Mary*, askepe (quoth he) but I wil waken it anon. With that he stept close to *Aeschines*, and said: Thinke you me to unhappy every way and incurable, that I deserved not one admonishment at your hands? No marvell (quoth *Aeschines* againe) if I thought you (who for naturall wit in all things els excel me) to see better in this case so

alto than I, what is meier and expedient to be done. For true it is that the Poet saith;
The boare so wilde, whose necke with bristles strong
Is thicke best, the tender hand and soft
Of woman nice, yea and of infant young,
By stroking faire, shall bind and tune (full oft)
Much sooner faire, and that with greater ease
Than wreflers strong with all their force and peise.

And

And we our selves can skill how to tame wilde beasts; we know how to make yong wooves gentle, yea, and lions whelps other-whiles we eare about with us in our armes: but see, how we againe afterwards in a raging fit of choler, be ready to sling from us and cast out of our sight, our owne children, our friends and familiars, and all our household servants, our fellow-citizens and neighbours, we let loose our ire like some savage and furious beast, and this rage of ours we disguise and cloke forsooth with a colourable and false name; calling it Hatred of vice. But heerein (I suppose) we doe no otherwise than in the rest of our passions and diseases of the minde; rearing one, Providence and forecast; another Liberality; and a third Pietie and religion: and yet for all these pretences of goodly names, we can not be cured of the vices which

they palliate; to wit, Timoroulnesse, Prodigious and Superstition.

And verily, like as our naturall feed (as *Zeno* said) is a certaine mixture and composition, derived and extracted from all the powers and faculties of the soules; even so, in mine opinion, a man may say that choler is a miscellane feed (as it were) and a dregge, made of all the passions of the mind: for plucked it is from paine, pleasure and insolent violence: Of envie it hath this qualitie to joy in the harmes of other men: it standeth much upon murder, but woorse it is simply than murder: for the wrathfull person stiveth and laboureth not to defend and save himselfe from taking harme; but so he may mischief and overthrow another, he careth not to come by a hurt and throw turne himselfe. It holdeth likewise of concupiscence and lust, and taketh of it the worde and more unpleasant part, in case it be (as it is indeed) a desire and appetite

to greeve, vex, and harme another. And therefore when we approach and come neere to the houses of luxurious and riotous persons, we heare betimes in the morning a minstrel-wench, founding and playing the Morrow-watch by breake of day: we see the muddy-grounds and dregs (as one was wont to say) of the wine, to wit, the vomits of those who cast up their stomacks: we behold the peeces and fragments of broken garlands and chaplets: and at the dore we finde the lackies and pages of them who are within, drunken and heave in the head with tipling strong wine. But the signes that tell where hastie, cholericke, and angry persons dwell, appeere in the faces of their servants, in the marks and wales remaining after their whipping, and in their clogs, yrons, and fetters about their feete. For in the houses of hastie and angrie men, a man shall never heare but one kind of musick; that is to say, the heavie note of wailing groanes

so, and piteous plaints; whiles either the stewards within are whipped and scourged, or the maidens racked & put to torture, in such sort that you would pitie to see the dolours & paines of yre which the suffeth in those things that the lusteth after & taketh pleasure in. And yet as many of us as happen to be truly & justly surprised with choler oftentimes, for the hatred & detestation that we have of vices, ought to cut off that which is excessive therein and beyond measure, together with our over-light beleefe and credulitie of reports concerning such as converse with us: For this is one of the causes that most of all doth engender and augment choler, when either he whom we tooke for an honest man prooveth dishonest, and is detected for some naughtinesse, or whom we reputed our friend is fallen into some quarrell and variance with us: as for my selfe, you know my nature and disposition, what small occasions make me both to love men ef-

fectually, and also to trust them confidently; and therefore (just as it falleth out with them who go over a false floore where the ground is not fast, but hollow under their feete) where I leane most and put my greatest trust for the love that I beare, there I offend most and soonest catch a fall: there (I say) am I grieved most also, when I see how I was deceived: As for that exceeding inclination and frowardnes of mind, thus to love and affect a man, could I never yet to this day weane my selfe from, so inbred it is and seated in me: may to stay my selfe from giving credit over-hastily and too much, I may peradventure use that bridle which *Plato* speaketh of, to wit, wary circumspection: for in recommending the Mathematician *Helicon*, I praise him (quoth he) for a man, that is as much to say, as a creature by nature mutable and apt to change. And even those who have bene well brought up in a citie, to wit, in *Athens*, he saith that he is

so afraid likewise of them, lest being men, and coming from the feed of man, they do not one time or another bewray the weaknesse and infirmirie of humane nature: and *Sophocles* when he speaketh thus,

Who list to search through all deeds of mankind
More bad then good he shall be sure to find.

seemeth to clip our wings, and disable us wonderfully. Howbeit this difficultie and caution in judging of men and pleasing our selves in the choise of friends, will cause us to be more tractable and moderate in our anger: for whatsoever commeth sodainly and unexpected, the same

soone

soone transporteth us beside our selves. We ought moreover as *Panatus* teacheth us in one place to practise the example of *Anaxagoras*, and like as he said when newes came of his sons death; I know well (quoth he) that I begat him a mortall man; so in every fault of our servants or others that shall whetten our choler, ech one of us may find this note to himselfe: I knew wel that when I bought this slave, he was not a wise Philosopher: I wist also that I had gotten for my friend not one altogether void of affections and passions: neither was I ignorant when I tooke a wife, that I wedded a woman. Now if withall a man would evermore when he seeth others do amisse, adde this more unto the dittie as *Plato* teacheth us, and sing thus: Am not I also such an other? turning the discursion of his judgement from things abroad, to those which are within himselfe, and among his complaints and reprehensions of other men, come in with a certaine caveat of his owne, and feare to be reproved himselfe in the like; he would not haply be so quicke & forward in the hatred and detestation of other mens vices, seeing that himselfe hath to much need of pardon. But on the contrary side, every one of us when he is in the heat of choler and punisheth another, hath these words of severe *Aristides* and precise *Cato* ready enough in his mouth: Steale not Sirrha: Make no more lies: Why art thou so idle then? &c. To conclude (that which of all others is most unseemely and absurd) we reprove in anger, others for being angry; and such faults as were committed in choler, those our selves will punish in choler; not verily as the Physicians useto do, who

A bitter medicine into the body pour,

When bitter choler they meane to purge, and scoure.

But we rather doe encrease the flame with our bitterness, and make more trouble than was before. And therefore when I thinke and discourse with my selfe of these matters, I endeavour withall and assay to cut off somewhat from needlesse curiositie. For surely this narrow searching and freight looking into everie thing, for to spie and find out a fault; as for example to fit thy servant and call him into question for all his idle houres; to prie into every action of thy friend; to see where about thy sonne goeth, and how he spendeth all his time; to listen what whispering there is betweene thy wife and another, be the verie meanes to breed much anger, daily braules, and continuall jarres, which grow in the end to the height of curtnesse and hardness, hard to be pleased with any thing whatsoever. For according as *Enripides* saith in one place, we ought in some sort to do:

All great affaires God by himselfe directeth,

But matters small, to Fortune be committeth.

For mine owne part, I do not thinke it good to commit any busines to Fortune; neither would I have a man of understanding to be ratchlesse in his owne occasions: But with some things to put his wife in trust; others to make over unto servants, and in some matters to use his friends. Herein to beare himselfe like a Prince and great commaunder, having under him his Deputies, Governours, Receivers, Auditors, and Procurators; reserving unto himselfe and to the disposition of his owne judgement, the principall affaires, and those of greatest importance. For like as little letters or a small print do more offend and trouble the eyes then greater, for that the eyes be verie intensive upon them; even so, small matters doe quickly moove choler, which thereupon soon getteth an ill custome in weightier matters. But above all, I ever reckon that saying of *Empedocles* to be a divine precept and heavenly oracle, which admonisheth us *To fast from sin*. I commended also these points and observations, as being right honest, commendable, and becoming him, that maketh profession of wisdome and philosophic, which we use to vow unto the gods in our prayers: Namely, *To forbear both wine and women, and so to live sober and chaste a whole yeere together; and in the meane while to serve God with a pure and undesired heart: Also, to limit and set out a certaine time, wherein we would not make a lie, observing precisely not to speake any vaine and idle word, either in earnest or in board.* With these and such like observations also, I acquainted and furnished my soule, as being no lesse affected to religion and godlines, than studious of learning and philosophic: Namely, first enjoined my selfe to passe a certaine few Holy daies without being angrie, or offended upon any occasion whatsoever; no lesse than I would have vowed to forbear drunkennesse, and abstaine altogether from wine, as if I sacrificed at the feast *Nephthi* [wherein no wine was spent] or celebrated the solemnitie *Melispoda*, [in which Honie onely was used.] Thus having made an entrance; I tried afterwards a moneth or two by little and little what I could do, and ever I gained more and more time, exercising my selfe still to forbear sinne with all my power and might. Thus I proceeded and went forward daily, blessing my selfe with good words and striving to be milke, quiet and voide of malice;

lice, pure and cleane from evil speeches and lewd deeds: but principally from that passion which for a little pleasure, and the same not verie lovely, bringeth with it great troubles and thankesfull repentance in the end. Thus with the grace of God, assisting me somewhat (as I take it) in this good resolution and course of mine, experience it selfe approved and confirmed my first intent and judgement, whereby I was taught, That this mildnesse, clemency, and debonaire humanitie, is to none of our familiars who live and converse daily with us, so sweete, so pleasant and agreeable, as to our selves who have these vertues and good qualities within us.



OF CVRIOSITIE.

The Summarie.

THE former Treatise hath shewed unto us, how many mischiefs and inconveniences Anger causeth, teaching us the meanes how to beware of it. Now Plutarch dealeth with another vice, no lesse dangerous than it, which bendeth to the opposite extremity. For where as we dash to becare aman of the use of reason during the access and fit thereof, that the cholericke and furious persons differ not one from another, but in the space of time. This curiositie which now is in hand, being masked under the name of wisdome and habilitie of spirit is (to say a truth) a covert and hidden furie, which carrieth the minde of the curious person past himselfe, for to gather and heape from all parts the ordure and filthinesse of another, and afterwards to bring the same into himselfe, and to make thereof a verie store-house, for to infect his owne selfe first, and then others, according as the malignitie and malice, the follies, backbiting, and slanders of these curious folke do sufficiently declare. To the end therefore that everie man who loveth vertue should divert from such a maladie, our author sheweth that the principall remedie for to preserve us from it, is to turne this curiositie to our owne selves; namely, to examine our owne persons more diligently than others. Which point he amplifieth by setting downe on the contrary side, the blindness of those who are over-busie and curious. Then cometh he to declare, why a curious person goeth forth abrayes out of his owne house for to enter into another mans; to wit, because of his owne filthinesse, which by that meanes he cannot smell and perceive; but whiles he will needs go to stirre and rake into the life of others, he snarcth and entangleth himselfe, and so perissheth in his owne folly and indiscretion. Afterwards proceeding to prescribe the remedies for the cure of curiositie, when he had deciphered the villanies and indignities thereof, together with the nature of curious persons, and the enormous vices which accompanie them, he requirith at our hands, that we should not be desirous to know things which be vile, base, lewd or unprofitable; that we should hold in our eyes, and not cast them at random and adventure within the house of another, that we should not seeke after the bruite and a rumour that are spread in meetings and companies; that we otherwise should forbear even such things, whereof the use is lawfull and permitted: also to take heed that we do not enter nor sound deepe into our owne affaires; Finally, not to be rash and heady in those things that we do, be they never so small. All these points pressed, he adorneth with inunctions, similitudes and choise examples, and knitteth up all with one conclusion, which proveth, that curious folk ought to be ranged among the most mischievous and dangerous persons in the world.



OF CVRIOSITIE.



The best way haply it were altogether to avoid an house and not therein arall to dwell, which is close without fresh aire, darke, standing bleake and colde, or otherwise unhealthfull: Howbeie, if a man by reason that he hath bene long used to such an house, delight in that feat, and will there abide, he may either by altering the prospects and remooving the lights, or by changing the staires into another place, or else by opening the dores of one side, & shutting them upon another, make the house more lightsome, better exposed to the wind for to receive fresh aire, & in one word more holosome than before. And verily some have much amended whole cities by the like alterations: as for example, men say that one *Cheron* in times past turned his native cite and place of nativitee *Cherones* to lie eastward, which before looked toward the westerne winde *Zephyrus*, and received the sunne setting from the mount *Parnassus*. And *Empedocles* the naturall Philosopher, by stopping up the mouth or deepe chinke of a certeine mountaine between two rocks, which breathed out a noisome and pestilent fourtherne winde upon all the champian country and plaine underneath, was thought to have put by the plague, which by occasion of that wind reigned ordinarily before in that countrie. Now forasmuch as there be certeine hurtfull and pestiferous passions, which send up into our soule tempestuous troubles and darknesse, it were to be wished, that they were chased out quite, and throwne downe to the very ground; whereby we might give our selves a free prospect, an open and cleere light, a fresh and pure aire; or if we be not so happie, yet at leastwise endeavour, we ought by all means possible to change, alter, translocate, transpose and turne them so about, as they may be found more fit and commodious to serve our times. As for example, and to go no farther for the matter, Curiositie, which I take to be a desire to know the faults and imperfections in other men, is a vice or disease which seemeth not cleere of envie and maliciousnesse: And unto him that is infected therewith may very well be said,

*Most sightfull and envious man,
why dost thou ever finde
With piercing eyes thy neighbours faults,
and in thine owne art blinde?*

avert thine eyes a little from things without, and turne thy much meddling and curiositie to those that be within. If thou take to greata pleasure and delight to deale in the Knowledge and Historie of evill matters, thou shalt worke enough iwis at home, thou shalt finde plentie thereof within to occupie thy selfe;

*For looke what water runn's along
an iktus or ille we see,
Or leaves lie spread about the Oke,
which numbrede cannot be.*

Such a multitude shalt thou finde of finnes in thy life, of passions in thy soule, and of oversights in thy duties. For like as *Xenophon* saith, That good stewards of an household have one proper roome by it selfe for those utensiles or implements which serve for sacrifice; another for vessell that cometh to the table; in one place he laith up the instruments & tooles for tillage and husbandry, and in another apart from the rest, he bestoweth weapons, armour, and furniture for the wars; even so shalt thou see within thy selfe a number of manifold vices how they are digested: some proceeding from envie, others from jealousy; some from idlenesse, others from nigardise: take account of these (I advise thee) survey and peruse them over well: shut all the dores and windows that yeeld prospect unto thy neighbors: stop up the avenues that give access and passage to Curiositie: But let open all other dores that lead into thine owne bed-chamber, and other lodgings for men, into thy wives cabinet & the nurserie, into the roomes where thy servants keepe: There shalt thou meet wherewith to amuse and busie thy selfe: there may curiositie and desire to know every thing be employed in exercises, neither unprofitable nor malicious: nay, in such as be commodious, holosome and tending to salvation: namely, whiles every one calleth himselfe to account, saying thus,

Where

*Where have I beene, what good I have done,
or what have I misdone?
Where have I slipt, what duty begun
is left by me undone?*

But now according as fables make report, that *Lamia* the Witch whiles she is at home is statke blind, & doth nothing but sing, having her eyes shut up close within a little boxe; but when she meanes to go abroad, she takes them forth, and setteth them in their right place, and seeth well enough with them; even so, every one of us when we go forth, set unto that evill meaning and intention which we have to others, an eye to looke into them, and that is curiositie and overmuch meddling; but in our owne errors, faults and trespasses we stumble and faile through ignorance, as having neither eyes to see, nor light about them whereby they may be seene. And therefore it is, that a busie fellow and curious medler, doth more good to his enemies than to himselfe; for their faults he discovereth & bringeth to light, to them he sheweth what they ought to beware of, and what they are to amend: but all this while he overseeth, or rather seeth not the most things that are done at home, so deeply amused he is and busie in spying what is amisse abroad. Howbeit wife *Ulysses* would not abide to speake and confer with his owne mother, before he had enquired of the Prophet those things for which he went downe into hel; and when hee had once heard them, then he turned to his mother and other women also, asking what was *Tyro*? what was *Chloris*? and for what was the occasion and cause that *Eperaste* came by her death?

*Who knit her necke within a deadly string,
And so from beame of lofty house did hang.*

But we quite contrary, sitting still in supine idlenesse and ignorance, neglecting and never regarding that which concerneth our selves, goe to search into the genealogie and pedigrees of others; and we can tell readily, that our neighbours grandfather was no better than a bafe and servile Syrian; that his nourse came out of barbarous *Thracis*; that such an one is in debt, and oweth three talents, and is behinde hand besides, and in arrerages for non-payment of interest for the use thereof. Inquisitive also we are in such matters as these: From whence came such a mans wife? what it was that such a one and such a one spake when they were alone together in some odde corner? *Socrates* was cleane of another quality; he would goe up and downe enquiring and casting about what were the reasons wherewith *Pythagoras* perswaded men to his opinion. *Aristippus* likewise, at the solemnitie of the Olympian games, falling into the companie of *Ischomachus*, asked of him, what were the persuasions that *Socrates* used to yong folk, whereby they became so affectionate unto him; and after he had received from him some small seeds (as it were) and a few samples of those reasons & arguments, he was so mooved and passionate therewith, that presently his body fell away, he looked pale, poore and leane, untill he having failed to *Athens* in this wonderfull thirst and ardent heat, had drunke his fill at the fountaine and well-head it selfe, knowne the man, heard his discourses and learned his Philosophie; the summe and effect whereof was this: That a man should first know his owne maladies, and then the means to be cured and delivered of them. But some there be, who of all things can not abide to see their owne life, as being unto them the most unpleasant sight of all others; neither love they to heare and turne their reason as a light to their owne selves: but their minde being full of all sorts of evill, fearing and ready to quake for to beholde what things are within, leapeth forth (as one would say) out of doores, and goeth wandering to and fro, searching into the deeds and words of other men, and by this means feedeth and fattereth (as it were) her owne malicious naughtinesse. For like as a hen many times having meat enough within house set before her, loveth to go into some corner, and there keepeth a pecking and scraping of the ground,

*To finde perhaps one seely barley corne
As she was wont on dung hill beere for me;*

even so these busie Polypragmons, passing by those ordinary speeches and matters which are exposed and open for every man; not regarding (I say) the reports and narrations which are free for each one to discourse of, and which neither any man hath to doe, to forbid and warne them for to aske and enquire of; nor will be displeased if peradventure hee should be demanded and asked the question of them, goe up and downe in the meane time to gather and learne all the secret and hidden evils of every house. Certes, a pretty answer it was of an Aegyptian, and pertinent to the purpose, who when one asked him, what it was that he caried covered all over, and so enwrapped within a cloth: *Mary* (quoth he) covered it is even for this cause, that thou

M 2

thou shouldest not know what it is : And thou likewise, that art so busie, why dost thou intermeddle in that which is concealed ? Be sure, that if there were no evil therein, kept close it should not be. And verily, it is not the manner and custome for any body to enter boldly into the house of another man, without knocking at the doore; for which purpose we use Porters in these dates; whereas in olde time there were rings and hammers which served the turne, and by rapping at the gates, gave warning to those within, to the end that no stranger might meet the mistresse at unawares in the hall or mids of the house; or come suddenly upon a virgin or yong damozell her daughter, and find her out of her chamber; or take some of the servants a beating, or the wenches and chambermaids chiding and scoulding aloud : whereas a busie fellow loveth a life to step secretly into a house, for to see and heare such disorders; and you shall never know 10 him willingly to come and see an honest house and well governed (though one should call and pray him never so faire,) but ready he is to discover and set abroad in the view of the whole world such things; for which we use locks, keies, bolts, barres, portals and gate-houses. Those windes (saith *Ariston*) are we most troubled and offended with, which drive open our cloaks and garments that cover us, or blow and whisk them over our heads: but busie Polypragmons doth lay abroad and display not the cloaks of their neighbours nor their coats; but discovereth their walles, setteth wide open their doores, and like a winde, pierceth, creepeth and entrench so farre, as to the tender bodied and soft skinned maiden, searching and inquiring in every bachelinall, in all dauncings, wakes and night feasts, for some matter to raise flanders of her. And as one *Cleon* was noted by an olde Comicall Poet upon the Stage,

Whose hands were both in Aetolie,

But heart and minde in Clodipies;

Even so the spirit of a curious and busie person, is at one time in the stately palaces of rich and mighty men, in the little houses of meane and poore folke, in Kings Courts, and in the bed-chambers of new wedded wives; it is inquisitive in all matters, searching aswell the affaires of strangers and travellers, as negotiations of Lords and Rulers, and other while not without danger of his owne person. For much like as if a man upon a kinde of wanton curiosity, will needs be tasting of *Aconite* or *Lizard-baine*, to know (forsooth) the quality of it, commeth by a mischiefe, & death of it before he can know any thing thereof; so they that love to be prying into the faultes of great persons, many times overthrow themselves before they come to any knowledge, 30 For such as can not be content with the abundant raies and radiant beames of the Sunne which are spread so cleere over all things, but will needs strive and force themselves impudently to looke full upon the circle of his body, and audaciously will presume and venture to pierce his brightnesse, and enter into the very minds of his inward light, commonly dazzle their eyes, and become like blinde. And therefore well and properly answered *Philippides* the writer of Comedies upon a time when King *Lysimachus* spake thus unto him; What wouldest thou have me to impart unto thee of my goods, *Philippides*? What it pleaseth your Maiesty (quoth he) so it be nothing of your secrets. For to say a truth, the most pleasant and beautifull things simply, which belong to the estate of Kings, do shew without, and are exposed to the view and sight of every man; to wit, their sumptuous feasts, their wealth and riches, their magnificent port and 40 and pompe in publike places, their bountifull favours, and liberall gifts: But is there any thing secret and hidden within. Take heed I advise thee how thou approach and come neere, beware (I say) that thou do not stirre and meddle therein.

The joy and mirth of a Prince in prosperitie can not be concealed; hee cannot laugh when he is disposed to play and be merry but it is seene; neither when he mindeth and doth prepare to shew some gracious favour or to be bountifull unto any is his purpose hidden; but marke what thing he keepeth close and secret, the same is terrible, heavie, feareme, unpleasant, yea ministring no access nor cause of laughter: namely the treasure house (as it were) of some ranckor and sestered anger; a deepe deligne or project of revenge; jealousy of his wife, some suspition of his owne sonne; or diffidence and distrust in some of his minions, favorites and friends. Flie 50 from this blacke cloud that gathereth so thicke; for whensoever that which is now hidden shall breake forth, thou shalt see what cracks of thunder and flashes of lightning will ensue thereupon. But what be the meanes to avoid it? mary (even as I said before) to turne and to withdraw thy curiosity another way; and principally to set thy minde upon matters that are more honest and delectable: Advise thy selfe and consider curiously upon the creatures in heaven, in earth, in the aire, & in the sea. Art thou delighted in the contemplation of great or small things? if thou take pleasure to behold the greater, busie thy selfe about the Sunne; seeke where he goeth

eth downe, and from whence he riseth? Search into the cause of the mutations in the Moone, why it should so change and alter as it doth, like a man or woman? what the reason is that the loofeth so conspicuous a light? and how it commeth to passe that the recovereth it againe?

How is it, when she hath bene out of sight

That fresh she seemes and doth appeere with light?

First yong and faire whiles that she is but new

Till round and full we see her lovely brow:

No sooner is her beaunie at this height

But fade she doth anon, who was so bright,

And by degrees she doth decrease and waine

Unill at length she comes to naught againe.

And these truly are the secrets of nature, neither is she offended and displeased with those who can find them out. Distrustest thou thy selfe to attaine unto these great things? then search in to smaller matters, to wit, what might the reason be that among trees and other plants, some be alwaies fresh and greene, why they flourish at all times, and be clad in their gay clothes, shewing their riches in every season of the yeres; why others againe be one while like unto them in this their pride and glorie; but afterward you shall have them againe like unto an ill husband in his house; namely, laying out all at once, and spending their whole wealrh and substance at one time, untill they be poore, naked, and beggerly for it? Also what is the cause that some 20 bring forth their fruit long while, others cornered, and others round or circular? But peradventure thou hast no great mind to busie thy selfe and meddle in these matters, because there is no hurt nor danger at all in them. Now if there be no remedie, but that Curiosity should ever apply it selfe to search into evil things after the manner of some venomous serpent, which loveth to feed, to live and converse in pestilent woods, let us lead & direct it to the reading of histories, and present unto it abundance and store of all wicked acts, leawd and sinfull deeds. There shall Curiosity finde the ruines of men, the wasting and consuming of their state, the spoile of wives and other women, the deceitfull traines of servants to beguile their masters, the calumniation and slanderous surmises raised by friends, poisoning calis, envie, jealousy, shipwracke and overthrow of houses, calamities and utter undoing of princes and great rulers: Satisfie thy selfe 30 herewith to the full, and take thy pleasure therein as much as thou wilt; never shalt thou trouble or grieve any of thy friends & acquaintance in so doing. But it should seeme that curiosity de-lighteth not in such naughtie things that be very old and long since done; but in those which be fresh, fire new, hot and lately committed, as joying more to behold new Tragedies. As for Comedies and matters of mirth, she is not greatly desirous to be acquainted with such. And therefore, if a man do make report of a marriage, discourse of a solemne sacrifice, or of a goodly shew or pompe that was set forth, the curious busie-bodie (whom we speake of) will take small regard thereto and heare it, but coldly and negligently. He will say that the most part of all this he heard already by others, and bid him who relateth such narrations, to passe them over or be briefe, and cut off many circumstances. Marie if one that sits by him chance to set tale on end, 40 and begin to tell him there was a maiden deflowred, or a wife abused in adulterie: if he recant of some proceesse of law or action commenced, of discord and variance between two brethren; you shall see him then not to yawn and gape as though hee had list to sleepe; you shall not perceive him to nod; hee will make no excuse at all that his leisure will not serve to heare out the tale,

But bids say on, and tell us more:

And close he holds his eare therefore.

So that this sentence,

How sooner much are ill newes understood,

And heard by men (alas) than tidings good!

50 is well and truly verified of these curious Polypragmons. For like as cupping glassses, boxes, and ventoses, draw the worst matter out of the flesh; even so, the eares of curious and busie folke, are willing to receive and admit the most lewd and naughtiest speeches that are: rather, to speake more properly, as townes and cities have certaine cursed and unluckie gates, at which they send out malefactors to execution, carrie and throw forth their dung, ordure, filthines, and cleandings whatsoever, but never commeth in or goeth out that way, any thing that pure is and holy; semblably, the eares of these curious intermeddlers be of the same nature: for there entrench and passeth into them nothing that is honest, civill and lovely; but the brut and 60

rumours of cruell murders have acceſſe unto them, and there make abroad, bringing therewith wicked, abominable, profane and curſed reports: and as one ſaid:

*The only bird that in my houſe doth ever ſing
Both night and day is dolefull moone much ſorrow and wailing.*

So this is the *Muſe, Syrene*, &c. Mere-maid alone, that buſie folke haue; neither is there any thing that they hearken to more willingly: for Curioſitie is an itching deſire to heare ſecrets and hidden matters: and well you wot that no man will lightly conceal any good thing that he hath; conſidering that manie times we make ſemblance of good parts that be not in us. And therefore the buſie intermeddler who is ſo deſirous to know and heare of evils, is ſubject to that which the Greekes call *Curioſitas*, a vice, cooſen germaine or ſiliter rather to envie and eie-biting. 10 For ſo much as envie is nothing elſe, but the grieſe for another mans good: and the foreſaide *Curioſitas* is the joy for his harme: and verily both theſe infirmities proceed from an untoward roote, even another untamed vice and ſavage diſpoſition, to wit, malignitie or malice. And this we know well, that ſo irkeſome and odious it is to everie man for to bewray and reveale, the ſecrets, evils and vices which he hath, that many men have choſen to die, rather than to diſcover and open unto Phyſicians any of their hidden maladies, which they carrie about them. Now ſuppoſe that *Heraclem* or *Eroſitratu* the phyſicians; nay *Aeſculapiu* himſelfe whiles he was a mortall men, ſhould come to an houſe furniſhed with drugs, medicines and instruments requiſite for the cure of diſeaſes, and aſke whether any man their had a Fiſtula in *Ano*, that is, an hollow and hidden ulcer within his fundament? Or if he be a woman, whether he have a cankerous ſore within her matrice: (albeit in this art ſuch inquiſitive curioſitie is a ſpeciall meanes, making for the good and the health of the ſicke) each one I ſuppoſe would be readie to hunt and chaſe away from the houſe ſuch a Phyſician, who unſent for, and before any neede required, came upon his owne accord and motion in a braverie to enquire and learne other folks maladies. What ſhall we ſay then to theſe buſie meddlers, who enquire of another the ſelfe ſame infirmities and worſe too? Not of any minde at all to cure and heale the ſame, but onely to detect and ſet them abroad; in which reſpect they are by good right the moſt odious perſons in the world. For we hardly can abide Publicanes, Cuſtomers, and Tol-gatherers, but are mightily offended with them, not when they exact of us, and cauſe us to pay toll for any commodities or wares that are openly brought in; but when they keepe a ſtreeting and ſearching for ſuch 30 things as be hidden, and meddle with the wares and carriages of other men: notwithstanding that law granteth and publicke authoritie alloweth them ſo to do: yea and if they doe it not, they ſuſtaine loſſe and damage themſelves. But contrariwiſe, theſe curious fellowes let their owne buſineſſe alone, and paſſe not which ende go forward, caring not to hinder themſelves, whiles they be intente to the affaires of other men. Seldome go they into the countrey, for that they cannot endure the quietnes and ſtill ſilence of the wilde and ſolitarie fields. But if haply after long time they make a caſt thither, they caſt an eie to their neighbours vines, rather than to their owne; they enquire how many beeves or oxen of his died; or what quantity of wine ſowed under his hand? and no ſooner are they full of theſe newes, but into the citie they trudge and make haſte againe. As for the good farmer and painefull husbandman indeed, he is not verie 40 willing to give eare unto thoſe newes, which without his hearkning after come from the citie of the owne accord, and are brought unto him, for his ſaying is:

*My diſcher will anon both tell and talke
upon what points concluded was the peace,
For now the knowe about ſuch newes doth walke,
And buſie he, ſo liſten doth not ceaſe.*

But in trueth, theſe buſie-bodies, avoiding country life and husbandrie, as a vaine trade and fooliſh occupation, a cold maner of living, which bringeth forth no great and tragical matter, intrude and thruſt themſelves into the high courts of juſtice, the tribunall ſeats, the market place and publicke pulpits where ſpeeches be made unto the people, great aſſemblies, and the moſt frequented quarter of the haven where the ſhips ſide at anchor, what? No newes? faith one of them. How now? Were you not this morning at the market or in the common place? What then? How thinke you, is not the citie mightily changed and transformed within theſe three houres? Now if it chauce that ſome one or other make a overture, and have ſomething to ſay as touching thoſe points, downe he alights on foot from his horſe, he embraceth the man, kiſſeth him, and there ſtands attending and giving eare unto him. But ſay that the partie whom he thus encountreth and meeteth upon the way, tell him that he hath no newes to report: what 50 ſaith

ſaith thou? (will he infer againe and that in diſpleaſure and diſcontentment:) Wert not thou in the market place of late? Didſt not thou paſſe by the Princes court? Hadſt thou no ſhalke or conference at all with thoſe that came out of *Italie*? In regard of ſuch therefore as theſe, I hold well with the Magiſtrates of the citie *Loerd*, and commend a law of theirs: That if any citizen had bene abroad in the countrey, and upon his returne home demaunded what newes? he ſhould have a fine ſet on his head. For like as Cookes pray for nothing, but good ſtore of failings to kill for the kitchen, and Fiſhmongers plenty of fiſhes; even ſo curious and buſie people with for a world of troubles and a number of affaires, great newes, alterations and changes of State: to the ende that they might evermore be provided of gaine, to chaſe and hunt after, yea and to 10 kill. Well and wiſely therefore did the Law-giver of the Thurians, when he gave order and forbade expreſſely, That no citizen ſhould be taxed, noted by name, or ſcoffed at upon the Stage in any Comedie, ſave onely adulterers and theſe buſie perſons. For ſurely adulterie may be compared well to a kinde of curioſitie, ſearching into the pleaſures of another: ſeeking (I ſay) and enquiring into thoſe matters which are kept ſecret, and concealed from the view of the whole world. And as for curioſitie, it ſeemeth to be a reſolution or looſenes like a pallie or corruption, a detection of ſecrets and laying them naked: For it is an ordinarie thing with thoſe who be inquisitive and deſirous of many newes, ſo to be blaſs alſo of their tongues, and to be prating abroad; which is the reaſon that *Pythagoras* enjoyned yong men five yeeres ſilence, which he 20 called *Echymychia*, Abſtinenſe from all ſpeech, or holding of their tongue.

Moreover, it can not otherwiſe be choſen, but that ſoule and curſed language alſo ſhould accompany curioſity; for looke what thing ſoever buſie bodies heare willingly, the ſame they love to tell and blurt out as quickly; and ſuch things as with deſire and care they gather from one, they utter to another with joy: Whereupon it cometh to paſſe, that over and above other inconveniences which this vice miniſteth unto them that are given to it, an impediment it is to their owne appetite. For as they deſire to know much, ſo every man obſerveth them, is beware of them, and endeavoureth to conceal all from them. Neither are they willing to doe any thing in their ſight, nor delighted to ſpeak ought in their hearing, but if there be any queſtion in hand to be debated, or buſineſſe to be conſidered and conſulted of, all men are content to put off the concluſion and reſolution unto another time; namely, untill the curious and buſie 30 perſon be out of the way. And ſay, that whiles men are in ſad and ſecret conference, or about ſome ſerious buſineſſe, there chauce one of theſe buſie bodies to come in place, preſently all is huiſt, and every thing is remooved aſide and hidden, no otherwiſe than folke are wont to ſet out of the way victuals where a cat doth haunt, or when they ſee her ready to run by; in ſomuch as many times thoſe things which other men may both heare and ſee ſafely, the ſame may not be done or ſaid before them onely. Therefore alſo it followeth by good conſequence, that a buſie and curious perſon is commonly ſo farre out of credit, that no man is willing to truſt him for any thing; in ſuch ſort, that we commit our letters miſſive and ſigne manuall, ſooner to our ſervants and meere ſtrangers, than to our friends and familiars, if we perceive them given to this humor of much meddling. But that worthy knight *Bellerophon* was ſo farre from this, that 40 he would not breake open thoſe letters which he caried, though they were written againſt himſelfe, but forbore to touch the Kings epistle, no leſſe than he abſtained from the Queens hiſ wife, even by one and the ſame vertue of Continenſe. For ſurely, curioſity is a kinde of incontinenſe, as well as adultery; and this moreover it hath beſides, that joined there is with it, much folly and extreme want of wit: For were it not a part (thinke you) of exceeding blockiſh ſenſeleſſeneſſe, yea, and madneſſe in the higheſt degree, to paſſe by to many women that be common, and every where to be had; and then to make meanes with great coſt and expenſe, to ſome one kept under locke and key, and beſides ſumptuous; notwithstanding it fall out many times that ſuch an one is as ill-favored as the ſoule? Seemably, and even the ſame do our curious folke: they omit and caſt behinde them many faire and goodly ſights to beholde, many excellent 50 ſcures worth the hearing, many diſputations, diſcourſes, honeſt exerciſes and paſſimes; but in other mens letters they keepe a puddering, they open and reade them, they ſtand like eaves-droppers under their neighbours walles, hearkening what is done or ſaid within, they are readie to intrude themſelves to liſten what whiſpering there is betweene ſervants of the houſe: what ſecret talke there is among ſeely women when they be in ſome odde corner, and, as many times they are by this meanes not free from danger; ſo alwaies they meet with ſhame and infamie. And therefore very expedient it were for ſuch curious folke, if they would ſhift off and put by this vice of theirs, elſt ſoones to call to mind (as much as they can) what they have either known or

or heard by such inquisition : for if (as *Simonides* was wont to say) that when hee came (after some time betwaine) to open his desks and coffers, he found one which was appointed for gifts and rewards alwaies full, the other ordered for thanks and the graces void and empty : so, a man after a good time past, set open the store-house of curiositie, and looke into it what is therein, and see it tippie full of many unprofitable, vaine and unpleasant things ; peradventure the very outward sight and face thereof will discontent and offend him, appearing in every respect to lovelesse and toyish as it is. Goe to then : if one should set in hand to turne over leafe by leafe the books of ancient writers, and when he hath picked forth and gathered out the worlth, make one volume of all together, to wit, of those headlesse and imperfect verses of *Homer*, which happily beginne with a short syllable, and therefore he called *disoperated* : or of the solacismes and incongruities which be found in Tragedies : or of the indecent and intemperate speeches which *Archilochus* framed against women, whereby he defamed and shamed himselfe : were he not (I pray you) woorthy of this Tragical curse :

*A Soule ill take thee, thou lewd wretch,
That love'st to collect
The faults of mortall men now dead,
The living to infect.*

but to let these maledictions alone, certes this treasuring and scoring up by him of other mens errors and misdeeds, is both unseemly, and also unprofitable : much like unto that city which *Philip* built of purpose, and peopled it with the most wicked, gracelesse, and incorrigible persons that were in his time, calling it *Poneropolis* when he had to done. And therefore these curious meddlers in collecting and gathering together on all sides the errors, imperfections, defaults, and solacismes (as I may so say) not of verses or Poemes, but of other mens lives, make of their memorie a most unpleasant Archive or Register, and uncivill Record, which they ever carie about them. And like as at Rome, somewhere be who never cast eie toward any fine pictures, or goodly figures, nor so much as make any account to cheapen beautifull boies and faire wenches which there stand to be sold, but rather go up and downe the market where monsters in nature are to be bought, seeking and learning out where be any that want legs, whose armes and elbows turne the contrary way like unto cats ; or who have three eies apeece in their heads, or be headed like unto the Ostrich : taking pleasure (I say) to see if there be borne

*A mungrell mixt of divers sorts,
False birth, unkinde or strange aborris.*

But if a man should bring them to see such sights as these ordinarily, the very thing it selfe would some give them enough, yea and breed a loathing in them of such ugly monsters ; even so it fareth with those who busie themselves and meddle in searching narrowly into the imperfections of other mens lives, the reproches of their stocks and kindred, the faults, errors, and troubles that have hapned in other houses ; if they call to mind what like defects they have found and known before time, they shall soone finde that their former observations have done them small pleasure, or wrought them as little profit.

But the greatest meanes to divert this vicious passion, is use and custome ; namely, if we begin a great way off, and long before to exercise and acquaint our selves in a kind of continencie in this behalfe, and so learne to temper and rule our selves ; for surely use it was and custome that caused this vice to get such an head, encreasing daily by little and little, and growing from worse to worse : But how and after what manner we should be inured to this purpose, we shall see and understand as we treat of Exercise withall.

First and foremost therefore, begin we will at the smallest and most slender things, and which most quickly may be effected. For what matter of difficultie is it for a man in the way as he travelled, not to couffe and busie his head in reading Epitaphes or inscriptions of Sepulchres ? or what paine is it for us as we walke along the galleries, to passe over with our eies the writings upon the wallles ; supposing thus much secretly within our selves, as a maxime or generall rule : That there is no goodnes, no pleasure, nor profit at all in such writings : for there you may reade, That some one doth remember another, and make mention of him by way of hearty commendations in good part ; or such an one is the best friend that I have, and many other such like mottoes, are there to be seene and read, full of toies and vanities, which at first seeme not to do any hurt if one reade them, but in truth, secretly they do much harme, in that they breed in us a custome and desire to seeke after needlesse and impertinent matters. For like as hunters suffer not their hounds to range out of order, nor to follow everie sent, but keepe them up and hold them

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in by their collars, reserving by that meanes their smelling pure and neat, altogether for their proper worke, to the end that they should be more eager and hot to trace the footing of their game, and as the Poet saith,

*With sent most quicke of noses brils after kind,
The tracks of beasts so wild in chase to find,*

even so, we ought to cut off these excursions and foolish traines that curious folke make to heare and see everie thing ; to keepe them thort (I say) and turne them another way to the seeing and hearing only of that which is good and profitable. Also, as we observe in Eagles and Lions, That whiles they go upon the ground they draw their talons and claws inward, for feare lest they should dull the sharpe edge and wear the points thereof ; so considering that curiositie hath a certaine quicke conceit and fine edge (as it were) apt to apprehend and know many things, let us take heed that we do not imploy and blunt the same in the worlth and vilest of all others.

Secondly, we are to accustome our selves as we passe by another mans doore, not to looke in, nor to cast our eies to any thing whatsoever that there is : for that the eie is one of the hands that curiositie useth. But let us alwaies have in readinesse and thinke upon the Apothegme of *Xenocrates*, who was wont to say, That it skilled not, but was all one, whether we set our feet, or eies within the house of another man. For it is neither meet and just, nor an honest and pleasant sight, according to the old verse,

*My friend or stranger, what ever you be,
You shall within, all things deformed see.*

And what be those for the most part which are seene in houses ? dishes, trenchers, and such like utenfiles and small vessels lying on the bare ground, or one upon another disorderly : the wenches set and doing just nothing : and lightly a man shall not finde ordinarily ought of importance or delight. Now the verie cast of the eie upon such things, doth therewith turne away the minde ; the intentive looking thereupon is unseemly, and the using thereof sturke naught. *Diogenes* verily upon a time seeing *Diocippus*, when he entred in his triumphant chariot into the citie for winning the best prize at the Olympian games, how as he rode he could not chuse but set his eie upon a certaine faire damozell, who was in place to behold this pompe and solemne entrance of his, but evermore his eie followed her, whether she were before or behinde him : Behold (quoth he) our victorious and triumphant champion, how a young wench hath him sure enough by the necke, and doth writhe him which way she list ! Semblably, see you not how these curious folke have their neckes bended aside at everie foolish sight, and how they turne about with each vanitie that they heare and see, after once they have gotten an habit or custome, so looke everie way and to carie a rouling eie in their heads ? But in mine opinion, it is not meet that our senses should gad and wander abroad, like a wilde and untaught girdle, but when reason hath sent it forth to some businesse ; after it hath bene there employed and done the errand about which it was set, to returne speedily againe unto her mistresse the soule, and make report how she hath sped and what the hath done ? and then afterwards to stay at home decently like a modest waiting maiden, giving attendance upon reason, and readie alwaies at her command. But now hapneth that which *Sophocles* saith,

*The headstrong jades that will no bit abide,
Have him perforce who should them rein and guide.*

The senses having not met with good instructions (as I said before) nor bene trained to right waies, runne before reason upon their owne accord, and draw with them many times the understanding, and send it headlong after such things as are not seemely and decent. And therefore false is that which is commonly reported of *Democritus* the Philosopher : namely, that willingly he dimmed and quenched (as it were) his owne sight, by fixing his eies fast upon a fiery and ardent mirror, to take the reverberation of the light from thence, to the end that they should not disturb the minde, by calling out effluones the inward intelligence, but suffer it to keepe house within, and to be employed in objects intellectuall, as if the windowes that regard to the seer and high way were shut up. Howbeit most true it is, that those who for the most part occupie their understanding have least use of their senses : which is the reason that in olde time they both builded the temples of the Muses, that is to say, houses ordained for students, which they named *Musaeas*, as farre as they could from cities and great townes : and also called the night *Euphrones*, as one would say, a friend to sage advice and counsell ; as supposing that quiet rest, repose,

pose, and stibnes from all disturbance make verie much for contemplation, and invention of those things that we studie and seeke for.

Moreover, no harder matter is it nor of greater difficultie than the rest, when in the open market place or common hall, men are at high words, reproching & reviling one another, not to approach and come nere unto them. Also if there be any great concourse and running of people together upon some occasion, not to stirre at all but sit still, or if thou art not able to containe and rule thy selfe, to rise up and goe thy waies. For surely gaine thou shalt no good at all by intermeddling with such busie and troublefome persons; but contrariwise, much fruit maist thou reape by turning away such curiositie, in repressing the same and constraining it by use and custome to obey reason. Having made this good entrance & beginning, to proceed now unto farther and stronger exercise, it were verie good, whensoever there is any play exhibited upon the Stage in a frequent Theater, where there is assembled a great audience to heare and see some woorthie matter for to passe by it, and to put backe thy friends who sollicite thee to goe thither with them, for to see either one daunce excellent well, or to act a Comedie; nor so much as to turne backe when thou hearest some great shout and outcrie, either from out of the race or the grand-cirque, where the horse-running is held for the prize. For like as *Socrates* gave counsell to forbear those meates which provoke men to eat when they are not hungrie, and those drinkes which incite folke to drinke when they have no thirst; even so, we ought to avoide and beware, how we either see or heare any thing whatsoever, which may either draw or hold us thereto, when there is no need at all thereof. The noble Prince *Cyrus* would not so much as see faire Ladie *Panthea*, and when *Aspasia* one of his courtiers and minions made report unto him, that she was a woman of incomparable beauty, and therefore woorthie to be looked on: Nay rather (quoth he) for that cause I ought to forbear the sight of her; for if by your perswasion I should yeeld to goe and see her, it may peradventure fall out so, that she her selfe might tempt and induce me againe to repaire unto her; even then haply when I shall not have such leisure, yea and sit by her and keepe her company, neglecting in the meane time the weightie affaires of the State. In like manner *Alexander* the Great, would not come within the sight of King *Darius* his wife, notwithstanding that she was reported unto him for to be a most gallant and beautifull Ladie: Her mother an auncient Dame and elderly matrone he did not sticke to visite, but the young gentlewoman her daughter (fresh, faire and young) he could not be brought so much as once to see. As for us, we can cast a wanton eye secretly into the coaches and horse-litters of wives and women as they ride, we can looke out of our windowes, and hang with our bodies halfe forth, to take the full view of them as they passe by: and all this while we thinke that we commit no fault, suffering our curious eye and wandering minde to slide and run to everie thing.

Moreover, it is meet and expedient for the exercise of justice, otherwhiles to omit that which well and justly might be done; to the end that by that meanes a man may acquaint himselfe to keepe farre off from doing or taking any thing unjustly. Like as it maketh much for temperance and chastitie, to abstaine otherwhiles from the use of a mans owne wife, that therelby he might be never mooved to lust after the wife of his neighbour; taking this counsell likewise against curiositie, strive and endeavour sometimes to make semblance as though thou didst neither heare nor see those things that properly concerne thy selfe: And if a man come and bring thee a tale of matters concerning thine owne household, let it passe, and put it over, yea, and those words which seeme to have bene spoken as touching thine owne person, cast them behinde, and give no eare thereto. For default of this discretion, it was the inquisitive curiositie of King *Oedipus*, which intangled and enwrapped him in exceeding great calamities and miseries: for when he would needs know who himselfe was, as if he had bene not a Corinthian, but a stranger, and would needs goe therefore to the Oracle for to be resolved, he met with *Laius* his owne father by the way, whom he slew, and so espoused his owne mother, by whose meanes he came to be King of *Thebes*: and even then when he seemed to be a most happy man, he could not so stay, but proceeded further to enquire concerning himselfe, notwithstanding his wife did what the possibly could to dissuade him from it; but the more earnest she was with him that way, the more instant was he with an old man who was privie to all, using all meanes to enforce him for to bewray that secret: at length when the thing it selfe was so pregnant, that it brought him into farther suspicion, and withall when the said old man cried out in this manner,

Alas, how am I at the point perforce

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To utter that which will cause remorse?

the king surpris'd still with his humor of curiositie, notwithstanding he was vexed at the verie heart, answered,

And I likewise for my part am as nere

To beare as much, but yet I must it beare.

Sobitter-sweet is that itching-smart humor of curiositie, like unto an ulcer or sore, which the more it is rubbed and scratched, the more it bleedeth and bloodieth it selfe. Howbeit he that is delivered from this disease and besides of nature milde and gentle, so long as he is ignorant and knoweth not any evil accident, may thus say,

O blessed Saint, when evils are past and gone

How sage and wise art thou, oblivion.

And therefore we must by little and little accustome our selves to this, that when there be anie letters brought unto us, we do not open them presently and in great haste, as many do, who if their hands be not quicke enough to doe the feat, set their teeth to, and gnaw in under the threads that sewed them up fast. Also if there be a messenger coming toward us from a place with any tidings, that we run not to meete him, nor so much as once rise and stir for the matters, and if a friend come unto thee saying, I have some newes to tell you of: yea mary (must you say againe) but I had rather that you brought me something indeed that were profitable, fruitfull and commodious. I remember upon a time when I declaimed and read a lecture at *Rome*, that Orator *Rufinus* whom afterwards *Dominian* put to death for envie that he bare to his glory, hapned to be there to heare me: Now in the mids of my lecture there came into the place a Soldiour with letters from the Emperour, which he delivered to *Rufinus* aforesaid, whereupon there was great silence in the schoole; and I my selfe made some pause, whiles he might read the letter, but he would not read it then, nor so much as breake it open before I had made an end of my discourse, and dismissed the auditory: for which all the company there present, highly praised and admired the gravitie of the man. Now if one do feed and nourish all that he can, (be it but in lawfull and allowable things) this veine and humor of curiositie, so as thereby it becometh in the end mighty and violent, it will not be an easie matter to restraîne and hold it in when it shall breake out & run on end to such things as be unlawful & forbidden, by reason that it is so used already to intermeddle & be doing. But such men as these, breake open and unseale letters (as I said) intrude themselves into the secret counsels of their friends; they will needs discover and see those sacred mysteries, which it is not lawfull for to see; in place whereunto there is no lawfull access they love to be walking; enquire they do into the secret deeds and words of kings and princes; and notwithstanding there be nothing in the world that causeth tyrants, who must of necessitie know all, so odious as this kinde of people, who be called their eares; (promoters I meane, and spies) who heare all and bring all unto their eares. The first that ever had about him these Oracontes (as a man would say, Princes eares) was *Darius* the younger; a prince distrusting himselfe, suspecting also and fearing all men. As for those which were called *Protagogides*, that is to say, Courtries, Spies, and Enformers, the *Dionysii*, tyrants of *Sicilie*, intermeddled such among the Syracusians: whereupon, when the State was altered, those were the first that the Syracusians apprehended and massacred. Also those whom we call Sycophants, are of the confraternitie, house and lineage of these curious persons, save onely this difference there is, that Sycophants enquire what evil any man hath either defsigned or committed; whereas our Polypragmons hearken after and discover the very calamities and misadventures of their neighbours, which happen even against their will and purpose: and when they have done so, set them abroad to the view of the whole world. Furthermore, it is said, that the name *Alterij* came up first by occasion of this over-much meddling, called Curiosity. For when there was (by all likelihood) a great famine at *Athens*, they that had come, kept it in and would not bring it abroad to the market, but privily & in the night, ground the same into meal within their houses: Now these fellows, named *Alterij*, would go up and downe closely hearkening where the querne or mill went, and thereupon tooke the said name. Semblably, as it is reported, the name of Sycophants arose upon the like occasion: for when there was a law made, forbidding that any figges should be carried forth out of the land, such promoters as bewrayed the delinquents, and gave information against those that conveyed figges away, were also thereupon called Sycophants. To conclude therefore, it were not unprofitable for these curious Polypragmons (of whom we have discoursed all this while) to know thus much; That they might

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be ashamed in themselves to be noted for manners and profession to be like unto those who are accounted the most odious and hateful persons in the world.



OF THE TRANQUILLITY AND CONTENTMENT OF MINDE.

The Summarie.

IN this Treatise a man may see the excellent discourses and most sound arguments of Morall Philosophie; the scope whereof is to make the scholars and students therein resolute, and to keep them from wavering and tottering to and fro; not withstanding that either the skie were ready to fall upon their heads, or the earth to thinke and open under their feet. True it is, that in this place Plutarch sheweth sufficiently what blindness there is in humane wisdom, when the question is to knowance and speake precisely, wherein consisteth true repose and assured felicity? For to teach a man whom he calleth vertuous, to search for contentment and quiet rest in his owne reason, were as much as to fetch light out of darkness, and life out of death itselfe. And herefore (for this time) needlesse it is to treat long upon this point, considering that we minde not to dispute or declare how insufficient humane learning and Philosophie is in comparison of true Divinity & Theology. For the present, I shal say suffice, that seeing he was no better than a pagan, who hath disputed of this theme, let us receive both this discourse and other such, wherein he endeavoureth to withdraw us from vice, and bring us unto vertue, as written and peirmed by a man, guided and conducted by a dimme and darke light: in which notwithstanding appeare certaine sparks of the truth, which as they are not able to shew the way sufficiently, so they give them to understand, who be farre remote from the true light, how miserable and wretched they are every way. Prooved he had before, that Flattery, Choler, and Curiosity are vices that overturne the soule up-side downe, and transport it so farre off that it is not at home, nor mistress of herselfe; and after he had taught how a man might reclaime and reduce her againe to her owne house, he treateth now of those meanes, whereby she may be kept quiet peaceable joyous and contented within. For the effecting hereof, at the very entry of this Treatise he propoeth one expedient meane to attaine thereto, requiring that a man should fortifie and defend his minde with reasons against the evils and dangers to come: then he consecuteth the Epicureans, who for to set a man in peace, would make him blockish, senselesse and good for nothing: he answereth likewise to those who are of opinion that a man may finde a certaine kinde of vacation and impassibility without all trouble and molestation: which done, he sheweth that reason well ruled & ordered, is the foundation and ground of our tranquillity: and all in one and the same traine, he teacheth how a man may be furnished & assisted with this reason. Having thus sufficiently in generall termes discourses of these premisses, he doth particularly and decipher the same point by point, giving fifteen severall counsels, whereby a man may attaine to this contentment and repose of spirit: the which we have distinguished particularly, and shewed in each one the substance of them, which I thought not good to insert in this place, because the Summarie should not exceed over-much. Furthermore, he said counsels be enriched with notable examples, similitudes and sentences; which (no doubt) would have bene much more forcible and effectfull, if the principall in deed had bene joined therewith, to wit, true pietie and religion: which hath bene cleane omitted by the author, who in deed never knew what was the onely true and perfect tranquillitie of the soule. Howbeit, wonderfull it is, how he should proceed so farre as he doeth, having no other helpe and meanes but his owne selfe: which may so much the better serve our turnes, considering that we have aides and guides farre more excellent to bring us so farre, as to make entrie, and take assured possession of that soveraigne good and felicity, whereof hee here speaketh.

OF

OF THE TRANQUILLITY AND contentment of minde.

PLUTARCH to PACCIVS sendeth greeting:



Verlate it was before I received your letter, wherein you requested me to write somewhat as touching the Tranquillity of the Soule, and withall of certaine places in *Plutarch's Dialogue Timon*, which seeme to require more exact exposition, but so it happened, that at the very same time, your friend and mine *Eros*, had occasion to faile with speed to *Rome*, upon the receipt of certaine letters from that right worshipfull gentleman *Fundanus*, by vertue whereof he was to depart suddenly and to repaire unto him with all expedition. By which occasion having not sufficient time and leasure to performe your request in such manner as I purposed, & yet unwilling that the

man coming from me, should be seene of you empty-handed; I have collected certaine notes, chosen out of those commentaries, which for mine owne memorie & private use I had compiled long before, concerning this argument, to wit, The Tranquillity & contentment of spirit: supposing that you also demand this present discourse, not for any pleasure that you take to read a treatise penned curiously and affecting or hunting after fine phrases and exquisite words; but onely in regard of some doctrine that may serve your turbe and helpe you to the framing of your life as you ought, knowing withall full well (for the which I doe congratulate and rejoyce heartily on your behalfe) that notwithstanding your inward acquaintance, friendship and favor with the best and principall persons of the citie, and that foreloquence you come behind none that plead causes at the bar in open court, but are reputed a singular Oratour, yet for all that; you do not as that Tragical *Melepes*, suffer your selfe foolishly and beyond the course of nature to be carried away as he was with the vaine-glorie and applause of the multitude, when they do admire and account you happye therefore; but fill you keepe in memorie that which oftentimes you have heard from us; That it is neither a rich Partitions shooe that cureth the gout in the feet; nor a costly and pretious ring that healeth the whitlaw or felon in the fingers; nor yet a princely diademe that easeth the head-ach. For what use is there at all of goods and riches to deliver the soule from griefe and sorrow, or to lead a life in rest and repose without cares and troubles? What good is there of great honors, promotions, and credit in court? unless they that have them know how to use the same well and honestly; and likewise if they be without them, can skill how to finde no misse of them, but be alwaies accompanied with contentment; never coveting that which is not? And what is this else but reason accustomed and exercised before hand, quickly to restraine and oftentimes to reprehend the passionate and unreasonable part of the soule, which is given oftentimes to breake out of her bounds: and not to suffer her to range and vague at her pleasure, and to be transported by the objects presented unto her? Like as therefore *Xenophon* giveth us good counsell: Alwaies to remember the gods, and most of all to worship and honor them when we are in prosperitie, to the end that whensoever we stand in neede, we may more boldly invoke and call upon them, with full assurance that they will supply our necessities, being thus before-hand made propitious and gracious unto us; even so, wise men and such as are of good conceit, ought alwaies to be furnished and well provided of reasons sufficient to serve their turne for to encounter their passions before they arise, to the end that being once laide up in store, they may doe most good when time serveth. For as curst and angrie mallices by nature, which at every noyse that they heare keepe an eager baying and barking as if they were affrighted, become quiet and appeased by one onely voice which is familiar unto them, and wherewith they have bene acquainted; so it is no small paine and trouble to still and compose the passions of the minde (skittish as they be and growne wilde) unless a man have ready at hand proper and familiar reasons to repress the same so soone as ever they begin to stir and grow out of order.

Now as touching those who affirme that if a man would live in tranquillity and rest, he ought not to meddle nor deale in many affaires, either in publicke or private: First and foremost thus I say, that they would make us pay deere for tranquillitie of minde, when they would have us buy

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it with idleneſſe and doing nothing; which were as much as if they aduised each one to doe as *Electra* did to her ſicke brother *Orestes* when ſhe ſaid unto him,

*Lie ſtill poore wretch and keepe thy bed,
Stirre not from thence, and haue no dread.*

But ſurely as this were untoward Phyſicke for the bodie, to preſcribe for the allaying of paine, a medicine that would benumbe and ſtupifie the ſenſes; ſo verily he were no better Phyſician for the ſoule, who to deliver her from trouble and griefe, ordeined that ſhe ſhould be made idle, ſluggiſh, ſoft and tender, which in one word is as much, as to forget all dutie and to betraye friends, kinsfolke, and countrie. Moreover a falſe poſition it is: That they enjoy tranquillitie of life, who intermeddle not in much buſineſſe: for if that were true, women ſhould live in more reſpoſe and quietneſſe of minde than men, for as much as they keepe home and ſit ſtil within doores for the moſt part, and ſeldom go abroad: but now although it cannot be denied but that as the Poet *Hefiodus* ſaith,

*Cold Boreas a winde that blowes
from Northren pole full of,
Doth neuer pierce the tender ſkin
of damſell ſmooth and ſoft.*

Yet many heart-griefes, troubles, perturbations, diſcontentments and cares ariſing upon jealousie, ſuperſtition, pride, ambition, fooliſh and vaine opinions, (which are ſo many as hardly a man is able to number them) ſinde way and entrance even to the ſecret chambers and cabinets of our fine and daintie dames: And *Lucretius* who lived apart for the ſpace of twentie yeeres in the country

*With one old woman and no more
Who meat and drinke ſet him before,*

far from his native country, his owne home, from court and kingdome; yet nevertheleſſe he had alwaies dwelling with him ſadneſſe of heart, accompanied with languiſhing, idleneſſe and heauie ſilence. And more than that, this non-imploiment in affaires is that which many times hath caſt ſome men into a dumphiſh melancholic and heauineſſe of ſpirit, like to him of whom *Homer* thus writeth,

*Here ſat Achilles ſwiſt of ſoote, by him defended right
From Iupiter, though ſonne he were of Peleus worthy knight,
And ſtir'd not from his ſleece in rode, but in an angry fit
Would neither fight in open field, nor yet in counſell ſit:
Thou ſhalt be abroad ſo long untill his heart with him
Conſum'd, and nothing wiſht be more, than battaile to begin.*

whereupon being in a paſſionate humor, and thinking it a great indignitie thus to weare away and do nothing, he breakeſh forth himſelfe afterwards into this ſpeech:

*But here ſit I cloſe to my ſhips from action more and leſſe
An idle luke to loade the earth, I cannot but poſſeſſe.*

Inſomuch as *Epicurus* himſelfe that great patron and maintainer of pleaſure, would not aduiſe nor thinketh meete that thoſe who by nature are of an ambitious and aſpiring minde, or deſirous of glorie, ſhould take their eaſe and ſit ſtill, but by the guidance and direction of their natural inclination, to manage the weightie affaires of State and governe the common weale: ſaying, that men borne for action would be more troubled and diſcontented in minde with doing nothing, namely when they ſee how they miſſe and faile of that which ſo greatly they deſired. Howbeit I muſt note the abſurd folly of the man and his want of judgement, in that he ſeemeth to call and exhort unto the rule of weale-publike not thoſe who are able and ſufficient, but ſuch onely as cannot away with a private life and ſitting ſtill: neither ought we to meaſure and determine either the tranquillitie or trouble of the ſpirit, by the paucitie or multitude of affaires, but rather by their honeſtie or diſhoneſtie: for as we have already ſaid, no leſſe diſcontentment and trouble, groweth to the minde by neglecting and omitting things honeſt, than by affecting and committing things diſhoneſt. As for thoſe who have determinately ſet by one ſpeciall kinde of life, as voide of all, griefe and trouble, to wit, ſome making choiſe to live as huſbandmen in tillage of the ground; others to lead a ſingle and unmarried life, and ſome againe have eſteemed a Kings-life to be it; to ſuch *Menander* answereth pretily in theſe verſes:

I thought one while, that rich and mounted men

Phanias,

*Phanias, who were not hard beſted.
To pay for ſafe in everie hundred ten,
Do neither groane nor ſigh all night in bed:
Nor as they ſworne and ſſe from top to toe
Eſſe ſoones you ſe me alas, what ſhall I doe?
Breath out from heart full penſive and oppreſt,
But ſoerely take reſpoſe and ſleepe in veſt.*

And coming more neerely unto the point, when he perceived that rich men were as reſtleſſe, and as much diſquieted as the poore, he concludeth thus:

*But now, I wot, that life and penſive paine
Are nere of kin and couſin germaines twaine.
Who lives in wealth, I ſee, feele griefe of hart,
And men in honour of ſorrowes have their part
No leſſe than thoſe, whoſe want and penurie
Doth age with them and keepe them companie.*

And the eaſe is all one as with thoſe that be either tumorous or ſtomack-ſicke at ſea, whereof they be under faile: for ſuppoſing that they ſhall be better at eaſe, they got out of a ſharke into a brigandine, and out of it into a galley: but they finde no good thereby, for that they carie about them ſtill cholera and a ſalſe heart, which are the cauſe of this their diſtemperature; even ſo, ſoones to change from one courſe of life unto another, is not the meanes to deliver the minde from troubles and perturbations, which hinder the reſpoſe and quietnes thereof. And what be theſe troubles? even want of experience in affaires; inconfiderate raſhneſſe, and default of diſcretion; inſufficientie and want of knowledge, how to uſe and accommodate things aright to the preſent occasions. Theſe be they that moleſt and vexe aſwell the rich as the poore; theſe torment and hurt ſingle perſons no leſſe than married folke. In regard hereof, ſome having bidden the court and civill affaires farewell, yet ſooner after againe could not away with a private and quiet life. And for no other cauſe but this; many make all the meanes they can to be advanced to high places, and to inſinuate themſelves into Princes courts; and when they have attained thereto, anon repent them and miſlike of that courſe: But true it is the Poet ſaith,

*He that lieth ſicke is hard to pleaſe,
He wants adviſe, that ſhould him eaſe.*

For his wife is a trouble unto him; the phyſician he findeth fault with, and the bed is not to his minde; beſides,

*A friend comes to viſit, he welcomes him ſought,
And when he departs, unkind he is thought.*

But afterwards as the diſeaſe beginneth to breake away or decline, and the former temperature of the bodie to returne, health commeth againe which maketh everie thing pleaſant and agreeable; inſomuch as he who the day before was readie upon a peeviſhneſſe of ſtomacke to caſt up daintie egges, ſine *Amydam* and marchpaine, and the faireſt cocked manchet that is, will be content the morrow after, yea and glad withall his heart to feed favourily and with a good ſtomacke of downe right houſhold bread, of ſome Olives or Crefſes. Such a contentment and alteration worketh judgement of reaſon in everie kind and courſe of life. It is reported that King *Alexander* the Great, hearing *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher diſcourſing and maintaining this Poſition: That there were worlds innumerable: fell a weeping: and when his friends and familiars about him asked what he ailed, Have I not (quoth he) good cauſe to weepe, that being as there are an infinite number of worlds, I am not yet the Lord of one? Whereas *Crates* having no more than a waller at his necke, and a poore threadbare cloke upon his backe, ſpent his whole life in mirth and joy, laughing alwaies full merrily as if it had beene alwaies a feaſtival holid-ay. As for *Agamemnon* he complained in theſe words, and thought it an intolerable burden to be a king and commander of ſo great a people.

*Worrell you ſee Atreus his ſonne,
King Agamemnon light:
Whom Jupiter clogs more with care,
Than any mortal might.*

Contrariwiſe *Diogenes*, when he was to be bought and ſold among other ſlaves in open market, ſcoffed at the Citez who made ſale; and lying along on the ground, would not ſo much as riſe

when he was bidden to stand up, but cavilled with him after a mocking and jelling manner, what (quoth he) and if you fold a fift will you bid it rise up? Likewise *Socrates* discomfited familiarly with his fellows and followers as touching Philosophy, even when he was in prison. Whereas *Phaethon*, notwithstanding he was mounted up into heaven, wept for anger and despite that no man would give him the rule and regiment of the chariot-steeds belonging to the sunne his father. And as a thoe is wrestled and turned according to the fashion of a crooked or play-frow, but never doth the foot writhe to the forme of a thoe; even so it is for all the world with the dispositions of mens minds; they frame their lives and make them like thereto. For it is not use and custome that causeth the best life to be pleasant also unto them that have made choise thereof, as some one haply is of opinion; but wisdom one rather and discretion maketh that life which is best to be also sweetest and most pleasant. Since that therefore the source and fountain of all tranquillitie and contentment of spirit is in our selves, let us cleanse and purifie the same spring, as cleane as possibly we can, that all outward and casual occurrences whatsoever, may be made familiar and agreeable unto us, knowing once how to use them well.

If things go crosse, we ought not, in vs,
To fret; for why? such choler will not boot:
But he that know's when ought is done, misse,
To set all straight, shall chieve full well, I wot.

Plato therefore compared our life to a game at Tables; wherein the plaier is to win for the Iackbett call of the dice, & whatsoeuer his chance is, he must be fure to play it well, and make the best of it: Now of these two points, the former, to wit, a good thure, is not in our power and choise; but the other rested in vs, namely, whatsoeuer our lot is, to take in good worth, and to dispose every thing in that place where it may profit most if it fortune well; and contrariwise, if it fell out croffe, where it may doe least harme. This (I say) is our part and duty to performe, if we be as wise as we should be. As for brain-sicke fooles, and such as know not how to carrie themselves in this life (like unto those that have craffe and disealed bodies, who neither can abide burning heat nor chilling colde) as in prosperity they spread and set up their failes too high, so in aduersitie they strike them as low. Troubled they are mightily with both extremities; or to speake more truly, with themselves, as much in the one as the other, and no lesse in that state which yeeldeth those things that we call and repute Goods. *Theodorus* that infamous Philosopher, who for his profane opinion was furnamed *Aches*, that is to say, The Atheist, was wont to say: That he deliuered his speeches with the right hand to his auditors and scholars, but they tooke the same with their left; even so ignorant and untaught persons many times when fortune presenteth herselfe unto them on the right hand, receive her awfully, turning to the left side unadvisedly, and by that meanes commit many untoward & lewd parts. But those that be wise doe fare better: for as *Thyme* yeeldeth unto Bees the quickest and driest honey; even so they out of the most unfortunate accidents that be, can skill often-times to get somewhat which is agreeable and commodious unto themselves. This is then the first and principall point, wherein a man ought to be trained and exercised, upon this must he study and meditate. And like as that fellow, when he flung a stone at a curst bitch, missed her, and chanced to hit his step-mother, saying wiall: It makes no matter; for it had not light anisse sooner so we, may turne all our fortune to our owne purpose, and make the best use of it, in causes that fall out otherwise than we would or meane. *Diogenes* his hap was to be banished and driven out of his owne country; yet this exile of his proved not ill to him; for by that meanes and thereupon he beganne to studie and professe Philosphie. *Zeno* the Cittizen had but one frigate or flie-boat left him, and hearing newes that both it and all therein was cast away, drowned and perished in the mids of the sea: o Fortune (quoth he) thou hast done well, to drive us againe to put on our poore and simple scholars habit, and to send us to our gallicke and schoole of Philosphie. What should hinder us then, but that we may follow the examples of these men. Art thou deprived and put out of some publike office or magistracie which thou didst exercise? Go so and live in the country: there follow thee thine owne buisnesse, and pley thy private affaires. Hast thou made fine and great meanes to be entertained in the Court, and to winde into speciall fauour with some Prince and Potentate, and after all thy travell suffered repulse? Well, thou shalt live privately at home, without danger, without trouble. Again, Art thou entred into action, and dost thou manage State affaires, wherein thou hast cares enough, and no time to breathe thy selfe?

The holſome waters and hot baines

Do not so much alay our paines :
And if our limmes be dull or sicke,
Refresh the same and make them quicke :
As when a man himselfe doth see
Advan't to honour and high degree,
His glory, care and paine doth ease,
No travell then will him displease.

as *Pindarus* faith very well: Art thou in some disgrace, and cast out of fauour with reproch, by reason of some blanderous calumination or envie? Thou halt a gale of fore-wind at the poepe, 10
thou wilt looke beinge there directly to the Muses and to the Academie: that is to say, so followe thy booke, and study Philosophie: for this was *Platoes* helpe, when he was in disfauour with *Demys* the tyrant. And therefore one meanes this (of no small importance) to worke contentment in a mans mind; namely, to looke backe into the fate of famous and renowned perfons, and to see whether they (happily) haue not suffered the like at any time; as for example: Art thou discontented with thy childlesse estate, for that thy wife hath brought thee no children? Doe but marke the Kings of *Rome*, where there was not one of them that left the crown unto his sonne. Is it pueritie that pincheth thee, so as thou art not able to endure it? Tell mee which of all the Boeotians wouldst thou chuse to resemble, loonether than *Epanomondas*? or what *Romane* wouldst thou be like unto, rather than *Fabricius*? But say thy wife hath plaid faile for thee, and made 20
thee wearye hore? Didst thou neuer read that Epigram of King *Agis* at *Delphos*?

Ἄγῆς, ὁφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἄλκιμος ἄνθρωπος
 Agis, of sea and land a crowned king,
 Gave me sometime a sacred offering.

And yet as mighty a Prince is he as was, you have heard (I am fure) that *Alcibiades* lay with his wife *Tusias*, and the world not bath to call the fonne that he had by him in adulterie, *Alcibiades*, especially amongst her women & waiting-maidens, whispering and speaking as much flattery unto them: But what of all that? This crooked croffe was no bar unto *K. Agis*, but that he proved the greatest and most renowned perfonage of all the Greeks in his time. No more was it any hinderance to *Stipo*, but that he lived all the daies of his life most merrily, and no Philosopher like him in those daies, notwithstanding he had a daughter that plaid the harlot: and when *Metrocles* the Cynick reproched him therewith; Is this (quoth he) my fault or hers? To which when *Metrocles* answered againe: The fault is indeed hers, but the infortunity and mishap is yours: What now, (replied *Stipo* again) how can that be? Are not (I pray you) all faults rightly named Slips or Falles? Yes truly, said the other: And are not falles (quoth *Stipo*) mischances or misfortunes? *Metrocles* could not deny it: Why then (inferred *Stipo* at last) what are mischances or misfortunes, other than infortunities and mishaps to them whose mischances they are. By this milde kinde of Sorites and Philosophicall reasoning thus from point to point, he shewed that the reprochfull language of this Cynicall *Metrocles* was nothing els, but a vaine and foolish baying and barking of a cur-dogge. But on the contrary side, the most part of men are provoked and troubled not only for the vices of their friends, familiars, and kinsfolke, but also of their very enemies. For reprochfull taunts, anger, envie, malice, and spitefull jealousies, are the mischiefes and plagues (I must needs say) of such especially that have them; howbeit they molest and vexe those also that are wilde and without discretion, nor otherwise than the hafty and cholerick fits of our neighbors, the peevish and froward dispositions of our familiar acquaintance, and some shrewd demeanors of our servants in that they go about: with which me thinks you also troubling and disquieting your selfe as much as with any thing else, like unto those Physicians of whom *Sophocles* thus writeth;

*Who bitter choler cleanse and scour
With Drugs as bitter and as soure.*

30 do wisely and not riu for the credite of your person, thus to chafe and fret at their passions and imperfections beyond all reason, and fiew your selfe as passionate as they. For surely the affaires and negotiations wherewith you are put in trust, and which are managed by your direction, are not executed ordinarily by the ministerie of such persons whose dealings be plaine, simple and direct, as instruments most meet and fit for such a purpose; but for the most part by crooked, rough, and crabbed pieces. To reforme and amend these enormities, I would not haue you thinke that it is either your worke and dutie, or an enterprise otherwise easily performed. But if you making use of these, beinge fuk by nature as the Chirurgeons do of rooth-drawing

pinners, and those instruments wherewith they doe bring the edges of a wound together; will shew you selfe milde, moderate, and tractable in every respect; according as the present occasion will give leave; surely you shall not receive so much discontentment and displeasure at the untoward and unhappie dealings of others, as joy in the conscience of your owne good disposition, as making this account, that such ministers of yours do but their kind, like as dogs when they baire: But if you feed and cherish this pufflaminitie and weaknesse of yours, as other follies, you shall be fure to heape up many troubles and follies of other men ere you be aware, which will be ready to fall and run as into some low ground and hollow trench, unto that weaknesse of yours. For what should I say, that some Philosophers reprove the pittie and commiseration which we have for them that are in distresse & miserie, acknowledging that it is a good and charitable deed to helpe and succour such as be in calamitie, but not commending that condolence and fellow-feeling with our neighbours, as if we yeelded with them unto Fortune? And more than so, the same Philosophers will not permit and give us leave, in case we be subject to some vice and ill disposed, for to be fene and known for to grieve and sorrow therefore: but rather to correct and amend what is amisse, without any shew at all of sad cheere and heavinesse; which being so, consider then how little reason and small cause we have, nay how absurd it were, that we should suffer our selves to be troubled, vexed and angry, in case all those who commerce and converse with us, deale not so well and kindly as they should? But above all things my good friend *Praetius*, let us see to this, that our selfe love deceive and seduce us not; let us beware (I say) that we do not too much shew an hatred and detestation of wickednesse and sinne in generall; as bewray some private and particular regard of our owne, in that we seeme so to abhorre and dread the naughtinesse of those that have to do with us. For to be exceeding much mooved and beyond all measure affectionate at some time to such and such affaires; to cover (I say) and pursue the same over-hotly, and otherwise than is meete and becoming; or contrariwise, to loth, despise, and abhor the same, must needs breed discontentments, suspitions, and offences in those persons by whom we seeme either to have bene prevented & disappointed of some things, or to have runne and fallen too soone upon other: But he that is used to carie himselfe cheerefully and with moderation in his affaires, (fall out as they will) and can frame to their events, he will soone learne to negotiate and converse with any man in all dexteritie and gentle behaviour. Well then, let us set in hand againe to discoure of those matters which we have intermitted for a while: for like as in a feather all things that we taste seeme at the first bitter and unflavoured; but when we see others take without any shew and signification of dislike the same which we spit out, then we blame no more either meats or drinks, but lay the fault upon our disease; even so, when we perceive that other men have entred upon and gone through the same affaires with great alacritie, and without any paine at all, whereof we complained and made much ado; let us for shame cease to find fault and bee offended so much at the things. And therefore if at any time there shall befall unto us some adverse and crooked accident against our wils, it will be very good for the working of our contentment in minde, not to passe over but to regard such things as at other times have hapned to our minds and as we could with them; but to confere them together, and by a good medly of them both to darken and dor the world with laying the better to. But now, whereas we are wont when our eyes be dazzled and offended with beholding that which is too bright & glittering, we refresh & comfort our sight againe with looking upon pleasant colours of flowers, and greene grass; herein contrariwise wee direct our mindes and cogitations upon heavie and dolorous objects, and violently force our thoughts to be amized upon the remembrance of calamities and adverse fortunes, plucking them perforce as it were from the consideration of better. And heere in this place me thinks I may very fitly apply that sentence to our present purpose, which was said to a busie and curious person,

*Alb spitefull minde and most envious harte
Why others faults do'st thou so quickly farte
With eagles sight, but in thine owne thou art
Strike blinde or else do'st winke with lowlyes eie?*

Even so good sir, How is it that you regard and advise so wittily your owne miserie and calamitie, making it alwaies apparent and fresh in remembrance, but upon your present prosperitie you set not minde? And like as ventoses, cupping glasses or boxes draw the most corrupt humors to them out of the flesh; even so you gather against your selfe the worst things you have, being no better than the merchant of *Chios*, who when he sold to others a great quantity of

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the best wine, fought up and downe tasting every vessell untill he met with that for his owne dinner, which began to sower and was little better than sticke naught. This man had a servant who ranne away, and being demanded what his man had done unto him, for which hee should shew him a paire of heeles? Because (quoth hee) when hee had plentie of that which was good, he would needes seeke for naught. And most men verily are of the same nature, who passing by good and desirable things, which be (as a man would say) the pleasant and poitable liquors that they have, betake themselves to those that be harsh, bad, and unfavourie. But *Aristippus* was of another humour; for like a wife man and one that knew his owne good, hee was alwaies disposed to make the best of everie occurrence, raising and lifting up himselfe to that end of the balance which mounted aloft, and not to that which went downward. It fortuned one day that he lost a faire manner or Lordship of his owne, and when one of his friends above the rest made most semblance to lament with him, and to be angry with Fortune in his behalfe; Heare you (quoth he) know you not that your selfe have but one little farme in the whole world, and that I have yet three houses more left, with good lands lying to them? Yes mariedo I (quoth the other:) Why then (quoth *Aristippus* againe) wherefore doe not we rather pittie your case, and condole with you? For it is meete madnesse to grieve and sorrow for those things that are lost and gone, and not to reioice for that which is saved. And like as little children, if a man chance to take from them but one of their gauds, among many other toys that they play withall, throw away the rest for verie custheart, and then fall a puling, weeping and crying out aright; seembably, as much folly and childinesse it were, if when fortune thwatteth us in one thing, we be so faine out of the way and disquieted therewith, that with our plaints and moanes we make all her other favours unprofitable unto us. But will some one say, What is it that we have? Nay, What is it that we have not? might he rather say: One man is in honour, another hath a faire and goodly house; one hath a wife to his minde, and another a trustie friend.

Antipater of Tarsus the Philosopher, when he drew toward his end and the houre of his death, in recounting and reckoning up all the good and happie daies that ever he saw in his life time, left not out of this roll so much as the Bon-voiage that he had when he sailed from *Cilicia* to *Athens*. And yet we must not forget nor omit those blessings and comforts of this life which we enjoy in common with many more, but to make some reckoning & account of them; and namely to joy in this, that we live; that we have our health; that we behold the light of the sunne; that we have neither warre abroad nor civill sedition and disension at home; but that the land yeeldeth it selfe arable and to be tilled, and the sea navigable to everie one that will, without feare of danger; that it is lawfull for us to speake, and keepe silence at our pleasure; that we have libertie to negotiate and deale in affaires, or to rest and be at our repose. And verily the enjoying of these good things present, will breed the greater contentment in our spirit, if we would but imagine within our selves that were absent; namely, by calling to minde estates, what a misse and desire those persons have of health, who bee sicke and diseased? How they wish for peace, who are afflicted with warres? How acceptable it is either to a stranger or to a meane person and unknown, for to be advanced unto honour, or to be friended in some famous and puissant citie? And contrariwise, what a great griefe it is to forgoe these things when a man once hath them? And surely a thing cannot bee great or precious when we have lost it, and the same of no valour and account all the while we have and enjoy it: for the not being thereof, addeth no price and worth thereto. Neither ought wee to holde these things right great and excellent, whiles wee stand alwaies in feare and trembling to thinke that we shall be deprived and bereft of them, as if they were some woorthie things: and yet all the time that they be fure and safe in our possession, neglect & little regard them as if they were common and of no importance. But we ought to make use of them whiles they be ours, and that with joy, in this respect especially, that the losse of them if it shall so fall out, we may beare more meekly and with greater patience. Howbeit, most men are of this opinion (as *Arcesilaus* was wont to say) that they ought to follow diligently with their eie and cogitation the Poemes, Pictures, and Statues of others, and come close unto them for to behold and peruse exactly each of them; yea, and consider everie part and point therein from one end to the other: whiles in the meane time they neglect and let alone their owne lives and manners; notwithstanding there be many unpleasant sights to be spied and observed therein: looking evermore without, and admiring the advancements, welfare and fortunes of others: much like as adulterers who have an eie after their neighbours wives, but loath and set naught by their owne.

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And verily this one point also is of great consequence, for the setting of a mans minde in sure repose; namely, to consider principally himselfe, his owne estate and condition; or at least wife (if he do not so) yet to looke backe unto those that be his inferiours and under him; and not as the most for do, who love alwaies to looke forward and to compare themselves with their betters and superiours. As for example, slaves that are bound in prison and lie in irons, repute them happy who are abroad at libertie; such as be abroad and at libertie, thinke their state blessed who be manumifed and made free; being once a franchised, they account themselves to be in verie good case if they were citizens; and being citizens they esteeme rich men most happie; the rich imagine it a gay matter to be Lords and Princes; Lords and Princes have a longing desire to be Kings and Monarchs; Kings and Monarchs aspire still higher and would be Gods; and yet they rest not so, unlesse they may have the power to flath lightnings and shoor thunderbolts, as well as *Jupiter*. Thus whiles they evermore come short of that which is above them and covet till after it, they enjoy no pleasure at all of those things that they have, nor be thankfull therefore.

*The treasures great I care not for
of Gyges King for rich in gold;
Such avarice I do abhor,
nor money will I touch untold.
I never long'd with gods above,
in their high works for to compare:
Grand seignories I do not love,
for from mine eyes all such things are.*

A Thracian he was that protested thus. But some other, that were a Chian, a Galatian or a Bithynian (I dare warrant you) not contenting himselfe with his part of honor, credit & authoritie in his owne countie and among his neighbours and fellow-citizens, would be ready to weepe and expostulate the matter with reares, if he might not also weare the habite and ornaments of a Patrician or Senatour of *Rome*. And say it were granted and allowed him to be a noble Senatour, he would not be quiet untill he were a Romaine Lord Pretor: Be he Lord Pretor, he will aspire to a Consulship; and when he is created Consul, whine he will and crie if he were not nominated and pronounced the former of the twaine, but elected in the second place. And I pray you 30 what is all this? What doeth a man herein but gather pretended excuses of ingratitude to Fortune, in punishing and chastising himselfe after this manner? But the man who is wife and of sound judgement, in case some one or two among so infinite thousands of us mortall men

*Whom fenne from heaven so duly doth behold,
Who seed on fruits of earth so manifold,*

be either more honoured or richer than himselfe, will not therefore be cast downe straight way, and sit mourning and lamenting for sorrow: but rather in the way as he goeth, and whensoever he cometh abroad, salute & blesse with praise and thanksgiving, that good fortune of his and blessed angell that guideth his life, for that his lot is to live fare better, more at hearts ease, and 40 in greater reputation than many millions of millions of other men. For true it is, that in the solemne games at *Olympia*, no champaign may choose his concurrents with whom he is to wrestle or enter into combat for a prize: but in this life, our fate standeth so, and our affaires bee in that manner composed, that everie man hath meanes to match, yea and excell many others, and so to beate himselfe aloft, that he be rather envied than envious; unlesse haply he be such an one, as will presume to deale with *Braveus* or *Hercules* for the Maltre. Well, when thou shalt behold some great Lord or honorable personage borne aloft in a litter upon mens shoulders, stand not wondering so much at him, but rather cast thine eyes downe a litle lower, & looke upon the poore porters that carrie him. Again, when thou shalt repute that great Monarch *Xerxes* a right happy man, for that he made a bridge of ships over the Streights of *Hellepont*; 50 consider with all, those painfull slaves who under the verie whip and for feare of scourging, digged thorough the mountaine *Atlas*, and made passage that way for an arme of the sea; as also those miserable wretches, who had their eares cropt and their noses cut off, for that the foresaid bridge by a mightie tempest was injoynted and broken; and therewith imagine with thy selfe what those feeble soules might thinke, and how haply they would repute thy life and condition in comparision of their owne. *Socrates* upon a time when one of his familiar friends seemed to complaine and say: VVhat a costly place is this? How deere are things sold in this cite? The

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wine of *Chios* will cost a pounds; purple is sold for three, and a pinte of honie is held at five dragmies: Tooke him by the hand and led him to the Meale-hall. Lo, (quoth he) you may buy here halfe a sextant of good meale for an half-penie. The market (God be thanked) is cheape: from thence he brought him into an Oile-vellar, and where they sold Olives: Here you shall have (quoth he) a measure called *Chenix*, for two brazen dodkins (a good market believe me.) He tooke him then with him to the Brokers shops that sold clothes, where a man might buy a suite of apparell for ten dragmies. You see (quoth he) that the peni-worths are reasonable, and things be bought and sold good cheape throughout the cite; even so we, when we shall heare other men say: Our state is but meane, we are exceeding bare, & our condition is passing base: 10 For wty? We can not come to be Consuls, we shall never be rulers & governors of Provinces, nor rise to the highest places of authoritie. We may verie well answer in this wise: Nay marie, but our case is right good; we live gallantly, and lead a blessed and happie life: we beg not; we go not from doore to doore to crave folks almes; we are no porters; we beare no burdens; neither like parasites and smell-seats, do we get our bread by flatterie. But forasmuch as we are for the most part growen to this folly, that we are accustomed to live rather according to others than our selves, and our nature is so far corrupted with a kinde of jealous affectation and envie, that it joyeth not so much in her owne proper goods, as grieveth at the welfare of another) I would advise you not onely to regard those things that be refulgent, glorious and renowned in those whom you admire and esteeme so happie; but also to set open and lift up the vail 20 a litle, and to draw (as it were) that glittering countaine of outward shew, apparence and opinion that men have of them which covereth all, and so to looke in. Certes, you shall finde that they have within them many matters of trouble, many grievances and discontentments. That noble *Pittacus*, so famous for his valor and fortitude, and as much renowned also for wisdom and justice, feasted upon a time certaine of his friends that were strangers: and his wife coming in at mids of the dinner, being angry at somewhat els, overthrow the table, and there lay all under foot. Now when his guests and friends were woonderously dismayed and abashed hereat: *Pittacus* made no more ado at the matter, but turning unto them. There is not one of us all (quoth he) but he hath his crosse, and one thing or other to exercise his patience: and for mine owne part this is the onely thing that checketh my felicitie: for were it not for this shrow 30 my wife, I were the happiest man in the world: So that of me may these verses be well verified:

*This man who while he is in street
or publike place is happiest thought,
No sooner sets in house his feet
but wo is him: and not for nought.
His wife him rules, and that's a sight
She chides, she fights, from morn to night.*

Well my masters, you have many occasions (I am sure) that vex you: as for my selfe I grieve at nothing. Many such secret forces there be that put them to anguish and paine who are rich 40 and in high authoritie, yea and trouble Kings and Princes themselves; howsoever the common people fee no such matter; and why, their pompe and outward glorie covereth and hideth all. For when we read thus in *Homer*,

*O happy King, for Agamemnon high
The sonne of Atreus that worthy knight
Borne in good hew, and lul'd in fortunes lap,
Most puissant, rich, and for all to no mishap.*

This is a rehearsal surely of an outward beaitude onely, in regard of his armes, horses, and men of war about him: for the voices which are breathed out and uttered from his passions, which do falsifie that opinion of him, and beare witness of the contrarie: as may appeere by this testi- 50 monie of himselfe in *Homer*,

*Great Jupiter god Saturnes sonne,
Hath plung'd me deepe in wo begon.
Euripides also to the like effect;
Your state, old sir, I happy deeme,
and his no lesse I do admire
Who led his life, unknowne, unseene,
from danger far, from vaine desire,*

By these and such like meditations, a man may by little & little spend & diminish that quarrelsome and complaining discontentment of the minde against Fortune, in debating and casting downe his owne condition with the wonderfull admiration of his neighbors state. But there is nothing that doth so much hurt unto our tranquillitie of minde as this, when our affection and will to a thing is disproportioned unto our might and power; as if we set up greater failes then our vessel will beare, building our hopes and desires as castles in the aire without a sound foundation; and promising our selves more than reason is; for afterwards when by proofe we see, that we cannot reach thereto, and finde that the successe is not answerable to our conceit, we grumble by and by against fortune, and we blame our destinie; whereas we should accuse our owne follie and rashnes. For neither he that would seeme to shoote an arrow out of a plough; or ride upon an Oxe backe to hunt the Hare; can say that he is unluckie; nor hee that goeth about to catch the Hart and Hinde with fishers drag-nets, or with grins, snares and traps, may justly finde fault with his fortune, and give out that some wicked angel doth crosse him, or malignant spirit haunt him, if he faile and misse of his purpose: but surely such are to condemne their owne foolishnesse and inconsiderate temeritie, in attempting things impossible. And what might be the cause of such errors and grosse oversight? surely our fond and blinde selfe-love. This is it that causeth men to affect ever to be foremost; this mooveth them to strive and contend for the highest place; this maketh them opinonative in every thing, aiming and reaching at all things unsatiably, and never rest contented. For it sufficeth them not to be both rich and learned; eloquent withall and mightie; good fellows at the table and pleasant companions; minions and favorites of Kings and Princes; rulers of cities and governors of provinces; unlesse they may be matters alio of the swiftest and hottest hounds for running; the principall horses for service and stomacke; quales and cocks of the best game for fight; If they faile in any of these, they be cast downe, and their hearts are done. *Deys* the elder of that name, not being contented and satisfied in minde that he was the most mighty and puissant tyrant in his time; but because hee was not a better Poet than *Philoctetes*, nor able to discourse and dispute so learnedly as *Plato*; in great choler and indignation, he cast the one into a dungeon within the Stone quarries, where malefactors, felons, and slaves were put to punishment; and confused the other as a catife, and sent him away into the Isle *Aegine*. *Alexander* the great was not of that disposition, who when *Brispe* the famous runner in the race contended with him for the best game in foot-man-ship, and for the nonce to please the King, seemed to faint and lag behinde, and so to yeeld the honour of the course unto him; being advertised thereof, was mightily offended and displeased with him for it. Very wisely therefore and aptly to this purpose the Poet *Homer* when he had given this commendation of *Achilles*,

Like unto him there is not one in field

Of all the Greekes that serve with speare and shield.

He inferred presently upon it,

In seats of armes: but for to speake and lead

Others there be no can him reach and lead.

Megabyzus the Persian, a great lord, went one day into the shop of *Apelles*, where he used to paint; and when he was about to speake (I wot not what) as touching painting-craft, *Apelles* not enduring to heare him talke so foolishly, staied him and stopped his mouth, saying pretilly thus unto him: So long fir as you held your tongue, you were taken to be some great man, by reason of your chaines, corquans, and brooches of gold; your purple robes also, which together with your silence commended your person: but now the very prentise boies here, who grinde oker and such like colours, are ready to laugh at you, hearing you talke so foolishly, you know not what. And yet some there be who thinke that the Stoicks do but mocke and jest when they heare them hold this opinion: That the wise man (such as they imagine to themselves) is not onely Prudent, Just and Valiant, but ought also to be called an Orator, a Capitaine and a Poet, a rich and mightie man, yea and a very King; whilst they themselves will needs be invested in these titles, and if they be not, then they are displeased and discontent by and by; what reason they have so to be let them answer. Sure I am that among the gods themselves, some have power one way, and some another; and thereupon tooke their sundry denominations accordingly, & rest contented therewith: as for example, one is, surnamed *Eugolius*, i. the god of war; another *Manon*, i. the president of Prophecies; and a third *Cerdous*, which is as much to say, as the paron of those that gaine by trafficke. And heereupon it is that *Iupiter* in *Homer* forbidding *Penus* to meddle in warlike and martiall affaires, as nothing pertinent unto her, sendeth

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her to weddings and bride-chambers, and bids her attend them. Moreover some qualities and things there be, that we seeme to affect and wish; the which are in nature contrary, and will not concur and sort well together: as for example, the profession of eloquence, and the studie of Arts Mathematicall require rest and quietnesse, neither have the students therein neede to be employed in any affaires. Contrariwise, policie and managing of the State and weale publicke, the favours of princes and potentates, are not compassed without much adoo; neither can a man be idle at any time, who either is employed in the service of his countrey, or attendant in the Court. Much feeding upon flesh and liberrall drinking of wine, maketh (I must needs say) the bodie able and strong, but the minde feeble and weak. Likewise, the continuall and excessive care both in getting and keeping goods, may well augment riches and increase our substance: but surely it is the contempt and despisement of worldly wealth, that is a great helpe and meanes to learning and Philosophy. And therefore wee may well conclude; that every man is not fit for every thing: but heerein ech one must be ruled by the sage sentence of *Pythius Apollo*, and first learne, To know himselfe; then marke and observe to what one thing he is most framed and enclined; and thereto both apply and employ his wits, and not to offer violence to nature, and draw her perforce, as it were, against the haire, to this or that course of life, which the lieth not.

The horse serve's best in chariot at the thill,

The oxe at plough, the ground to eare and will:

Ships under saile the dolphins when they fly,

Most swiftly then do swim their sides fast by:

Who would in wood the wilde bore chase and slay,

Must bring with him the hardie bound away.

Now if there be one that shall bee angry with himselfe and displeased, that he is not at once both a savage lion of the Forrest, bolde and venturous of his owne strength, and withall a daintie fine puppie of *Malta*, cherished and fostered in the lappe and bosome of some delicate dame and rich widow; commend me to him, or a senselesse foole of all fooles, and to say a footeh, I holde him also as very an asse and downy top, who will needs bee such an one as *Empedocles*, *Plato* and *Democritus*; namely, to write of the world, of the nature and true essence of all things therein, and withal, to keepe a rich olde trot and sleepe with her every night, as *Exphorion* did; or els like unto those who kept company with *Alexander* the great, in drinking and gaming (as one *Medius* did) and yet thinke it a great abuse and indignity (forsooth) if he may not be as much admired for his wealth as *Ismenias*, and esteemed no lesse for his vertue than *Epaminondas*. We fee that the runners in a race be not discontented at all, if they weare not the garlands and coronets of wrestlers, but rest pleased with their owne rewards, and therein delight and reioice. It is an olde said saw, and a common proverbe: *Sparta* is thy lot and Province, looke well to it, and adorne the same. For it is a saying alio of wise *Solan*;

And yet we will not change our boone

With them, for all their wealth and golde:

Goods passe from man to man full soone,

Ours vertue is, a sure free bolde.

Strato the naturall Philosopher, when he heard that *Menedemus* his Concurrent had many more scholars by far than he: What marvel is that (quoth he) if there more that desire to be washed and bathed, than are willing to be anointed & rubbed. *Aristotle* writing to *Antipater*: It is not meet (quoth he) that *Alexander* alone should thinke highly of himselfe, in that he is able to command so many men; but they also have good cause to be aswell conceited of themselves, who have the grace to beleieve of the gods as they ought. For surely, they that thus can make the best use of their owne estate, shall never be vexed, nor at their neighbours wel-fare pine away for very envie. Which of us now doeth require or thinke it fit, that the vine-tree should beare 50 figges, or the olive grapes? and yet we our selves, if we may not have all at once, to wit, the superiority and preeminence among rich men, among eloquent orators and learned clarkes, both at home and abroad, in the schooles among Philosophers, in the field among warriors; aswell among flattering claw-backs as plaine spoken and tel-troth friends: to conclude, unlesse we may goe before all pinching peny-fathers in frugalitie; yea, and surpasse all spend-thrifts in riot and prodigality; we are out of our little wits; we accute our selves daily like lycophants; we are unthankfull; we repine and grumble as if we lived in penury and want. Over and besides, do we not see that Nature herselfe doth teach us sufficiently in this point? For like as she hath provided

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for sundry kinds of bruit and wilde beasts, divers sorts of food: for all feed not upon flesh, all pecke not upon seeds and graines of plants, neither doe all live upon roots which they worke from under the ground; even so the hath bestowed upon mankind many meanes to get their living, while some live by grassing and feeding of cattell, others by tillage, some be Fowlers, others Fishers: and therefore ought every man to chuse that course of life which forceth best with his owne nature, and wholly to apply and set his minde thereto; leaving unto others that which pertaineth to them, and not to reprove and convince *Hesiodus* when he thus speaketh, although not to the full and sufficiently to the point:

*The Potter to Potter doth beare envie,
One Carpenter to another hath a sightfull eie.*

For jealous we are not onely of those who exercise the same art, and follow that course of life which we do; but the rich also do envie the learned and eloquent; noble men the rich; advocates and lawiers, captious and litigious sophisters; yea, and (that which more is) gentlemen freeborne, and descended from noble and ancient houses, envie Comedians when they have acted well and with a good grace upon the stage in great Theaters; dauncers also and jesters in the court, whom they see to be in favor and credit with Kings and Princes; and whilst they do admire these, and thinke them happie for their good speed and successe in comparison of their owne doings, they fret and grieve, and out of measure torment themselves. Now, that everie one of us hath within himselfe treasures laid up of contentment and discontentment, and certaine tunnes of good things and evil; not bestowed as *Homer* said: unto the doore-sill and entrie of *Jupiter's* house; but placed in each of our owne mindes, the divers passions whereunto we are subject do sufficiently proove and shew. For such as are foolish and unadvised doe neglect and let go the very good things that presently they have, and never care to enjoy them, so intentive and earnestly bent are their mindes and spirits alwaies to that which is coming, and future expectation: whereas wise men on the contrary side, call to their fresh remembrance those things that are past, so as they seeme to enjoy the same as if they were present, yea and in make that which is no more, to be as beneficiall unto them, as if they were ready and at hand. For surely that which is present, yielding it selfe to be touched by us but the least moment of time that is, & immediately passing our senses, seemeth unto fooles to be none of ours, nor any more to concerne us. But like as the Roper which is painted in the temple of *Pluto*, or description of Hell, suffereth an asse behind him to gnaw & cate a rope as fast as he twisteth it of the Spart-broome; even so the unthankfull and senselesse oblivion of many ready to catch and devour all good things as they passe by, yea and to dissipate and cause to vanish away every honest and notable action, all vertuous deeds, duties, delectable recreations and pleasant pastimes, all good fellowship and mutual societie, and all amiable conversation one with another, will not permit, that the life be one and the same, linked (as it were) and chained by the copulation of things passed and present; but deviding yesterday from to day, and this day from the morrow, as if they were sundry parts of our life, bringeth in such a forgetfulness, as if things once past had never bene. As for those verily who in their dispurations and Philosophicall discourses admit no augmentation of bodies, affirming that every substance continually fadeth and vanisheth, would make us beleieve in word, that each one of us every howe altereth from himselfe, and no man is the same to day, that he was yesterday: but they for fault of memorie not able to retaine and keepe those things that are done and past, no nor to apprehend and estoones call them againe to minde, but suffer every thing to passe away and ruine as it were through a sieve, doe not in word but in deed and effect, make themselves voide and empty every day more than other, depending onely upon the morrow, as if those things which were done the yeere past, of late, and yesterday, nothing appertained unto them, nor ever were at all. This is therefore one thing that hindreth & troubleth that equanimity & repose of spirit which we seeke for: & yet there is another that doth it more, and that is this; Like as flies creeping upon the smooth places of glasses or mirrors, cannot hold their feet but must needs fall down, but contrariwise they take hold where they meet with any roughnes, & stick fast to rugged flaws, that they can finde even for these men gliding & glancing over all delectable & pleasant occurrences, take hold of any adverse & heavy calamities, those they cleave unto & remember very wel; or rather as (by report) there is about the city *Olynth* a certain place, into which if any flies called *Beetles* enter in once, they can not get forth againe, but after they have kept a turning about, and searching compasses round to no purpose a long time, they die in the end, whereupon it tooke the name of *Cantharethron*; semblably, men after they fall to the reckoning up & commemoration of their harmes & calamities

past,

past, are not willing to retire backe, nor to breath themselves and give over multiplying thereupon still. And yet contrariwise, they ought to do after the maner of Painters, who when they paint a table to lay upon the ground, or by a course of dead and dusky colours such as be fresh, gay and gallant, for to palliate & in some sort to hide the unpleasantnes of the other, they ought (I say) to smother and keepe downe the heaviness of the heart occasioned by some crosse mishaps, with those that have fallen out of their minde, for to obliterate and wipe them out of their minde quite, and to be freed cleane from them it is not possible: and surely the harmonie of this world is reciprocall and variable, compounded (as it were) of contraries, like as we do see in an harpe or bow; neither is any earthly thing under the cope of heaven, pure, simple, and sincere without mixture. But as Musick doth consist of base and treble founds; and Grammar of letters, which be partly vocall, & partly mute, to wit, vowels and consonants, and he is not to be counted a Grammarian and Musician, who is offended and displeased with either of those contrarie elements of the arte, but he that affecteth the one as well as the other, and knoweth how to use and mixe both together with skill for to serve his purpose; even so considering that in the occurrences of mans life there be so many contraries, and one weigheth against another in manner of counterpoise; for (according to *Eurypides*)

*It cannot stand with our affaires,
that good from bad should parted bee:
A medley then of mixed païres
doth well, and serves in each degree.*

It is not meet that we should let our hearts fall and be discouraged with the one sort whensoever it hapneth, but we ought according to the rules of harmonie in Musick, to stop the point alwaies of the woort, with strokes of better, and by overcasting misfortunes (as it were) with a vaile and curtaine of good haps, or by setting one to the other, to make a good composition and a pleasant accord in our life, fitting and sorting our owne turnes. For it is not as *Alexander* said,

*Each man so soone as he is borne,
one spirit good or angell hath,
Which him a sists both even and morne,
and guides his steps in every path.*

but rather according to *Empedocles*: No sooner are we come into the world, but each one of us hath two angels, called *Dæmones*, two Destinies (I say) are allotted unto us, for to take the charge and government of our life, unto which he attributeth divers and sundry names,

*Here Clythone was a downward looker hat hath,
Heliope eke, who turneth to the sunne,
And Deris shee, that loves in blood to bath,
Harmonie smiles ever and anon,
Calisto fure and Aeschre soule among,
Thoofoa swift, Dinæa stout and strong,
Nemertes who is lovely white and pure,
But Ataphie with fruit black and obscure.*

Insomuch, as our Nativitie receiving the seeds of each of all these passions blended and confused together, and by reason thereof the course of our life not being uniforme, but full of disordered and unequal dispositions, a man of good and sound judgement ought to wish and desire at Gods hand the better, to expect and looke for the worse, and to make an use of them both, namely by abridging and cutting off that which is excessive and too much: For not he onely (as *Epicurus* was wont to say) shall come with most delight and pleasure to see the morrow-sunne, who made least account thereof on the even; but riches also, glorie, authoritie and rule doth most rejoice their hearts who least feared the contrarie: for the vehement and ardent desire that a man hath to any of these things, doth imprint likewise an exceeding feare of forgoing and loosing the same, and thereby maketh the delight of enjoying them to be feeble and nothing firme and constant; even as the blase and flame of the fire which is blown and driven to and fro with the wind. But the man who is so much assisted with reason, that he is able without feare and trembling to say unto Fortune:

*Μὴ μὲν ἀντὶ φέρω, ἐλθὼν δ' ἄγε μοι θελήσῃς.
Wel come to me, if good thou bringest ought,
And if thou faile, I will take little thought.*

O

Or

Or thus:

*Well maist thou take from me some joy of mind,
But little griefe, thou shalt me leave behind.*

hath this benefit by his confidence and resolution: that as he taketh most joy of his good fortunes when they are present; so he never feareth the losse of them, as if it were a calamitie insupportable. And herein we may allwell imitate as admire the disposition and affection of *Amazergor*, who when he heard the newes of his sons death I know full well (quoth he) when I begot him that die he must: and after his example, whensoever any infortunitie hapneth, to be readie with these & such like speeches: I know that riches were not permanent, but transitorie and for a day: I never thought other, but that they who conferred these dignities upon me both might and could deprive me of them I wist: that I had a good wife and vertuous daune, but withall a woman and no more: I was not ignorant that my friend was a man (that is to say) a living creature by nature mutable, as *Plato* used to say. And verily, such preparations and dispositions of our affections as these, if peradventure there shall befall unto us any thing against our intent and minde, but not contrarie to our expectation, as they will never admit such passionate words as these (I never thought it would have fallen out so, I was in great hope of other matters, and little looked I for this) so they shall be able to rid us of all sudden pantings and leaping of the hart, of unquiet & disorderly beating of the pulses, and soone stay and fettle the furious & troublesome motions of impatience. *Carnedes* was wont in time of greatest propertie to put men in minde of a change; for that the thing which hapneth contrarie to our hope and expectation, is that which altogether and wholly doth breed sorrow and griefe. The kingdom of the Macedonians was not an handfull to the Romaine Empire and dominion; and yet king *Perseus* when he had lost *Macedonie*, did not only himselfe lament his owne fortune most pitiously, but in the eyes also of the whole world he was reputed a most unfortunate and miserable man. But behold *Pandus Aemilius* whose hap it was to vanquish the said *Perseus*, when he departed out of that Province, and made over into the hands of another his whole armie, with fo great command both of land and sea, was crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and so did sacrifice unto the gods with joy and thanksgiving in the judgement of all men, woorthily extolled and reputed as happie. For why? when he received first that high commission and mightie power withall, he knew full well, that he was to give it over and resigne it up when his time was expired; whereas *Perseus* on the contrarie side, lost that which he never made account to lose. Certes even the Poet *Hom* hath given us verie well to understand, how forcible that is, which hapneth besides hope and unlooked for, when he bringeth in *Ulysses* upon his returne, weeping for the death of his dog; but when he fate by his owne wife who shed teares plentifully, wept not at all; for that he had long before at his leisure against this coming home of his, prevented and brought into subjection (as it were) by the rule of reason, that passion which otherwise he knew well enough would have broken out; whereas, looking for nothing lesse than the death of his dog, he fell suddenly into it, as having had no time before to repress the same. In summe, of all those accidents which light upon us contrarie to our will; some grieve and vex us by the course and infinit of nature; others (and those be the greater part) we are wont to be offended and discontented with, upon a corrupt opinion and foolish custome that we have taken: and therefore we should do verie well, against such temptations as these, to be ready with that sentence of *Menander*:

*No harme nor losse thou dost sustaine:
But that thou list go for to saine.*

And how (quoth he) can it concerne thee?

*For if no flish without it wound,
Nor soule with him, then all is sound.*

As for example, the base parentage and birth of thy father; the adulterie of thy wife; the losse or repulse of any honor, dignitie or preeminence: for what should let, notwithstanding all these 50 crosses, but that thy bodie and minde both may be in right good plight and excellent estate? And against those accidents which seeme naturally to grieve and trouble us, to wit, maladies, paines and travels; death of deere friends and toward children, we may oppose another saying of *Empirides* the Poet:

*Alterates and well a day:
But why alters and well away?
Nought este to us hath yet bene delt,*

But

But that which daily men have felt.

For no remembrance, nor reason is so effectuall to restraine and stay this passionate and sensuall part of our minde, when it is readie to slip and be carried headlong away with our affections, as that which calleth to remembrance the common and naturall necessitie; by meanes whereof a man in regard of his bodie, being mixed and compounded, doth expose and offer this himselfe (as it were) in the greatest and most principall things, he abideth fast and sure. King *Demetrius* otherwise, in the greatest and most principall things, he abideth fast and sure. King *Demetrius* having forced and won the citie *Megara*, demanded of *Stilpo* the wife Philosopher, whether he had lost any goods in the sackage and pillage thereof? Sir (quoth he) I saw not so much as 10 one man carrying any thing of mine away; yemably, when fortune hath made what spoile thee can, and taken from us all other things, yet somewhat there remaineth still within our selves,

*Which Greeks do what they can or may,
Shall neither drive nor beare away.*

In which regard we ought altogether so to depresse, debase and throw downe our humane nature, as if it had nothing firme, stable and permanent, nothing above the reach and power of fortune; but contrariwise, knowing that it is the least and woofst part of man, and the same fraile, brittle, and subject to death, which maketh us to lie open unto fortune and her assaults; whereas in respect of the better part we are masters over her, and have her at command, when there being seated and founded most surely the best and greatest things that we have, to wit, sound and honest Opinions, Arts and Sciences, good discourses tending to vertue, which be all of a substance incorruptible, and whereof we can not be robbed: we (I say) knowing thus much, ought in the confidence of our selves to cary a minde invincible and secure against whatso ever shall happen, & be able to say that to the face of Fortune, which *Socrates* addressing his speech indeed covertly to the judges, seemed to speake against his two accusers, *Anitus* and *Melitus*: *Well may Anitus and Melitus* bring me to my death, but hurt or harme me they shall never be able. And even so Fortune hath power to bring a disease or sicknesse upon a man, his goods she can take away, raise the may a slander of him to tyrant, prince or people, and bring him out of grace and favour; but him that is vertuous, honest, valiant and magnanimous, she can not make wicked, dishonest, base-minded, malicious & envious; and in one word, she hath nor power to take from him a good habitude, settled upon wisdom and discretion, which wheresoever it is alwaies present, doth more good unto a man for to guide him how to live, than the pilot at sea for to direct a ship in her course; for surely the pilot, he never fo skilfull, knoweth not how to still the rough and surging billowes when he would, he can not allay the violence of a tempest, or blustering winde, neither put into a safe harbor and haven, or gaine a commodious bay to anker in at all times and in every coast, would he never fo saine, nor resolutely without feare and trembling when he is in a tempest, abide the danger and under-goe all; thus farre forth onely his art serveth, so long as he is in no despair, but that his skill may take place;

*To strike maine-saile, and downe the lee
To let ship hull, untill he see
The foote of mast no more above
The sea: while he duth not remove,
But with one hand in other fast
Quaketh and panterh all agast.*

But the disposition and staid minde of a prudent man, over and besides that it bringeth the body into a quiet and calme estate, by dissipating and dispatching for the most part the occasions and preparatives of diseases, and that by continent life, sober diet, moderate exercises, and travels in measure; if haply there chance some little beginning or indisposition to a passion, upon which the minde is ready to runne it selfe, as a ship, upon some blinde rocke under the water, 50 it can quickly turne about his nimble and light course saile yard, as *Asclepiades* was wont to say, and fo avoid the danger.

But say there come upon us some great and extraordinary accident, such as neither we looked for, nor be able by all the power we have, either to overcome or endure; the haven is neere at hand, we may swim safely thither out of the body, (as it were) out of a vessell that icaketh and taketh water, and will no longer holde a passenger: as for foolish folke, it is the feare of death, and not the love of life that causeth them to cling and stick so close to the body, hanging and clapping

clasping thereunto no otherwise than *Ulysses* to the wilde figge tree, when hee feared with great horror, the gulfe *Charybdes* roaring under him;

Whereas the winds would not permit to stay,

Nor suffer him to rowe or saile away:

displeased infinitely in the one, and dreading fearefully the other. But he that in some measure (be it never so little) knoweth the nature of the soule, and casteth this with himselfe: That by death there is a passage out of this life, either to a better state, or at least-wise not to a worse: certes he is furnished with no meane way-faring provision to bring him to the security of mind in this life, I meane the fearelesse contempt of death: for he that may (so long as vertue and the better part of the soule (which indeed is proper unto man) is predominant) live pleasantly; and when the contrary passions, which are enemies to nature, doe prevaile, depart resolutely and without feare, saying thus unto himselfe:

God will me suffer to be gone

When that I will my selfe, anon.

What can we imagine to happen unto a man of this resolution, that should encumber, trouble or terrifie him? for whosoever he was that said: I have prevented thee (O Fortune) I have stoped up all thy avenues, I have intercepted and choked all the waies of access and entrie; surely he fortified himselfe, not with barres and barricados, not with locks and keyes, ne yet with mures and walles, but with Philosophicall and sage lessons, with sententious sawes, and with discourses of reason, whereof all men that are willing, be capable. Neither ought a man to discredit the truth of these and such like things which are committed in writing, and give no beleefe unto them, but rather to admire, and with an affectionate ravishment of spirit embrace and imitate them; yea, and withall to make a triall and experiment of himselfe; first in smaller matters, proceeding afterwards to greater, untill he reach unto the highest, and in no wise to shake off such meditations, nor to shift off and seeke to avoid the exercise of the minde in this kinde, and in so doing, he shall haply finde no such difficultie as he thinketh. For as the effeminate delicacy and nicenesse of our mind, amused alwaies and loving to be occupied in the most easie objects, and retiring themselves from the cogitation of those things that fall out crose, unto such as tend unto greatest pleasure, causeth it to be soft and tender, and imprinteth a certaine daintinesse not able to abide any exercise; so if the same minde would by custome learne and exercise it selfe in apprehending the imagination of a maladie, of paine, travell, and of banishment, and enforce it selfe by reason to withstand and strive against each of these accidents, it will be found and seeme by experience, that such things which through an erroneous opinion were thought painefull, grievous, hard and terrible, are for the most part but vaine in deed, deceitfull and contemptible: like as reason will shew the same if a man would consider them each one in particular. Howbeit the most part mightily feare and have in horror that verse of *Alcander*,

No man alive can safely say,

That his case shall never me assay.

as not knowing how materiall it is to the exempting and freeing of a man from all griefe and sorrow, to meditate before-hand, and to be able to looke open-cied full against fortune, and not to make those apprehensions and imaginations in himselfe soft and effeminate, as if hee were fostered and nourished in the shadow, under many foolish hopes which ever yeeld to the contrary, and bee not able to resist so much as any one. But to come againe unto *Alcander*, we have to answer unto him in this manner: True it is indeed, there is no man living able to say: This or this shall never happen unto me; howbeit thus much may a man that is alive say and affirme: So long as I live I will not do this, to wit, I will not lie; I will never be a coufiner, nor circumvent any man; I will not defraud any one of his owne; neither will I fore-lay and surpise any man by a wile. This lieth in our power to promise and performe, and this is no small matter, but a great meane to procure tranquillitie and contentment of minde. Whereas contrariwise, the remorse of conscience when as a man is privie to himselfe, and will needs confesse and say: These and these wicked parts I have committed, festereth in the soule like an ulcer and fore in the flesh, and leaveth behind it repentance in the soule, which fretteth, galleth, gnaweth, and setteth it a bleeding fresh continually. For, whereas all other sorrowes, griefes, and anguishes, reason doth take away; repentance only it doth breed and engender, which together with shame biteth and punisheth it selfe; for like as they who quiver and shake in the feavers called *Epioli*; or contrariwise burne by occasion of other agues, are more afflicted and more at ease

ease than those who suffer the same accidents by exterior causes, to wit, winters cold or summers heat; even so all mischances and casuall calamities, bring with them lighter dolours and paines as coming from without. But when a man is forced thus to confesse,

My selfe I may well thank for this,

None els for it blame worthy is.

which is an ordinary speech of them who lamentably bewaile their finnes from the bottome of their hearts, it causeth griefe and sorrow to be so much more heavy, and it is joynted with shame and infamie: whereupon it cometh to passe, that neither houle richly and finely furnished, nor heapes of gold and silvers; no parentage or nobilitie of birth, no dignitie of estate and authoritie how high soever, no grace in speech, no force and power of eloquence; can yeeld unto a mans life such a calme (as it were) and peaceable tranquillitie; as a soule and conscience cleere from wicked deeds, from sinfull cogitations and leand desseignes, which having the source & fountaine of life (I meane the inward disposition of the heart) not troubled & polluted, but cleere and clenched, from whence all good and laudable actions do flowe and proceed, and the same doe give a lively, cheerefull, and effectfull operation, even by some divine instinct and heavenly inspiration, together with a bold courage and haughty minde, and withall yeeld the remembrance of a virtuous and well led life, more sweete, pleasant, firme and permanent, than is that hope whereof *Phidarus* writeth, the nurse and fostrest of old age: for we must not thinke, that (as *Carnades* was wont to say) the * Censers or perfuming paynes wherein sweet incense is burned, retaine and render the pleasant odor along time after they bee emprie, and that the virtuous deeds of a wife and honest man, should not alwaies leave behinde them in the soule an amiable, delightful, and fresh remembrance thereof; by meanes whereof, that inward joy being watered, is ever greene, buddeth and flourisheth still, despising the shameful error of those who with their plaints, moanes, and wailings, diffame this life of ours; saying: It is a very hell and place of torments, or else a region of confined and exiled soules, into which they were sent away and banished forth of heaven. And heere I cannot choose but highly commend that memorable saying of *Diogenes*, who seeing once a certaine stranger at *Lacedaemon* dressing and trimming himselfe very curiously against a feastfull & high day: VVhat meanes all this (quoth he) my good friend? to a good and honest man is not every day in the yeere a feast and holy day; yea verily, and if we be wise we should thinke all daies double feasts, and most solemne gaudies: for surely this world is a right sacred and holy temple, yea and most divine, becomming the majestie of God, into which man is inducted and admitted at his nativite, not to gaze and looke at statues and images cut and made by mans hand, and such as have no motion of their owne, but to behold those works and creatures which that divine spirit and almightie power in wonderfull wisdom and providence hath made and shewed unto us sensible; and yet (as *Plato* saith) representing and resembling intelligible powers, from whence proceed the beginnings of life and moving, namely the sunne, the moone, the starres; what should I speake of the rivers which continually send out fresh water still; and the earth which bringeth forth nourishment for all living creatures, and yeeldeth nutriment likewise to every plant? Now if our life be the imitation of so sacred mysteries, and (as it were) a profession & entrance into so holy a religion of all others most perfect, we must needs esteeme it to be full of contentment & continual joy: neither ought we (as the common multitude doth) attend & wait for the feasts of *Sauron*, *Bacchus*, or *Mimera*, and such other high daies wherein they may solace themselves, make merrie and laugh, buying their mirth and joy for money, giving unto plaiers, jesters, dauncers, & such like their hire and reward for to make them laugh. In which feasts and solemnities, we use to sit with great contentment of minde, arrayed decently according to our degree and calling, (for no man useth to mourne and lament, when he is professed in the mysteries of *Ceres*, and received into that confraternitie; no man sorroweth when he doth behold the goodly fights of the *Pythian* games; no man hungrith or fasteth during the *Sauronals*;) what an indignitie & shame is it then that in those feasts which God himselfe hath instituted, and wherein (as a man would say) he leadeth the daunce, or is personally himselfe to give institution and induction, men should contaminate, pollute and profane as they do, dishonoring their life for the most part, with weeping, wailing, sighing and groining, or at the leastwise in deepe thoughts & penfive cares. But the greatest shame of all other is this; that we take pleasure to heare the organs and instruments of musick found pleasantly; we delight to heare birdes singing sweetly; we behold with right good will, beafts playing, sporting, dauncing, and skipping feately; and contrariwise wee are offended when they houle, roare, snarle, and gnash their teeth, as also

when they shew a fierce, sterne, and hideous looke; and all this while seeing our owne lives heaue, sad, travailed and oppressed with most unpleasant passions, most intricate and inexplicable affaires, and overwhelmed with infinite and endless cares; yet we will not afford our selves some rest and breathing time; nay (that which more is) we will not admit the speech and remonstiances of our friends and familiars, whom if we would give care unto, we might without fault-finding receive the present, remember with joy and thanksgiving that which is past, and without distrust, suspition and feare, expect with joyfull and lightsome hope that which is to come.



OF UNSEEMELY AND NAUGHTY BASH- FULNESSE.

The Summarie.



Although it be needlesse to stand curiously upon the consecration and coherence of these matters handled by Plutarch, how they be knit and linked together, considering that he penned these discourses of his at sundrie times; and both they who have reduced them into one volume; and those also who have translated them out of Greeke into other languages, have not all followed one order: yet I thinke verily that this present Treatise, as concerning Naughtie Bashfulnesse, is fitly joined next to the former, as touching the repose and tranquillitie of the spirit. For one of the greatest shaking cracks that our soule can receive in her tranquillitie, is when she secretly and by stealth may be lifted from her seat, for to drive a man to those things which may trouble him immediately, and much more afterwards. Now this evil bashfulnesse hath this vicious and dangerous qualitie, to know how to seduce and draw us by faire semblance, and neverthelesse to trouble & confound after a strange sort the contentment of our spirits, as appeareth plainly in this little booke, which deserveth to be well perused and considered by all sorts of people. Now after he hath shewed what this evill shamefastnesse is, he declareth that it is no lesse pernicious and hurtfull then impudencie; adding moreover that wee ought to take good heed, lest in avoiding it, we fall into contrarie extremities, as they do who are envious, shamelesse, obstinate, idle and dissolute. Then he proceedeth to teach us, that the first and principall preventive against this poison is, to holde it for to be most dangerous and deadly, which he doth verifie and proove by notable examples. Which done, he describeth particularly and from point to point, the inconveniences, perils, and misfortunes that come by naughty bashfulnesse, applying thereto good and proper remedies, giving withall many sage and wise counsels drawn out of Philosophie, tending to this stop and marke; that neither the regard of our friends, kinsfolke and familiars, nor yet the respect of any thing else besides, ought to draw from our thoughts, our mouth or hands, any thing contrary to the dutie of an honest man: which both for the present, and also all the rest of our life may leave in our soule, the cleatrice or skar of repentance, sorrow and heavinesse. In conclusion, to the end that we should not commit those deeds in haste, which afterwards we may repent at our lesse; he sheweth that we ought to have before our eyes the hurts and inconveniences caused before by evil bashfulnesse, that the consideration thereof might keepe us from falling into fresh and new fautes.

OF

OF UNSEEMELY AND naughtie bashfulnesse.



AMong those plants which the earth bringeth forth, some there are which not onely by their owne nature bee wilde and savage, and withall bearing no fruit at all; but (that which woofe is) in their growth doe hurt unto good seeds and fruitfull plants: and yet skilful gardeniers and husbandmen, judge them to be arguments and signes, not of bad ground, but rather of a kinde and far soile; (semblable the passions and affections of the minde, simply and in themselves are not good, howbeit they spring as buds and flowers from a towardy nature, and such as gently can yeeld it selfe to be wrought, framed, and brought into order by reason. In this kinde I may range that which the Greekes call *Awentia*, which is as much to say, as a foolish and rusticall shamefastnesse; no evill signe in it selfe, howbeit the cause and occasion of evill and naughtinesse. For they that be given to bash and shame over-much and when they should not, commit many times the same fautes that they doe, who are shamelesse and impudent: here onely is the difference, that they, when they trespass and do amisse, are displeased with themselves, and grieve for the matter; whereas these take delight & pleasure therein: for he that is gracelesse and past shame, hath no sense or feeling of griefe when he hath committed any foule or dishonest act; contrariwise, whosoever be apt to bash & be ashamed quickly, are soone moved & troubled anon, even at those things which seeme onely dishonest, although they be not indeed. Now, lest the equivocation of the word might breed any doubt, I mean by *Dysopia*, immoderate bashfulnesse, whereby one blusheth for shame exceedingly and for every thing, whereupon such an one is called in Greeke *Dysopos*, for that his visage and countenance together with his mind changeth, fallett and is cast downe: for like as *Kamene* in Greeke is defined to be a sacred heavinesse, which causeth a downe-looke; even so, that shame and dismaidenesse which maketh us that we dare not looke a man in the face as we should and when we ought, the call *Awentia*. And hereupon it was that the great Orator *Demosthenes* laid of an impudent fellow, that he had in his eyes not *roches*, but *myrars*, i. harlots, playing prettily upon the ambiguity of the word *roches*, which signifieth both the round apple in the eyes, and also a maiden or virgine: but contrariwise the over-bashfull person (whom wee speake of) sheweth in his countenance a minde too soft, delicate and effeminate, and yet he flattereth himselfe therein, and calleth that fault (wherein the impudent person surpasseth him) Shamefastnesse. Now *Cato* was wont to say, That he loved to see young folke rather to blush than to looke pale; as having good reason to acquaint and teach youth to dread shame and reproch more than blame and reproofe; yea, and suspition or obloquie, rather than perill or danger.

Howbeit, we must abridge & cut off the excesse and over-much, which is in such timidity and feare of reproch; for that often-times it cometh to passe in some, who dreading no lesse to heare ill and be accused, than to be chastised or punished; for false hearts are frighted from doing their duty, and in no wise can abide to have an hard word spoken of them. But as we are not to neglect these that are so tender, nor ought to feed them in their feeblenesse of heart; so againe, we must not praise their disposition who are stiffe and inflexible: such as the Poet describeth, when he saith:

Who fearelesse is, and dasheth not
all men fast to behold;
In whom appears the dogged force
of Anaxarchus bolde:

but we ought to compound a good mixture and temperate medley of both extremities, which may take away this excessive obstinacie which is impudence, and that immoderate modestie which is meere childishnesse and imbecillitie. True it is that the cure of these two maladies is difficult; neither can this excesse both in the one and the other be cut off without danger. For like as the skilfull husbandman when he would rid the ground of some wilde bushes and fruitlesse plants, he laith at them mainly with his grubbing hooke or mattocke, untill he have fetched them up by the roote; or else sets fire unto them and so burneth them; but when he comes

to proine or cut a vine, an apple tree, or an olive, he carrieth his hand lightly for feare of wounding any of the foine wood, in fetching off the superfluous and ranke branches, and so kill the heart thereof; even so the Philosopher, intending to plucke out of the mind of a young man, either envie, an unkind and savage plant, which hardly or unneth at all may be made gentle and brought to any good use; or the unreasonable and excessive greedines of gathering good, or dissolute and disordinate lust; he never feareth at all in the cutting thereof, to draw blood, to presse and pierce hard to the bottom, yea and to make a large wound and deepe skarre. But when he setteth to the keene edge of remonstrance and speech, to the tender and delicate part of the soule, for to cut away that which is excessive or overmuch, to wit, wherein is seated this unmeasurable and sheepish bashfulness, he hath a great care and regard, lest ere he be aware he 10 cut away therewith, that ingenuous and honest shamefastnesse that is so good and commendable. For wee see that even nourfes themselves when they thinke to wipe away the filth of their little infants, and to make them cleane; if they rub any thing hard, otherwhiles fetch off the skin withall, make the flesh raw and put them to paine. And therefore we must take heed, that in seeking by all means to do out this excessive bashfulness utterly in young people, we make them not brazen faced, such as care not what is said unto them, and blush thereat no more than a black-dog, and in one word standing thife in any thing that they do; but rather we ought to doe, as they, who demolish and pull downe the dwelling houses that beneere unto the temples of the gods; who for feare of touching any thing that is holy or sacred, suffer those ends of the edifices and buildings to stand still, which are next and joined close thereto; yea and those they 20 underprop and stay up, that they should not fall downe of themselves; even so (I say) beware and feare we must, whiles we be tempering about this immoderate shamefacednesse for to remove it, that we do not draw away with it grace and modesty, gentleness and debonariy which be adjuncts and lie close unto it; under which qualities lieth lurking and sticketh close to, the forsaide naughtie bashfulness, flattering him that is possessed therewith, as if he were full of humanitie, civilitie and common sense; not opinionative, severe, inflexible and untractable: which is the reason, that the Stoicke Philosophers when they dispute of this matter, have distinguished by severall names, this apenes to blush or over-much bashfulness, from modestie and shamefacednesse indeed: for feare lest the equivocation and ambiguity of one common word, might give some occasion and vantage to the vicious passion it selfe to do some 30 hurt. As for us, they must give us leave to use the tearmes without calumniation, or rather permit us to distinguish according to *Homer*, when he saith,

Shame is a thing that doth mickle harme, and profiteth as much.

neither without good cause is it, that in the former place he putteth downe the harme and discomfort thereof: for surely it is not profitable but by the means of reason, which cutteth off that which is superfluous, and leaveth a meane behinde.

To come then unto the remedies thereof; it behooveth him first and formost, who is given to blushing at every smal matter, to believe & be perswaded, that he is possessed with such an hurtfull passion: (now there is nothing hurtfull, which is good and honest) neither ought he to take pleasure and delight when he shall be tickled in the eare with praises and commendations, when he shall heare himselfe called gentle, jolly and courteous, in steed of grave, magnanimous and just; neither let him do as *Pegasus* the horse in *Enripides*, who 40

When some hit his back Bellerophonotes should,

With trembling say, A more than in his owne selfe would.

that is to say, give place and yeeld after a bafe manner to the demands and requests of everie man; or object himselfe to their wil and pleasure, for feare (forsooth) lest one should say of him Lo what a hard man is this? See how inexorable he is. It is reported of *Boechorus* a king of *Egypt*, that being rough, fell & austere, the goddesse *Isti* sent the serpent called *Aspis*, for to wind and wreath about his head, and so to cast a shadow over him from above, to the end that hee might be put in minde to judge aright: but this excessive shamefastnesse which alwaies over 50 spreadeth and covereth them, who are not manly but faint-hearted and effeminate, not suffering them once to dare, to deny, or gain say any thing, surely would avert and withdraw judges from doing justice close up their mouths, that in counsels and consultations should deliver their opinion frankly; yea and cause them both to say and do many things inconveniently against their minde, which otherwhiles they would not. For looke whosoever is most unreasonable and importunate, he will ever tyrannize and domineer over such an one, forcing by his impudencie the bashfulness of the other: by which means, it cometh to passe that this excessive 1

shame,

shame, like unto a low piece of soft ground which is ready to receive all the water that comes, and apt to be overflowed and drowned; having no power to withstand and repulse any encounter, nor say a word to the contrary whatsoever is propoosed, yeeldeth access to the lowest desires, acts and passions that be. An evil guardian and keeper of childhood and young age, is this excessive bashfulness, as *Brutus* well said, who was of this minde, that neither he nor he could well and honestly passe the flower of their fresh youth, who had not the heart and face to refuse and denie any thing; even so likewise a bad governesse it is of the bride-bed and womens chamber, according to that which three faide in *Sophocles* to the adulterer, who repented of the fact,

10 *Thy flattering words have me seduced,
And so perswaded, I am abused.*

In such sort as this bashfulness, over and besides, that it is vicious and faultie it selfe, spoileth and macteth cleane the intemperate & incontinent person, by making no resistance to his appetites and demands, but letting allly unforsifted, unbard, and unlockt, yeelding easie access and entrance to those that will make affault and give the attempt, who may by great gifts and large offers catch and compass the wickedest natures that be: but surely by perswasions and inductions, and by the means withall of this excessive bashfulness, they oftentimes conquer and get the matrie even of such as are of honest and gentle disposition. Here I passe by the detriments and damages that this bashfulness hath bene the cause of, in many matters and that of profit 20 and commoditie: namely, how many men having not the heart to say nay, have put forth and lent their money even to those whose credite they distrust; have bene furies for such as otherwise they would have bene loth and unwilling to engage themselves for, who can approve and commend this golden sentence (written upon the temple of *Apollo*) Be surety thou must, but make account then to pay: howbeit, they have not the power to do themselves good by that warning, when they come to deale in the world. And how many have come unto their end and died by the means of this foolish qualitie, it were hard to reckon. For *Creon* in *Euripides* when he spake thus unto *Medes*,

*For me Madame it were much better now
by flay deniall your minde to discontent,*

30 *Than having once thus yeelded unto you
sigh afterwards full sore, and ayrepens.*

gave a very good lesson for others to follow; but himselfe overcome at length through his foolish bashfulness, granting one day longer of delay at her request, overthrew his owne state, and his whole house. Some there were also who doubting and suspecting that they were laide for, to be bloodily murdered, or made away by poison, yet upon a foolish modestie not refusing to go into the place of daunger, came to their death and were soone destroyed. Thus died *Dion*, who notwithstanding hee knew well enough that *Callippus* laide wait for him to take away his life, yet (forsooth) abashed he was to distrust his friend and host, and so to stand upon his guard.

Thus was *Antipater* the sonne of *Cassander* massacred; who having first invited *Demetrius* to 40 supper, was bidden the morrow after to his house likewise; and for that he was abashed to mistrust *Demetrius*, who the day before had trusted him, refused not to go, but after supper he was murdered for his labour. Moreover, when *Polyserchon* had undertaken and promised unto *Cassander* for the summe of one hundred talents to kill *Hercules* (a bafe sonne of king *Alexander* by lady *Baryne*) he sent and requested the said *Hercules* to sup with him in his lodging, the young gentleman had no liking at all to such a bidding, but mistrusting and fearing his curtesie, alleged for his excuse that he was not well at ease: whereupon *Polyserchon* came himselfe in person unto him, and in this manner began to perswade: Above all things my good 50 childe (quoth he) studie and endeavour to imitate the humanitie and sociable nature of your noble father, unless haply you have me in jealousie and suspicion as if I went about to compass your death. The youth was abashed to heare him say so, and went with him; well, supper was no sooner ended, but they made an end of the young gentleman also, and strangled him outright: so that it is no ridiculous and foolish advertisement (as some let not to say) but a wife and sage advice of *Hesiodus* when he saith;

Thy friend and lover to supper do invite,

Thy foe leave out, for he will thee requite.

Be not in any wise bashfull and ashamed to refuse his offer whom thou knowest to hate thee: but never leave out and reject him once who seemeth to put his trust and confidence in thee:

for

for it thou do invite, thou shalt be invited againe; and if thou be bidden to a supper and go, thou canst not choos but bid againe; if thou abandon once thy distrust and diffidence, which is the guard of thy safety, and so marre that good nature and temperance by a foolish shame that thou hast, when thou darst not refuse.

Seeing then that this infirmie and maladie of the minde, is the cause of many inconveniences, as I say we must to chafe it away with all the might we have by exercise, beginning at the first like as men do in other exercises, with things that are not very difficult, nor such as a man may boldly have the face to denie: as for example, if at a dinner one chance to drinke unto thee, when thou hast drunke sufficiently already; be not abashed to refuse for to pledge him, neither force thy selfe, but take the cup at his hand and set it downe againe on the boord; againe, there is another perchance that amidst his cups chalengeth thee to hazzard or to play at dice; be not ashamed to say him nay, neither feare thou although thou receive a flout and scoffe at his hands for deniall: but rather do as *Xenophanes* did, when one *Lesus* the sonne of *Hermiones* called him coward, because he would not play at dice with him: I confesse (quoth he) I am a very dattard in those things that be lewd and naught, and I dare do nothing at all; moreover, say thou fall into the hands of a prating & talkative buffe bodie, who catcheth hold on thee, hangeth upon thee and will not let thee go: be not theepish and bashfull; but interrupt and cut his tale short, shake him off I say, but go thou forward and make an end of thy businesse whereabout thou wentest: for such refusals, such repulses, shifts and evasions in small matters, for which men cannot greatly complain of us, exercising us not to blush and be ashamed when there is no cause, do injure 20 and frame us well before-hand unto other occasions of greater importance. And here in this place, it were not amisse to call unto remembrance a speech of *Demosthenes*: for when the Athenians being solicited and mooved to send aid unto *Harpalus*, were so forward in the action, that they had put themselves in armes against king *Alexander*, all on a sodaine they discovered upon their owne coasts *Philexenus*, the lieutenant generall of the kings forces, and chiefe admiral of this Armada at sea: now when the people were so astonished upon this unexpected occurrence, that they had not a word to say for very feare: What wilt these men do (quoth *Demosthenes*) when they shall see the sunne, who are so afraid that they dare not looke against a little lampe; even so I say to thee that art given much to blush and be abashed: What wilt thou be able to do in weightie affaires, namely, when thou shalt be encountered by a king; or if the bodie of some 30 people or state be earnest with thee to obtaine ought at thy hand that is unreasonable? when thou hast not the heart to refuse for to pledge a familiar friend if he chance to drinke unto thee & offer thee a cup of wine? or if thou canst not find means to escape and wind thy selfe out of the company of a babbling buffe bodie, that hath fastened and taken hold of thee, but suffer such a vaine prating fellow as this to walke and leade thee at his pleasure up and downe, having not so much power as to say thus unto him: I will see you againe hereafter at some other time, now I have no leisure to talke with you.

Over and besides, the exercise and use of breaking your selves of this bashfulnesse in praising others for small and light matters, will not be unprofitable unto you; as for example: Say, that when you are at a feast of your friends, the harper or minstrell do either play or sing out of time; 40 or haply an actour of a Comedie, clearly hired for a good piece of money, by his ill grace in acting, marre the play and disgrace the author himselfe *Menander*, and yet nevertheless, the vulgar sort doe applaud, clap their hands, and highly commend and admire him for his deed: in mine advice it would be no great paine or difficulty for thee to give him the hearing with patience and silence, without praising him after a servile and flattering manner, otherwise than you thinke it meet and reason: for if in such things as these, you be not master of your selfe, how will you be able to hold, when some deare friend of yours shall reade unto you either some foolish rime or bad poesie that himselfe hath composed? if he shall shew unto you some oration of his owne foolish and ridiculous penning? you will fall a praising of him, will you? you will keepe a clapping of your hands with other flattering jacks? I would not els. And if you doe so, 50 how can you reprove him when he shall commit some grosse fault in greater matters? how shall you be able to admonish him, if he chance to forget himselfe in the administration of some magistracie or in his carriage in wedlocke, or in politike government? And verily, for mine owne part, I do not greatly allow and like of that answer of *Pericles*, who being requested by a friend to beare false witness in his behalfe, and to binde the same with an oath, whereby he should be forthcome: I am your friend (quoth he) as far as the altar; as if he should have said: Saving my conscience and duety to the gods: for surely he was come too neere already unto him. But he,

who

who hath accustomed himselfe long before, neither to waile against his owne minde, one who hath made an oration, nor to applaud unto him who had long, nor to laugh heartily at him who came out with some stale or poore jest which had no grace; bee will (I trow) never suffer his friend and familiar to proceed so farre, as to demand such a request of him, or once be so holde as to move him (who before had refused in smaller trifles to satisfie his desire) in this manner: Be perjured for me; beare false witness for my sake; or pronounce an unjust sentence for the love of me.

After the same manner we ought to be prepared and provided before-hand against those that be instant to borrow money of us, namely, if we have bene used to deny them in matters that neither be of great moment nor hard to be refused. There was one upon a time, who being of this mind, that there was nothing so honest as to crave and receive, begged of *Archelaus* the king of *Macedonie* (as he sate at supper) the cup of golde whereout he drunke himselfe; the king called unto his page that waited at his trencher, and commanded him to give the said cup unto *Euripides*, who sat at the boord; and withall, casting his eie wittily upon the party who craved it: As for you sir (quoth he) worthy you are for your asking to go without but *Euripides* deserveth to have, though he do not crave. A woorthy speech, importing thus much, that the judgement of reason ought to be the best master and guide to direct us in our gifts and free liberalitie, and not bashfulnesse and shame to denie. But wee contrariwise, neglecting and despising many times those that be honest and modest persons, yea, our very familiar friends, who have need of our helpe, and seeme to request the same, are ready to bestow our bounty upon such as incessantly importune us with their impudent craving, not for any affection that we have to pleasure them, but because we can not finde in our heart to say them nay. Thus did king *Antigonus* the elder to *Bias*, after he had bene a long time an importunate begger: Give this him (quoth he) a talent, for me thinks he will have it perforce: and yet this *Antigonus*, of all princes and kings that ever were, had the best grace and most dexterity to put by, and thift off such unreasonable beggers: for when a beggerly Cynicall Philosopher craved once at his hands a drachme: It is not for a king (quoth he) to give a drachme: Why then (quoth the other againe) give me a talent: Neither is it meet (quoth the king) for a Cynick to receive a talent. *Diogenes* as he walked otherwhies along the *Ceramicum* (that is, a street in *Athens*, where stood erected the statues of 30 worthy personages) would aske almes of those images; and when some marvelled at him therefore: I do it (quoth he) to learne how to take a repulse and deniall. Specially, we ought first to be trained in small matters, and to exercise our selves in denying slight requests unto such as would seeme to demand and have at our hands that which is not fit and requisite, to the end that we may not be to seeke for an answer when we would denie them in matters of greater importance: for as *Demosthenes* was wont to say: He who hath spent and bestowed that which he had otherwise than he should, will never employ those things which he hath not as he ought, if peradventure he should be furnished againe therewith. And looke how often we doe faile, and be wanting in honest things, and yet abound in superfluities, it is a signe that we are in a great fault, and many waies shame groweth to us by that means.

Moreover, so it is, that this excessive bashfulnesse is not onely a bad and undiscreet steward to lay out and disperse our money, but also to dispose of our serious affaires and those of great consequence, wherein it will not admit the advice and counsell that reason giveth; for oftentimes it falleth out, that when we be sicke, we send not for the best and most expert Physicians, in respect of some friend whom we favour and reverence so, as we are loth to doe otherwise than he would advise us: likewise wee chuse for matters and teachers of our children, not those always who are best and meekest, but such as make fure and meane unto us for to be entertained; yea, and many times, when we have a cause to be tried in the law, we chuse not alwayes the most sufficient & expert Advocates or Barristers for our counsell to plead for us; but for to gratifie a some of some familiar friend or kinsman of our owne, we commit the cause to him for to practice 50 and learne to plead in court to our great cost and losse. To conclude we may see manie of those that make profession of Philosophy, to wit, Epicureans, Stoicks, and others, how they follow this or that sect, not upon their owne judgement and election; but for that they were importuned by some of their kinsfolke or friends thereto, whom they were loth to denie. Come on then, let us long before be exercised against such grosse faults in vulgar, small & common occasions of this life; as for example, let us breake our selves from using either a barber to trim us, or a painter to draw our picture, for to satisfie the appetite of our foolish shame-facednesse; from loosing also in some bad Inne or Hostlerie where there is a better neere at hand,

hand, because haply our host the Goodman of the house hath oftentimes saluted us kindly & but rather make we a custome of it, (although there be but small difference and odds between one and another) alwaies to chuse the better: and like as the Pythagoreans observed evermore precisely not to crosse the right legges with the left, neither to take an odde number for an even, though otherwise all things else were equall and indifferent; even so are we to draw this into an ordinarie practise, that when we celebrate any solemne sacrifice, or make a wedding dinner, or some great feast, we invite not him, who is wont with reverence to give us the gentle greeting and good morrow, or who seeing us a great way off useth to runne unto us, rather than him whom we know to be an honest man and a well-willer of ours; for whosoever is thus injured and exercised long before, shall be hardly caught and surpris'd; nay rather he shall never be once 10
affailed and set upon in weightie matters. And thus much may suffice as touching exercise and custome.

Moreover to come unto other profitable instructions which we have gathered for this purpose, the principall in mine advice is this, which sheweth & teacheth us, that all the passions and maladies of the minde be ordinarily accompanied with those inconveniences which we would seeme to avoid by their meanes: as for example, ambition and desire of honor hath commonly attending upon it dishonor; paine usually followeth the love of pleasures; labour and travell enfeebler upon ease and delicacie; repulse, overthrowes, and condemnations are the ends that ensue daily upon those that are given to be litigious, contentious, and desirous of caste, foile, and conquer others; feebly it hapneth unto excessive bashfulnesse, which seeming to flie 20
and shun the smoke of blame, casteth it selfe into the very fire and flame of infamie. For those who be abashed to gaine say and denie them, who importune them unreasonably, and will take no nay in things unjust, are constrained afterwards to beare both shame and blame at their hands who justly call them to their answer and accuse them woorthily; and whiles they feare some light checke or private rebuke, many times they are faine to incurre and susteine open disgrace and reproch: for being abashed to denie a friend who craveth to borrow money, as being loth to say they have none, within a while after (with shame enough) they blush, when they shall be convinced to have had none; and having promised to assist and stand to some who have suit in law, by that meanes are forced to contend with others, and afterwards being ashamed there- 30
of, are driven to hide their heads and flie out of the way. Also there be many whom this foolish modestie hath caused to enter into some disadvantageous promise as touching the marriage either of daughter or sister, and being entangled therewith have bene constrained afterwards upon change of minde to breake their word and faile in their promise; as for him who said in old time, that all the inhabitants of *Assa* served as slaves unto one man; for that they knew not how to pronounce one onely negative syllable, that is, No; he spake not in earnest but by way of boord, and was disposed to jest: but surely these bashfull persons may if they list without one word spoken, by knitting and bending their browes onely, or nodding downward to the ground, avoid and escape many offices and absurd inconveniences, which often-times they do unwillingly and onely upon importunitie. For as *Enripides* said very well,

Wise men do know how things to take;

And of silence an answer to make.

And haply we have more cause to take that course with such as be senselesse and unreasonable: for to those who be honest, sensible, and of more humanitie, we need not feare to make excuse and satisfie them by word of mouth. And for this purpose it were not amisse to be furnished with many answers and notable apothegmes of great and famous persons in times past; and to have them ready at hand to allege against such importunate & impudent fellows. Such was that saying of *Phocion* to *Anipater*: You can not have me to be your friend and a flatterer to; likewise the answer which he made unto the Athenians, who were earnest with him to contribute and give somewhat toward the charges of solemnizing a great feast, and withall applauded and clapped their hands: It were a shame (quoth he) that I should give any thing over and above 50
unto you, and not to pay that which I owe to him yonder, pointing therewith to *Callicles* the usurer: for as *Thucydides* said; It is no shame to confesse and acknowledge povertie; but more shamefull it is indeed not to avoid and eschew it. But he who by reason of a faint, feeble, and delicate heart dare not for foolish shame answer thus unto one that demandeth to borrow money,

*My friend, I have in house or purse
No silver white, for to dunturfe.*

and

and then suffreth to passe out of his mouth a promise (as it were) an earnest pennie or pawne of assurance,

Is tried by foot with fetters not of brass

Yet you wrough't; but shame, and cannot passe.

But *Perseus* when he lent forth a summe of money to one of his familiar friends and acquaintances, went into the open market place to passe the contract at the very banke or table of exchangers and usurers; being mindfull of that rule and precept of the Poet *Hesiodus*, which teacheth us in these words,

How ever thou laugh with brother more or lesse,

With him make no contract without witness.

10 now when his friend marvelled hereat and said; How now *Perseus*, so formally and according to law? Yea (quoth he) because I would receive my money againe of you friendly, & not require it by course and suit of law. For many there be, who at the first upon a kinde of foolish modestie, are abashed to call for assurance & securitie, but afterward be forced to proceed by order of law, & so make their friends their enemies. Again, *Cato* sending commendatory letters unto *Demis* the Tyrant, in the behalfe and favour of one *Helicon Cysicenus*, as of a kind, modest, and courteous person, subscribed in manner of a post-date under his letter thus: That which you read above, take it as written in the commendation of a man, that is to say, of a living creature by nature nutable. Contrariwise *Xenocrates*, although he were otherwise in his behaviour austere, yet 20
being overcome and yielding to a kind of foolish modestie of his owne, recommended in his letters unto *Polyperchon*, a man of no worth or qualitie, as it proved afterwards by the sequell. Now when as that Macedonian Lord bade the partie welcome, and friendly gave him his hand, and withall used some words of course and complement, demanding whether he had neede of ought, and bidding him call for what he would; he made no more ado but craved a whole talent of silver at his hands; which *Polyperchon* caused presently indeed to be weighed out unto him; but he dispatched his letters withall unto *Xenocrates* to this effect: That from thenceforth he should be more circumspect, and consider better whom he recommended unto him: and verily, herein onely was the error of *Xenocrates*, for that he knew not the man for whom he wrote: but we oftentimes knowing well enough that they be lewd and naughty persons, yet 30
are verie forward with our commendatorie letters; yea and that which more is, our purpose is often unto them; we are ready to put money into their hands to our owne hinderance and damage; not with any pleasure that we take, nor upon affection unto them, as they do, who bestow their silver upon court-favorites, pleasers, and flatterers to gratifie them; but as displeased and discontented with their impudencie, which overturneth our reason upside downe, and forceth us to do against our owne judgement, in such sort, that if ever there were cause besides, we may by good reason say unto these bold and shamelesse beggers, that thus take vantage of our bashfulnesse:

I see that I must for your sake,

Leawd courses ever undertake.

40 namely, in bearing false witness; in pronouncing wrong judgement; in giving my voice at any election for an unworthie and unmeet person; or in putting my money into his hands, whom I know untrustfull, and who will never repay it. And therefore of all passions, this lewd and excessive modestie is that, which is accompanied presently with repentance, and hath it not following afterwards as the rest: for at the verie instant when we give away our money, we grieve; when we beare such witness, we blush; when we assist them and set to our helping hand, we incur infamie; and if wee furnish them not with that which they require, we are convinced as though we were not able. And forasmuch as our weaknesse is such, that we cannot denie them simply that they would have; we undertake and promise many times unto those who do importune & ly upon us uncessantly, even those things that we are not able to copasse & make 50
good; as namely, our commendatorie letters for to finde favour in princes courts; to be mediators for them unto great rulers and governors, and to talke with them about their causes; as being neither willing nor so hardie as thus to say; The king knoweth not us; hee regardeth others more, and you were better go to such and such. After this manner, when *Lysander* had offended *Agellus* and incurred his heavy displeasure, and yet was thought woorthie to be chiefe in credit above all those that were about him, in regard of the great opinion and reputation that men had of him for his noble acts, he never bashed to repell and put backe those letters that came unto him, making excuse and bidding them to go unto others, and assay them, who

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were

were in greater credit with the king than himselfe. For it is no shame not to be able to effect all things, but for a man to be driven upon a foolish modestie to enterprise such matters, as he is neither able to compass nor meet to mannage; besides that it is shamefull, I hold it also a right great corroive to the heart.

But now to goe unto another principle, we ought willingly and with a ready heart to doe pleasure unto those that request at our hands such things as be meet and reasonable; not as forced thereto by a rustical feare of shame, but as yeelding unto reason and equity. Contrariwise, if their demands be hurtfull, absurd, and without all reason, we ought evermore to have the saying of *Zeno* in readinesse, who meeting with a yoong man one of his acquaintance, walking close under the towne wall secretly as if he would not be seene; asked of him the cause of his being there, and understanding by him that it was because he would avoide one of his friends, who had bene earnest with him to beare false wines in his behalfe: What saist thou (quoth *Zeno*) for that thou art? Was thy friend so bold and shamelesse to require that of thee which is unreasonable, unjust and hurtfull unto thee? And darest thou not stand against him in that which is iust and honest? For whosoever he was that said,

*A crooked wedge is fit to cleave
a knotted knurrie tree,*

*It well be seemes against leavd folke
with lewdnesse arms to be.*

teacheth us an ill lesson, to learne to be naught onr selves, when we would be revenged of naughtinesse. But such as repulse those who impudently and with a shamelesse face doe molest and trouble them, not suffering themselves to be overcome with shamefacednesse, but rather shame to grant unto shamelesse beggers those things that be shameful, are wise men and well advised, doing herein that which is iust and just. Now as touching those importunate and shamelesse persons, who otherwise are but obscure, base and of no worth, it is of no great matter to resist them when they be troublesome unto us. And some there be who make no more ado but shuff them off with laughter or a scoffe: like as *Theocritus* served twaine who would seeme to borrow of him his rubber or currying combe in the verie baine; of which two, the one was a meere stranger unto him, the other he knew well enough for anotous theefe: I know not your quoth he to the one; and to the other, I know what you are well enough; and so he sent them both away with a meere frumpe. *Lysimache* the priestesse of *Minerva* in *Athens*, surnamed *Polia*, that is, the patronesse of the citie; when certaine Muletters who brought sacrifices unto the temple, called unto her for to powre them out drinke freely: No (quoth she) my good friends, I may not do so, for feare you will make a custome of it.

Antigon had under him in his retinue a yoong gentleman, whose father in times past had bene a good warrior, and lead a band or company of fouldiours, but himselfe was a very coward, and of no service, and when he sued unto him (in regard of his birth) to be advanced unto the place of his father, late deceased: Yoong man (quoth he) my maner is to recompense and honour the prowesse and manhood of my fouldiours, and not their good parentage. But if the party who assaileth our modestie, be a noble man, of might and authority (and such kinde of persons of all other will most hardly endure a repulse, and be put off with a deniall or excuse, and namely, in the case of giving sentence or award in a matter of judgement, or in a voice at the election of magistrates) peradventure it may be thought neither easie nor necessarie to doe that which *Cato* sometimes did, being then but of yoong yeeres, unto *Catulus*; now this *Catulus* was a man of exceeding great authoritie among the Romans, and for that time bare the Censure, who came unto *Cato*, (then Lord high treasurer of *Rome* that yeere) as a mediatur and intercessour for one, who had bene condemned before by *Cato* in a round fine, pressing and importuning him so hard with earnest praiser and entreaty, that in the end *Cato* seeing how urgent and unreasonable he was, and not able to endure him any longer, was forced to say thus unto him: You would thinke it a foule disgrace and shame for you *Catulus*, Censour as you are, since you will not receive an answer and be gone, if my sergeants and officers here should take you by the head and shoulders, and send you away: with that, *Catulus* being abashed and ashamed, departed in great anger and discontentment. But consider rather and see, whether the answer of *Agefilus* and that which *Themistocles* made, were not more modest, and favoured of greater humanity: for *Agefilus*, when his own father would him to give sentence in a certain cause that was brought before him, against all right, and directly contrary to the lawes: Father (quoth he) your selfe have taught me from my very child-hood to obey the lawes; I will be therefore obedi-

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ent still to your good precepts, and passe no judgement against law. As for *Themistocles*, when as *Simonides* seemed to request of him somewhat which was unjust and unlawfull: Neither were you *Simonides* (quoth he) a good Poet, if you should not keepe time and number in your songs, nor I a good Magistrate, if I should judge against the law. And yet (as *Plato* was wont to say) it is not for want of due proportion betweene the necke and body of the lute, that one citie is at variance with another citie, and friends fall out and be at difference, doing what mischief they can one to another, and suffering the like againe; but for this rather, that they offend and faile in that which concerneth law and justice. Howbeit, you shall have some, who themselves observing the precise rules most exactly according to art in Musick, in Grammaticall orthographic, and in the Poeticall quantitie of syllables and measures of feet, can be in hand with others, and request them to neglect and forget that which they ought to do in the administration of government, in passing of judgements, and in their other actions. And therefore with such as these be, I would have you take this course which I will now tell you: Is there an Advocate or Rhetorician that doth importune you sitting as judge upon the bench? or is there an Oratour that troubleth you with an unreasonable sute as you sit in counsell? grant them both, that which they request, upon condition that the one in the entrie of his plea will commit a solecisme or incongruity, and the other in the beginning of his narration come out with some barbarisme: but it is all to nothing, that they will never do so, it would be thought such a shame; and in very truth, we see that some of them are so fine eared, that they can not abide in a speech or sentence that two vowels should come together: againe, Is he one of the nobilitie, or a man of honour and authoritie, that troubleth you with some dishonest sute? will him likewise for your sake to passe thorow the market place hopping and dancing, making mowes, and writhing his mouth; but if he denie so to doe, then have you good occasion and fit opportunity to come upon him with this revile, and demand of him; whether of the twaine be more dishonest to make incongruity in speech, and to make mowes, and fet the mouth awry; or to breake the lawes, commit perjurie, and beside all right, equitie and conscience, to award and adjudge more unto the lewd and wicked, than to good and honest persons. Moreover, like as *Nipistratus* the Argive answered unto *Archidamus*, who solicited him with a good summe of money (promising him besides in marriage what Lady he would himselfe chuse in all *Lacedaemon*) to betray and render up by treason the towne *Cromman*: I see well (quoth he) *Archidamus*, that you are not descended from the race of *Hercules*, for that he travelled thorow the world, killing wicked persons whom he had vanquished, but your study is to make them wicked who are good and honest; even so we ought to say unto him, who would bee thought a man of worth and good marke, and yet cometh to presse and force us to commit those deeds which are not befitting, that he doth that which becometh not his nobility or opinion of vertue.

Now if they be meane and base persons to account, who shall thus tempt you, go this way to worke with such: If he be a covetous miser, and one that loveth his money too well; see and trie whether you can induce and perswade him by all opportunity to credit you with a talent of silver upon your bare word, without schedul; obligation or specialtie for his security; or if he be an ambitious and vaine-glorious person; trie if you can prevaille with him so much, as to give you the upper hand or higher seat in publicke places; or if he be one that desireth to beare rule and office; assay him, whether he will give over his possibilitie that he hath to such a magistracie, especially when he is in the ready way to obtaine it: Certes, we may well thinke it a very strange and absurd thing, that such as they in their vices and passions should stand and continue so stiffe, so resolute and so hard to be removed; and we who professe and would be reputed honest men, lovers of vertue, justice and equity, can not be masters of our selves, but suffer vertue to be subverted, and cast it at our heeles. For if they who by their importunity urge our modestie, doe it either for their owne reputation or their authoritie, it were absurd and beside the purpose, for us to augment the honour, credit and authority of another, and to dishonour, discredit and disgrace our selves; like unto those, who be in an ill name, and incur the obloquie of the world, who either in publicke and solemne games defraude those of the prizes and rewardes who have achieved victory, or who at the election of magistrates, deprive those of their right of suffrages and voices to whom it doth belong, for to gratifie others that deserve it not, thereby to procure to the one forth the honour of sitting in high places, and to the other the glory of wearing coronets, and so by doing pleasure unto others, falsifie their owne faith, detame themselves, and lose the opinion and reputation they had of honestie and good conscience. Now if we see that it is for his owne lure and gaine, that any one urge us beyond all reason to do a thing; how is it

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that we doe not presently consider, that it is absurd and without all sense to hazzard and put to compromise (as it were) our owne reputation and vertue for another man, to the end that the purse of some one (I know not who) should thereby be more weightie and heauie?

But certainly many there be unto whom such considerations as these are presented, and who are not ignorant that they tread aside and do amisse; much like to them, who being challenged to drinke off great bolles full of wine, take paines to pledg them with much ado, even so long till their eies be ready to start out of their heads, changing their countenance, and panting for want of winde, and all to pleasure those that put them to it. But surely this feeblenes of minde and faint heart of theirs, resembleth the weak constitution and temperature of the bodie, which cannot away either with scorching heat or chilling cold. For be they praised by those who set upon them thus impudently, they are ready to leape out of their skins for joy; and say they doubt not to be accused, checked, rebuked or suspected, if haply they deny, then they are ready to die for woe and feare. But we ought to be well defended & fortified against the one & the other, that we yeeld neither to them that terrifie us, nor to those that flatter us. *Thucydides* verily supposing it impossible for one to be great or in high place & not envied, saith, That the mā is wel advised & led by good counsel who thooteth at the greatest & highest affaires, if he must be subject unto envie. For mine owne part, thinking as I do, that it is no hard matter to elcape envie, but to avoid al complaints & to keepe our selves from being molested by some one or other that converse with us & keepe our company, a thing impossible: I suppose it good counsel for us, & the best thing we can do for our owne safetie, to incur rather the ill will and displeasure of leaud, importunate, and unreasonable people, than of those who have just cause to blame and accuse us, if against all right and justice we satisfie their minds and be ready to do them service and pleasure: as for the praises and commendations which proceed from such leaud & shamelesse persons, being as they are in every respect counterfeit and sophistical, we ought to beware and take heed of; neither must we flatter our selves as swine to be rubbed, scratched, or tickled, and all the whiles stand still and gently, letting them do with us what they will, untill they may with ease lay us all along, when we have once yeelded to be so handled at their pleasure: for surely they that give care to flatterers, differ in no respect from those who set out their legs of purpose to be supplanted and to have their heeles tripped up from under them; save onely in this, that those are woofe soiled and catch the more shamefull fall, I meane aswell such as semit punishment to naughty persons, because forsooth they love to be called mercitull, milde and gentle; as those on the contrary side, who being perswaded by such as praise them, do submit themselves to enmities and accusations needlesse, but yet perillous; as being borne in hand & made beleve they were the onely men, & such alone as stood invincible against all flatterie; yea and those whom they sticke not to reame their very mouthes & voices; and therefore *Bion* likened them most aptly to vassils that had two eares, for that they might be caried so easily by the eares which way a man would: like as it is reported of one *Alexinus* a Sophister, who upon a time as he walked with others in the gallerie *Peripatos*, spake all that naught was of *Stilpo* the *Megarean*: When one of the company said unto him, VVhat meane you by this, considering that of late & no longer since than the other day, he gave out of you al the good that may be: I wot well (quoth he) for hee is a right honest gentleman, and the most courteous person in the world. Countess *Menedemus* when he heard that *Alexinus* had praised him many a time; But I (quoth he) do never speake well of *Alexinus*; & therefore a bad man he must needs be, that either praised a naughty person, or is dispraised of an honest man: So hard it was to turn or catch him by any such meanes, as making use, and practising that precept which *Hercules* *Atithenens* taught his children, when hee admonished and warned them that they should never con those thanke who praised them: and this was nothing else, but not to suffer a mans selfe to be overcome by foolish modestie, nor to flatter them againe who praised him. For this may suffice in mine opinion which *Pindarus* answered upon a time to one who said unto him: That in everie place and to all men he never ceased to commend him: Grand mercie (quoth he) and I will do this favor unto you againe that you may be a true man of your word, & be thought to have spoken nothing but the truth.

To conclude, that which is good and expedient against all other afflictions and passions, they ought surely to remember who are easily overcome by this hurtfull modestie, whensoever they giving place soone to the violence of this passion, doe commit a fault and tread awy against their minde: namely to call to remembrance the markes and prints of remorse and repentance sticking fast in their minde, and to repent effoones and keepe the same a long time.

For

For like as waifaring men, after they have once stumbled upon a stone; or pilots at sea when they have once split their ship upon a rocke and suffred shipwracke, if they call those accidents to remembrance, for ever after doe feare and take heed not onely of the same, but of such like; even so they that set before their eies conspiguall the dishonours and damages which they have received by this hurtfull and excessive modestie, and represent the same to their minde once wounded and bitten with remorse and repentance, will in the like afterwards reclaim themselves, and not so easily another time be perverted and seduced out of the right way.

OF BROTHERLY LOVE OR AMITIE.

The Summarie.

A man should have professed but badly in the schoole of vertue, if endeavouring to curry himselfe honestly toward his friends and familiars, yea and his verie enemies, he continue still in evill demeanor with his owne brethren, unto whom he is joined naturally, by the streightest line and linke that can be devised. But for that ever since the beginning of the world, this proverbiall sentence from time to time hath bene current and found true; that the Unitie of Brethren is a rare thing: *Plutarch* after he had complained in the verie entrance of this little booke, that such a maladic as this, reigned mightily in his time, goeth afterwards to apply a remedie thereto. And to this effect he sheweth, that since brotherly amitie is taught and prescribed by nature, those who love not their brethren, be blockish, unnatural, enemies to their owne selves; yea, and the greatest Atheists that may be found. And albeit the obligation wherein we are bound to our parents, amounteth to so high a summe as we are never able fully to discharge; he prooveith notwithstanding, that brotherly love may stand for one verie good payment toward that debt: whereupon he concludeth, that hatred betweene brethren ought to be banished; for that if it once creepe in and get betweene, it will be a verie hard matter to rejoyne and reconcile them againe. Afterwards he teacheth a readie and compendious way, how a man ought to manage and use a brother ill disposed. In what manner brethren should carrie themselves one to another, both during the life of their father and also after his decease; discouraging at large upon the dutie of those who are the elder; or higher advanced in other respects; as also what they should doe, who are the younger; namely, that as they are not equall to their other brethren in yeeres, so they be their inferiours in place of honor and in wealth; likewise what meanes as well the one as the other are to follow, for to avoid envie and jealousie. Which done, he teacheth brethren who in age come verie neere, their naturall dutie and kinnesse that they ought to shew one unto another; to which purpose he produceth proper examples of brotherly amitie among the Pagans: In the ende, since he cannot possibly effect thus much, that brethren should evermore accord well together, he setteth downe what course they are to take in their differences and disagreements; and how their friends ought to be common betweene them; and for a final conclusion, he treateth of that honest care and respect we regard one of another that they ought to have, and especially of their kindness, which he enricheth with two other notable examples.

OF BROTHERLY LOVE or amitie.



These ancient statues representing the two brethren *Castor* and *Pollux*, the inhabitants of the citie *Sparta*, were wont in their language to call *Δίδυμοι*. And two paralell pieces of timber they are of an equall distance asunder, united and joined together by two other pieces overthwart : now it should seeme, that this was a device fitting verie well and agreeable to the brotherly amitie of the said two gods, for to shew that undivisible union which was betweene them; and even so, I also do offer and dedicate unto you, *ô Nigrinus* and *Quintus*, this little treatise as touching the amitie of brethren, a gift common unto you both as those who are wortheie of the fame :

for seeing, that of your owne accord you practise that already, which it teacheth and exhorteth unto, you shall be thought not so much to be admonished thereby, as by your example to confirme and testifie the same which therein is delivered; and the joy which you shall conceive to see that approved and commended which your selves do, shall give unto your judgement a farther assurance to continue therein; as if your actions were allowed and praised by vertuous and honest beholders of the same.

Aristarchus verily, the father of *Theodectes*, scoffing at the great number of those Sophisters or counterfeite sages in his daies, said : That in old time hardly could be found seven wise men throughout the world; but in our daies (quoth he) much adoore there is to finde so many fooles or ignorant persons. But I may verie well and truly saie : That I see in this age wherein we live, the amitie of brethren to be as rare, as their hatred was in times past. The examples whereof being so few as they were among our ancients, were thought by men in those daies living, notable arguments to furnish Tragedies and Theaters with, as matters verie strange and in a manner fabulous. But contrariwise, all they that live in this age if haply they meete with two brethren, that be good and kind one to another, wonder and marvell thereat as much as if they saw those *Atolomides* (of whom *Homer* speaketh) whose bodies seemed to grow together in one : and as incredible and miraculous doe they thinke it, that brethren should live in common the patrimoine, goods, friends and slaves which their fathers left behind unto them, as if one and the same soule alone ruled the feet, hands and eies of two bodies. And yet nature herselfe hath set downe a lively example of that mutuall behaviour and carriage that ought to be among brethren, and the same not farre off, but even within our owne bodies, wherein she hath framed and devised for the most part those members double, and as a man would say, brethren-like and twines, which be necessarie, to wit, two hands, two feet, two eies, two eares, and two nose thrills; shewing thereby, that she hath thus distinguished them all, not onely for their naturall health and safetie, but also for a mutuall and reciprocall helpe; and not for to quarrell and fight one with another. As for the hands when she parted them into many fingers, and those of unequal length and bignesse, she hath made them of all other organically parts, the most proper artificious and workmanlike instruments; inso much as that ancient Philosopher *Alexander* ascribed the verie cause of mans wisdom and understanding unto the hands. Howbeit, the contrarie unto this should seeme rather to be true; for man was not the wisest of all other living creatures in regard of his hands, but because by nature being endued with reason, given to be wittie and capable of arts and sciences, he was likewise naturally furnished with such instruments as these. Moreover, this is well known unto everie man, that nature hath formed of one and the same seed, as of one principle of life, two, three, and more brethren; not to the end that they should be at debate and variance, but that being apart and asunder, they might the better and more commodiously helpe one another. For those men with three bodies and a hundred armes apiece, which the Poets describe unto us (if ever there were any such) being joined and grown together in all their parts, were not able to doe any thing at all when they were parted asunder, or as it were, without themselves: which brethren can doe well enough, namely, dwell and keepe within house and go abroad together, meddle in affaires of State, exercise husbandrie and tillage one with another, in case they preserve and keepe well that principle of amity

and

and benevolence which nature hath given them. For otherwise they should (I suppose) nothing differ from those feet which are readie to trip or supplant one another, and cause them to catch a fall : or they should resemble those hands and fingers which enfolded and claspe one another untowardly against the course of nature. But rather according as in one and the same bodie, the cold, the hot, the drie, and the moist, participating likewise in one and the same nature and nourishment, if they doe accord and agree well together, engender an excellent temperature and most pleasant harmonie, to wit, the health of the bodie, without which, neither all the wealth of the world, as men say,

*Nor power of orraill majestie,
Which equall is to deitie.*

have any pleasure, grace or profit; but in case these principall elements of our life, covet to have more than their just proportion, and thereupon breake out into a kind of civill sedition, seeking one to surcease and over-grow another, soone there ensueth a filthie corruption and confusion which overthroweth the state of the bodie and the creature it selfe; semblably, by the concord of brethren, the whole race and house is in good case and flourisheth, the friends and familiars belonging to them (like a melodious quire of musicians) make a sweet content and harmonie : for neither they doe, nor say nor thinke any thing that jarreth or is contrarie one to the other,

*When as in discord such and taking part,
The worse effe soones do speed, whiles better smart.*

to wit, some ill-tongued varlet and pickthanke carrie-tale within the house, or some flattering claw-backe comming betwene, and entering into the house, or else some envious and malicious neighbour in the citie. For like as diseases do ingender in those bodies which neither receive nor stand well affected to their proper & familiar nourishment, many appetites of strange and hurtfull meates; even so, a slanderous calumny of jealousie being gotten once among those of a blood & kindred, doth draw and bring withal evil words and naughtie speeches, which from withoute alwaies readie enough to runne thither where as a breach lieth open, and where there is some fault already. That divine master and fountaine of *Arcadie*, of whom *Herodotus* writeth, when he had lost one of his owne naturall feet, was forced upon necessitie to make himselfe another of wood : but a brother being fallen out and at warre with a brother, and constrained to get some stranger to be his companion, either out of the market place and common hall of the citie as he walketh there, or from the publike place of exercise, where he useth to behold the wrestlers and others; in my conceit doth nothing else but willingly cut-off a part or limbe of his owne bodie made of flesh, and engrafted fast unto him, for to set another in the place which is of another kinde and altogether a stranger. For even necessitie it selfe which doth entertaine, approve and seeke for friendship and mutuall acquaintance, teacheth us to honor, cherish and preserve that which is of the same nature and kind; for that without friends societie and fellowship we are not able to live solitarie and alone as most savage beasts, neither will our nature endure it : and therefore in *Alexander* he faith very well and wisely :

*By jolly cheere and bankers day by day,
I thinke we to finde (if auster) trustie friends,
To whom our selves and life commit we may?
No speciall thing for cost to make amends;
I found he hath, who by that meane hath met
With shade of friends; for such I count no bet.*

For to say a truth, most of our friendships be but shadowes, semblances and images of that first amitie, which nature hath imprinted and engrafted in children toward their parents, in brethren toward their brethren : and he who doth not reverence nor honor it, how can he persuade and make strangers believe that he beareth found and faithfull good will unto strangers. Or what man is he who in his familiar greetings and salutations, or in his letters, will call his friend and companion Brother, and can not find in his heart so much as to go with his brother in the same way? For as it were a point of great folly and madnesse, to adorne the statue of a brother, and in the meane time to beat and maim his bodie; even so, to reverence and honor the name of a brother in others, and withall to shun, hate and disdain a brother indeed, were the case of one that were out of his wits, and who never conceived in his heart and minde, that Nature is the most sacred and holy thing in the world. And heere in this place, I can not choise but call to minde, how at *Rome* upon a time I tooke upon me to bee umpire betweene two brethren, of

whom

whom the one seemed to make profession of Philoſophie; but he was (as after it appeared) not only untruly entitled by the name of a Brother; but alſo as falſely called a Philoſopher: for when I requested of him that he ſhould carrie himſelfe as a Philoſopher toward his brother, and ſuch a brother as altogether was unlittered and ignorant: In that you ſay (ignorant quoth he) I hold well with you, and I avow it a truth; but as for Brother, I take it for no ſuch great and venerable matter, to have ſprung from the ſame loines, or to have come forth of one wombe: Well (ſaid I againe) It appeeres that you make no great account to iſſue out of the ſame natural members; but all men elſe beſides you, if they doe not thinke and imagine ſo in their hearts; yet I am ſure they doe both ſing and ſay that Nature firſt, and then Law (which doth preſerve and maintaine Nature) have given the chiefe place of reverence and honor next after the gods, unto father and mother; neither can men performe any ſervice more acceptable unto the gods, than to pay willingly, readily and affectionately unto parents who begat and brought them forth, unto nouries and ſoſters that reared them up, the intereſt and uſorie for the old thanks, beſides the new which are due unto them. And on the other ſide againe, there is not a waies certain figure & make of a verie Atheiſt; than either to neglect parents, or to be any waies ingratious or deſective in duty unto them: and therefore whereas we are forbidden in expreſſe termes by the law, to doe wrong or hurt unto other men: if one doe not behave himſelfe to father and mother both in word and deed, ſo as they may have (I do not ſay no diſcontentment and diſpleaſure but) joy and comfort thereby, men eſteeme him to be profane, godleſſe and irreligious. Tell me now, what action, what grace, what diſpoſition of children towards their parents, can be 20 more agreeable and yeeld them greater contentment, than to ſee good will, kinde affection, faſt and aſſured love betweene brethren? the which a man may eaſily gather by the contrarie in other ſmaller matters. For ſeeing that fathers and mothers be diſpleated otherwiſes with their ſonnes, if they miſuſe or hardly intreat ſome home-borne ſlave whom they ſet much ſtore by: if I ſay, they be vexed and angrie, when they ſee them to make no reckoning & care of their words and grounds wherein they tooke ſome joy and delight; conſidering alſo that the good kind-hearted olde folke of a gentle and loving affection that they have, be offended if ſome bound or dogged up within houſe, or an horſe be not well tended and looked unto; laſt of all, if they grieve when they perceive their children to mocke, find fault with, or deſpise the lectures, narra- 30 tions, ſports, ſights, wretches, and others that exerciſe feats of activitie, which themſelves ſometime highly eſteemed: Is there any likelihood that they in any meaſure can indure to ſee their children hate one another? to entertaine braules and quarrels continually? to be ever ſnarling, railing and reviling one another? and in all enterprizes and actions alwaies croſſing, thwarting and ſupplanting one another? I ſuppoſe there is no man will ſo ſay. Then on the contrarie ſide, if brethren love together and be ready one to do for another; if they draw in one line and carrie the like affection with them; follow the ſame ſtudies and take the ſame courſes; and how much nature hath divided and ſeparated them in bodie, ſo much to joine for it againe in minde; lending one another their helping hands in all their negotiations and affaires; following the ſame exerciſes; repaiting to the ſame diſputations; and frequenting the ſame plaies, games and paſtimes, ſo as they agree and communicate in all things: certainly this great love and amitie 40 among brethren, muſt needs yeeld ſweet joy and happie comfort to their father and mother in their old age: and therefore parents take nothing ſo much pleaſure, when their children prove eloquent orators, wealthy men, or advanced to promotions and high places of dignities; as loving and kind one to another; like as a man ſhall never ſee a father ſo deſirous of cloquence, of riches, or of honor, as he is loving to his owne children. It is reported of Queene Apollonius the Cyzicon, mother to King Eumenes, and to three other Princes, to wit, Attalus, Phil- 50 taretus and Athenens, that ſhee reputed and reported her ſelfe to bee right happy, and rendered thanks unto the immortal gods, not for her riches, nor roiall port and majeſtie; but that it was her good fortune to ſee thoſe three younger ſonnes of hers, ſerving as Penſioners and Elquiers of the bodie to Eumenes their elder brother, and himſelfe living fearleſſe and in as ſecuritie in the mids of them, ſtanding about his perſon with their pollaxes, halberds, and partiſanes in their hands, and girded with ſwords by their ſides. On the other ſide, King Xerxes perceiving, that his ſonne Ochuſ ſet an ambuſh and laid traines to murder his brethren, died for very ſor- row and anguiſh of heart. Terrible and grievous are the warres, ſaid Euripides, betweene brethren; but unto their parents above all others moſt grievous; for that whoſoever hateth his owne brother, and may not vouchſafe him a good eye and kinde looke, can not chooſe but in his heart blame the father that begat him, and the mother that bare him. We read that Piſſistratus married

married his ſecond wife, when his ſonnes whom he had by the former were now men grown, ſaying: That ſince he ſaw them prove ſo good and towards, he gladly would be the father of many more that might grow up like them; even ſo, good and loyall children will not onely affect and love one another for their parents ſakes, but alſo love their parents ſo much the more, in regard of their mutuall kindneſſe, as making this account, thinking alſo and ſaying thus to themſelves; That they are obliged and bounden unto them in many reſpects, but principally for their brethren, as being the moſt precious heritage, the ſweeteſt and moſt pleaſant poſſeſſion that they inherit by them. And therefore Homer did verie well, when he brought in Telemachus among other calamities of his, reckoning this for one, that he had no brother at all; and ſaying 10 thus:

*For Jupiter my fathers race in me alone,
Now ended hath; and given me brother none.*

As for Heſiodus he did not well to with & give advice to have an only begotten ſonne, to be the full heire and univerſall inheritor of a patrimonie; even that Heſiodus who was the diſciple of thoſe Muſes, whom men have named *poets*, as it were *ſong writers*, for that by reaſon of their mutuall affection and ſiſter-like love they keepe alwaies together. Certes, the amitie of brethren is ſo reſpective to parents, that it is both a certaine demonstration that they love father and mother, & alſo ſuch an example & leſſon unto their children to love together, as there is none other like unto it, but contrariwiſe, they take an ill preſident to hate their owne brethren from the firſt ori- 20 ginal of their father: for he that liveth continually & waxeth old in ſuits of law, in quarrels and diſſenſions with his owne brethren, and afterward ſhall ſeeme to preach unto his children for to live friendly & lovingly together, doth as much as he, who according to the common proverb:

*The ſores of others will ſeeme to heale and cure
And in himſelfe of ſulcers full impure.*

and ſo by his owne deeds doth weaken the efficacy of his words. If then Eteocles the Thebane, when he had once ſaid unto his brother Polynices, in Euripides,

*To ſtarves about ſunne-riſing would I mount,
And under earth deſcend as ſunne againe,
By theſe attempts, if I might make account
This ſoveraigne roialtie of gods to gaine.*

30 It ſhould come afterwards againe unto his ſonnes, and admoniſh them

*For to mainteine and honour equall ſtates,
Which knits friends ay in perfect unitie,
And keeps thoſe link't who are confederate,
Preſerving cities in league and amitie:
For nothing more procures ſecuritie,
In all the world, than doth equalitye.*

who would not mocke him and deſpise his admonition? And what kinde of man would Atreus have bene repured, if after he had let ſuch a ſupper as he did before his brother, he ſhould in this 40 manner have ſpoken ſentences and given inſtruction to his owne children?

*When great miſhap and croſſe do amitie
Upon a man is fallen ſuddenly,
The onely meed is found by amitie
Of theſe whom blood hath joined perfectly.*

Baniſh therefore we muſt, and rid away cleane, all hatred from among brethren; as a thing which is a bad nurce to parents in their olde age, and a woofe ſoftreſſe to children in their youth; beſides, it giveth occaſion of ſlander, calumnie and obloquie among their fellow-citizens and neighbours, for thus do men conceive and deeme of it: That brethren having bene nourished and brought up together to familiarity from their very cradle, it can not be that they ſhould fall 50 out and grow to ſuch termes of enmity and hoſtility, unleſſe they were privie one to another of ſome wicked plots and moſt miſchievous practiſes. For great cauſes they muſt be, that are able to undoe great frienſhip and amitie, by meanes whereof hardly or unneeth afterwards they can be reconciled and ſurely knit againe. For like as ſundry pieces which have bene once artificially joined together by the means of glue or ſoder, if the joint be looſe or open, may be rejoynted or ſodered againe; but if an entire body that naturally is united and grown in one, chance to be broken or cut and ſlit aſunder, it will be an hard piece of worke to finde any glew or ſoder ſo ſtrong as to reunite the ſame and make it whole and ſound,

found, even fo those mutuall amities which either for profit or upon some neede were first knit between men, happen to cleave and part in twaine, it is an easie matter to reduce them close together; but brethren if they bee once alienated and estranged, so as that the naturall bond of love can not hold them together, hardly will they peece againe or agree ever after: and say they be made friends and brought to attonement, certainly such reconciliation maketh in the former rent or breach an ill favoured and filthy skar, as being alwaies full of jealousie, distrust, and suspition. True it is that all jays and enmities betweene man and man, entering into the heart, together with those passions which be most troublesome and dangerous of all others, to wit, a peevish humor of contention, choler, envie, and remembrance of injuries done and past, do breed griefe, paine, and vexation; but surely that which is fallen betweene brother and brother, who of necessitie are to communicate together in all sacrifices and religious ceremonies belonging to their fathers house, who are to be interred another day in one and the same sepulchre, and live in the meane time otherwhiles under one rooffe, and dwel in the same house, and enjoy possessions, lands, and tenements confining one upon another, doth continually present unto the eie that which tormenteth the heart, it putteth them in minde daily and howlerly of their follie and madnesse; for by meanes thereof that face and countenance which should be most sweete, best knowne, and of all other likest, is become most strange hideous, and unpleasant to the eie; that voice which was wont to be even from the cradle friendly and familiar, is now become most fearefull & terrible to the eare; and whereas they see many other brethren cohabit together in one house, sit at one table to take their repast, occupie the same lands, and use the same servants, without dividing them; what a griefe is it, that they thus fallen out, should part their friends, their hostis and guests, and in one word, make all things that be common among other brethren, private, and whatsoever should be familiar & acceptable, to become contrarie & odious? Over and besides, here is another inconvenience and mischief, which there is no man so simple, but he must needs conceive and understand: That ordinary friends and table companions may be gotten and stolen (as it were) from others; alliance and acquaintance there may be had new, if the former be lost, even as armour, weapons and tooles may be repaired, if they be worne, or new made, if the first be gon; but to recover a brother that is lost, it is not possible, no more than to make a new hand, if one be cut away, or to set in another eie in the place of that which is plucked out of the head: and therefore well said that Persian ladie, when these chose rather to save the life of her brethren than of her children: For children (quoth she) I may have more, but since my father and mother be both dead, brother shall I never have.

But what is to be done, will some man say, in case one be matched with a bad brother? First, this we ought evenmore to remember, that in all sorts of amities there is to be found some badnesse; and most true is that saying of Sophocles;

*Who list to search throughout mankind,
More bad than good is sure to finde.*

No kindred there is, no societie, no fellowship, no amitie and love, that can be found sincere, found, pure and cleare from all faults. The Lacedaemonian who had married a wife of little stature: We must (quoth he) of evils chuse ever the least; even so in mine advice, a man may every well and wisely give counsell unto brethren, to beare rather with the most domestick imperfections and the infirmities of their owne blood, than to trie those of strangers; for as the one is blamelesse, because it is necessarie, so the other is blame-worthy, for that it is voluntarie: for neither table-friend and fellow-gamster, nor play-fere of the same age, ne yet host or guest

*Is bound with links (of brass) by kind not wrought;
Which shame by kinde hath forg'd, and cost us naught,*

but rather that friend, who is of the same blood, who had his nourishment and bringing up with us, begotten of one father, and who say in the same mothers wombe; unto whom it seemeth that * Verue herselfe doth allow connivencie and pardon of some faults, so as a man may say unto a brother when he doth a fault,

*Wilt see, starke naught, yea wretched though thou be,
Yet can I not for sake and cast off thee.*

lest that (ere I be well aware) I might seeme in my hatred towards thee, for to punish sharply, cruelly, and unnaturally in thy person, some infirmite or vice of mine owne father or mother insifted into thee by their seed. As for strangers and such as are not of our blood, we ought not to love first, and afterwards make triall and judgement of them; but first we must trie and then quirt and love them afterwards; whereas contrariwise, nature hath not given unto prooffe and experience

* 1. Minerva.
Olym. 337.

experience the precedence and prerogative to go before love, neither doth she expect according to that common proverbe; That a man should cate a * bulbell or two of salt with one whom he minded to love and make his friend; but even from our native hath bred in us and with us the very principle and cause of amitie, in which regard we ought not to be bitter unto such, nor to search too neerely into their faults and infirmities.

But what will you say now if contrariwise some there be, who if meeete aliens and strangers otherwise, yet if they take a foolish love and liking unto them, either at the ravene or at some game and pastime, or fall acquainted with them at the wrestling or fencing schoole, can be content to winke at their faults, be ready to excuse and justifie them, yea and take delight and pleasure therein; but if their brethren do amisse, they be exceeding rigorous unto them and inexorable; nay, you shall have many such, who can abide to love churlish dogs, & skittish hories, yea and finde in their hearts to feed and make much of fell ounces, shrewd cats, curst unhappie apes, and terrible lions; but they cannot endure the haffie and cholerick humor, the error and ignorance, or some little ambitious humor of a brother. Others againe there be, who unto their concubines and harlots will not flitke to assigne over and passe away goodly houses and faire lands lying thereto; but with their brethren they will wrangle and go to law, nay they will be ready to enter the lists and combat for a plot of ground whereupon a house standeth, about some corner of a messuage or end of a little tenement, and afterwards attributing unto this their hatred of brethren, the colourable name of hating sinne and wickednesse, they go up & downe cursing, detecting and reproching them for their vices, whiles in others they are never offended nor discontented therewith, but are willing enough daily to freque and haunt their company. Thus much in generall tearmes by way of preamble or proeme of this whole treatise.

It remaineth now that I should enter into the doctrine and instructions thereto belonging; wherein I will not begin as other have done at the partition of their heritage or patrimony; but at the naughtie emulation, hate-burning and jealousie which ariseth betweene them during the life of their parents. Agamemnon king of Lacedaemon was wont alwaies to send as a present unto each one of the ancients of the citie, ever as they were created Senators, a good oxe, in testimony that he honored their vertue: at length the lords called Ephori, who were the censurers & overseers of each mans behavior, condemned him for this in a fine to be paid unto the State, for scribbling and adding a reason withall; for that by these gifts and largesses he went about to subsway away their hearts and favors to himselfe alone, which ought indifferently to regard the whole body of the city; even so a man may do well to give this counsell unto a sonne, in such wise to respect & honour his father and mother, that hee seeke not thereby to gaine their whole love, nor seeme to turne away their favour and affection from other children wholly unto himselfe; by which practise many doe prevent, undermine and supplant their brethren, and thus under a colourable and honest pretense in shew, but in deed unjust and unequall, cloke and cover their avarice and covetous desire; for after a cautious and subtill manner they insinuate themselves and get betweene them and home, and so defraud and cussen them ungentlemanly of their parents love, which is the greatest and fairest portion of their inheritance, who spying their time, and taking the opportunite and vantage when their brethren be otherwise employed, and least doubt of their practises, then they bestir them most, and shew themselves in best order, obsequious, double-diligent, sober and modest, and namely in such things as their other brethren do either faile or seeme to be slacke and forgetfull. But brethren ought to do cleane contrarie, for if they perceive their father to be angrie and displeased with one of them, they should interpose themselves and undergo some part of the heave load, they ought to ease their brother, and by bearing a part, helpe to make the burden lighter: then (I say) must they by their service and ministerie gratifie their brother so much, as to bring him in some fort in grace and favour againe with their father, and when he hath failed so far sooth in neglecting the opportunity of time, or omitting some other businesse which hardly will afford excuse, they are to lay the fault so and blame upon his very nature and disposition, as being more meeete and fitted for other matters. And hereto accordeth well that speech of Agamemnon in Homer,

*He faulted not through idlenesse,
nor yet for want of wit,
But looks on me, and did expect
my moove unto it.*

even so one good brother may excuse another and say; He thought I should have done it, and left this duetie for me to doe: neither are fathers themselves strait laced, but willingly enough

* Medinoma
is a measure
containing
6. modys, which
is about 6.
pecks with us.

to admit such translations and gentle inventions of names as these; they can be content to believe their children, when they terme the supine negligence of their brethren plaine simplicitie, their stupiditie and blockishnesse, upright dealing and a good conscience; their quarrellous and litigious nature, a minde loth to be troden under-foot and utterly despised. In this manner he that will proceed with an intent only to appeale his fathers wrath, shall gaine thus much moreover; That not only his fathers choler will thereby be much diminished toward his brother, but his love also much more increased unto himselfe: howbeit, afterwards when he hath thus made all well, and satisfied his father to his good contentment, then must he turne and addresse himselfe to his brother apart, touch him to the quicke, spare him never a whit, but with all libertie of language tell him roundly of his fault, and rebuke him for his trespass; for surely it is not good to use indulgencie and connivence to a brother, no more than to insult over him too much, and tread him under foote if hee have done amisse; (for as this bewraith a joy that one takerh at his fall; so that to impliech a guiltinesse with him in the same transgression: but in this rebuke and reproofe, such measure would be kept, that it may restifie a care to doo him good, and yet a displeasure for his fault; for commonly he that hath bene a most earnest advocate and affectionate intercessor for him to his father and mother, will be his sharpest accuser afterwards when he hath bene alone by himselfe. But put the case, that brother having not at all offended, be blamed notwithstanding and accused to father and mother, howsoever in other things, it is the part of humanitie and dutifull kindnesse to susteine and beare all anger and froward displeasure of parents; yet in this case, the allegations and defenses of one brother in the justification of an other, when he is innocent, unjustly traduced, and hardly used or wronged by his parents, are not to be blamed, but allowable and grounded upon honestie: neither need a brother feare to heare that reproch in *Sophocles*:

*Thou gracelesse imp, so farre grown out of kinde,
As with thy vice a counter plea to finde.*

when frankly & freely he speakech in the behalfe of his brother, seeming to be unjustly condemned and oppressed. For surely by this manner of proceesse and pleading, they that are convicted take more joy in being overthrown, than if they had gained the victorie and better hand.

Now after that a father is deceaved, it is well becoming and fit, that brethren should more affectionally love than before, and stickle more close together: for then presently their naturall love unto their father which is common to them all, ought to appeere indifferently in mourning together and lamenting for his death: then are they to reject and cast behinde them all suspitions furnished or buzzed into their heads by varlets & servants, all slanderous calumnious and false reports, brought unto them by pick-thankes and carrie-tales on both sides, who would gladly sow some dissension betweene them: then are they to give care unto that which fables doe report of the reciprocal love of *Castor* and *Pollux*; and namely, how it is said, That *Pollux* killed one with his fist for rounding him in the eare, and whispering a tale against his brother *Castor*. Afterwards, when they shall come to the parting of their patrimonie and fathers goods among them, they ought not (as it were) to give defiance and denounce warre one against another, as many there be who come prepared for that purpose readie to encounter, as singing this note,

*O Alas! Alas, now hearken and come fight,
Who are of warre so fell the daughter right.*

But that verie day of all others they ought to regard and observe most, as being the time which to them is the beginning either of mortall warre and enmitie irreconcilable, or else of perfect friendship and amitie perdurable: at which instant they ought among themselves alone, to divide their portions if it be possible; if not, then to do it in the presence of one indifferent and common friend betweene them, who may be a witness to their whole order and proceeding; and so when after a loving and kinde manner, and as becommeth honest and well disposed persons, they have by casting lots gotten each one that which is his right: by which course (as *Plato* said) they ought to thinke that there is given and received that which is meet and agreeable for every one, and so to hold themselves therewith contented: this done, I say they are to make account that the ordeting, manning, and administration onely of the goods and heritage is parted and divided; but the enjoying, use and possession of all remaineth yet whole in common betweene them. But those that in this partition and distribution of goods, plucke one from another the noules that gave them sucke, or such youths as were fostered and brought up together with them of infants, and with whom alwaies they have

vaile

vaile so farre forth with eager pursuing their wilfulnesse, as to go away with the gaine of a slave, perhaps of greater price: but in stead thereof, they lose the greatest and most precious things in all their patrimonie and inheritance, and utterly betray the love of a brother, and the confidence that otherwile they might have had in him. Some also we have knowne, who upon a peece of wilfulnesse onely, and a quarrellous humour, and without any gaine at all, have in the partition of their fathers goods, carried themselves no better nor with greater modestie and respect, than if it had bene some bootie or pillage gotten in war. Such were *Charicles* and *Antiochus*, of the citie *Opus*, two brethren, who ever as they met with a peece of silver plate, made no more ado but cut it quite thorough the mids, and if there came a garment into their hands, in two peeces it went, slit (as neere as they could aime) just in the middle, and so they went either of them away with his part, dividing (as it were) upon some tragickall curse and execration.

*Their house and all the goods therein
By edge of sword so sharpe and keen.*

Others there be who make their boast and report with joy unto others, how in the partition of their patrimonie they have by cunning casts, connie-catched their brethren, and over-wrought them so by their cautious circumvention, fine wit and sly policies, as that they have gone away with the better part by ods: whereas indeed they should reioice rather and please themselves, if in modestie, courtesie, kindnesse, and yielding of their owne right they had surpassed and gone beyond their brethren. In which regard *Athenodorus* deserveth to be remembered in this place; and indeed there is not one here in these parts but remembereth him well enough. This *Athenodorus* had one brother elder than himselfe, named *Zenon*, who having taken upon him the management of the patrimonie, left unto them both by their father, had imbezeld and made away a good part of it; and in the end, for that by force he had carried away a woman and married her, was condemned for a rape, and lost all his owne and his brothers goods, which by order of law was forfait and confiscate to the Exchequer of the Emperour: now was *Athenodorus* above said, a verie beardless boy, without any haire on his face; and when by equitie and the court of conscience, his portion out of his fathers goods was awarded and restored unto him, he forsooke not his brother, but brought all abroad and parted the one halfe thereof with him againe, and notwithstanding that he knew well enough that his brother had used no faire play, but cunningly defrauded him of much in the division thereof, yet was he never angry with him nor repented of his kindnesse, but mildly, cheerefully, and patiently endured that unthankfulness and folly of his brother, so much divulged and talked of throughout all *Greece*. As for *Solon* when he pronounced sentence and determined in this manner as touching the government of the weale-publike; That equalitie never bred sedition; seemed verie consuleto to bring in the proportion Arithmetically which is popular, in place of that other faire and good proportion called Geometrical. But he that in an house or familie would advise brethren (as *Plato* did the citizens of his Common-wealth) above all, if possible it were to take away these words, *Mine* and *Thine*; *Mine* and not *Mine*; or at leastwile (if that may not be) to stand contented with an egall portion, and to maintaine and preserve equalitie; certes, he should lay a notable and singular foundation of amitie, concord and peace, and alwaies build thereupon the famous examples of most noble and renowned personages, such as *Pittachus* was, who when the King of *Lydia* demanded of him whether he had money and goods enough? I may have (quoth he) more by one halfe if I would, by occasion of my brothers death whose heire I am.

But forasmuch as not onely in the possession, augmentation and diminishing of goods, the lesse is evermore set as an adverse and crosse enemy to the more, but also (as *Plato* said) simply and universally there is alwaies motion and stirring in unequalitie, but rest and repose in equalitie; and so all uneven dealing and unequal partition is dangerous for breeding dissension among brethren: and impossible it is, that in all respects they should be even and equal, for that either Nature at first from their very nativitie, or Fortune afterwards, hath not divided with even hand their severall graces and favours among them, whereupon proceed envie and jealousie, which are pernicious maladies and deadly plagues, as wel to houses and families as also to States and Cities: in these regards (I say) therefore, a great regard and heed would be taken, both to prevent and also to remedie such mischiefs with all speed, when they begin first to ingender. As for him who is indued with better gifts, and hath the vantage over his other brethren, it were not amisse to give him counsell, first to communicate unto them those gifts wherein he seemeth to excell and goe beyond them; namely, in gracing and honouring them as well as himselfe by his credit and reputation, in advancing them by the meanes of his great friends; and

drawing

drawing them unto their acquaintance; and in case he be more eloquent than they, to offer them the use thereof, which although it be employed (as it were) in common, is yet nevertheless his owne still: then let him not shew any signe of pride and arrogancie, as though he disdaind them, but rather in some measure by abasing, submitting and yeelding a little to them in his behaviour, to preserve himselfe from envie, unto which his excellent parts doe lie open; and in one word, to reduce that inégalité which fortune hath made, unto some equalitie, as farre forth as possible it is to do, by the moderate carriage of his minde. *Lucullus* verily would never daigne to accept of any dignitie or place of rule, before his brother, notwithstanding he was his elder, but letting his owne time slip, expected the turne and course of his brother. Neither would *Pollux* take upon him to be a god alone by himselfe, but chose rather with his brother *Castor* to be a demie-god, and for to communicate unto him his owne immortalitie, thought it no disgrace to participate with his mortall condition; and even so may a man say unto one whom hee would admonish: My good friend, it lies in you without diminishing one whit of those good things which you have at this present, to make your brother equall unto your selfe, and to joine him in honour with you, giving him leave to enjoy (as it were) your greatnesse, your glory, your vertue, and your fortune; like as *Plato* did in times past, who by putting downe in writing, the names of his brethren, and bringing them in as persons speaking in his most noble and excellent Treatises, caused them by that means to be famous and renowned in the world. Thus he graced *Glaucus* and *Adamanthus* in his books of Politie: thus he honoured *Antiphon* the yongest of them all, in his Dialogue named *Parmenides*.

Moreover, as it is an ordinary thing to observe great difference and oddes in the natures and fortunes of brethren; so it is in manner impossible, that in all things and in every respect any one of them should excell the rest. For true it is, that the foure elements, which they say were created of one and the same matter, have powers and qualities altogether contrary; but surely it was never yet seene, that of two brethren by one father and mother, the one should be like unto that wife man, whom the Stoicks doe faine and imagine, to wit, faire, lovely, bountifull, honourable, rich, eloquent, studious, civill and courteous; and the other, foule, ill-favoured, contemptible, illiberal, needie, not able to speake and deliver his minde, untaught, ignorant, uncivill and unfociable. But even in those that are more obscure, base and abject than others, there is after a sort some sparke of grace, of valour, of aptnesse and inclination to one good thing or other: for as the common proverbe goeth;

*With Calbrap thistles rough and keene, with Prickyeff-harrow,
Close Sions sure and soft, yea, White-wallflowers are seene to grow.*

These good parts therefore, be they more or lesse in others, if he that seemeth to have them in farre better and in greater measure, doe not debate, smother, hide and hinder them, nor deject his brother (as in some solemnitie of games for the prize) from all the principall honours, but rather yeeld reciprocally unto him in some points, and acknowledge openly that in many things he is more excellent, and hath a greater dexteritie than himselfe, withdrawing alwaies closely all occasions and matter of envie, as it were fewell from the fire, shall either quench all debate, or rather not suffer it at all to breed or grow to any head and substance. Now he that alwaies taketh his brother as a colleague, counsellor and coadjutor with him, in those causes wherein himselfe is taken to be his superiour: as for example; if he be a professed Rhetorician and Orator, using his brother to plead causes; if he be a Politician, asking his advice in government; if a man greatly friended, employing him in actions and affaires abroad; and in one word, in no matter of consequence and which may win credit and reputation, leaving not his brother out, but making him his fellow and companion in all great and honourable occasions, and so giving out of him, taking his counsell if he be present, and expecting his presence if he be absent; and generally, making it known that he is a man not of lesse execution than himselfe, but one rather that loveth not much to put himselfe forth, nor stands so much upon winning reputation in the world, and seeking to be advanced in credit; by this means he shall lose nothing of his owne, but gain much unto his brother. These be the precepts and advertisements that a man may give unto him that is the better and superiour.

To come now to him who is the inferior, he ought thus to thinke in his minde: That his brother is not one alone that hath no fellow, nor the onely man in the world who is richer, better learned, or more renowned and glorious than himselfe, but that often-times he also is inferior to a great number, yea, and to many millions of us men,

Who on the earth so large do breed,

upon

upon her fruits who live and feed.

but if he be such an one as either goeth up and downe, bearing envie unto all the world; or if he bee of so ill a nature, as that among so many men that are fortunate, he alone and none but he troubleth him, who ought of all other to be dearest, and is most neerely joined unto him by the obligation of blood, a man may well say of him; That he is unhappy in the highest degree, and hath not left unto another man living, any means to go beyond him in wretchednesse. As *Aetellus* therefore thought that the Romans were bound to render thanks unto the gods in heaven, for that *Scipio* so noble and brave a man was borne in *Rome*, and not in any other citie; so every man is to wish and pray unto the gods, that himselfe may surmount all other men in prosperity, if not, yet that he might have a brother at least, wife to attaine unto that power and authoritie so much desired; but some there be so infortunate and unlucky by nature, in respect of any goodnesse in them, that they can rejoyce and take a great glorie in this, to have their friends advanced unto high places of honor, or to see their boasts and guests abroad, princes, rulers, rich and mightie men, but the resplendent glorie of their brethren they thinke doth eclipse and darken their owne renowne; they delight and joy to hear the fortunate exploits of their fathers recounted, or how their great grandfathers long ago had the conduct of armies, and were lord praetours and generals in the field, wherein they themselves had never any part, nor received thereby either honor or profit; but if there have fallen unto their brethren any great heritages or possessions, if they have risen unto high estate and achieved honorable dignities, if they are advanced by rich and noble marriages, then they are cast downe and their hearts be done. And yet it had behooved and right meet it were in the first place, to bee envious to no man at all; but if that may not be, the next way were to turne their envie outward, and eie-bite strangers, and to shew out spite unto aliens who are abroad, after the manner of those who to rid themselves from civill seditions at home, venge the same upon their enemies without, and set them together by the eares, and like as *Diomedes* in *Homer* laid unto *Glaucus*,

*Of Trojanes and their allies both,
who aide them for good will*

*Right many are beside your selfe
for me in fight to kill:*

*And you likewise have Greeks enough
with whom in bloodie field*

*You may your prowess try, and not
meete me with speare and shield.*

even so it may be said unto them; There be a number besides of concurrents upon whom they may exercise their envie and jealousie, and not with their naturall brethren; for a brother ought not to be like unto one of the balance scales, which doth alwaies contrarie unto his fellow, for as one riseth the other falleth; but as small numbers do multiplie the greater, and serve to make both them bigger, and their selves too; even so an inferior brother by multiplying the state of his brother who is his superior, shall both augment him and also increase and grow himselfe together with him in all good things: make the fingers of your hand, that which holdeth not the pen in writing, or striketh the string of a lute in playing (for that is not able so to do, nor disposed and made naturally for those uses) is never a whit the worse for all that, nor serveth lesse otherwise, but they all stir and moove together, yea and in some sort they helpe one another in their actions, as being framed for the nonce, unequal & one bigger & longer than other, that by their opposition and meeting as it were round together, they might comprehend, claipe, and hold any thing most sure, strong, and fast. Thus *Craterus* being the naturall brother of king *Antigonus* who reigned and swaid the scepter. Thus *Perillus* also the brother of *Cassander* who wore the crowne, gave their minds to be brave warriors and to lead armies under their brethren, or else applied themselves to governe their houses at home in their absence; whereas on the contrary side, the *Antiochi* and *Seluci*, as also certaine *Gripi* and *Cyziceni* and such others, having not learned to beare a lower faile then their brethren, and who could not content themselves to sing a lower note, nor to rest in a second place, but aspiring to the ensignes and ornaments of roiall dignitie, to wit, the purple mantle of estate with crowne, diademe and scepter, filled themselves and one another with many calamities, yea and heaped as many troubles upon all *Asia* throughout. Now forasmuch as those especially who by nature are ambitious and disposed to thirst after glory, be for the most part envious & jealous toward those who are more honored & renowned than they; it were very expedient for brethren if they would avoid this inconvenient,

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ence, not to seeke for to attaine either honour or authoritie and credit all by the fame means, but some by one thing and some by another: for we see by daily experience, it is an ordinarie matter that wilde beastes do fight and warre one with another, namely when they feede in one and the same pasture; and among champions and such as strive for the maiestie in feats of activitie, we count those for their adversaries and concurrents onely, who professe and practise the same kinde of game or exercise; for those that goe to it with fists and buffets, are commonly friends good enough to such sword-fencers as fight at sharpe to the utterance, and well-willers to the champions called *Paneratists*: likewise the runners in a race agree full-well with wrestlers: these I say, are ready to aide, assist and favor one another, which is the reason, that of the two sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Pollux* was the prize alwaies at buffets, but *Castor* his brother went away with the victorie in the race. And *Homer* very well in his Poeme feigned that *Teucer* was an excellent archer, and became famous thereby, but his brother *Ajax* was best at close fight and hand-strokes, standing to it heavily armed at all peeces,

*And with his shield so bright and wide
His brother Teucer he did hide.*

And thus it is with them that governe a State and common weale; those that be men of armes and manage martiall affaires, never lightly do envie them much who deale in civill causes and use to make speeches unto the people; likewise among those that professe Rhetoricke and eloquence, advocates who plead at barre, never fall out with those Sophisters that read lectures of oratorie; among professors of Physicke, they that cure by diet envie not the chirurgeons who worke by hand; whereas they who endeavour and seeke to win credite and estimation by the same art, or by their facultie and sufficiencie in any one thing, do as much (especially if they be badly minded withall) as those rivals who loving one mistresse, would be better welcome and finde more grace and favour at her hands one than another. True it is I must needs confesse; that they who go divers waies, doe no good one to another; but surely such as chooe fundrie courses of life doe not onely avoid the occasions of envie, but also by that means the rather have mutuall helpe one by the other: thus *Demosthenes* and *Chares* sorted well together; *Aeschines* likewise and *Eubulides* accorded; *Thyridides* also and *Leontides* were lovers and friends; in every which couple, the former imploied themselves in pleading and speaking before the people, & were writers and pen-men, whereas the other conducted armies, were warriors and men of action. Brethren therefore who cannot communicate in glorie and credit together without envie, ought to set their desires and ambitious mindes as farre remote one from another, and turne them full as contrarie as they can, if they would finde comfort, and not receive displeasure by the prosperitie and happy successe one of another: but above all, a principall care and regard they must have of their kindred and alliance, yea and otherwhiles of their verie wives and namely, when they be readie with their perillous speeches many times to blow more coales, and thereby enkindle their ambitious humour. Your brother (quoth one) doth wondrous; he carrieth all before him; he beareth the sway; no talke there is but of him; he is admired, and every man maketh count to him: whereas, there is no resort to you; no man cometh toward you; nothing is there in you that men regard or set by. When these suggestions shall be thus whisped, a brother that is wise and well minded, may well say thus againe: I have a brother in deed whose name is up and carrieth a great side; and verily the greater part of his credit and authoritie is mine and at my commandement. For *Socrates* was wont to say, that hee would chooe rather to have *Demus* his friend, than his **Daricks*. And a brother who is of sound and good judgement, will thinke that he hath no lesse benefit, when his brother is placed in great estate of government, blessed with riches, or advanced to credit and reputation by his gift of eloquence, than if himselfe were a ruler, wealthy, learned and eloquent. Thus you may see the best and readiest means that are to qualifie and mitigate this inequality between brethren. Now there be other disagreements besides, that grow quickly betwene, especially if they want good bringing up and are not well taught, and namely, in regard of their age. For commonly the elder, who thinke that by good right they ought to have the command, rule and government of their younger brethren in everie thing, and who held it great reason that they should be honored, and have power and authoritie alwaies above them, commonly do use them hardly and are nothing kinde and lightsome unto them: the younger againe being stubborn, wilfull and unruly, ready also to snike off the bridle, are wont to make no reckoning of their elder brethrens prerogative, but set them at naught and despise them; whereby it cometh to passe, that as the younger of one side envied, are held downe with envie, and kept under alwaies by their elder

* An ancient peece of count with his image, worth 2. shillings 4. pence, or a Teratralium Attic.

elder brethren, and so shunne their rebukes and skorne their admonitions; so these on the other side desirous to hold their owne and maintaine their preeminence and soveraigntie over them, stand alwaies in dead left their younger brethren should grow too much, as if the rising of them were their fall. But like as the scale standeth in a benefit or good turne that is done, men say it is meet that the receiver should esteeme the thing greater than it is, and the giver make the least of it; even so, he that can persuade the elder, that the time whereby he hath the vantage of his other brethren is no greater thing; and likewise the younger, that he should reckon the same birth-right for no small matter, he shall do a good deed betweene them, in delivering the one from disdain, contempt and disparage, and the other from irreverence and negligence.

Now forasmuch as it is meet, that the elder should take care and charge, teach and instruct, admonish and reprove the younger; and as fit likewise the younger should honor, imitate and follow the elder: I could wish that the sollicitude and care of the elder, favoured rather of a companion and fellow, than of a father; that his selfe also would seeme not so much to command as to persuade, and to be more prompt and ready to joy for his younger brothers well-doing, and to praise him for it, than in any wise take pleasure in reprehending and blaming him if haply he have forgotten his dutie; and in one word, to do the one not onely more willingly, but also with greater humanitie than the other. Moreover, the zeale and emulation in the younger ought rather to be of the nature of an imitation, than either of jealousie or contention; for that imitation presupposeth an opinion of admiration, whereas jealousie and contention implieth envie, which is the reason that they affect and love those who endeavour to resemble, and be like unto them; but contrariwise, they are offended at those and keepe them downe, who strive to be their equals. Now among many honors, which it becometh the younger to render unto his elder, obedience is that which deserveth most commendation, and worketh a more assured and heartie affection accompanied with a certaine reverence, which causeth the elder reciprocally and by way of requital to yeeld the like and to give place unto him. Thus *Cato* having from his infancy honored and revered his elder brother *Cepion*, by all manner of obedience and silence before him; in the end gained thus much by it, that when they were both men grown, he had so woon him and filled him (as it were) with so great respect and reverence of him, that hee would neither say nor doe ought without his privitie and knowledge. For it is reported, that when *Cepion* had one day signed and sealed with his owne signet a certaine letter testimoniall; *Cato* his brother coming afterwards would not set to his seale; which when *Cepion* understood, he called for the foresaid testimoniall and plucked away his owne seale, before he had once demanded for what occasion his brother would not beleve the deed, but suspected his testimonie? It seemeth likewise, that the brethren of *Epicurus* showed great respect and reverence unto him, in regard of the love and carefull good will that he bare unto them; which appeared in this, that as to all other things else of his; so to his Philosophie especially, they were so wedded, as if they had beene inspired therewith. For albeit they were seduced and deceived in their opinion, giving out and holding alwaies (as they did) from their infancy, that never was any man so deepe a cleare, nor so great a Philosopher as their brother *Epicurus*; yet it is wonderfull to consider as well him that could so frame and dispose them, as themselves also for being so disposed and affectionate unto him. And verily even among the more moderne Philosophers of later time, *Apollonius* the Peripateticke, had convinced him of untruth (whosoever hee was) that said Lordship and glorie could like no fellowship, for he made his brother *Sotion* more famous and renowned than himselfe. For mine owne part, to say somewhat of my selfe; albeit that fortune hath done me many favours, in regard whereof I am bound to render unto her much thanks; there is not any one for which I take my selfe so much obliged and beholden unto her, as for the love that my brother *Timon* hath alwaies shewed and doth yet shew unto me; a thing that no man is able to denie, who hath never so little bene in our companie, and you least of all others may doubt who have conversed so familiarly with us.

Now there be other occasions of trouble which ought to be taken heed of, among those brethren which are of like age or somewhat neere in yeeres; small passions (I wote well) they be, but many they are, and those ordinary and continuall; by means whereof they bring with them an evill custome of vexing, fretting and angering one another ever and anon for small things, which in the end turne into hatred and enmity irreconcilable; for when they have begun to quarrell one with another at their games and pastimes, about the feeding and fighting of some little creatures that they keepe, to wit, quails or cocks, and afterwards about the wrestling of their boies and pages at the schoole, or the hunting of their hounds in the chafe, or the capa-

rison of their hories; they can no more holde and refraine (when as they be men) their contentions veine and ambition in matters of more importance: thus the greatest and mightiest men among the Greeks in our time, banding at the first one against another in taking parts with their dancers, and then in sliding with their minstrels, afterwards by comparing one with another who had the better ponds or bathing pooles in the territorie of *Edepsu*, who had the fairest galleries and walking places, the statelier halles and places of pleasure, evermore changing and exchanging, and fighting (as it were) for the vantage of a place, striving still by way of odious comparison, cutting and diverting another way the conduct pipes of fountaines, are become so much exasperate one against another, that in the meane time they are utterly undone; for the tyrant is come, and hath taken all from them; banished they are out of their owne native country; they wander as poore vagabonds thorow the world, and I may be bolde (well neere) to say, they are so farre changed from that they were afore, that they be others quite, this onely excepted, that they be the same still in hatred one to another. Thus it appeareth evidently, that brethren ought not a little to resist the jealousie and contentions which breed among them upon final trifles, even in the very beginnings, & that by accustoming themselves to yield & give place reciprocally one to another, suffering themselves to be overcome & take the foyle, and joyning rather to pleasure and content one another, than to win the better hand one of another: for the victorie which in olde time they called the Cadmean victorie, was nothing els but that victorie betwene brethren about the citie of *Thebes*, which is of all other the most wicked and mischievous.

What shall we say moreover? do not the affaires of this life minister many occasions of disagreement and debate even among those brethren which are most kind and loving of all other? yes verily. But even therein also, we must be careful to let the said affaires to combat alone by themselves, and not to put thereto any passion of contention or anger, as an anker or hooke to catch holde of the parties, and pull them together for to quarrell, and enter into debate; but as it were in a ballance, to looke jointly together, on whether side right and equitie doth incline and bend, and so soone as ever we can, to put matters in question to the arbitrement and judgement of some good and indifferent persons, to purge and make cleere all, before they are grown so farre, as that they have gotten a staine or tincture of cankred malice, which afterwards will never be washed or scoured out: which done, we are to imitate the Pythagoreans, who being neither joined in kindred or consanguinitie, nor yet allied by affinity, but the scholars in one schoole, and the fellows of one and the same discipline, if peradventure at any time they were so farre carried away with choler, that they fell to entercourse reprochfull and reviling taunts, yet before the sinne was gone downe they would shake hands, kisse and embrace one another, be reconciled, and become good friends againe. For like as if there be a fever, occasioned by a botch or rising in the thare, there is no danger thereof, but if when the said botch is gone, the fever still continue, then it seemeth to be a maladie proceeding from some more inward, secret and deeper cause; so the variance betwene two brethren, when it ceaseth together with the deciding of a businesse, we must thinke dependeth upon the same businesse & upon nothing els, but if the difference remaine still when the controversy is ended, surely then it was but a colourable pretence thereof, and there was within some root of secret malice which caused it. And here in this place it would serve our purpose very well, to heare the manner of proceeding in the decision of a controvercie betwene two brethren of a barbarous nation, and the same not for some little parcell of land, nor about poore slaves or silly sheepe, but for no lesse than the kingdom of *Perfu*: for after the death of *Darius* some of the Persians would have had *Ariamenes* to succeed and wear the crowne, as being the eldest sonne of the King late deceased; others againe stood earnestly for *Xerxes*, as well for that he had to his mother *Atossa* the daughter of that great *Cyrus*, as because hee was begotten by *Darius* when hee was a crowned king. *Ariamenes* then came downe out of *Media*, to claime his right; nor in armes, as one that minded to make warre, but simply and peaceably, attended onely with his ordinary traine & retinue, minding to enter upon the kingdom by justice & order of law. *Xerxes* in the meane while, & before his brother came, being present in place, ruled as king, & exercised all those functions that appertained thereto: his brother was no sooner arrived, but he tooke willingly the diademe or roiall frontlet from his head, & the princely chaplet or coronet which the Persian kings are wont to wear upright, he laid downe, & went toward his brother to meet him upon the way, & with kind greeting embraced him: he sent also certaine presents unto him, with commandment unto those that carried them, to say thus: *Xerxes* thy brother honoreth thee now with these presents here, but if by

the sentence and judgement of the peeres and lords of *Perfu* he shall be declared king; his will and pleasure is, that thou shalt be the second person in the realme, and next unto him. *Ariamenes* answered the message in this wise: These presents I receive kindly from my brother, but I am perswaded that the kingdom of *Perfu* by right belongeth unto me; as for my brethren, I will relieve that honour which is meet and due unto them next after my selfe, and *Xerxes* shall be the first and chief of them all. Now when the great day of judgement was at hand, when this weightie matter should be determined; the Persians by one general and common consent declared *Artabanus* the brother of *Darius* late departed, to be the umpire and competent judge for to decide and end this cause. *Xerxes* was unwilling to stand unto his award, being but one man, as who repoised more trust and confidence in the number of the princes and nobles of the realme; but his mother *Atossa* reproving him for it: Tell me (quoth she) my sonne, wherefore refusest thou *Artabanus* to be thy judge, who is your uncle, and besides, the best man of all the Persians? and why dost thou feare so much the issue of his judgement, considering that if thou misse, yet the second place is most honourable, namely so be called the kings brother of *Perfu*? Then *Xerxes* perswaded by his mother, yielded; & after many allegations brought and pleaded on both sides judicially, *Artabanus* at length pronounced definitively, that the kingdom of *Perfu* appertained unto *Xerxes*: with that *Ariamenes* incontinently leapt from his seat, went and did homage unto his brother, and taking him by the right hand, enthroned and enstalled him king: from which time forward he was alwaies the greatest person next unto his brother; and shewed himselfe so loving and affectionate unto him, that in his quarrell he fought most valiantly in the navall battel before *Salaminus*, where in his service and for his honour he lost his life. This example may serve for an original pattern of true benevolence and magnanimitie, so pure and uncorrupt, as it cannot in any one point be blamed or stained. As for *Antiochus* as a man may reprehend in him his ambitious minde, and excessive desire of rule; so he may as well wonder that considering his vaine-glorious spirit, all brotherly love was not in him utterly extinct; for being himselfe the younger, he waged war with *Seleucus* for the crowne, and kept his mother sure enough for to fide with him and take his part: now it hapned that during this warre and when it was at the horeft, *Seleucus* strucke a battell with the *Galatians*, lost the field, and himselfe not to be found, but supposed certainly to have beene flaine and cut in peeces, together with his whole armie, which by the Barbarians were put to the sword and massacred; when newes came unto *Antiochus* of this defeature, hee laid away his purple robes, put on blacke, caused the court gates to be shut, and mourned heavily for his brother, as if he had beene dead: but being afterwards advertised that he was alive safe & found, and that he went about to gather new forces and make head againe; hee came abroad, sacrificed with thanksgiving unto the gods, & commanded all those cities & states which were under his dominion to keepe holiday, to sacrifice & wear chaplets of flowers upon their heads in token of publike joy. The Athenians when they had devised an absurd and ridiculous fable as touching the quarrell betwene *Neptune* and *Minerva*, intermeddled withall another invention, which foundeth to some reason, tending to the correction of the same, and as it were to make amends for that absurditie, for they suppress alwaies the second of August, upon which day hapned (by their saying) that debate afore said betwene *Neptune* and *Minerva*: What should let and hinder us likewise, if it chance that we enter into any quarrell or debate with our allies and kinsfolke in blood, to condemn that day to perpetuall oblivion, and to repute and reckon it among the cursed and dismal daies: but in no wise by occasion of one such unhappy day to forget to many other good and joyfull daies wherein we have lived and beene brought up together; for either it is for nothing and in vaine that nature hath endued us with meekenesse, and harmelesse long suffrance, or patience the daughter of modestie and mediocritie, or else surely wee ought to use these vertues and good gifts of her principally to our allies and kinsfolke; and verily to crave and receive pardon of them when we our selves have offended and done amisse, declareth no lesse love, and so naturall affection than to forgive them if they have trespassed against us. And therefore we ought not to neglect them if they be angry and displeased; nor to be straight laced and stiffely stand against them when they come to justify or excuse themselves; but rather both when our selves have faulted, oftentimes to prevent their anger by excuse, making or asking forgiveness, and also by pardoning them before they come to excuse if we have beene wronged by them. And therefore *Euclides* that great scholar of *Socrates* is much renowned and famous in all schooles of Philosophie, for that when he heard his brother breake out into these beastly and wicked words against him, The foule ill take me if I be not revenged and meet with thee; and

a mischief come to me also (quoth he againe) if I appeare not thine anger, & perswade thee to love me as well as ever thou didst. But king *Eumenes* not in word but in deed & effect surpasse all others in meeknesse and patience: for *Perseus* king of the Macedonians being his mortall enimie, had secretly addrest an ambush, and fer certaine men of purpose to murder him about *Delphos*, elpying their time when they sawe him going from the sea side to the said towne for to consult with the oracle of *Apello*: now when he was gone a little past the ambush, they began to affaile him from behinde, tumbling downe and throwing mightie stones upon his head and necke, wherewith he was so astonishd that his sight failed, and he fell withall, in that manner as he was taken for dead: now the rumour hereof ran into all parts, inso much as certeine of his servitors and friends made speed to the citie *Pergamus*, reporting the tidings of this occurrent, as if they had bene present and scene all done; wherupon *Attalus* the eldest brother next unto himselfe, an honest and kinde hearted man, one also who alwaies had caried himselfe most faithfully and loyally unto *Eumenes*, was not onely declared king, and crowned with the royall diademe; but that which more is, espoused and married Queene *Stratonice* his said brothers wife, and lay with her. But afterwards, when counter-newes came that *Eumenes* was alive and comming homeward againe, *Attalus* laid aside his diademe, and taking a partisan or javelin in his hand (as his maner before time was) with other pensioners and squires of the bodie, he went to meet his brother: king *Eumenes* received him right graciously, tooke him lovingly by the hand, embrac'd the Queene with all honour, and of a princely and magnanimous spirit put up all; yea and when he had lived a long time after without any complaint, suspition, and jealousy at all, in the end at his death made over and assigned both the crowne and the Queene his wife unto his brother the aforesaid *Attalus*: and what did *Attalus* now after his brothers decease? he would not foster and bring up (as heire apparent) so much as one childe that he had by *Stratonice* his wife, although she bare unto him many; but he nourished and carefully cherisht the sonne of his brother departed, until he was come to full age, and then himselfe in his life time with his owne hands set the imperiall diademe and royall crowne upon his head, and proclaimed him king. But *Cambyses* contrariwise frighted upon a vaine dreame which he had, That his brother was come to usurpe the kingdom of *Asia*, without expecting any proofe or presumption thereof, put him to death for it; by occasion whereof, the succession in the empire went out of the race of *Cyrus* upon his decease, and was devolved upon the line of *Darius* who reigned after him; a Prince who knew how to communicate the government of his affaires, and his regall authoritie, not onely with his brethren, but also with his friends.

Moreover, this one point more is to be remembered & observed diligently in all variances and debates that are risen betwene brethren: namely, then especially, and more than at any time else, to converse and keepe companie with their friends; and on the other side to avoid their enemies and evill-willers, and not to be willing so much as to vouchsafe them any speech or entertainment. Following herein the fashion of the Candiots, who being oftentimes fallen out and in civill dissension among themselves, yea and warring hot one with another, no sooner heare newes of forreine enemies comming against them, but they rancke themselves, banding jointly together against them; and this combination is that, which thereupon is called *Syncretismos*. For some there be, that (like as water runneth alwaies to the lower ground, and to places that chinke or cleave asunder) are ready to fide with those brethren or friends that be fallen out, and by their suggestions buzzed into their eares, ruinate and overthrow all acquaintance, kinred and amitie, hating indeed both parties, but seeming to beare rather upon the weaker side, and to settle upon him, who of imbecillitie soone yeeldeth and giveth place. And verily those that be simple and harmlesse friends, such as commonly yong folke are, apply themselves commonly to him that affecteth a brother, helping & increasing that love what he may; but the most malicious enemies are they, who elpying when one brother is angrie or fallen out with another, seeme to be angrie and offended together with him for companie; and these do most hurt of all others. Like as the lion therefore in *despote* answered unto the cat, making semblance as though he heard her say she was sicke, and therefore in kindnesse and love asking how she did? I am well enough (quoth she) I thanke you, for that you were farther off; even so, unto such a man as is inquisitive and entrench into talke as touching the debate of brethren to sound and search into some secrets betweene them, one ought to answer thus: Surely there would be no quarrell betwene my brother and me, if neither I nor he would give care to carrie tales and pick-thankes betwene us. But now it commeth to passe (I wot not how) that when our eies be fore and in paine, we turne away our sight from those bodies and colours which make no reverberation or repercussion

repercussion backe againe upon it; but when we have some complaint and quarrell, or conceive anger or suspition against our brethren, we take pleasure to heare those that make all woofe, and are apt enough to take any colour and infection, presented to us by them, where it were more needfull and expedient at such a time to avoid their enimies and evill willers, and to keepe our selves out of the way from them; and contrariwise to converse with their allies, familiaris and friends; and with them to beare company especially, yea and to enter into their owne houses for to complaine and blame them before their very wives frankly and with libertie of speech. And yet it is a common saying, That brethren when they walke together, should not so much as let a stone to be betwixt them; nay they are discontented and displeased in minde, in case a dog chance to runne overthwart them; and a number of such other things they feare, whereof there is not one able to make any breach or division betwene brethren; but in the meane while, they perceive not how they receive into the mids of them, and suffer to travse and crosse them, men of a curriish and dogged nature, who can do nothing els but baite betwene, and fowe false rumours and calumniationes betwene one and another, for to provoke them to jarre and fall together by the eares: and therefore to great reason and very well to this purpose said *Theophrastus*: That if all things (according to the old proverbe) should be common among friends, then most of all they ought to entertaine friends in common; for private familiarities and acquaintances apart one from another, are great meanes to disjoine and turne away their hearts; for if they fall to love others, and make choise of other familiar friends, it must needs follow by consequence to take pleasure and delight in other companies, to esteeme and affect others, yea and to suffer themselves to be ruled and led by others. For friendships and amities frame the natures and dispositions of men; neither is there a more certaine and assured signe of different humors and divers natures, than the choise & election of different friends, in such sort as neither to eate and drinke, nor to play, nor to passe and spend whole daies together in good fellowship and companie, is so effectfull to hold and maintaine the concord and good will of brethren, as to hate and love the same persons; to joy in the same acquaintance; and contrariwise to abhor and shun the same companie; for when brethren have friends common betwene them, the said friends will never suffer any firmities, calumniationes & quarrels to grow betwene; and say that peradventure there do arise some sudden heat of choler or grudging fit of complaint, presently it is cooled, quenched, and suppressed by the mediation of common friends; for ready they will be to take up the quarrell and scatter it so as it shall vanish away to nothing if they be indifferently affectionate to them both, and that their love incline no more to the one side than to the other: for like as tin-foder doth knit and rejoyne a cracke peece of brasle, in touching and taking hold of both sides and edges of the broken peece, for that it agreeth and forceth as well to the one as to the other, and suffreth from them both alike; even so ought a friend to be fitted and futable indifferently unto both brethren, if he would knit surely, and confirme strongly their mutuall benevolence and good will. But such are unequall, and cannot intermeddle and go betwene the one as well as the other, make a separation and disjunction; and not a sound joint, like as certeine notes or discords in musicke. And therefore it may well bee doubted and question made whether *Hesiodus* did well or no when he said,

*Make not a feere I thee advise
Thy brothers peece in any wise.*

For a discreet and sober companion common to both (as I said) before, or rather incorporat (as it were) into them, shall ever be a sure knot to fasten brotherly love. But *Hesiodus* (as it should seeme) meant and feared this in the ordinary and vulgar sort of men, who are many of them naught, by reason that so customably they be given to jealousy and suspition, yea and to selfe-love which if we consider and observe, it is well; but with this regard alwaies, that although a man yeeld equal good will unto a friend as unto a brother, yet nevertheless in case of concurrence, he ought to reserve ever the preeminence and first place for his brother, whether it be in preferring him in any election of Magistrats, or to the managing of State affaires; or in bidding and inviting him to a solemne feast, or publick assembly to consult and debate of weightie causes; or in recommending him to princes & great lords. For in such cases which in the common opinion of the world are reputed matters of honor and credit, a man ought to repender the dignitie, honor, and reward, which is becoming and due to blood by the course of nature. For in these things the advantage and prerogative will not purchase so much glorie and reputation to a friend, as the repulse and putting-by, bring disgrace, discredit and dishonor unto a brother.

Well,

Well, as touching this old faw and sentence of *Hefiodus*, I have treated more at large elsewhere; but the sententious saying of *Menander* full wisely set downe in these words:

*No man who lov's another shall you see
Well pleas'd himselfe neglected for to bee.*

putteth us in minde and teacheth us to have good regard and care of our brethren, and not to presume so much upon the obligation of nature, as to despise them. For the horse is a beast by nature loving to a man, and the dog loves his master; but in case you never thinke upon them, nor see unto them (as you ought) they will forgoe that kind affectio, estrange themselves & take no knowledge of you. The bodie also is most necerly knit and united to the soule by the greatest bond of nature that can be; but in case it be neglected and contemned by her, or not cherished so tenderly as it looketh to be, unwilling shall you see it to helpe and assist her, nay full untowardly will it execute, or rather give over it will altogether everie action. Now to come more neere and to particularise upon this point, honest and good is that care and diligence which is employed and shewed to thy brethren themselves alone; but better it would be farre, if thy love and kind affections be extended as far as to their wives fathers and daughters husbands, by carrying a friendly minde and readie will to pleasure them likewise, and to do for them in all their occasions; if they be courteous and affable in saluting their servants, such especially as they love and favour; thankfull and beholding to their Physicians who had them in cure during sickness and were diligent about them; acknowledging themselves bound unto their faithfull and trustie friends, or to such as were willing and forward to take such part as they did in any long voyage and expedition, or to beare them company in warfare. And as for the wedded wife of a brother whom he is to reverence, repute and honor no lesse than a most sacred and holy relique or monument, if at any time he happen to see her, it will be come him to speake all honour and good of her husband before her; or to be offended and complaine (as well as she) of her husband, if he set not that store by her as he ought, and when she is angered to appeale and still her. Say also that he have done some light fault, and offended her husband, to reconcile him againe unto her and entreat him to be content and to pardon her, and likewise if there be some particular and private cause of difference betweene him and his brother, to acquaint the wife therewith, and by her means to complaine thereof, that she may take up the matter by composition and end the quarrell.

Lives thy brother a batcheler and hath no children? thou oughtest in good earnest to be angie with him for it, to sollicite him to marriage, yea with chiding, rating, and by all means urge him to leave this single life, and by entering into wedlocke to be linked in lawfull alliance and affinitie: hath he children? then you are to shew your good will and affection more manifestly, as well toward him as his wife, in honouring him more than ever before, in loving his children as if they were your owne, yea, and shewing your selfe more indulgent, kinde and affable unto them; that if it chance they do faults and shewd tumes (as little ones are wont) they runne not away, nor retire into some blind and solitarie corner for feare of father and mother, or by that meanes light into some light, unhappie and ungracious companie, but may have recourse & refuge unto their unkle, where they may be admonished lovingly, and find an intercessor to make their excuse & get their pardon. Thus *Plato* reclaimed his brothers son or nephew *Speusippus*, from his loose life and dissolute riot, without doing any harme or giving him foule words, but by winning him with faire and gentle language (whereas his father and mother did nothing but rate and crie upon him continually, which caused him to runne away and keepe out of their sight) he imprinted in his heart a great reverence of him, and a fervent zeale to imitate him, and to set his mind to the studie of Philosophie, notwithstanding many of his friends thought hardly of him and blamed him not a litle, for that he tooke not another course with the untoward youth, namely, to rebuke, checke, and chastise him sharply: but this was evermore his answer unto them: That he reprooved and tooke him downe sufficiently, by shewing unto him by his owne life and carriage, what difference there was betweene vice and vertue, betweene things honest and dishonest. *Alenas* sometime King of *Theffalie*, was hardly used and overawed by his father, for that he was insolent, proude, and violent withall; but contrariwise, his unkle by the fathers side, would give him entertainment, beare him out and make much of him: Now when upon a time the *Theffalians* sent unto *Delphos* certaine lots, to know by the oracle of god *Apollo* who should be their king? The foresaid unkle of *Alenas* unwitting to his brother, put in one for him: Then *Pythia* the Prophetesse gave answer from *Apollo* and pronounced,

ced, That *Alenas* should be king: The father of *Alenas* denied, and said that he had cast in no lot for him; and it seemed unto every man that there was some errour in writing of those billes or names for the lotteries; whereupon new messengers were dispatched to the Oracle for to cleere this doubt; and then *Pythia* in confirmation of the former choise, answered:

*I meane that youth with reddish haire,
Whom dame Archdice in wombe did beare.*

This *Alenas* declared and elected king of *Theffalie*, by the oracle of *Apollo*, and by the means withall of his fathers brother, both proved himselfe afterward a most noble prince, excelling all his progenitours and predeceffours, and also raised the whole nation and his countrey a great name and mighty puillance.

Furthermore, it is seemely and convenient by joying and taking a glory in the advancement, prosperity, honours and dignities of brothers children, to augment the fame, and to encourage and animate them to vertue, and when they do well, to praise them to the full. Haply it might be thought an odious and unseemely thing for a man to commend much his owne sonne, but surely to praise a brothers sonne is an honourable thing, and since it proceedeth not from the love of a mans selfe, it can not be thought but right, honest, and (in truth) divine: for surely me thinks the very name it selfe (of unkle) is sufficient to draw brethren to affect & love dearly one another, and so consequently their nephews: and thus we ought to propole unto our selves, for to imitate the better sort, & such as have bene immortalised & deified in times past: for so *Hercules* notwithstanding he had 70 sonnes within twaine of his owne, yet he loved *Iolau* his brothers sonne no lesse than any of them; inso much as even at this day in most places there is but one altar erected for him and his said nephew together, and men pray jointly unto *Hercules* and *Iolau*. Also when his brother *Iphiclus* was slain in that famous battell which was fought neere *Lacedemon*, he was so exceedingly displeased, and tooke such indignation thereat, that he departed out of *Peloponnesus*, and left the whole countrey. As for *Leucothes*, when her sister was dead, the nourished and brought up her childe, and together with her, ranged it among the heavenly faines: whereupon the Romane dames even at this day, when they celebrate the feast of *Leucothes* (whom they name *Matuta*) carrie in their armes and cherish tenderly their sisters children, and not their owne.

* See the signification divine of an unkle.



OF INTEMPERATE SPEECH OR GARRULITIE.

The Summarie.



That which is commonly said, All extremities be naught, requieth otherwhiles an exposition, and namely, in that vertue which we call Temperance, one of the kinds or branches whereof, consisteth in the right use of the tongue, which is as much to say, as the skill and knowledge how to speake as it becometh: now the moderation of speech hath for the two extremes, Silence (a thing more often praise-worthy than reprochable) and Babbler; against which this Discourse is addressed. Considering then, that silence is an approved reward unto wise men, and opposite directly unto much prating, and comely and seemely speech is in the mids, we call not silence a vice, but say, That a man never findeth harme by holding his peace. But as touching Garrulitie or Intemperate speech, the author sheweth in the very beginning of his Treatise, that it is a maladie incurable and against nature; for it doth frustrate the talkative person of his greatest desire, to wit, for to have audience and credit given him; also that it maketh a man inconsiderate, importune and malapert, ridiculous, mocked and hated, plunging him ordinarily into danger, as many events have proved by experience. For to discover this master the better, he saith frequently:

sequently: That the nature of vertuous men and those who have noble bringing up, is directly opposite unto that of long-tongued persons, and joining the reasons by which a man ought not to bewray his secret, together with those evils and inconveniences which curiosity & much babble do bring, and confirming all by fine similitudes and notable examples: afterwards, taking in hand againe his former speech, and argument, he compareth a traitor and busie talker together, to the end that all men should so much the rather detest the vice of garrulitie: then he proceedeth immediately to discover and apply the remedies of this mischiefe, willing us, in the first place and generally to consider the calamities and miseries that much babbling causeth; as also the good & commodity which proceedeth of silence: which done, he discouret of those particular remedies, which import thus much in effect: That a man ought to frame and accusse himselfe, either to be silent, or els to speake last; to avoid all hastinesse in making his answer; to say nothing, but that which is either needfull or civil; to shun and forbear those discourses which please us most, and wherein we may be soone over-seene and proceed too farre; to finde busie praters occupied apart from them; to provide them the companie of men who are of authority and aged; In summe, to consider whether that which a man hath said, be convenient, meet and profitable, and nevertheless, to thinke alwaies of this: That other-whiles a man may repent of some words spoken, but never of keeping silence.

OF INTEMPERATE speech or Garrulitie.



Very hard and troublesome cure it is that Philosophie hath undertaken, namely, To heale the disease of much prating; for that the medicine and remedie which the use, be words that must be received by hearing; and these great talkers will abide to heare no man, for that they have all the words themselves, and talke continually; so that the first mischiefe of those who can not hold their tongue and keepe silence, is this: That they neither can nor will give care to another; inasmuch as it is a willfull kinde of deafenesse in men, who seeme thereby to controll nature, and complaine of her, in that where she hath allowed them two eares, she hath given them but

one tongue. If then Euripides said very well unto a foolish auditour of his,

*Powre I wise words, and counsel what I can
With all my skill, into a sottish man,
Unmeth' I all I be able him to fill,
If holde and keepe the same he never will.*

a man may more truly and justly say unto (or rather of) a prating fellow,

*Powre I wise words, and counsel what I can
With all my skill unto a sottish man,
Unmeth' I shall be able him to fill,
In case receive the same he never will.*

and in truth, more properly it may be said: That one powreth good advertisements about such an one and beside him rather, than into him, so long as he either speaketh unto him that listneth not, or giveth no care unto them that speake: for if a prating fellow chance to heare some short and little tale, such is the nature of this disease called Garrulitie, that his hearing is but a kinde of taking his winde new, to babble it forth againe immediately, much more than it was, or like a whirle-poolle which whatsoever it taketh once, the same it sendeth up againe very often with the vantage. Within the city *Olympia* there was a porch or gallery called *Hephestenos*, for that from one voice by sundry reflections and reverberations it redreth seven echoes: but if some speech come to the eares of a babbler, and enter never so little in, by and by it resoundeth againe on every side,

*And stirs the strings of secret heart within,
Which would lie still, and not be moved therein.*

inasmuch, as a man may well say: That the conducts and passages of their hearing reach not to the braine where their soule and minde is seated, but only to their tongue: by reason whereof, whereas in others, the words that be heard doe rest in their understanding, in praters they void

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away and runne out presently, and afterwards they goe up and downe like emptie vessels, void of sense and full of found. Well, as incurable as such seeme to be, yet if it may be thought available to leave no experiment untied for to doe such good, we may begin our cure, and say thus unto a busie prater:

*Peace my good, some, for Taciturnitie
Brings it with it much good commodity.*

But among the rest, these be the two chiefe and principall, namely: To heare and to be heard; of which twaine, our importunate talkers can attaine neither the one nor the other, so unhappie they are as to be frustrate of that which they so much desire. As for other passions and maladies of the soule, namely, Avarice, Ambition, Love and Voluptuousnesse, they doe all of them in some sort enjoy their desire; but the thing that troubleth and tormenteth these babbling fellows most, is this: That seeking for audience so much as they do, and nothing more, they can never meet with it, but every man shunneth their company, and flieth away as fast as his legges will carrie him; for whether men be set together in a knot, sadly talking in their round chaires, or walking in companie, let them espie one of these praters comming toward them, away they goe every one, that a man would say the retreat were sounded, so quickly they retire. And like as when in some assembly if all be husht on a sudden so as there is not a word, we use to say that *Mercurie* is come among them; even so when a prating foole entrench into a place where friends are either set at the board to make merry, or otherwise met together in counsell, everie man streightwaies is silent and holdeth his peace, as being unwilling to minifter occasion unto him of talke; but if himselfe begin first to open his lips, up they rise all and are soone gone, as matins suspecting, & doubting by the whistling northern wind from the top of craggy rocks, and promontories, some rough sea, and fearing to be stomacke-sicke, retire betimes into a bay for harbor: whereby it cometh to passe also, that neither at a supper can he meet with guests willing to eate and drinke with him, nor yet companions to lodge with him, either in journey by land, or voyage by sea, unless it be by constraint. For so importunate he is alwaies, that one while he is ready to hang upon a mans cloake wherefore he goes, another while he takes hold on the side of his beard, as if he knocked at the doore with his hand to force him to speake; in which case well fare a good paire of legs, for they are woorth much monie at such a time; as *Archilochus* was wont to say, yea and *Aristotle* also that wise Philosopher: for when upon a time he was much troubled with one of these busie praters, who haunted and wearied him out of measure with cavilling tales and many foolish and absurd discourses, iterating effsoones these words; And is not this a woonderful thing *Aristotle*? No iwis (quoth he againe) but this were a wonder rather, if a man that hath feet of his owne should stand still and abide to heare you thus prate, unto another also of the same stamp, who after much idle prattle and a long discourse, said thus unto him: I doubt I have bin tedious unto you Philosopher with my many words; No in good sooth (quoth *Aristotle* unto him) for I gave no care at all unto you. For if otherwhiles men cannot shake such praters off, but must of necessitie let their tongues walke, this benefit he hath by the foule, that he retireth inwardly all the while lending the outward eares only for them to beat upon, and dash as it were all about with their jangling bibble babbles for the in the meane time is otherwise occupied, and discouret to herselfe of divers matters within; by which means such fellows can meet with no hearers that take heed what they say, or beleve their wordes. For as it is generally held, that the naturall feed of such as are lecherous and much given to the companie of women is unfruitfull and of no force to engender even so the talke of these great praters is vaine, barren, and altogether fruitlesse. And yet there is no part or member of our body that nature hath so surely defended (as it were) with a strong rampar, as the tongue: for before it she hath set a pallaſado of sharpe teeth, to the end that if peradventure it will not obey reason, which within holdeth it hard as with a strait bridle, but it will blatter out and not tarme within, we might bite it until it bleed againe, and so restrain the intemperance therof. For

Euripides said not, that houles unbolted;
*But tongues and mouth's unbri'dled if they bee
Shall find in the end mishap and miserie.*

And those in my conceit who say that hosen without dores, and purses without strings, serve their masters in no stead; and yet in the meane time, neither set hatch nor locke unto their mowthes, but suffer them run out and overflow continually, like unto the mouth of the sea *Pontus*, these I say in mine opinion seeme to make no other account of words than of the basest thing in the world; whereby they are never beleaved (say what they will) and yet this is the pro-

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per end and scope that all speech tenderth to, namely to winne credit with the hearers; and no man will ever beleeve these great talkers, no not when they speake the truth. For like as wheat if be it enclosed within some danke or moist vessell, doth swell and yeeld more in measure, but for use is found to be worse; even so it is with the talke of a prating person; well may he multiply and augment it with lying, but by that meanes it leeseeth all the force of perswasion. Moreover what modest, civil, and honest man is there, who would not verie carefully take heed of drunkenness? for anger (as some say) may well be ranged with rage & madnesse; and drunkenness doth lodge and dwell with her, or rather is * madnes it selfe, solely in circumstance of time it may be counted lesse, for that it continueth lesse while, but surely in regard of the cause it is greater, for that it is voluntarie, and we runne wilfully into it, and without any constraint. Now there is no one thing for which drunkenness is so much blamed and accused as for intemperate speech and talke without end: for as the Poët saith,

* *ira furor
brevis est.*

*Wine makes a man who is both wise and grave
To sing and chant, to laugh full wamonly,
It causeth him to dance, and eke to rave,
And many things so do undecently.*

for the greatest and worst matter that ensueth thereupon is not singing, laughing and dauncing; there is another inconvenience in comparison whereof all these are nothing, and that is,

*To blurt abroad, and those words to reveale,
Which better were within for to conceale.*

This is (I say) the mischief most dangerous of all the rest: and it may be that the Poët covertly would assaile that question which the Philosophers have propounded and disputed upon; namely, what difference there might be, betweene liberall drinking of wine, and starke drunkenness? in attributing unto the former mirth and jocundnesse extraordinary, and to the latter much babbling and foolish prattle: for according to the common proverb, that which is seated in the heart and thought of a sober person, lieth aloft in the mouth and tongue of a drunkard. And therefore wisely answered the Philosopher *Bia* unto one of these jangling and prating companions: for when he seemed to make him for sitting still, and saying nothing at a feast, inso much as he gave him the lob and foole for it: And how is it possible (quoth he) that a foole should hold his peace at the table? There was upon a time a citizen of *Athens* who feasted the embassadors of the king of *Persia*, and for that he perceived that these great Lords would take delight in the companie of learned men and Philosophers, upon a brave minde that he carried, invited they were all & met there together: now when all the rest began to discourse in generall, and everie man seemed to put in some vie for himselfe, and to hold and maintaine one theme or other, *Zeno* who fate among them was onely silent and spake not a word; whereupon the said Embassadors and strangers of *Persia* began to bee merrie with him and to drinke unto him round, saying in the end: And what shall we report of you Sir *Zeno* unto the King our master? Marie (quoth he) no more but this, that there is an ancient man at *Athens*, who can sit at the boord and say nothing. Thus you see that silence argueth deepe and profound wisdom; it implieth sobriety, and is a mysticall secret and divine vertue; whereas drunkenness is talkative, full of words, void of sense and reason; and indeed thereupon multiplieth so many words, and is ever jangling. And in truth the Philosophers themselves when they define drunkenness say: That it is a kinde of raving and speaking idly at the table upon drinking too much wine; whereby it is evident, that they doe not simply condemne drinking, so that a man keepe himselfe within the bounds of modestie and silence; but it is excessive and foolish talke, that of drinking wine maketh drunkenness. Thus the drunkard raveth and talketh idly when he is cup-shotten at the boord; but the prater and man of many words doth it alwaies and in every place, in the market and common hal, at the theatre, in the publicke galleries and walking places, by day and by night. If he be a physician and visit his patient, certes he is more grievous, and doth more hurt in his cure than the maladie it selfe; if he be a passenger with others in a ship, all the companie had rather be sea-sicke than heare him prate; if he set to praise thee, thou wert better to be dispraised by another; and in a word, a man shall have more pleasure and delight to converse and commune with lewd persons so they be discreet in their speech, than with others that be buisie talkers, though otherwise they be good honest men. True it is indeed that old *Nestor* in a tragédie of *Sophocles* speaking unto *Ajax* (who overthot himselfe in some hot and hasty words) for to appease and pacifie him, saith thus after a milde and gracious maner,

*I blame not you Sir Ajax for your speech
Nought though it be, your deeds are nothing leech.*

But surely we are not so well affected unto a vaine-prating fellow; for his importunate and unseasonable words, marre all his good works, and make them to lose their grace. *Lysias* upon a time, at the request of one who had a cause to plead unto at the barre, penned an oration for his purpose and gave it him. The partie after he had read and read it over againe, came unto *Lysias* heave and ill-appealed saying; The first time that I perused your oration, me thought it was excellently well written, and I wondered at it; but when I tooke it a second and third time in hand, it seemed very simply endited & caried no forcible and effectfull thill with it: VVh (quoth *Lysias*, and smiled withall) know you not that you are to pronounce it but once before the judges? and yet see & marke withall the perswasive eloquence and sweet grace that is in the writing of *Lysias*, for I may be bold to say and affirme of him, that

*The Muses with their broidered violet haire,
Grac'd him with favour much and beauty faire.*

And among those singular commendations that are given out of any Poët; most true it is that *Homer* is he alone of all that ever were, who overcame all fatiety of the reader; seeming ever more new and fresh, flourishing alwaies in the prime of lovely grace, and appeering young thill and amiable to win favour; howbeit in speaking and professing thus much of himselfe,

*It grieves me much for to rehearse againe
A tale that once delivered hath bene plaine.*

He sheweth sufficiently that he avoideth what he can, and feareth that tedious fatiety which followeth hard at heeles, & laeth wait (as it were) unto all long traines of speech which regard he leadeth the reader & hearer of his Poemes from one discourse & narration to another, and evermore with novelities doth so refresh and recreate him, that he thinketh he hath never enough; whereas our long-tongued chatters do after a fort wound and weary the eares of their hearers by their ratiologies and vaine repetitions of the same thing as they that soile and slouty writing tables when they be faire scoured and cleansed: and therefore let us fet this fitt and forsooth before their eies, that like as they who force men to drinke wine out of measure and undelated with water, are the cause that the good blessing which was given us to rejoice our hearts and make us pleasant and merry, driveth some into sadness, and others into drunkenness and violence; even so they that beyond all reason and to no purpose use their speech (which is a thing otherwise counted the most delightfull and amiable meanes of conference and societie that men have together) cause it to bee inhumane and unfociable, displeasing those whom they thought to please, making them to be mocked at their hands, of whom they looked to be well esteemed, and to have their evill will and displeasure, whose love and amitie they made reckoning of. And even as hee by good right may be esteemed uncourteous and altogether uncivil, who with the girdle and tuffe of *Venus*, wherein are all sorts of kind and amiable allurements, should repell and drive from him as many as desire his companie; so hee that with his speech maketh others heave and himselfe hateful, may well be held and reputed for a gracelesse man and of no bringing up in the world. As for other passions and maladies of the minde, some are dangerous, others odious, and some againe ridiculous and exposed to mockerie; but garrulity is subject unto all these inconveniences at once. For such folke as are noted for their lavish tongue, are a meere laughing stocke, and in every common and ordinary report of theirs, they minister occasion of laughter; hated they be for their relation of ill newes, and in danger they are because they cannot conceale and keepe close their owne secrets: heereupon *Anacharsis* being invited one day & feasted by *Solon*, was reputed wife, for that being asleepe he was found and scene holding his right hand to his mouth, and his left upon his privities and natural parts: for good reason he had to thinke, that the tongue required and needed the stronger bridle and bit to overthrow it: and in very truth it were a hard matter to reckon for many persons undone and overthrown by their intemperate and loose life, as there have bene cities and mightie States ruined and subverted utterly, by the revealing and opening of some secrets. It fortuned that whiles *Sylla* did inlaugher before the citie of *Athens*, and had not leisure to stay there long, an I continue the siege, by reason of other affaires and troubles pressed him fore, for one side king *Antirrhates* invaded and harmed *Asia*, and on the other side the faction of *Marius* gathered strength; and having gotten head, prevailed much within *Rome*: certaine old fellows being met in a barbers shop within the city of *Athens*, who were blabs of their tongues, clattered it out in their talk together, that a certaine quarter of the citie named *Heptastadion* was not sufficiently

guarded, and therefore the towne in danger to be surpris'd by that part; which talke of theirs was over-heard by certaine spies, who advertised *Sylla* so much; whereupon immediately he brought all his forces to that side, and about midnight gave an hot assault, made entrie and went within a very little of forcing the citie, and being master of it all, for he filled the whole streete called *Ceramicum* with slaughter and dead carcases, insomuch as the chanel ran downe with blood. Now was hee cruelly bent against the Athenians more for their hard language which they gave him than for any offence or injurie otherwise that they did unto him, for they had flouted and mocked *Sylla*, together with his wife *Metella*; and for that purpose they would get upon the walles and say; *Sylla* is a Sycamore or Mulberie, bestrewd all over with dusty-meale; besides many other such foolish jibes and taunts; and so for the lightest thing in the world (as *Plato* saith) to wit, words which are but winde, they brought upon their heads a most heave and grievous penaltie. The garrulitie and over-much talke of one man, was the onely hinderance that the citie of *Rome* was not set free and delivered from the tyrannie of *Nero*. For there was but one night betweene the time that *Nero* should have bene murdered on the morrow, and all things were readie and prepared for the purpose: but he who had undertaken the execution of that feat, as he went toward the Theatre, espied one of those persons who were condemned to die, bound and pinnioned at the prison doore, and readie to be led and brought before *Nero*; who hearing him to make piteous moane and lamenting his miserable fortune, steps to him and rounding him softly in the care: Pray to God poore man (quoth he) that this one day may passe over thy head, and that thou die not to day, for to morrow thou shalt com me thanks. The poore prisoner taking hold presently of this enigmaticall and darke speech, and thinking (as I suppose) that one bird in hand is better than two in bush, and according to the common saying, that

*A fowle is he who leaving that
which readie is and sure,
Doth follow after things that be
uncadie and unsure.*

made choise of saving his life by the surer way, rather than by the juster meanes; for he discovered unto *Nero* that which the man had whispered secretly unto him: whereupon presently the partie was apprehended and carried away to the place of torture, whereby racking, scorching and scourging; he was urged miserable wretch, to confesse and speake out that perforce, which of himselfe he had revealed without any constraint at all. *Zeno* the Philosopher fearing that whē his body was put to dolorous and horrible torments, he should be forced even against his will to bewray and disclose some secret plot; bit off his tongue with his owne teeth and spit it in the Tyrants face. Notable is the example of *Leena*, and the reward which she had for containing and ruling her tongue is singular. An harlot she was and verie familiar with *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*; by meanes of which inward acquaintance, privie she was and partie as farre forth as a woman might be to that conspiracie which they had complotted against the usurping tyrants of *Athenes*, and the hopes that they builded upon (Drunke she had out of that faire cup of Love, and thereby vowed never to reveale the secrets of god *Cupid*.) Now after that those two paramours and lovers of hers had failed of their enterprise and were put to death; she was called unto question and put to torture, and therewith commaunded to declare the rest of the complices in that conspiracie, who as yet were unknown and not brought to light: but so constant and resolute she was, that she would not deere to much as one, but endured all paines and extremities whatsoever; whereby she shewed that those two yong gentlemen had done nothing upstifing their persons and nobilitie, in making choise to be enamoured of her. In regard of which rare secrecie of hers, the Athenians caused a Lionesse to be made of brasse without a tongue, and the same in memoriall of her to be erected and set up at the verie gate and entrie of their Citadell; giving posteritie to understand by the generosity of that beast, what an undaunted and invincible heart she had; and likewise of what taciturnitie and trust in keeping secrets, by making it tonguelesse: and to say a truth, never any word spoken served to so good stead as many concealed and held in, have profited. For why? A man may one time or other utter that which he once kept in; but being spoken, it cannot possibly be recalled and unsaid, for out it is gone already and spread abroad fundrie waies. And herupon it is (I suppose) that we have men to teach us for to speake, but we learne of the gods to hold our peace. For in sacrifices, religious mysteries, and ceremonies of divine service we receive by tradition, a custome to keepe silence. And even so, the Poet *Homer* feigned *Ulysses* (whose eloquence otherwise was so sweet) to be of

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all men most silent and of fewest words; his sonne likewise, his wife and nourse, whom you may heare thus speaking:

*As soone shall stocke of sturdy oak be tell,
Or iron so strong, as I will it reveale.*

And *Ulysses* himselfe sitting by *Penelope* before he would be knowne unto her who he was, saith

*Griefe in his mind, and pittie to behold
His wife by teares to shew what heere did seele,
But all the while his eyes be stiffe and hold,
Which shew a more than borne or sturdy Steele.*

so full was his tongue of patience, and his lips of continence. For why? reason had all the partes of his bodie so obedient and readie at command, that it gave order to the eyes not to shed teares; to the tongue not to utter a word; to the heart not to pant or tremble, nor so much as to sob or sigh:

*Thus unto reason obedient was his heart,
Persuaded all to take in better part.*

yea his reason had gotten the masteire of those inward and secret motions which are voided and incapable of reason, as having under her hand the verie blood and vitall spirits in all obedience: his people also and traine about him were for the most part of that disposition; for what wanted this of constancy & loyalty to their lord in the highest degree, to suffer themselves to be pulled & haled, to be rugged & toiled, yea & dashed against the hard ground under foote by the giant *Cyclops*, rather than to utter one word against *Ulysses*, or to bewray that logge of wood which was burnt at the one end, & an instrument made readie for to put out his onely eye that he had? nay they endured rather to be eaten & devoured raw by him, than to disclose any of *Ulysses* his secrets. *Pittacus* therefore did not amisse, who when the King of *Egypt* had sent unto him abeast for sacrifice, and willed him withall to take out and lay apart the best and worst piece thereof, plucked out the tongue and sent it unto him, as being the organ of many good things, and no lesse instrument of the worst that be in the world. And *Ladice* in *Empirides* speaking freely of herselfe, saith that she knew the time,

*When that she sought her tongue to hold,
And when to speake she might be bold.*

so For certainly those who have had noble and princely bringing up in deed, learne first to keepe silence, and afterwards how to speake. And therefore king *Antigonus* the great, when his sonne upon a time asked him, When they should dislodge and breake up the campe: What sonne (quoth hee) art thou alone afraid, that when the time comes thou shalt not heare the trumpet found the remove? Lo, how he would not trust him with a word of secrecie, unto whom he was to leave his kingdome in succession! teaching him thereby, that he also another day should in such cases be wary and spare his speech. Olde *Metellus* likewise, being asked such another secret as touching the armie and setting forward of some expedition: If I wist (quoth he) what my shurt which is next my skinne, knew this my inward intent and secret purpose, I would put it off and fling it into the fire. King *Famenes*, being advertised that *Craterus* was coming against him with his forces, kept it to himselfe, and would not acquaint any of his neere friends therewith, but made semblance and gave it out (though untuly) that it was *Neopolemus* who had the leading of that power; for him did his souldiours contemne and make no reckoning of, whereas the glory and renowne of *Craterus* they had in admiration, and loved his vertue and valour: now when no man els but himselfe knew of *Craterus* his being in the field, they gave him battell, vanquished him, slew him before they were aware, neither tooke they knowledge of him before they found him dead on the ground. See how by a stratageme of secrecie and silence the victorie was achieved, onely by concealing to hardie and terrible an enimie; insomuch, as his very friends about him admired more his wisdom in keeping this secret from them, than complained of his diffidence and distrust of them. And say that a man should complaine of thee in such a case, better it were yet to be challenged and blamed for distrustful, all the while thou remainest safe and obtaine a victorie by that meanes, than to be justly accused after an overthrow, for being so open and trusting so easily. Moreover, how darrest thou confidently and boldly blame and reprove another for not keeping that secret, which thou thyselfe hast revealed? for if it was behoovefull and expedient that it should not be known, why hast thou tolde it to another? but in case when thou hast let it be a secret from thy selfe unto a man, thou wouldest have him to holde it in, and not blurt it out, surely it can not be but thou hast bet-

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ter confidence in another than thy selfe : now if he be like thy selfe , who will pity thee if thou come by a mischiefe ? is he better , and so by that means saveth thee hammelesse beyond all reason and ordinary course ? then hast thou met with one more faithfull to thee than thou art thy selfe : but haply thou wilt say : He is my very friend ; to hath he another friend (& sure) whom he will do as much for , and disclose the same secret unto , and that friend (no doubt) hath another . Thus one word will get more till , it will grow and multiply by a fute and sequence linked & hanging to an intemperate tongue : for like as untie , so long as she passeth not her bounds , but continueth and remaineth still in herselfe , is one and no more , in which respect she is called in Greeke , *Monos* , that is to say , Alone ; whereas the number of twaine is the beginning of a diversitie (as it were) and difference , and therefore indefinite ; for straight waies is untie passed forth of it selfe by doubling , and so turneth to a plurality ; even so a word or speech all the while it abideth enclosed in him who first knew it , is truly and properly called a Secret , but after it is once gotten forth and let a going , so that it is come unto another , it beginneth to take the name of a common brute and rumour : for as the Poet very well saith ; *Words have wings* . A bird , if she be let flye once out of our hands , it is much ado to catch againe ; and even so , when a word hath passed out of a mans mouth , hardly or unneeth may we withholde or recover ; for it flieeth amaine , it flappeth her light wings , fetching many a round compasse , and spreadeth every way from one quarter to another : well may mariners stay a ship with cables and ankers , when the violence of the winde is ready to drive and carrie her an end , or at least while they may moderate her swift & flight course ; but if a word be issued out of the mouth , as out of her haven , and have gotten sea-roume , there is no bay nor harborough to ride in , there is no casting of anker will serve the turne , away she goes with a mighty noise and hurly , untill in the end she runnes upon some rocke and is split , or els into a great and deepe gulf , to the present danger of him who set her forth ;

*For in small time , and with a little sparke
Of fire , a man may burne the forest fall
Of Ida mount : see'n so (who list to marke)
All towne will heare , a word to one let fall .*

The Senate of Rome upon a time fat in fadde and serious counsell many daies together , about a matter of great secrecie : now the thing being so much the more suspected and hearkened after , as it was lesse apparent and knowne abroad ; a certaine Romane dame , otherwise a good sober and wife matron (howbeit a woman) importuned her husband and instantly besought him , of all loves to tell her what this secret matter might be upon which they did sit so close in consultation ; protelling with many an oath and execrable curse to keepe silence and not to utter it to any creature in the world ; you must thinke also , that she had teares at command , lamenting and complaining withall , what an unhappie woman she was , in case her husband would not tell her so much as with a word : the Romane Senatour her husband minding to trie and reproove her folly : Thou hast overcome me (sweet heart , quoth hee) and through thine importunitie , thou shalt heare of a strange and terrible occurrent that troubleth us all . So it is , that we are advertised by our Priests , that there hath bene a lake of late scene flying in the aire , with a golden cop or crest on her head in manner of an helmet , and withall , bearing a javelin : hereupon we do conferre and consult with our Soothsayers and Diviners , desirous to be certified out of their learning , whether this prodigious token portend good or hurt to the Common-weale ? but keepe it to thy selfe (as thou lovest me) and tell it no bodie . When he had thus said , he went forth toward the Common hall and Market place : his wife incontinently had no sooner spied one of her waiting-maidens comming into the roome , but she drew her apart , begonne to beat and knocke her owne brest , to rent and teare the haire off her head , and therewith : Ah , woe's me (quoth she) for my poore husband , my sweet native countrey ; alas and welayday , what shall we doe , and what will become of us all ; as if shee taught her maide and were desirous that she should say thus unto her againe : Why , what is the matter mistresse ? Now when the maide thereupon asked her , What newes ? thee set tale an end and told all , marie shee forgot not the common and ordinarie burden or clause , that all blabs of their tongue use to come in with : But in any case (quoth she) say nothing , but keepe it to thy selfe . Scarfe was shee gone out of her mistresse sight , but seeing one of her fellowes whom she found most at leisure and doing little or nothing , to her she imparted all . That wench againe made no more ado , but to her lover she goes , who haply then was come to vifite her , and telleth him as much . By this meanes the tale was bruted abroad , and passed roundly from one to another ; inso much as the rumour thereof

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was runne into the market place , and there went currant before the first author , and deviler thereof himselfe was gotten thither . For there meetes with him one of his familiars and friends : How now (quoth he) are you come but now directly from your house to the market place : No (quoth he againe) I am but newly come : Why then belike (saith the other) you have heard no newes ? Newes (quoth he) what newes should I heare ? and what tidings can you tell me off ? Why man (answered he againe) there hath bene of late a Larke scene flying with a golden cop or crest on her head , and carrying beside a javelin ; and the Consuls with other Magistrates are ready to call a Senate house for to sit upon this strange occurrent . With that the Senatour before said , turning aside & smiling , thus said to himselfe : Wel done wife , I can thee thank for thy quicknes & celeritie , thou hast quit thy selfe well indeed , that the word which erewhile I uttered unto thee , is gotten before me into the market place . Well , the first thing that he did was this , To the Magistrates he went straightwaies , signified unto them the occasion of this speech , and freed them from all feare and trouble : but when he was come home to his owne house he fell in hand to chaffice his wife : How now Dame (quoth he) how is this come to passe ; you have undone me for ever ; for it is found and known for a truth , that this secret and matter of counsell which I imparted to you , is divulged and published abroad , and that out of my house : and thus your unbridled tongue is the cause that I must abandon and fly my countrey , and forthwith depart unto exile . Now when at the first she would have denied the thing stoutly , and alledged for her excuse and defence , saying : Are not there three hundred Senatours besides you your selfe , who heard it as well as you ? No marvel then if it be known abroad . What tell you me of three hundred (quoth he ?) upon your importunate instance , I devised it of mine owne head , in mirth to trie your silence , and whether you could keepe counsell . Certes , this Senatour was a wife man and went safely and warily to worke , who to make proofe of his wife , whom hee tooke to be no founder nor surer than a crackt and rotten vessell , would not poure into it either wine or oile , but water only , to see if it would leake & run out . But Fulvius one of the favorites & minions of *Augustus* the Emperour , when he was now well stepped in yeeres , having heard him toward his latter daies , lamenting and bewailing the desolate estate of his house , in that he had no children of his owne bodie begotten , and that of his three nephewes or sisters children two were dead , and *Posthumus* (who onely remained alive) upon an imputation there upon him confined , and living in banishment , whereupon he was enforced to bring in his wives sonne , and declare him heire apparant to succeed him in the Empire : notwithstanding upon a tender compassion , he was otherwhiles in deliberation with himselfe , and minded to recall his foresaid sisters sonne from exile , and the place whereunto he was confined . *Fulvius* (I say) being privy to these moanes and desseignes of his , went home and told his wife all that he had heard . Shee could not hold but goes to the Emperesse *Livia* , wife of *Augustus* , and reported what her husband *Fulvius* had told her . Whereupon *Livia* taking great indignation , sharply did contest and expostulate with *Caesar* in these termes : That seeing it is so (quoth she) that you had so long before projected & determined such a thing , as to call home againe your nephew afore said ; why sent you not for him at the first , but exposed me to hatred , enmity & war with him , who another day should weare the Diademe and be Emperour after your decease ? Well the next morning betimes , when *Fulvius* came , as his manner was , to salute *Caesar* and give him good morrow , after he had said unto him *Salve Caesar* ; that is , God save you *Caesar* . He reassured him no otherwise but this , *Optima salutes* ; that is , God make you wife *Fulvius* . *Fulvius* soone found him and conceived presently what hee meant thereby ; whereupon hee retired home to his house withall speeche , and called for his wife ; unto whom : *Caesar* (quoth hee) is come to the knowledge that I have not kept his counsell nor concealed his secrets ; and therefore I am resolved to make my selfe away with mine owne hands . And well worthie (quoth shee) for justly you have deserved death , who having lived so long with me , knew not the incontinence of my tongue all this while , nor would take heed and beware of it ; but yet suffer me first to die upon your word ; and with that catching hold thereof , killed herselfe before her husband . And therefore *Philippius* the Comedian , did verie wisely in his answer to King *Lysimachus* , who by way of all courtie making much of him , and minding to do him honour , demanded of him thus : What wouldst thou have me to impart unto thee of all other treasure and riches that I have ? What it shall please your Majestie (quoth he) my gracious Lord , so it be none of your secrets .

Moreover , there is adjoined ordinarily unto Garrulitie , another vice no lesse than it ; namely , Bussie intermeddling and Curiositie , for men desire to heare and know much newes , because they

they may report and blafe the fame abroad, and especially if they be fecrets. Thus goe they up and downe liftening, enquiring and fearching if they can find and difcover fome clofe and hidden fpeeches, adding as it were fome olde farge of odious matters to their roies and fooleries; which maketh them afterwards to be like unto little boyes, who neither can hold yee in their hands, nor yet will let it goe; or to fay more truly, they clafpe and containe in their bosome fecret fpeeches, refembling ferpents, which they are not able to hold and keepe long, but are eaten and gnawen by them. It is faid that certaine fifhes called the Sea-needles, yea and the vipers doe cleave and burft when they bring forth their yong; and even fo, fecrets when they be let fall out of their mouthes who can not containe them, undo and overthrow thofe that reveale them: King *Selenus* (him I meane who was furnamed *Callinicus*, that is, the victorious Conquerour) in one battell againft the Galatians, was defeated hee and his whole power; whereupon he tooke from his head the *Diademe* or Royall band that he ware, and rode away on the fpeare on horfebacke with three or foure in his companie, wandring through defarts and by waies unknowne fo long, untill both horfe and man were done, and readie to faint for wearineffe: at length he came into a cuntry keattes or peafants cottage; and finding (by good fortune) the good man of the houfe within, asked for bread and water; which the faid peafant or cottier gave unto him; and not that onely, but looke what the field would afford els befides, he imparted unto him and his company with a willing heart and in great plentie, making them the beft chere that hee could devife: in the end he knew the kings face, whereupon he tooke fuch joy, in that his hap was to entertaine the king in his needfullie, that he could not containe him-
 20 felfe, nor fecond the king in difsembling his knowledge, who desired nothing more, than to be unknowne: when hee had therefore brought the king onward on his way, and was to take his leave of him: Adieu (quoth he) king *Selenus*: with that the king reached forth his hand, and drew him toward him, as if he would have kifed him, & withall, beckned to one of his followers, and gave him a fecret token to take his fword and make the man fhorter by the head.

*Thus whiles he fpeake (I not what) his head
 Off go's, and lies in duft when he was dead.*

whereas, if he could have held his tongue a little while longer, and maftered himfelfe, when the king afterwards had better fortune and recovered his greatneffe and puiſſance, he fhould in my conceit have gotten more thanks at his hands, and beene better rewarded for keeping ſilence,
 30 than for all the contentie and hofpitalitie that he fhewed. And yet this fellow had in fome fort a colourable excufe for this intemperate tongue of his, to wit, his owne hopes and the good will that he bare unto the king: but the moſt part of theſe praters vndo themſelves without any cauſe or pretence at all of reaſon: like as it befell unto *Dennis* the tyrants barbar: for when (upon a time) there were ſome talking in his ſhop as touching his tyrannicall government and eſtate, how aſſured it was, and as hard to be ruined or overthrowen, as it is to breake the Diamond: the faid barbar laughing thereat: I marvell (quoth he) that you ſhould fay fo of *Dennis*, who is fo often under my hands, and at whoſe throat in a manner every day I holde my razor: theſe words were ſoone carried to the tyrant *Dennis*, who faire crucified this barbar and hanged him for his fooliſh words. And to fay a truth, all the fort of theſe barbaras be commonly buſie fellows
 40 with their tongue; and no marvell, for lightly the greateſt praters and idleſt perfons in a cuntry, frequent the barbaras ſhop, and fit in his chaire, where they keepe ſuch chat, that it can not be, but by hearing them prate fo cuſtomably, his tongue alſo muſt walke with them. And therefore king *Archilanus* answered very pleaſantly unto a barbar of his, that was a man of no few words, who when he had caſt his linnen cloth about his ſhoulders, ſaid unto him: Sir, may it pleaſe your Highneſſe to tell me how I ſhall cut or ſhave you: Mary (quoth he) holding thy tongue, and ſaying not a word. A barbar it was, who fiſt reported in the city of *Athens*, the newes of that great diſcomfiture and overthrow which the Athenians received in *Sialy*; for keeping his ſhop (as he did) in that end of the ſuburbs called *Pyræum*, he had no ſooner heard the faid unlucky newes of a certaine ſlave who fled from thence out of the ſhip, when it was loſt, but
 50 leaving ſhop and all at fixe and ſeven, ran directly into the city, and never reſted to bring the faid tidings, and whiles they were freſh and fire new,

*For ſcare ſome els might all the honour win,
 And he too late, or ſecond ſhould come in.*

Now upon the broching of theſe unwelcome tidings, a man may well thinke (and not without good cauſe) that there was a great ſtirre within the city; inſomuch, as the people aſſembled together into the Market place or Common hall, and ſearch was made for the author of this ru-

mour:

mour: hereupon the faid barbar was haled and brought before the bodie of the people, and examined; who knew not ſo much as the name of the partie of whom hee heard this newes; But well aſſured I am (quoth he) that one faid fo, mary who it was or what his name might be, I can not tell. Thus it was taken for an headleſſe tale, and the whole Theatre or Aſſembly was ſo moved to anger, that they cried out with one voice: Away with the villain, have the varlet to the racke, ſet the knave upon the wheele, he it is onely that hath made all on his owne fingers ends, this hath he and none but he devide; for who els hath heard it, or who beſides him hath beleev'd it? Well, the wheele was brought, and upon it was the barbar ſtretched: meane while, and even as the poore wretch was hoisted thereupon, behold there arrived and came to the citie,
 10 thoſe who brought certaine newes in deed of the faid deſeature, even they who made a ſhift to eſcape out of that infortunate field: then brake up the aſſembly, and every man departed and retired home to his owne houſe, for to bewaile his owne private loſſe and calamity, leaving the filly barbar lying along bound to the wheele, and racked out to the length, and there remained he untill it was very late in the evening, at what time he was let looſe; and no ſooner was he at liberty, but he muſt needs enquire newes of the executioner, & namely, what they heard abroad of the Generall himſelfe *Nicias*, and in what fort he was ſlaine: So inexpugnable and incorrigible a vice is this, gotten by cuſtome of much talke, that a man can not leave it, though he were going to the gallows, nor keepe in thoſe tidings which no man is willing to heare: for certes, like as they who have drunke bitter potions or unfavoury medicines, can not away with the very
 20 cups wherein they were; even ſo, they that bring evil and heave tidings, are ordinarily hated and deteſted of thoſe unto whom they report the ſame. And therefore *Sophocles* the Poet hath verie finely diſtinguiſhed upon this point in theſe verſes:

MESSENGER,

*Is it your heart, or els your eare,
 That this offends, which you do heare?*

CREON,

*And why doſt thou ſearch my diſeaſe,
 To know what griefe doth me diſpleaſe?*

MESSENGER,

*His deeds (I ſee) offend your heart,
 But my words cauſe your eares to ſmart.*

Well then, thoſe who tell us any wofull newes be as odious as they who worke our wo; and yet for all that, there is no reſtreint and brideling of an intemperate tongue that is given to walke and overreach. It fortuned one day at *Lacedæmon*, that the temple of *Juno* called there *Chalciceas* was robbed, and within it was found a certaine emptie flagon or ſtone bottle for wine: great running there was and concourſe of the people thither, and men could not tell what to make of that flagon: at laſt one of them that ſtood by; My maſters (quoth he) if you will give me leave, I ſhall tell you what my conceit is of that flagon, for my minde gives me (ſaith he) that theſe church-robbers who projected to execute ſo perilous an enterpriſe, had fiſt drunke the juice of
 40 hemlocke before they entred into the action, and afterwards brought wine with them in this bottle, to the end that if they were not ſurprized nor taken in the maner, they might ſave their lives by drinking each of them a good draught of mere wine; the nature and vertue whereof (as you know well enough) is to quench as it were and diſſolve the vigour and ſtrength of that poiſon, and ſo goe their waies ſafe enough, but if it chance that they were taken in the deed doing, then they might by meanes of that hemlocke which they had drunke die an eaſie death, and without any great paine and torment, before that they were put to torture by the magiſtrate. He had no ſooner delivered this ſpeech, but the whole companie who heard his words, thought verily that ſuch a contrived devide, and ſo deepe a reach as this never came from one that ſuſpected ſuch a matter, but rather knew that it was ſo indeed; whereupon they flockt
 50 round about, and hemmed him in, and on everie ſide each one had a ſaying unto him: And what art thou (quoth one?) From whence art thou ſaith another? Here comes one and aſkeſt, who knew him? there ſets upon him another, ſaying: And how commeſt thou by the light of all this that thou haſt delivered? to be ſhort, they handle the matter ſo well, that they forced him to bewray himſelfe in the end, and to confeſſe that he was one of them that committed the ſacrilege. Were not they alſo who murdered the Poet *Thyem*, diſcovered and taken after the ſame manner? It hapned that the faid murderers were ſet at a Theatre to behold the plaies and paſtimes which were exhibited; and ſeeing a flight of Cranes over their heads, they whiſpered

one

one to another: Loe these be they that will revenge the death of *Ishem*. Now had not *Ishem* bene a long time before scene, and much searh was made after him, because he was out of the way and missed; whereupon they that late next unto these men over-hearing those words of theirs, and well noting the speech, went directly to the Magistrates and Iustices to give intelligence and information of their words. Then were they attached and examined; and thus being convicted, suffered punishment in the end, not by the means of those Cranes that they talked of, but surely by their owne blab-tongues; as if some hellish furie had forced them to disclose that murder which they had committed. For like as our bodies the members diseased and in paine, draw humours continually unto them, and all the corruption of the parts nere unto them flow thither; even so, the tongue of a babling fellow, being never without an inflammation and a feverous pulse, draweth alwaies and gathereth to it one secret and hidden thing or other. In which regard it ought to be well sensed with a rampar, and the bulwaik of reason should evermore be set against it, which like unto a barre may stay and stop that overflowing and incontinent lubricitie which it hath; that we be not more undiscereet and foolish beasts than geese are, who when they be to take a flight into *Cithia* over the mountaine *Taurus*, which is full of eagles, take up everie one in their bill a good big stone, which serveth them in stead of a Locke or bridle to restrain their gagling; by which devise they may passe all night long without any noise, and not be heard at all or derided by the faine eagles.

Now if one should demand and aske of me, what person of all others is most mischievous and dangerous? I beleve very well there is no man would name any other but a traitour. And yet *Eubryates* (as saith *Demosthenes*) for his treason covered his owne house with a rousemeade of timber that he had out of *Macedonie*. *Philocrates* also lived richly and gallant of that great masse of gold and silv'r, which he had of King *Philip* for betraying his countrey, and therewith furnished himselfe with brave harlots, gallant concubines, and daintie fishes. *Euphorbus* also and *Philagrus* who betrayed *Eretria*, were endowed by the King, with faire lands and possessions: but a traitor is a traitor voluntarie and for nothing, he demandeth no hire at all, neither looketh he to be solicited, but offereth himselfe and his service; nor betrayeth unto the enemies either horses or wallee, but revealeth hidden secrets, and discloseth speeches which are to be concealed, whether it be in judiciall matters of law or in seditious discords, or in managing of State affaires, it makes no matter, and no man conneth him thanks; nay he will thinke himselfe beholden to others, if they will vouchsafe to give him audience. And therefore, that which is commonly said to a prodigal person, who foolishly mispendeth and vainly wasteth his substance he cares not how, to gratifie every man: Thou art not liberal; this is no countesie; a vice it is rather that thou art disposed unto, thus to take pleasure in nothing, but giving and giving still. The same rebuke and reprehension serveth verie fitly for a babler: Thou art no friend nor well-willer of mine, thus to come and discover these things unto me; this is thy fault, and a disservice which thou art sicke of, that lovest to be clattering and halt no mind but of chatting.

Now would I have the Reader to thinke that I write not all this, so much to accuse and blame the vice and maladic of garrulitie, as to cure and heale the same. For by judgement and exercise we turne out and overcome the vices and passions of the minde; but judgement, that is to say, knowledge, must go before: for no man accuseth himselfe to void, and (as it were) to weed them out of the soule, unless he hate and detest them first. Now then, and never before, begin we to take an hatred to vices, when by the light of reason we consider and weigh the shame and losse that cometh unto us by them: as for example, we know and see that these great praters, while they desire to win love, gaine hatred; thinking to do a pleasure, they displease; looking to be well esteemed, are mocked and derided; they lay for lucre, and get nothing; they hurt their friends, aide their enemies, and undoe themselves.

So then, let this be the first recit and medicine for to cure this maladic; even the consideration and reckoning up of the shameful infamies and painfull inconveniences that proceed and ensue thereof. The second remedy is, to take a survey of the contrary; that is to say, to heare alwaies, to remember and have ready at hand the praises and commendations of silence, the majestic (I say) the mysticall gravitie and holinesse of taciturnitie, to represent alwaies unto our minde and understanding, how much more admired, how much more loved, and how farre wiser they are reputed, who speake roundly at once, and in few words, their minde pithily; who in a short and compendious speech comprehend more good matter and substance a great deale, than these great talkers, whose tongues are unbridled and run at random. Those (I say) be they whom *Plato* so highly esteemeth, comparing them to skilfull and well practised Archers and

Darters,

Darters, who have the feat of shooting arrowes and launching darts; for they know how and when to speake graciously and bitterly, foundly, pithily and compactly. And verily, wife *Lycurgus* framed and exercised his citizens immediately from their child-hood by keeping them downe at the first with silence to this short and sententious kinde of speech, whereby they spake playeaes compendiously, and knit up much in a little. For like as they of *Biskay* or *Celtiberia* do make their Steele of yron, by entering it and letting it lie first within the ground, and then by purging and refining it from the grosse, terrene and earthly substance that it hath; even so the Laconians speech hath no outward barke (as a man would say) or cruft upon it, but when all the superfluitie thereof is taken away, it is Steele (as it were) and tempered, yea, and hath an edge upon it, fit for to worke withall and to pierce: and verily that apophthegmaticall and powerfull speech of theirs, that grace which they had to answer sententiouslly and with such gravity, together with a quicke and ready gift to meet at every turne with all objections, they attained unto by nothing els but by their much silence. Wherefore, it were very expedient to set ever before the eies of these great praters, those short and witty speeches, that they may see what grace and gravity both, they have: as for example; The Lacedaemonians unto *Philip* greeting: *Dionysius* in *Corinth*. Also another time, when *Philip* had written unto them to this effect: If I enter once into the confines of *Lacemia*, I will destroy you utterly that you shall never rise againe. They returned this answer againe in writing: *Alex*; that is, If. Likewise when King *Demetrius* in great displeasure and indignation, cried out aloud in these words: *The Lacedaemonians have sent unto me an embassador alone, and who hath no fellow*; meaning that there came but one: the said embassador nothing danted at his words, answered readily: *One for one*. Certes, they that used to speake short and sententiouslly, were highly esteemed long ago with our ancients & forefathers. And hereupon it was that the *Amphyctones*, that is to say, the Deputies or States for the generall counsell of all *Greece*, gave order, that there should be written over the doore of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, not the *Odysee* or *Ilias* of *Homer*; ne yet the *Canticles* or *Præses* of *Pindarus*; but these briefe sentences: *ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτοῦ* that is, Know thy selfe. *Μένειν ἄντα*; that is, Too much of nothing. Also *Εὐφρα, μέγα δ' ἄντα* that is, Be iurett and make account to pay: so highly esteemed they a plaine, simple and round manner of speaking, which comprised in few words much matter, and a sentence massive and sound: and no marvel, for *Apollo* himselfe loveth brevite, and is in his oracles verie succinct and pithy; wherefore els is he surnamed *Loxias*? but because he chooseth rather to avoide pluralitie than obscuritie of words. They also who without word uttered at all, signifie the conceptions of their minde by certaine symbollicall devises, and alter that maner deliver good lessons unto us; are they not sundrie waies commended and admired exceedingly? Thus *Heraclitus* in times past, being requested by his neighbours and fellow-citizens, to make a sententious speech unto them, and deliver his opinion as touching civil unitie and concord, mounted up into the pulpit, and taking a cup of cold water in his hand, bespiced it (as it were) with some meale, and with a sprig or two of the herbe *Pennitroyall*, shooke all together: which done, he dranke it off, and so came downe and went his way: giving them by this demonstration, thus much to understand; that if men would take up with a little, and be content with things at hand, without desiring cosily superfluities, it were the next way to keepe and preserve civility in peace and concord.

Seylurus a King of the Scythians left behind him fourscore sonnes; and when the houre of his death drew nere, he called for a bundle of darts or a sheafe of arrowes to be brought unto him, which he put into his childrens hands one after another, and willed each one to besake and burst the same in pieces, bound as it was entire and whole together: which when they had assaied to do, and putting all their strength unto it, could not, but gave over: himselfe tooke out of the sheafe or knitch the darts aforelaide one by one, and knapt them in twaine single as they were with facilitie: declaring by this devise, that so long as they held together, their union and agreement would be strong and invincible; but their discord and disunion would make them feeble, and be an occasion that they should not long continue. He then, that continually shall have these & such like precedents in his mouth, and ordinarily repeat and remember the same, will peradventure take no great pleasure and delight in idle and superfluous words. For mine owne part, surely I am, abashed mightily, at the example of that domestical servant at *Rome*, when I consider with my selfe what a great matter it is to be well advised before a man speaketh, and constantly to hold and maintaine the resolution, of any purpose. *Publius Piso* the great Orator and Rhetorician, because he would provide that his people and servitors about him should not trouble his head with much prattie, gave order and commaundment unto them, that

that they should make answer unto his demands onely, and no more: now being minded one day to entertaine *Clodius* the chiefe ruler of the city at his house, he had him to supper, and caused him to be sent for and called at the time accordingly; for a flatly and royall feast he had provided, by all likelihood, and as any man would thinke no lesse: now when supper time was come, the rest of the invited guests now present, *Clodius* onely they staied and looked for; meane while, *Piso* had sent out oftentimes unto him one of his seruitors who was wont ordinarily to bid his guests for to see whether he were coming, or would come to supper or no? but when it grew late in the evening, so that there was no hope now that hee would be there: Now *furtha* (quoth *Piso* to his man afore said) didst thou not invite and bid him? Yes iwis Sir: Why then comes he not: said the master againe? Forsooth (quoth he) because he denied to come: 10 And why toldest thou not me this immediately? Because sir, you never asked me the question. Well this was a Roman seruitor; but an Athenian servant I trow whiles he is digging and delving, will tell his master newes, and namely, what be the articles and capitulations, in the treaty and composition of peace. So powerfull and forcible is use and custome in all things, whereof I purpose now to treat; for that there is no bit nor bridle that is able to repress, tame, and keepe in a talkative tongue, but it is custome that must do the deed and conquer this maladie.

First and formost therefore, when in companie there shall be any question propounded by them that are about thee, frame and use thy selfe to hold thy tongue and be silent, untill thou see that euerie man else refuseth to speake and make answer: for according to *Sophocles*.

To counsel and to runne a course in race

Have not both waine one end, to hysse apace.

No more verily doeth a voice and an answer shoot at the same marke that running aimeth at: for there, to wit, in a race, he winneth the prize that getteth to be formost; but heere, if another man have delivered a sufficient answer, it will be well enough, by praising and approving his speech, to gaine the opinion and reputation of a courteous person; if not, then will it not be thought impertinent, neither can envie or hatred come of it, in case a man do gently then and open that wherein the other was ignorant, and so after a milde and civil manner supply the defect of the former answer: but above all, this regard would be had: That when a question or demand is addressed and directed unto another, we take it not upon our selves; and so anticipate and prevent his answer; and peradventure, neither in this nor in any thing els, is it decent and commendable to offer and put forth our selves too forward before we be required; and in this case, when another man is asked a question, our owne intrusion, with the putting by of him is not seemely; for we may be thought (in so doing) both to injurie and discredit the party demanded, as if hee were not able to performe that which was put upon him, and also to reproch the demandant, as though hee had little skill and discretion, to aske a thing of him who could not give the same: and that which more is, such malapert boldnesse and heady hastinesse in rash answering, importeth (most of all) exceeding arrogancie and presumption; for it seemeth, that hee who taketh the answer out of his mouth of whom the question is demanded, would say thus much in effect: What need have wee of him? what can he say unto it? what skill or knowledge hath hee? when I am in place, no man ought to aske any other of these matters, but my selfe only. And yet many times we propole questions unto some, not of any great desire that we have to heare their answers, but onely because we would finde talke, and minister occasion of discourse, seeking thereby to draw from them some words that may yeeld matter of mirth and pleasant conference: after which sort, *Socrates* used to provoke *Theætetus* and *Charmides*. To prevent therefore the answer of another, to turne away mens eares, to divert their eies, and draw their cogitations from him to our selves, is as much as if we should run before and make halte to kisse one first, who was minded to be killed of another, or to enforce him to looke upon us, whose eies were set and fixed upon another; considering that although the partie unto whom the demand was made, be either not able nor willing to make answer, it were best fitting for a man, after some little pause made, to present himself in all modesty and reverence, & then to frame & accommodate his speech as here unto that as may be, which he thinketh will content the minde of him that made the demand, and so answer (as it were) in the name of the other: for if they who are demanded a question, make no good & sufficient answer, great reason they have to be pardoned and held excused; but he who intrudeth himselfe, & taking the words out of anothers mouth, is ready to speak before he be spoken unto, by good right is odious, although he answer otherwise sufficiently; but if he faile, and make no good answer, certes he maketh himselfe ridiculous, and a very laughing stocke to the whole company.

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The second point of exercise and meditation, is in a mans owne particular answeres, wherein he ought especially to be carefull and take heed who is given to over-much talke, to the end that they who would provoke him to speake, and all to make themselves merry and to laugh at him, may well know that he answereth not he knowes not what inconsiderately, but with good advice and seriously to the point: for such there be in the world, who for no need at all, but only for to passe time in mirth, devise certaine questions for the nonce, and in that manner propound them to such persons for no other end, but to provoke them to prattle; and therefore they ought to have a good eie and regard before them, not to leape out and runne all on a sudden hastily to their answer, as if they were well pleased and beholden unto them for to have such an occasion

- 10 of speech; but with mature deliberation to consider the nature and behaviour of him that putteth out the question, together with the necessity thereof, and the profit that may ensue thereby; and if it appeare indeed, that the partie be in good earnest, and desirous to learne and be instructed, then he must accustom himselfe to repress his tongue and take some pause, allowing a competent space of time betweene the demand and the answer; during which silence, both the demander may have while to bethinke himselfe and adde somewhat thereto, if he will, and also the demandee time to thinke of an answer, and not let his tongue runne before his wit, and so huddle up a confused answer before the question be fully propounded: for often-times it falleth out, that for very haste they take no heed of those things which were demanded, but answer him kam, and one thing for another. True it is (I must needs say) that *Pylhus* the priesttresse of

- 20 *Apolloes* temple, is wont to give answer by oracle at the same instant that the question is demanded, yea, and often-times before it be asked; for why? the god whom she serveth

Doth understand the dumbe, who can not speake,

And knowes ones minde, before the tongue it breake.

but among men, he that would wisely and to the purpose answer, ought to stay untill he conceive the thought, and fully understand the intent of him that propoleth a question, lest that he fall unto him which is said in the common proverbe:

About an booke I question made,

And they gave answer of a shade.

and otherwise also, if that inconvenience were not, yet are we to bridle this lavish & hasty tongue 30 of ours, and restraints the inordinate and hungry appetite which we have to be talking; lest it be thought that we had a fluxe (as it were) of humours gathered a long time about the tongue, and grown into an impostume, which wee are very well content should be let out, and have issue made by a question tendered unto us, and so by that means be discharged thereof. *Socrates* was wont in this manner to restraints and repress his thirst, after that he had enchained his body and fet himselfe into an heat, either by wrestling, or running, or such like exercises; he would not permit himselfe to drinke before he had powred out the first bucket of water that he had drawn out of the pit or well, acquainting this his sensuall appetite to attend the fit and convenient time that reason appointed.

- Moreover, this would be noted, that there be three kinds of answers unto interrogations; 40 the first necessary, the second civill, and the third needlesse and superfluous: as for example: If one should aske whether *Socrates* be within or no; he that is unwilling or not ready and forward with his tongue, would make answer and say: He is not within; but if he be disposed to lacerate a little, and speake more brieve, he would leave out the word (within) and say: He is not; or yet more short than so, pronouncing onely the negative Adverbe, and saying no more but No. Thus the Lacedaemonians dealt once by *Philop*; for when he had dispatched his letters unto the to this effect: To know whether they would receive him into their city or no: they wrote backe againe, in faire great capitall letters, within a sheet of paper, no more but O Y, that is to say, No; & so sent it unto him: but he that would make answer to the former question of *Socrates* a little more civilly and courteously, would say thus: He is not within sir, for he is gone to the banke or 50 exchanges; & to give yet a somewhat better measure, he might perhaps adde moreover & say: He looketh there for certeine strangers and friends of his. But a vaine prating fellow, and one that loves many words, especially if his hap hath bene to read the booke of *Antimachus* the Colophonian, will make answer to the demand afore said in this wise: He is not within sir, gone he is to the Burse or Exchange, for there he expecteth certeine strangers out of *Ionia*, of whom and in whose behalfe *Alcibiades* wrote unto him, who now maketh his abode within the cite of *Miletum*, so journeyeth with *Trisaphernes*, one of the lieutenants generall of the great King of *Persia*; who before time was in league with the Lacedaemonians, stood their friend, and sent them aid;

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but

but not for the love of *Alcibiades*, he is turned from them and is sided with the Athenians: for *Alcibiades* being desirous to returne into his owne country, hath prevailed so much that hee hath altered *Tissaphernes* his minde, and drawn him away from our part: and thus shall you have him rising in good earnest the whole eight booke (in maner) of *Thucydides* his story, untill he have overwhelmed a man with a multitude of narrations, and made him beleieve that in *Miletus* there is some great sedition; that it is ready to be lost, and *Alcibiades* to be banished a second time. Herein then ought a man principally to fet his foote and stay his overmuch language, so as the center and circumference of the answer be that, which he who maketh the demand desireth and hath need to know. *Carnades* before he had any great name, disputed one day in the publike schooles and place appointed for exercise: unto whom the master or president of the place sent before hand, and gave him warning to moderate his voice (for hee spake naturally exceeding big and loud, so as the schooles rung againe therewith.) Give men then (quoth he) a gage and measure for my voice; upon whom the said master replied thus not unproperly: Let him that disputeth with thee be the measure and rule to moderate thy voice by; even so a man may in this case say: The measure that hee ought to keepe who answereth, is the very will and minde of him that propoeth the question. Moreover, like as *Socrates* forbade those meates which drew men on to care when they are not hungry; and likewise those drinks which caused them to drinke who are not a thirly, even so should a man who is given to much prattle, be afraid of those discourses wherein he delighteth most, and which he is wont to use and take greatest pleasure in; and in case hee perceive them to run willingly upon him for to withstand the same, and not give them intertainment. As for example, marciall men and warriours love to discourtse and tell of battels; which is the reason that the Poet *Flower* bringeth in * *Nestor* effoones recounting his owne prowess and feats of armes: and ordinarie it is with the who in iudiciall trials have had the upper hand of their aduersaries, or who beyond the hope and opinion of everie man have obtained grace and favour with kings and princes, to be subiect unto this maladic that evermore followeth them, namely to report and recount effoones the manner how they came in place; after what fort they were brought in; the order of their pleading; how they argued the case; how they convinced their accusers, & overthrew their aduersaries; last of all, how they were praised and commended: for to say a truth, joy and mirth is much more talkative than that olde *Aegyptus* which the Poets doe feigne and devise in their comedies: for it rougheth and stirreth up, reneweth and refresheth it selfe ever & anon, with many discourses and narrations; whereupon ready they are to fall into such speeches upon every light and colourable occasion: for not onely is it true which the common proverbe saith:

Looke where a man doth feele his paine and griefe,
His hand will soone be there to seek reliefe.

but also joy and contentment draweth unto it the voice, it leadeeth the tongue alwaies about with it, and is evermore willing to be remembered and related. Thus wee see that amorous lovers passe the greater part of their time in rehearsing certaine words which may renew the remembrance of their loves, inso much that if they cannot meet with one person or other to relate the same unto, they will devise and take of them with such things as have neither sense nor life: like as we read of one who brake forth into these words:

O dainty bed, most sweet and pleasant couch,
O blessed lamp, O happy candle light,
No lesse than God doth Bacchus you avouch
may, God you are the mightiest in her sight.

And verily a busie prater is altogether (as one would say) a white line or strake in regard of all words, to wit, without discretion he speaketh indifferently of all matters; howbeit if he be affected more to some than to others, he ought to take heed thereof, and abstaine from them; he is (I say) to withdraw and writhe him self from thence; for that by reason of the contentment which he may therein take, and the pleasure that he receiveth thereby, they may lead him wide & carie him every while very farr out of the way: the same inclination to overthrow themselves in prating, they finde also when they discourtse of those matters wherein they suppose themselves to have better experience, and a more excellent habit than others: such an one I say being a selfe-lover and ambitious withall,

Most part of all the day in this doth spend,
Himselfe to passe and others to transcend.

As for example in histories if he hath read much, in artificiall stile and couching of his words,

he

he that is a Grammarian; in relation of strange reports and newes, who hath bene a great traueiler and wandered through many forren countries: hereof therefore great heed would bee taken; for garrulitie being therein flattered and baited, willingly runneth to the old and usuall haunt, like as every beaſt seeketh out the ordinary and accustomed pasture. And in this point was the young prince *Cyrus* of a wonderfull and excellent nature, who would never challenge his play-fellows and comforts in age unto any exercise wherein he knew himselfe to be superior, and to surpass, but alwaies to such feats wherein he was lesse practised than they; which he did aswell because he would not grieve their hearts in winning the prize from them, as also for that he would profit thereby, and learne to doe that wherein hee was more raw and unready than they.

But a talkative fellow contrariwise, if there be a matter propoſed whereby he may heare and learne somewhat that he knew not before, rejecteth and refuseth it; he cannot for his life hold his tongue and keepe silence a little while, to gaine thereby some hire and reward, but casting and rolling his thought round about, he never rests untill he light upon some old ragged rhapsodies and overworne discourses, which hee hath patched and tacked together a thousand times. Such a one there was among us, who hapned by chance to have perused two or three bookes of *Phormus*; whereby he tooke himselfe to be so great a cleare and so well read, that he wearied everie mans eares who heard him talke; there was no assembly nor feast unto which he came, but he would force the companie to arise and depart with his unmeasurable prating of the battel of *Leuctres*, and the occurrences that ensued thereupon, inso much as he got himselfe a by-name, and everie man called him *Epaminondas*. But this is the least inconvenience of all others that followeth this infirmitie of much babbling: and surely one good means is to the cure thereof; To turne the same from other matters to such as these: for thereby shall their tongue be lesse troublesome and offensive, when it passeth the bounds in the tearmes onely of literature.

Over and besides, for the remedie of this their disease, they shall do well to inure and accustom themselves to write somewhat, and to dispute of questions apart. Thus did *Antipater* the Stoick, who as it may be thought, being not able nor willing to hold out in disputation hand to hand with *Carnades*, who with a violent streame (as it were) of his forcible wit and eloquence refused the sect of the Stoicks, answered the said *Carnades* by writing, and filled whole bookes with contradictorie assertions and arguments against him; inso much as thereupon he was furnished *Calanobas*, which is as much to say, as the lustie Crier with his pen: and so by all likelihood this manner of fighting with a shadow and lowd exclaiming in secret, and apart by themselves, training these stout praters everie day by little and little from the frequentie and multitude of people, may make them in the end more sociable and fitter for companie. Thus currett cures after they have spent and discharged their choler and anger upon the cudgels or stones which have bene thrown at them, become thereby more gentle and tractable to men. But above all, it were verie expedient and profitable for them to be alwaies neere unto personages for yeeres elder, and in authoritie greater than themselves, and with those to converse; for the reverent regard and feare that they have in respect of their dignitie and gravitie, may induce and direct them in time and by custome to keepe silence; and evermore among those exercises heretofore by us specified, this advisement would be mingled and interlaced; That when we are about to speake, and that words be readie to runne out of our mouth, we say thus unto our selves by way of reasoning: What manner of speech is this that is so urgent and prelieth so hard to be gone? What ailes my tongue, that it is so willing to be walking? What good may come by the utterance thereof? What harme may ensue by concealing it in and holding my peace? For we must not thinke that our words be like an heavy burden over-loading us, and whereof we should thinke our selves well eased when we are discharged of them: for speech remaineth still as well when it is uttered as before: but men ought to speake, either in the behalfe of themselves when they stand in need of some thing, or to benefit others, or else to pleasure and recreate one another by pleasant devises and discourses, (as it were) with salt to mitigate the painefull travels in actions and worldly affaires, or rather to make the same more favorie whiles we are employed therein. Now if a speech be neither profitable to him that delivereth it, nor necessarie for him that heareth it, ne yet carrie therewith any grace or pleasure; what need is there that it should be uttered? For surely, a man may as soone speake a word in vaine, as do a thing to no purpose. But above and after all other good advitements in this case, we ought alwaies to have in readinesse and remembrance this wise saying of *Simonides*: A man (quoth he) may repent many a time for words spoken, but never for a word kept in: this also we must thinke: That exercise is all in all, and a matter of that moment and efficacie, that it is able to master and conquer everie thing:

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thing:

* *Ullior*, rather as *Ullior* reads.

thing: considering that men will take great paines and be carefull; yea they will endure much sorrow for to be rid of an old cough; to chafe away the troublesome yex or bicket. Besides, Taciturnitie hath not only this one faire propertie and good verue, that (as *Hippocrates* saith) It never breedeth thirst; but also that it engendreth no paine, no griefe nor displeasure, neither is any man bound to render an account thereof.



OF AVARICE OR COVETOUSNES.

The Summarie.

IF there be any excess in the world that troubleth the repose and tranquillitie of the spirit, causing our life to be wretched & miserable, it is *Avarice*; against which the Sages and wise men of all ages from time to time have framed sharpe and terrible invectives, which in sum and effect doe shew thus much; That this covetousnes and greedy desire of gathering goods is (as it were) the capitall cure and seat-towne of all wickednes the verie sinke of sinne and receptacle of all vices. Now albeit all men with one voice, yea and the most covetous persons of all others do confesse as much; yet the heart of man is so affectionate a friend to the carth, that needfull it is to propose and set downe divers instructions for to avert the same from thence, and to cuse it to range & sort with other occupations and affaires, more becoming it selfe than is the over curious searching after transitorie & corruptible things. This is the reason, that those Philosophers who have handled the doctrine as touching manners are employed herein: and Plutarch among the rest, who treateth us here in few words with what considerations we ought to be furnished & fortified, that we do not permit such a pestilent plague as this to leaze upon our souls: and the evill he sheweth the miseries that befall unto avarice; whereof this is the first & principall; That in stead of growing contentment, it maketh her slave most wretched, and putteth him to the greatest paine and torture in the world. And hereupon he interlaceth and inserteth a description of three sorts of covetous persons. First, of those who covet things rare and dangerous, whereas they should seeke after necessities. Secondly, of such as spend nothing, have much, and yet desire more and more; and these he depainteth in all their colours. Thirdly, of them that be niggards and base minded pinch-pennies. Which done, he discovereth the second miserie of covetous wretches, to wit; That avarice doth tyrannize over her cause and slave, not suffering him to use that which she commanded him to winne and get. The third is this; That it causeth him to gather and heape up riches, for some promoter or catch-poll, or else for a Tyrant, or else for some wicked and gracelesse heire, whose nature and properties bee doeth represent; and describe verie lively. Afterwards having concluded that covetous persons are herein especially miserable; for that the one sort of them use not their goods at all, and other abuse the same: he preferreth three remedies against this mischievous maladie. The first; That those who greedily gaze after riches, have no more in effect than they who stand contented with that which is necessary for nature. The second; That we are not to count them happy, who be richly furnished with things unprofitable. And the last; That it is vertue, wherein we ought to ground and seeke for contentment; for there it is to be found and not in riches.

OF

OF AVARICE OR Covetousnesse.



H*ippomachus*, a great master of wrestling & such exercises of the bodie, hearing some to praise a certaine tall man, high of stature, and having long armes and handes, commending him for a singular champion, and fit to fight at buffers: A proper fellow hee were (quoth he) if the garland or prize of the victory were hung on high, for to be reached with the hand; seembly it may be said unto them who esteeme so highly and repute it a great felicitie to be possessed of much faire lands, to have many great and stately houses, to be furnished with mighty masses and summes of money, in case felicity were to be bought and sold for coine. And yet a man shall see many in the world, chuse rather to be rich and wretched withall, than to give their silver for to be happy and blessed: but surely it is not silver nor golde that can purchase either repose of spirit void of griefe and anguish, or magnanimity, ne yet settled constancie and resolution, confidence and suffiance, or contentment with our owne estate. Be a man never so rich, he can not skill thereby to contemne riches, no more than the possession of more than enough worketh this in us; That we want not still, and desire even things that be superfluous. Whether evill and maladie then doeth our wealth and riches rid us from, if it delivereth us not from avarice? By drinke men quench their thirst, by meat they slake their hunger. And he that said:

Give Hipponax a cloake to keep him warme,

For colde extreme I shake, and may take hurme,

if there were many clothes hung or cast upon him, would be offended therewith and sling them from him; but this their strong desire and love of money, it is neither silver nor gold that is able to quench: and let a man have never so much, yet he coveteth nevert lesse to have more still. And well it may be verified of riches which one said sometime to an ignorant and deceiptfull Physician:

Your drugs and salves augment my sore,

They make me sicker than before.

For riches verily, after that men have once met therewith, (wheras before they stood in need of bread, of a competent house to put in their heads, of meane comment and any viands that come next hand) fill them now with an impatient desire of golde, silver, ivory, emerauds, horses and hounds, changing and transporting their naturall appetite of things needfull and necessarie, into a disordinate lust to things dangerous, rare, hard to be gotten, and unprofitable when they be had. For never is any man poore in regard of such things as suffice nature; never doeth he take up money upon usurie, for to buy himselfe meat, cheete, bread or olives; but one indebreth himselfe for to build a sumptuous and stately house; another runnes in debt, because he would purchase a grove of olive trees that joineeth to his owne land; one is engaged deeply in the usurers books, by laying corne-grounds and wheat-fields to his owne demaines, another, because he would be possessed of fruitfull vineyards; some are indebted with buying mules of *Gallia*, and others, because they would be masters

Of lustie seeds, to win the prize

by running in a race,

With rattling noise of empirie coach,

when it is drawn apace,

have cast themselves into the bottomlesse gulfie of obligations, conditions, covenants, interests, statues, reall gages & pawns: and afterwards it commeth to passe, that like as they who drinke when they be not drie, & eat without a stomacke, many times cast up by vomit, even that which they did eat & drinke when they were hungry & thirsty; even so, when they will needs have such things as be superfluous and to no use, doe not enjoy the benefit of those things that are needfull and necessarie indeed. Lo what kinde of people these be!

As for those who are at no cost; nor will lay out any thing, and notwithstanding they have much, yet ever covet more; a man may rather marvell and wonder at them, if he would but remember that which *Aristippus* was wont to say: He that eateth much (quoth he) and drinketh

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likewise much, and is never satisfied nor full, goeth to the Physicians, asketh their opinion what his disease and strange indisposition of the body might be, and will craveth their counsell for the cure and remedie thereof: but if one who hath five faire bedsteads already with the furniture thereto belonging, and seeketh to make them ten; and having ten tables with their cupboards of plate, will needs buy ten more; and for all that he is possessed of faire manours and goodly lands, have his bags and coffers full of money, is never the better satisfied, but (till gapeth after more, breaketh his sleeps, devising and casting as he lieth awake, how to compass the same, and when he hath all, yet is he not full; such an one (I say) never thinks that he hath need of a Physician to cure his maladie or to discourse unto him, from what cause all this doth proceed. And verily a man may looke, that of those who are thirstie ordinarily, and he that hath not drunke, will be delivered of his thirst so soone as he meeteth with drinke; but in case such an one as evermore drinketh and powreth in still, never giving over, yet neverthelesse continueth drie and thirstie, we judge him to have no need of repletion, but rather of purging and evacuation; him (I say) we appoint for to vomit, as being not troubled and disordered upon any want, but with some extraordinary heat or unkinde acrimonies of humours that be within him; even so it is with those that seeke to get and gather goods: he that is bare and poore in deed, will haply give over seeking so soone as he hath got him an house to dwell in, or found some treasure, or met with a good friend to helpe him to a summe of money to make cleere with the surer, and to be crossed out of his hooke: but he that hath already more than enough and sufficient, and yet craveth more, surely it is neither golde nor silver that will cure him, neither horses, nor sheepe, nor yet beeves will serve his turne; need had he of purgation and evacuation, for poverie is not his disease, but covetousnesse and an unsatiable desire of riches, proceeding from false judgement and a corrupt opinion that he hath, which if a man do not rid away out of his mind, as a winding gulle or whilpe-pool that is croffe and overthrow in their way, they will never cease to hunt after superfluities, and seeme to stand in need thereof (that is to say) to covet those things which they know not what to doe with. When a Physician cometh into the chamber of a patient, who is he underly lying in his bed groaning, and refusing all foode, he taketh him by the hand, feelth his pulse, asketh him certaine questions, and finding that he hath no ague; This is a disease (quoth he) of the minde, and so goeth his way; even so, when we see a worldly minded man altogether set upon his gets and gaines, pining away, and even consumed with the greedie worme of gathering good, weeping, whining and fighting at expenses, and when any money is to goe out of his purse, sticking at no paine and trouble, sparing for no indignitie, no unhoneest and indirect meanes whatsoever, not caring which way he goes to worke, whether it bee by hooke or crooke, so that hee may gaine and profit thereby; having choise of houses and tenements, lands lying in everie countrey, droves, herds and flocks of cattell, a number of slaves, wardrobes of apparell and clothes of all sorts: what shall we say that this man is sick of, unless it be the poverie of the soule? As for want of money and goods, one friend (as *Alexander* saith) may cure and helpe with his bountifull hand; but that penurie and needinesse of the soule all the men in the world, that either live at this day, or ever were before time, are not able to satisfie and suffice: and therefore of such *Solon* said verie well,

*No limit set, nor certaine bound men have
Of their desire to goods, but still they crave.*

For, those who are wife and of sound judgement are content with that measure and portion which nature hath set downe and assigned for them; such men know an ende, and keepe themselves within the center and circumference of their need and necessitie onely. But this is a peculiar propertie that avarice hath by it selfe. For a covetous desire it is, even repugnant to satisfaction, and hindereth it selfe that it never can have sufficient, whereas all other desires and lusts are aiding and helpfull thereto. For no man (I trow) that is a glutton, forbeareth to eat a good morcel of meat for gourmandise, nor drunkard abstaineth from drinking wine upon an appetite and love that he hath to wine, as these covetous wretches do, who spare their money and will not touch it, though a desire onely that they have of money. And how can we otherwise thinke, but it were a pitious and lamentable case, yea and a disease next cousin to meere madnesse, if a man should therefore spare the wearing of a garment, because he is ready to chill and quake for cold, or forbear to touch bread, for that he is almost hunger-starved; and even so not to handle his goods because he loveth them: certes, such a one is in the same plight and pitious perplexitie that *Thersites* was, who in a certaine comedie describeth his owne miseries:

At home it is within my power,

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*I may enjoy it everie hower:
I wish a thing as if I were
Invaging love, yet I forbeare:
When I have lockt and scald up all,
Or else put forth by count and tale,
My come to brokers for the use,
Or other factours whom I chuse,
I pluck and plonder full for more,
I hunt, I seeke to fetch in store,
I chide and braule with servants mine,
The husbandman and eke the hine
I bring to count; and then anon
My debtors all I call upon:
By Dan Apollo now I sweare,
Was any man that earth did beare,
Whom thou hast ever known or seeme,
In love more wretched to have beene?*

Sophocles being on a time demanded familiarly by one of his friends, whether he could yet keepe company with a woman if he need were: God blesse me (quoth he) my good friend, talke no more of that I pray you, I am free from those matters long since, and by the benefit of mine olde age, I have escaped the servitude of such violent and furious mistresses. And verily it is a good and gracious gift, that our lusts and appetites should end together with our strength and abilitie, especially in those delights and pleasures, which as *Alexander* saith neither man nor woman may well avoide. But this is not to be found in avarice and desire of riches; for (hee like a cruelle sharpe and strewed queane, forceth indeed a man to get and gather, but (hee forbideth him withall to use and enjoy the same; hee stirreth up and provoketh his lust, but (hee denieth him all pleasure: I remember that in old time *Stratonice* taxed and mocked the Rhodians for their waitfull and superfluous expences in this manner: They build sumptuously (quoth he) as if they were immortal and should never die; but they fare at their boards as though they had but a small while to live. But these covetous misers gather wealth together like mightie magnificoes, but they spend like beggerly mechanicals; they endure the paine and travell of getting, and take no pleasure of the enjoying.

Demades the Orator came one day to visite *Phacion*, and found him at dinner; but seeing but a little meat before him upon the table, and the same nothing fine and daintie, but course and simple: I marvell (quoth he) *Phacion* how you can take up with so short a dinner and so small a pittance, considering the paines you doe endure in manning the affaires of State and common wealth. As for *Demades* he dealt indeed with government, and was a great man in the city with the people, but it was all for his bellie, and to furnish a plentiful boord, in so much as, supposing that the citie of *Athens* could not yeeld him revenue and provision sufficient for to maintaine his excessive gourmandise, he laid for cates and victuals out of *Macedon*, whereupon *Antipater* when he saw him an old man with a wrinkled and withered face, said pleasantly: That he had nothing left now but his paunch and his tongue, much like unto a sheepe, or some other beast killed for sacrifice when all is eaten besides. But thou most unhappie and wretched miser, who would not make a wonder at thee, considering that thou canst lead so base and beggerly a life, without societie of men or courtesie to thy neighbors, not giving ought to any person, shewing no kindnesse to thy friends, no bountie nor magnificence to the common wealth, yet still dost afflict thy poore selfe, lie awake all the night long, toile and moile like a drudge and hireling thy selfe, hire other labourers for day-wages, lie in the winde for inheritances, speake men faire in hope to be their heire, and debaseth thy selfe to all the world, and care not to whom thou canst and knee for gaine; having I say so sufficient meanes otherwise to live at ease (to wit, thy niggardie and pinching parsimonie) whereby thou maist be dispensed for doing just nothing. It is reported of a certaine Bizantine, who finding an adulterer in bed with his wife, who though she were but foule, yet was illfavoured enough, laid unto him: O miserable cause what needest thou have driven thee thus to doe? what needes *Sapragorus* dowrie? well, goe to: thou takest great paines poore wretch, thou stillest and stirrest the lead, thou kindest the fire also underneath it. Needfull it is in some sort, that Kings and Princes should seeke for wealth and riches; that these Governours also and Deputies under them should bee great gatherers, yea and those

those also who reach at the highest places and aspire to rule and soveraign dignities in great States and cities; all these (I say) have need perforce to heape up grosse summes of money, to the end that for their ambition, their proud port, pompe, and vaine-glorious humour, they might make sumptuous feasts, give largesses, retaine a guard about their persons, send presents abroad to other States, maintaine and wage whole armies, buie slaves to combat and fight at sharpe to the outtrance: but thou makest thy selfe so much ado, thou troublest and tormentest both body and minde, living like an oyster or a shell-snail, and for to pinch and spare, art content to undergo and endure all paine and travell, taking no pleasure nor delight in the world afterwards, no more than the Baine-keepers poore asse which carrying billots and fagots of drie broth and sticks to kindle fire and to heat the stoupes, is evermore full of smoke, soot, ashes, and finders; but hath no benefit at all of the bane, and is never bathed, washed, warmed, rubbed, scoured, and made cleane. Thus much I speake in reproch and disdain of this miserable asse-like avarice, this base raping and scraping together in manner of ants or pilferers.

Now there is another kind of covetousnesse more savage and beast-like, which they profess who backbite and slander, raise malicious imputations, forge false wils and testaments, lie in wait for heritages, erge and cussen, and intermeddle in all matters, will bee scene in everie thing, know all mens states, busie themselves with many cares and troubles, count upon their fingers how many friends they have yet living, and when they have all done, receive no fruition or benefit by all the goods which they have gotten together from all parts, with their cunning casts & subtil shifts. And therefore like as we have in greater hatred and detestation, vipers, the venomous flies Cantharides, and the stinging spiders called Philangia & Tarantale, than either beares or lions, for that they kill folke and fling them to death; but receive no good or benefit at all by them when they are dead; even so be these wretches more odious and worthy to be hated of us, who by their miserable perfumonie and pinching doe mischief, than those who by their riot and wastfullnesse be hurtfull to a common-weale, because they take and catch from others that which they themselves neither will nor know how to use. Whereupon it is that such as these when they have gotten abundance, and are in manner full, rest them for a while, and doe no more violence as it were in time of truce and furcuse of hostilitie; much after the manner as *Demosthenes* laid unto them who thought that *Demades* had given over all his lewdnesse and knavery: O (quoth he) you see him now full as lions are, who when they have filled their bellies, prey no more for the lice, untill they be hungry againe: but such covetous wretches as be employed in government of civill affaires, and that for no profit nor pleasure at all which they intend, those I say never rest nor make holiday, they allow themselves no truce nor cessation from gathering & heaping more together still, as being evermore emptie, & have alwaies need of all things though they have all. But some man perhaps will say: These men (I assure you) do save & lay up goods in store for their children and heires after their death, unto whom whiles they live they will part with nothing: If that be so, I can compare them very well to those mice and cats in gold mines, which feed upon the gold-ore, and lick up all the golden sand that the mines yeeld, so that men can not come by the golde there, before they be dead and cut up in manner of anatonies. But tell me (I pray you) wherefore are these so willing to treasure up so much money, and so great substance, and leave the same to their children, inheritours, and successors after them? I verily beleeve to this end, that those children and heires also of theirs should keepe the same still for others likewise, and so to passe from hand to hand by descent of many degrees, like as earthen conduct-pipes by which water is conveyed into some cistern, withhold and retaine none of all the water that passeth through them, but doe transmitt and send all away from them, each one to that which is next, and reserve none to themselves; thus doe they untill some arise from without, a meere stranger to the house, one that is a scyphont or very tyrant, who shall cut off this keeper of that great stocke and treasure, and when he hath dispatched and made a hand of him, drive and turne the course of all this wealth and riches out of the usual channell another way; or at leastwise untill it fall into the hands (as commonly men say it doth) of the most wicked and ungracious imp of that race, who will disperse and scatter that which others have gathered, who will consume and devour all unthriftilly, which his predecessors have gotten and spared wickedly: for not onely as *Empidius* saith,

Those children wastfull prove and bad,

Who serveile slaves for parents had.

but also covetous carles & pinching peni-fathers, leave children behind them that be loose & riotous & spend-thrifts; like as *Dionenes* by way of mockery said upon a time: That it were better to be

be a Megarians ram than his sonne: for wherein they would seeme to instruct and inform their children, they spoile and mar them cleane, ingrafting into their hearts a desire and love of money, teaching them to be covetous and base minded pinch-penies, laying the foundation (as it were) in their heires of some strong place or fort, wherein they may luredly guard and keepe their inheritance. And what good lessons and precepts be these which they teach them: Gainc and spare, my sonne, get and save; thinke with thy selfe and make thine account that thou shalt be eleeched in the world according to thy wealth and not otherwise. But surely this not to instruct a childe, but rather to knit up fast or sow up the mouth of a purse that it may hold and keepe the better whatsoever is put into it. This only is the difference that a purse or money-bag becommeth foule, sullied and ill-favoring that silver is put into it; but the children of covetous persons before they receive their patrimones or attaine to any riches, are filled already even by their fathers with avarice, and a hungrie desire after their substance: and verily such children thus nourted, reward their parents againe for their schooling with a condigne salarye and recompense, in that they love them not because they shall receive much one day by them, but hate them rather for that they have nothing from them in present possession already, for having learned this lesson of them; To esteeme nothing in the world in comparison of wealth and riches, and to aime at nought els in the whole course of their life, but to gather a deale of goods together, they repute the lives of their parents to be a blocke in their way, they with in heart that their heads were well laid, they do what they can to shorten their lives, making

20 this reckoning: That how much time is added to their olde age, so much they lose of their youthfull yeeres. And this is the reason, why during the life of their fathers, secretly and under-hand they steale (after a sort, by snatches) their pleasure, and enjoy the same; They will make semblance as if it came from other, when they give away money and distribute it among their friends, or otherwise spend it in their delights; while they catch it privily from under the very wing of their parents, and when they goe to heare and take out their lessons, they will be fire to picke their purses if they can, before they goe away; but after their parents be dead and gone, when they have gotten into their hands the keyes of their coffers and signets of their bags, then the case is altered, and they enter into another course and fashion of life: you shall have my young masters then, put on a grave and austere countenance, they will not seeme to laugh, nor be spoken to, or acquainted with any body; there is no taken now of anointing the body for any exercise, the racket is cast aside, the tennis court no more haunted, no wrestling practised, no going to the schooles either of the *Academie* or *Lyceum*, to heare the lectures and disputations of Professors and Philosophers. But now the officers and servants be called to an audit and account; now they are examined what they have under their hands; now the writings, bills, obligations and deeds are fought up and perused; now they fall to argue and reason with their receivers, stewards, factours and debtors; so sharpe-set they are to their negotiations and affaires; so full of cares and businesse, that they have no leisure to take their dinners or noone-meales; and if they fly, they can not intend to go into the baine or hot-house before it be late in the night; the bodily exercises wherein they were brought up and trained in, be laid downe; no swimming, 40 nor barbing any more in the river *Direx*; all such matters be cast behinde and cleane forgotten. Now if a man say to one of these: Will you go and heare such a Philosopher reade a lecture, or make a sermon: How can I go? (will he say againe) I have no while since my fathers death. O miserable and wretched man, what hath hee left unto thee of all his goods, comparable to that which he hath bereaved thee of, to wit; Repose and Libertie: but it is not thy father so much, as his riches flowing round about thee, that environeth and compasseth thee so; as it hath gotten the matter over thee; this hath set foot upon thy throat, this hath conquered thee; like unto that throwed wife in *Hesiodus*,

Who burnes a man without a match

or brand of scorching fire,

50 *And driveth him to gray-old age*
before that time require.

causing thy soule (as it were) to be full of rivels and hoarie haies before time, bringing with it carking cares and tedious travels proceeding from the love of money; and a world of affaires without any repose, whereby that alacrity, cheerefulness, worship and sociable courttesie which ought to be in a man, are decayed and faded cleane to nothing.

But what meane you sir by all this? (will some one haply say unto me) See you not how there be some that bestow their wealth liberally with credit and reputation? unto whom I answer thus:

thus: Have you never heard what *Aristotle* said: That as some there are who have no use at all of their goods, so there be others who abuse the same; as if he should say: Neither the one nor other was seemly and as it ought to be: for as those get neither profit nor honour by their riches, so these susteine losse and shame thereby. But let us consider a little what is the use of these riches which are thus much esteemed: Is it not (I pray you) to have those things which are necessary for nature? but these who are so rich and wealthy above the rest, what have they more to content nature, than those who live in a meane and competent estate? Certes, riches (as *Theophrastus* saith) is not so great a matter that we should love and admire it so much, if it be true that *Calline* the wealthiest person in all *Athens*, and *Smerias* the richest citizen of *Thebes*, use the same things that *Socrates* and *Epinomondas* did. For like as *Agathon* banished the flute, corner, and such other pipes from the solemne feasts of men, and sent them to women in their solemnities, supposing that the discourses of men who are present at the table are sufficient to entertaine mirth; even so may he aswell rid away out of houses, hangings, coverlets and carpets of purple, costly and sumptuous tables, and all such superfluities, who seeth that the great rich worldlings use the very same that poorer men do. I would not as *Hephestus* saith;

That plough or helme should hang in smoke to drie,

Or painfull tillage now be laid aside,

Ne or works of oxen and mule for ever die,

Who serve our turnes to draw, to till, to ride;

but rather that these goldsmiths, turners, gravers, perfumers and cooks would be chafed and scut away, forasmuch as this were indeed, an honest and civill banishment of unprofitable artificers as forerunners, that may be spared out of a city. Now if it be so, that things requisite for the necessitie of nature, be common aswell to the poore as the rich, and that riches doe vaunt and stand so much upon nothing els but superfluities, and that *Scopas* the Thebaisian is worthily commended in this; That being requested to give away and part with somewhat of his household stuffe which he might spare and had no need of: VVhy (quoth he) in what things els consisted the felicity of those who are reputed happy and fortunate in this world above other men, but in these superfluities that you seeme to aske at my hands, and not in such as be necessarie and requisite? If it be so I say, see that you be not like unto him that praisth a pompe and solemne shew of plaies and games more than life indeed, which standeth upon things necessary. The procession and solemnitie of the *Bacchanales* which was exhibited in our countrey, was wont in old time to be performed after a plaine and homely manner, merily and with great joy: You should have seene there one carrying a little barrell of wine, another a branch of a vine tree; after him comes one drawing and plucking after him a goat; then followeth another with a basket of dried figs; and last of all one that bare in shew *Phallus*, that is to say, the resemblance of the genitall member of a man: but now adaise all these ceremonies are despised, neglected, and in manner not at all to be seene, such a traine there is of those that carie vessels of gold and silver, so many sumptuous and costly robes, such stately chariots richly set out are driven & drawn with brave steeds most gallantly dight, besides the pageants, dumbe-shewes and maskes, that they hide and obscure the auncient and true pompe according to the first institution; and even so it is in riches; the things that be necessarie and serve for use and profit, are overwhelmed and covered with needlesse toies and superfluous vanities, & I assure you the most part of us be like unto young *Telemachus*, who for want of knowledge and experience, or rather indeed for default of judgement and discretion when he beheld *Nestors* house furnished with beds, tables, hangings, tapistrie, apparell, and well provided also of sweete and pleasant wines, never reckoned the master of the house happy for having so good provision of such necessarie and profitable things: but being in *Aeneas* his house, and seeing there store of Ivory, gold, and silver, and the mettall *Electrum*, he was ravished and in an ecstasie with admiration thereof, and brake out in these words:

Like unto this, the palace all

will bin I judge to be,

Of Jupiter that mightie god

who dwels in azure skie:

How rich, how faire, how infinite

are all things which I see!

My heart, as I do them behold,

is ravish'd wonderouslie,

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But

But *Socrates* or *Diogenes* would have said thus rather:

How many wretched things are here?

how needlesse all and vaine?

When I them view, I laugh thereat,
of them I am not faine.

And what saiest thou foolish and vaine for as thou art? Where as thou shouldst have taken from thy verie wife her purple, her jewels and gaudie ornaments, so the end that shee might no more long for such superfluitie, nor runne a nodding after forreine vanities, farre fetcht and deere bought; dost thou contrariwise embellish and adorne thy house, like a theatre, scaffold and stage to make a goodly sight for those that come into the shew-place? Loe wherein lieth the felicitie and happines that riches bringeth, making a trim shew before those, who gaze upon them, and to refuse and report to others what they have seene: set this aside (that they be not shewed to all the world) there is nothing at all therein to reckon. But it is not so with temperance, with philosophie, with the true knowledge of the gods, so farre forth as is meete and behoovefull to be known, for these are the same still and all one, although everie man attaine not thereto but all others be ignorant thereof. This pietie (I say) and religion hath alwaies a great light of her owne and resplendant beames proper to it selfe, wherewith it doth shine in the soule, evermore accompanied with a certaine joy that never ceaseth to take contentment in her owne good within, whether any one see it or no, whether it bee unknownen to gods and men or no, it skilleth not. Of this kinde and nature is vertue indeed, and truth, the beautie also of the Mathematicall sciences, to wit, Geometrie and Astrologie; unto which who will thinke that the gorgeous trappings and capparisons, the brooches, collars and carians of riches are any waies comparable, which (to say a truth) are no better than jewels and ornaments good to trim young brides and set out maidens for to be seene and looked at? For riches, if no man doe regard, behold, and see their eyes on them (to say a truth) is a blinde thing of it selfe, and sendeth no light at all nor raies from it; for certainly say: That a rich man dine and sup privately alone; or with his wife and some inward and familiar friends, he troubleth not himselfe about furnishing of his table with many services, daintie dishes, and festivall fare; he stands not so much upon his golden cups and goblets, but useth those things that be ordinarie, which goe about everie daie and come next hand, as well vessel as viands; his wife sits by his side and beares him companie, not decked and hung with jewels and spangles of gold, not arrayed in purple, but in plaine attire and simply clad; but when he makes a feast (that is to say) sets out a theater, wherein the pompes and shewes are to meet and make a jangling noise together, when the plaies are to be represented of his riches, and the solemne traine therof to be brought in place; then comes abroad his brave furniture indeed; then he fetcheth out of the ship his faire chaufers and goodly pots; then bringeth hee forth his rich three-footed tables; then come abroad the lampes, candlesticks, and branches of silver; the lights are disposed in order about the cups; the cup-bearers, skinkers and tasters are changed; all places are newly dight and covered; all things are then stirred and removed that saw no sunne long before; the silver plate, the golden vessels, and those that be set and enriched with pretious stones; to conclude, now there is no shew els but of riches; at such a time they confesse themselves and will be knowne wealthy. But all this while whether a rich man suppe alone, or make a feast, temperance is away and true contentment.



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OF



OF THE NATURALL LOVE OR KINDNES OF PARENTS TO THEIR CHILDREN.

The Summarie.

Wisely said one, (whoever it was) That to banish amitie and friendship from among men, were as great hurt to the societie of mankind, as to deprive them of the light and heat of the Sonne: which being verified and found true in the whole course of this life, and in the maintenance of all estates, not without great cause Nature hath cast and sprinkled the seed thereof in the generation and nourishment of a race and lineage, whereof she giveth evident testimonies in brute beasts, she better to move and incite us to our duty. That we may see therefore this precious seed and graine of amitie, how it doth flower and fructifie in the world, we must begin at the love and naturall kindeesse of fathers and mothers to their children: for if this be well kept and maintained, there proceed from it an infinite number of contentments which do much assuage and ease the inconveniences and discomforts of our life. And Plutarch entering into this matter, sheweth first in generality: That men learne (as it were) in the schoole of brute beasts, with what affection they should beget, nourish and bring up their children: after ward he doth particularise thereof, and enrich the same argument by divers examples. But for that he would not have us thinke that he extolled dumbe beasts above man and woman, he observeth and setteth downe verie well the difference that is of amities, discoursing in good and modest termes as touching the generation and nouriture of children, and briefly by the way representeth unto us the miserable entrance of man into this race upon earth: here he is to runne his course. (Which done, he proveth that the nourishing of infants hath no other cause and reason, but the love of fathers and mothers; he discovereth the source of this affection; and for a conclusion, sheweth that what defect and fault soever may come betwene and be remedied among, yet it can not altogether abolish the same.

OF THE NATURALL LOVE OR KINDNES OF PARENTS to their children.



That which moved the Greeks at first, to put over the decision of their controversies to forraigne judges, and to bring into their country, strangers to be their umpires, was the distrust and diffidence that they had one in another, as if they confessed thereby that justice was indeed a thing necessarie for mans life, but it grew not among them: And is not the case even so as touching certaine questions disputable in Philosophie? for the determining whereof, Philosophers (by reason of the sundry and divers opinions which are among them) have appealed to the nature of brute beasts, as it were into a strange city, and remitted the deciding thereof to their properties and affections, according to kinde, as being neither subject to partiall favour, nor yet corrupt, depraved and polluted. Now surely, a common reproch this must needs be to mans naughtie nature and leawd behaviour; That when we are in doubtfull question concerning the greatest and most necessary points pertaining to this present life of ours, we should goe and search into the nature of horses, dogs and birds for resolution; namely, how we ought to make

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our marriages, how to get children, and how to reare and nourish them after they be borne, and as if there were no signe (in maner) or token of nature imprinted in our selves, we must be faine to alledge the passions, properties and affections of brute beasts, and to produce them for witnessnes, to argue and prove how much in our life we transgresse and go aside from the rule of nature; when at our first beginning and entrance into this world, we finde such troubles, disorder and confusion; for in those dumbe beasts before said, nature doth retain and keep that which is her owne and proper, simple, entire, without corruption or alteration by any strange mixture; whereas contrariwise, it seemeth that the nature of man, by discourse of their reason and custome together, is mingled and confused with so many extravagant opinions and judgements, set from all parts abroad (much like unto oile that commeth into perfumers hands) that thereby it is become manifolde variable; and in every one severall and particular, and doeth not retain that which the owne indeed, proper and peculiar to it selfe; neither ought we to thinke it a strange matter and a woonderfull, that brute beasts void of reason, should come neerer unto nature; and follow her steps better, than men endued with the gift of reason: for surely, the verie senselesse plants herein surpass those beasts before said, and observe better the instinct of nature; for considering that they neither conceive any thing by imagination, nor have any motion, affection or inclination at all; so verily their appetite (such as it is) vacieth nor not stretch to and fro out of the compasse of nature, by means whereof, they continue and abide as if they were kept in and bound within close prison, holding on still in one and the same course, and not stepping once out of that way wherein nature doth leade and conduct them: as for beasts, they have not any such great portion of reason to temper and mollifie their naturall properties, neither any great subtiltie of sense and conceit, nor much desire of libertie; but having many instincts, inclinations and appetites, not ruled by reason, they breake out by the means thereof otherwhiles, wandering alway, and running up and downe to and fro, howbeit, for the most part, not very farre out of order, but they take sure holde of nature; much like a ship which lieth in the rode at anchor, well may she daunce and be rocked up and downe, but she is not carried away into the deepe at the pleasure of windes and waves; or much after the maner of an asse or hackney, travellling with bit and bridle, which go not out of the right & straight way, wherein the master or rider guideth them; whereas in man, even reason herselfe, the mistresse that ruleth and commandeth all, findeth out new cuts (as it were) and by-waies, making many starts and excursions at her pleasure to and fro, now heere, now there; whereupon it is that she leaveth no plaine and apparant print of natures tracts and footing.

Consider I pray you in the first place the marriages (if I may so terme them) of dumbe beasts and reasonlesse creatures; and namely how therein they follow precisely the rule and direction of nature. To begin withall, they stand not upon those lawes that provide against such as marrye not, but lead a single life; neither make they reckoning of the acts which lay a penalte upon those that be late ere they enter into wedlocke, like as the citizens under *Zygurgus* and *Salon*, who stood in awe of the said statutes; they feare not to incur the infamie which followed those persons that were barren and never had children; neither doe they regard and seeke after the honours and prerogatives which they attained, who were fathers of three children, like as many of the Romans do at this day, who enter into the state of matrimonie, wedde wives and beget children, not to the end that they might have heires to inherit their lands and goods, but that they might themselves be inheritors & capable of dignities & immunities. But to proceed unto more particulars, the male afterwards doth deale with the female in the act of generation not at all times; for that the end of their conjunction and going together is not grosse pleasure, so much as the engendering of young and the propagation of their kinde: and therefore at a certaine season of the yeare, to wit, the very prime of the spring, when as the pleasant winds so apt for generation do gently blow, and the temperature of the aire is friendly unto breeders, cometh the female full lovingly and kindly toward her fellow the male, even of her owne accord and motion (as it were) trained by the hand of that secret instinct and desire in nature; and for her owne part, the doth what she can to woo and sollicite him to regard her, as well by the sweetest of her best, as also by a speciall and peculiar ornament and beautie of her body, shewing herselfe fresh and cheerefull, full of dew and verdure of greene herbes, pure and neat warrant you; in this manner doth she present her selfe unto the male and courteth him: now when she perceives once that she is sped and hath conceived by him, she leaveth him and retireth apart in good fort full decency; and then her whole care is to provide for that which the goneth withall, fore-casting how to be delivered of it in due time, and bethinking how to save, preserve, and

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and reare it when it is fallen and brought forth. And certes it is not possible to expresse sufficiently and woorthily the particulars that are done by these dumbe creatures (but only this, that every thing proceedeth from the tender love and affection which they have to their young ones) in providence, in patience, in abstinence.

We all acknowledge the Bee to be wife, we call her so, we celebrate her name for producing and working so diligently that yellow honie, yea and we flatter in praising her, feeling as we do the sweetness of the said honie, how it tickleth and contenteth our tongue & taste; and all this while what one is there of us that maketh any account of the wisdom, wit, and artificall subtiltie that other creatures shew, as well in the bringing forth their young, as the fostering and nouriture of them? For first and formost doe but consider the sea bird called Aleyon, no sooner doth she perceive herselfe to be knit with egge, but she falleth presently to build her nest, she gathereth together the chine-bones of a certaine sea fish which the Greekes call *balan*, that is to say, the sea-needle, these the coucheth, plaiteth, windeth and interlacceth one within another, so artifically working the same and weaving them close together in a round and large forme, after the manner of a fishers leape or weele net; and when she hath knit and fortified the same exactly with many courses of the said bones driven and united jointly together in good order, she exposeth it full against inundation and dashing of the sea waves, to the end that the superficial outside of the worke beaten upon gently and by little & little with the water, being thickened and felted thereby might be more solide and firme, and so it proveth indeed; for so hard it groweth by this means, that scarcely any stone can crush it, or edged instrument of iron cleave it; but that which is yet more wonderfull, the mouth and entrie of the said nest is composed and wrought proportionably just to the measure and bignesse of the bird Aleyon afore-said, so as no creature bigger or lesse than her selfe, no nor the very sea (as men say) nor the least thing in the world can get into it. And will you see moreover what kinde of naturall affection the sea weefils or sea dogs doe shew unto their little ones? They breed their young whelpes or killings alive within their bellies, and when they list, let them forth and suffer them to run abroad for reliefe and to get their foode, and afterwards receive them into their bodies againe, enclosing them whiles they be asleepe themselves, cherishing them cowed in their bowels and wombe. The she beare a most fell, savage and cruell beast, bringeth forth her young whelpes, without forme or fashion, unknit and unjointed, having no distinct limmes or members to be seene; howbeit with her tongue as it were with a tooke and instrument for the purpose, she kepeth such a licking of them, the formeth and fashioneth those membranes where in they were lapped in her wombe in such sort, that the seemeth not onely to have brought forth her young, but also to have wrought them afterwards workman-like to their shape and proportion. As for that lion which *Homer* describeth in this wise,

*Who leading forth his tender whelps
to seeke abroad for prae
In forest wilde; no sooner meets
with hunters in the wate,
But looking sterne with bended browes
which cover both his eies,
He makes a stand, and them affronts
in fierce and threatening wise.*

Thinke you not by this description that he resembleth one who is bent to capitulate and stande upon termes of composition with the hunters for to save the life of his little ones? To speake in a word, this tender love and affection of beasts toward their young, maketh them that otherwise be timorous, hardie and bold; those that be slow and idle by nature, laborious and painfull, and such as of themselves are greedy and ravenous, to be spare and temperate in their feeding, like as the bird whereof the same *Homer* speaketh,

*Which brings in mouth unto her nest,
such food as she abroad
Could get to feed her naked young,
and doth her selfe degraund.*

For content he is even with her owne hunger to nourish her little ones, and the same food or bait that she hath for them, being so neere as it is unto her owne craw and gullet, she holdeth close and fast in her bill, for feare lest these might swallow it downe the throat ere shee were aware;

Or

*Or like the bitch running about
her young whelps, at the sight
Of strangers, bates and barks apace,
and ready to fight.*

No doubt the feare which the hath left her little one should take harme redoubleth her courage, and maketh her more hardie and angrie than before: as for the partridges when they be laid-for by the fowler, together with their covein of young birds, they suffer them to flie away as well as they can, and make shift to save themselves, but the old rowens full subtilly seeme to wait the comming of the said hunters, abiding untill they approach neere unto them, and by keeping about their feet, traîne them still away after them, ready ever as it were to be caught; now when the fowler shall seeme to reach unto them with his hand, they will runne a little or take a short flight from him, and then they staie againe, putting him in new hope of his pray and bootie, which every-foot he thinketh to take with his hand: thus they play mock-holiday with the fowlers, and yet with some danger to themselves for the sake of their young, untill they have trained them a great way off, who fought for their lives. Our hens which we keepe about our houses so ordinarily, and have daily in our eies, how carefully doe they looke unto their young chickens whiles they receive some under their wings, which they spread and hold open for the nonce that they may creepe in, others they suffer to mount upon their backs, gently giving them leave to climbe and get up on every side, and thus they doe not without great joy and contentment, which they testifie by a kind of clocking and speciall noise that they make at such a time; if when they be alone without their chickens, and have no feare but of themselves a dogge or a serpent come in their way, they flie from them; let their brood be about them when such a danger is presented, it is wonderfull how ready they will be to defend the same, yea and to fight for, even above their power. Do we thinke now that nature hath imprinted such affections and passions in these living creatures, for the great care that the hath to mainteine the race and posteritie (as it were) of hens, dogs, or beares; or doe we not rather make this construction of it, that the shameth, pricketh, and woundeth men thereby when we reason and discourse thus within our selves, that these things be good examples for as many as follow them, and the reproches of those that have no sense or feeling of naturall affection; by which no doubt they do blame and accuse the nature of man onely, as if he alone were not affectionate without some hire and reward, nor could skill of love but for gaine and profite? for admired he was in the theaters that thus spake first:

*For hope of gaine one man will love another,
Take it away, what one will love his brother?*

This is the reason (according to the opinion and doctrine of *Epicurus*) that the father affecteth his sonne, the mother is tender over her childe, and children likewise are kind unto their parents: but let case that brute beasts could both speake and understand language, in some open theater, and that one called to meet together a sufficient assembly of beets, horses, dogs, and fowles, certes if their voices were demanded upon this point now in question, hee would set downe in writing, and openly pronounce, that neither bitches loved their whelpes, nor mares their foles, hens their chickens, and other fowles their little birds in respect of any reward, but freely and by the instinct of nature: and this would be found a true verdict of his, iustified and verified by all those passions and affections which are observed in them: and what a shame and infamie unto mankind is this to grant and avouch, that the act of generation in brute beasts, their conception, their breeding, their painfull deliverie of their young, and the careful feeding and cherishing of them be natures works merely and duties of grannie; and contrariwise that in men they be pawns given them for securitie of interest, hires, gages, and earnest pennies respective to some profit and gaine which they draw after them? But surely as this project is not true, so it is not woorth the hearing, for nature verily as in savage plants and trees, to wit, wilde vines, wilde figge trees, and wilde olives the doth ingenerate certaine raw and imperfect rudiments, (such as they be) of good and kinde fruits; so the hath created in brute beasts a naturall love and affection to their young, though the same be not absolute nor fully answerable to the rule of justice, ne yet able to passe farther than the bonds and limits of necessitie. As for man, a living creature, endued and adorned with reason, created and made for a civill societie, whom the hath brought into the world for to observe lawes and justice, to serve honour and worship the gods, to found cities and governe common-wealths, and therein to exercise and performe all offices of bountie: him the hath bestowed upon noble, generous, faire and fruitfull seeds of all these

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these things, to wit, a kinde love and tender affection toward his children; and these she followeth still, and persisteth therein, which she infused together with the first principles and elements that went to the frame of his body and soule: for nature being every way perfect and exquisite, and namely in this inhered love toward infants; wherein there wanteth nothing that is necessarie, neither from it is ought to be taken away as superfluous; It hath nothing (as *Frassistratus* was wont to say) vaine, frivolous and unprofitable, nothing inconstant, and shaking too and fro, inclining now one way, and then another. For in the first place, as touching the generation of man, who is able to expresse her prudence sufficiently? neither haply may it stand with the rule of decent modestie to be over-curious and exquisite in delivering the proper names and termes thereto belonging: for those naturall parts serving in that act of generation and conception secret as they be and hidden, so they neither can well, nor would willingly be named; but the composition and framing thereof, so aptly made for the purpose, the disposition and situation likewise so convenient, we ought rather to conceive in our minde than utter in speech.

Leaving therefore those privie members to our private thoughts, passe we to the consecration, disposition and distribution of the milke, which is sufficient to shew most evidently her providence, in desire and diligence; for the superfluous portion of blood which remaineth in a womans bodie, over and above that which serveth for the use whereunto it is ordained, floating up and downe within her afterwards, for defect or feeblenesse of spirits wandereth (as it were) to and fro, and is a burden to her bodie; but at certaine set-times & daies, to wit, in every monthly revolution, nature is careful and diligent to open certaine feluces and conduits, by which the said superfluous blood doth void and passe away, whereupon she doth not onely purge and lighten all the bodie besides, but also cleanse the matrice, and maketh it like a piece of ground brought in order and temper, apt to receive the plough, and desirous of the seed after it in due season: now when it hath once conceived and retained the said seed, so as the same take root and be knit, presently it draweth it selfe strait and close together round, and holdeth the conception within it, for the navill (as *Democritus* saith) being the first thing framed within the matrice, and serving in stead of an anchor against the waving and wandering of it to and fro, holdeth sure the fruit conceived, which both now groweth and hereafter is to be delivered (as it were) by a sure cable and strong bough, then also it stoppeth and shutteth up the said riverets and passages of those monthly purgations; and taking the foresaid blood, which otherwise would run an void by those pipes and conduits, it maketh use thereof for to nourish, and (as it were) to water the infant, which beginneth by this time to take some consistence and receive shape and forme, so long, untill a certaine number of daies which are necessarie for the full growth thereof within be expired; at which time it had need to remove from thence for a kinde of nutriment else where in another place; and then diverting the said course of blood with all dexterity & a skilfull hand (no gardener nor fountainer in drawing of his trenches and chanelles with all his cunning so artificiall) and employing it from one use to another, she hath certaine cellernes (as it were) or fountaine-heads, prepared of purpose from a running source most ready to receive that liquor of blood quickly, and not without some sense of pleasure and contentment; but withall, when it is received, they have a power and facultie, by a milde heat of the naturall spirits within them, and with a delicate and feminine tendernes, to concoct, digest, change and convert it into another nature and qualitie, for that the paps have within them naturally, the like temperature and disposition answerable unto it: now these teats which spout out milke from the cocks of a conduit, are so framed and disposed, that it floweth not forth all at once, neither do they send it away suddenly: but nature hath so placed the duct, that as it endeth one way in a spongieus kinde of flesh full of small pipes, and made of purpose to transmit the milke, and let it distill gently by many little pores and secret passages, so it yeeldeth a nipple in manner of a fancer, very fit and ready for the little babes mouth, about which to nuzzle and nudge with it pretty lips it taketh pleasure, and loveth to be tugging and lugging of it; but to no purpose and without any fruit or profit at all, had nature provided such tooles and instruments for to engender and bring forth a child; to no end (I say) had she taken so good order, used so great industry, diligence and foresight, if withall she had not imprinted in the heart of mothers a wonderful love and affection, yea, and an extraordinary care over the fruit of their wombe, when it is borne into the world: for

*Of creatures all which breath and walke
upon the earth in sight,*

None

*None is there wretched more than man
new borne into this light.*

And whoe soe faith thus of a young infant newly coming forth of the mothers wombe, maketh no lie at all, but speaketh truth; for nothing is there so imperfect, so indigent and poore, so naked, so deformed, so foule and impure, than is man to see to presently upon his birth, considering that to him (in manner alone) nature hath not given so much as a cleane passage and way into this light; so furred he is all over & polluted with blood, so full of filth and ordure, when he entereth into the world, resembling rather a creature freshly killed & flaine, than newly borne; that no bodie is willing to touch, so take up, so handle, dandle, kisse and clip it, but such as by nature are lead to love it: and therefore, whereas in all other living creatures, nature hath provided that their udders and paps should be set beneath under their bellies, in a woman onely, she hath seated them aloft in her breasts, as a very proper and convenient place, where she may more readily kisse, embrace, coll and huggle her babe while it sucketh; willing thereby to let us understand, that the end of breeding, bearing and rearing children, is not gaine and profit, but pure love and meere affection. Now, if you would see this more plainly proved unto you, propose (if you please) and call to remembrance the women and men both in the olde world, whose hap was either first to beare children, or to see an infant newly borne; there was no law then to command and compell them to nourish and bring up their young babes; no hope at all of reciprocal pleasure or thanks at their hands that indured them; no expectation of reward and recompense another day to be paid from them, as due debt for their care, paines and cost about them: nay, if you goe to that, I might say rather: That mothers had some reason to deale hardly with their young infants, and to beare in minde the injuries that they have done them, in that they endured such dangers and so great paines for them:

*As namely, when the painfull throwes
as sharpe as any dart,
In travell pinch a woman neere,
and pierce her to the hart:
Which midwives, lunoes daughters then,
doe put her to, poore wretch,
With many a pang, when with their hand
they make her body stretch.*

But our women say; It was never *Homerus* (surely) who wrote this; but *Homeris* rather: that is to say, some Poetesse or woman of his poetickall veine, who had bene herselfe at such a busines, and felt the dolorous pangs of child-birth, or els was even then in labour, and upon the point to be delivered, feeling a mixture of bitter and sharpe throwes in her backe, belly and flanks, when shee powred out these verses: but yet, for all the sorrow and deere bargain that a mother hath of it, this kinde and naturall love doth still so bend, incline and leade her, that notwithstanding (be she in a heat still upon her travell, full of paines and after-throwes, panting, trembling and shaking for very anguish, yet she neglecteth not her sweet babe, nor windeeth or shrinketh away from it; but she turneth toward it, she maketh to it, she smileth and laugheth upon it, she taketh it into her armes, she huggeth it in her bosome, and kisseth it full kindly: neither all this whiles gathereth she any fruits of pleasure or profit, but painfully (God wot) and carefully

*She laps it then in ragges full soft,
With swaddling bands she wraps it off,
By turnes she cooles and keeps it warme,
Loth is she that it should take harme:
And thus aswell by night as day,
Paines after paines she taketh ay.*

Now tell me (I pray you) what reward, recompense and profit do women reape for all this trouble and painfull hand about their little ones? None at all (surely) for the present, and as little in future expectance another day, considering their hopes are so farre off, and the same so uncertaine. The husbandman that diggeth and laboureth about his vine at the Aequinox in the Spring, presseth grapes out of it and maketh his vintage at the Aequinox of the Autumne: He that soweth his come when the starres called *Pleiades*, doe couch and goe downe, reapeth and hath his harvest afterwards when they rise and appeare againe: kine calve, mares foale, hennes hatch, and soone after there commeth profit of their calves, their colts and their chickens: but the rearing and education of a man is laborious, his growth is very slow and late; and whereas

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long it is ere he cometh to prooffe and make any shew of vertue, commonly most fathers die before that day. *Necles* lived not to see the noble victorie before *Salamm* that *Themistocles* his sonneatched: neither saw *Altiades* the happie day wherein *Cimon* his sonne won the fildes at the famous battell nere the river *Euryndon*: *Xanippus*, was not so happy as to heare *Pericles* his sonne, out of the pulpit preaching and making orations to the people; neither was it the good fortune of *Ariston* to be at any of his sonne *Platoes* lectures and disputations in Philosophie: the fathers of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*, two renowned Poets, never knew of the victories which they obtained, for pronouncing and rehearsing their tragedies in open theater, they might heare them peradventure when they were little ones to stammer, to lisse, to spel and put syllables together, or to speake broken Greeke, and that was all. But ordinary it is that men live to see, heare, and know when their children fall to gaming, revelling, masking, and banquetting, to drunkenesse, wanton whooring, love and such like mildemeanors. So as in these regards this one Mot of *Euenu* in an Epigram of his, deserveth to be praised and remembered.

*See how great paines all fathers undergoe,
What daily griefes their children put them to.*

And yet for all this, fathers cease not still to nourish and bring up children, and such most of all who stand least in need of their children another day; for a meere mockery it were, and a ridiculous thing if a man should suppose; that rich & wealthy men do sacrifice unto the gods, and make great joy at the nativitie and birth of their children, because that one day they shall feede and susteine them in their old age, and intere them after they be dead; unless perhaps it may be said, they reioice thus and be so glad to have and bring up children, for that otherwise they should leave none heires behind them; as who would say, it were so hard a matter to finde out and meet with those that would be willing to inherit the lands and goods of strangers. Certes the fands of the sea, the little notes in the sinne raised of dust, the feathers of birds together with their variable notes, be not so many in number, as there be men that gape after heritages, and be ready to succed others in their livings. *Danatur* (who as they say was the father of 50 daughters) if his fortune had bene to be childlesse, I doubt not but he should have had more heires than so to have parted his goods and state among them, and those verily after another sort than the heires of his owne body. For children yeeld their parents no thanks at all for being in their inheritous; neither in regard thereof do they any service, dutie, or honour unto them; for why? they expect and looke for the inheritance as a thing due and of right belonging unto them: but contrariwise you heare how those strangers that hang and hunt about a man who hath no children, much like to those in the comedies, singing this song,

*O sir, no wights shall do you any harme,
I will revenge your wrongs and quarrels ay:
Hold heare, three halfe-pence good to keepe you warme
Purse it, drinke it, sing too and care away.*

As for that which *Euripides* saith,

*The worldly goods procure men friends to chuse,
And credit most, who then will them refuse.*

It is not simply and generally true, unless it be to those as have no children; for such indeed are sure to be invited and feasted by the rich; lords and rulers will make court and be serviceable to such; for them great orators and advocates will plead at the bar without fee, and give their counsell gratis,

*How mightie is a rich man with each one,
So long as his next heire is knowne to none?*

whereas you shall see many in the world, who before time having a number of friends and honour enough and no sooner had a little childe borne unto them, but they lost all their friends, credit, and reputation at once, so that by this reckoning the having of children maketh nothing at all to the authoritie of their parents, so that in regard thereof, it is not that they do so love their children; but surely the cause of this their kindnesse and affection proceedeth altogether from nature, and appeereth no lesse in mankind than in wilde beasts: Howbeit otherwhiles this naturall love as well as many other good qualities in men, are blemished and obscured by occasion of vice that buddeth up afterwards; like as we see wilde briars, bushes and brambles to spring up and grow among good and kind feeds, for otherwise we might as well collect and say that men love not themselves because many cut their owne throates, or wilfully fall down headlong from steepe rocks and high places. For *Oedipus*

With

*With bloody hand his owne eie-lids did force,
And plucked out his eies upon remembrance.*

Hegeffus disputing and discouraging upon a time of abstinence, caused many of his auditors and scholars to pine themselves to death.

*Such accidents of many sorts there be,
Permitted by the gods we daily see.*

But al of them like as those other passions and maladies of the mind before named, transport a man out of his owne nature, and put him beside himselfe, so as they testifie against themselves that this is true, and that they do amisse heerein; for if a sow having farrowed a little pigge, devoure it when she hath done, or a bitch chance to teare in peeces a puppie or whelp of her owne litter, presently men are amazed at the sight thereof, and woonderfully affrighted, whereupon they sacrifice unto the gods certaine expiatorie sacrifices, for to divert the sinister prelasses thereof, as taking it to a prodigious woonder, as confessing thereby, that it is a propertie given to all living creatures, even by the instinct and institution of nature; To love, softer and cherisht the fruit of their owne bodies: so farre it is from them to destroy the same. And yet, notwithstanding her corruption and depravation in this behalfe: Like as in mines, the gold (although it be mixed with much clay, and furred all over with earth) shineth & glittereth thorow the same, and is to be seene as farre off; even so nature amid the most depravate manners and corrupt passions that we have, sheweth a certeine love and tender affection to little ones. To conclude, whereas the poore many times make no care at all to nourish and reare up their children, it is for nothing els but because they feare left having not so good bringing up nor so civil education as they ought, they should proove servile in behavior, untaught, unmanely, rude, and void of all good parts; and judging (as they do) poverty to be the extremity of all miseries that can befall to man, their heart will not serve them to leave unto their children this hereditarie calamity, as a most grievous and dangerous disease.



OF THE PLVRALITY OF FRIENDS.

The Summarie.

Next certeine discourses going before, it appeareth what a benefit and good thing friendship is. And now *Plutarch* addeth thereto a certaine correction very necessary, in regard of our nature which is given alwaies to bend unto extremities, and not able long to holde the golden-meane. Like as therefore, it becometh a miserable, wretched and cursed mind to be desirous for to lead a life without acquaintance and familiarity with any person; even so to make friends (as they say) hand over head and upon every occasion, is peradventure impossible, but surely not expedient. Our author therefore, willing to reforme this disorderate affection that is in many, who because they would have a number of friends, often-times have not one assured, sheweth that it is farre better for a man to get one fast and fastfull friend, than a great multitude of whom he can not make any certaine account; propounding as a remedie for this covetous minde 50 of entertaining such a plurality of friends, the examples of those who are contented with few, and by that meanes thinke their estate more sure and steadfast. After this, he treateth of the choice of friends, but especially of one. Then discoureth he of that which is requisite in true friendship, annexing thereto many proper and apt similitudes, which represent aswell the benefit that sincere affection bringeth, as the hurt which cometh of fained and counterfeited amitie. This done, he proveth, that to entertaine a number of friends, is a very hard matter, yea, and impossible; for that a man is not able to converse with them, nor to frame and sort with them all, but that he shall procure himselfe enemies on all sides: and when he hath enriched and adorned the same with notable examples, he proceedeth to describe,

describe, what use a man is to make of friendship, and with what sort and condition of men he ought to joine in amity: but this is the conclusion; That an honest and vertuous man cannot quit himself well, and performe his devoure unto many friends at once.

OF THE PLURALITIE of friends.



*S*ocrates upon a time demanded of Menon the Theffalian, who was esteemed very sufficient in all literature, and a great schoole-man, exercised in long practise of disputations, and named to be one (as Empedocles faith) who had attained to the very height and perfection of wisdom and learning, what vertue was; and when he had answered readily and boldly enough, in this wise: There is a vertue (quoth he) of a young childe, and of an olde gray beard; of a man, and of a woman; of a magistrate, and of a private person; of a master, and of a servant: I can you thanke (quoth Socrates againe, replying unto him) you have done it very well: I asked you but of

one vertue, and you have raised and let flie a whole swarme (as it were) of vertues, guessing and collecting not answere by such an answer, that this deepe cleark, who had named thus many vertues, knew not so much as one. And might not a man seeme to scorne and mocke us well enough, who having not yet gotten one friendship and amity certaine, are afraid (forsooth) lest ere we be aware, we fall into a multitude and pluralitie of friends: for this were even as much as if one that is maimed and starke blinde, should feare to become either Briareus the giant, with an hundred armes and hands, or Argus, who had eyes all over his bodie. And yet we praise and commend excessively and beyond all measure the young man in Menander, when he saith:

*Of all the goods which I do holde,
To thinke each one (I would be bolde)
Right woonderfull, if I might finde
The shadow onely of a friend.*

But certainly this is one cause among many others, & the same not the least, that we cannot be possessed of any one assured amity, because we covet to have so many much like unto these common trumpets and harlots, who for that they prostitute their bodies so often and to so manie men, cannot make any reckoning to hold & retaine any one paramour or lover fast and sure unto them; for that the first commers fecing themselves neglected and cast off by the entertainment of new, retire and fall away from them, and seeke elsewhere; or rather much after the manner of

* Ophilius or Archimedes.

*Who being set in meadow greene
Wish pleasant flowers all faire besene,
One after other crops them still,
Havning this game with bright good will:
For why, his heart tooke great content
In their gay blew and sweetly sent:
So little wit and small* discretion
The infant had, and no* repletion.*

* I knowe as yet
saye & knowe: or
saye & knowe: as
it is read else-
where.

even to every one of us for the desire of noveltie, and upon a satietie and fulnesse of that which is present and in hand, sufficeth himselfe ever to be caried away with a new-come friend that is fresh and flowing; which fickle and inconstant affection causeth us to change often and to begin many friendships and finish none; to enter still into new amities and bring none to perfection; and for the love of the new which we pursue and seeke after, we passe by that which we held already and let it go. To begin then first and foremost at antiquity (as it were) from the goddes *Peisus* (according to the old proverbe) let us examine and consider the common fame of mans life which hath bene delivered unto us from hand to hand time out of minde, by the succession and progresse of so many ages from the old world unto this day, and take the same for a witnesse and counsellor both in this matter, we shall finde in all the yeeres past, these onely couples and paies of renowned friends, to wit, *Thebesus and Pirithous; Achilles and Patroclus; Orestes*

Orestes and Pylades; Pythias and Damon; Epaminondas and Pelopidas. For friendship is indeede (as I may so say) one of these cattell that love company and desire to feed and pasture with fellows; but it can not abide heads and droves, it may not away with these great flocks, as jayes, dawes and choughes do. And whereas it is commonly said and thought, that a friend is another owne selfe, and men give unto him the name of *swagos* or *kinnes* in Greeke, as if a man would say, *kinnes*, that is, such another: what implieth all this, but that friendship should be reduced within the measure and compasse of the duall number, that is, of twaine. Well, this is certaine, we can buy neither many slaves nor purchase many friends with a small piece of coine: but what may be this piece of money that will fetch friends? Surely, kinde affection or good will, and a lovely grace joined with vertue, things I may tell you so rare, as looke thorowout the world and the whole course of nature, you shall find nothing more geason. No marvel then, if it be impossible either to love many or to be loved of many, perfectly and in the height of affection. But like as great rivers, if they be divided into many channells, and cut into sundry riverets, carry but an ebbe water, and run with no strong streame; even so a vehement and affectionate love planted in the minde, if it be parted many and divers waies becommeth enervate and feeble, and cometh in manner to nothing. This is the reason in nature, that those creatures which bring forth but one and no more, love their young more tenderly and entirely, than others do theirs. Homer also when he would signifie a childe most dearly beloved, calleth it *phidion*, that is to say, only begotten and toward old age, to wit, when the parents have no more betweene them, nor ever are like or doe looke to have another: for mine owne part, I would not desire to have that *phidion*, that is to say, one friend, and no more; but surely, I could wish that with other he were *phidion*, yea, and *phidion*, that is to say, long and late first ere he gotten, like as a sonne which is borne toward the latter daies of his parents, yea, and such a one, as (who according to that proverbe so common in every mans mouth) hath eaten with me a measure of salt. And are not many now adayes called friends? what els? if they have but drunke once together at the taveme, or met in the tennis court, or els turned into a tabling house, and played at dice and hazzard one with the other, or haply light in company at one hostlerie and lodged together, and in one word, they do contract and gather friends in this manner out of common innes, wrestling places, and ordinary walks in the markets or publike galleries. And verily, the common sort, when they see every morning in the houses of rich men and mightie rulers, a great multitude and concourse of people, with much ado and hurty, giving attendance there to salute them and bid them good morrow, kissing their right hands, & glad if they may touch them, accompanying them in manner of a guard when they go out of their lodging; oh, they imagine & repute such potentates wondrous happie, as being furnished with such numbers of friends; and yet surely, as many as they be, they shall see more flies ordinarily in their kitchens: and to say a troth, like as these flies will be gone if no caten and viands be stirring; so these friends will tary no longer than gaine and profite is to be gotten.

Certes, true and pereg friendshipp requireth these three things especially; Vertue, as being honest and commendable; Societie, which is pleasant and delectable; and Profit, which is needfull and necessaric: for a man must admit and receive a friend upon judgement and after triall made, he ought to delight and joy in his company, and he is to make use of him as occasion serveth: all which three are contrarie unto pluralitie of friends, but especially that which is principally, to wit, judgement upon a triall: and to prove this to be true; see first and foremost whether it bee possible in a small time to make prooffe and triall of singing men or quiresters, that they may keepe a good concert and harmonie together in their song; or to make choise of oare-men, who shall agree in their rowing, to rife and fall with their oares just together; or of houtholde servants such as wee purpose to make the bailiffs and stewards of our goods, or the governors and bringers up of our children; much more unlikely then is it, that we should have prooffe of many friends in a little space, who will be ready to enter the triall with us of all manner of fortune, and of whom every one will be preft and willing

*Of his welfare to yeeld even part to thee,
And beare like part of thy calamitie.*

For neither is a ship shot or haled into the sea against so many stormes & tempests; nor me doe set & pitch so many stakes in a pallisado for the defence of any place; or in havens raise banks, and oppole dams, against the like dangers, or in feare of so many perils, as friendshipp promitteth succour and refuge for, if it be founded surely and aright upon good prooffe and sufficient experience. As for such as before triall and experiment made do intrude themselves comming

and

and going for friends, such when they be put to the trial & touch indeed, & then found like evil money, counterfeit or light, they that go without them, be glad in their minde, and as many as have them, with all their hart & pray to God for to be rid of them. But surely this is a troublesome & combersome thing, neither is it an easie matter to void and cast off such a friendship as this, so displeasing & offensive: for like as if some kind of bad meat do trouble and offend the stomacke, a man can neither retaine and hold it still, but it will put him to paine and breed hurt & corruption, nor yet put it off and send it out in such sort as it went in, but all filthy and loathsome, as being furred over with slime, and mixed confusedly with other humours, and whollie altered from the former state; even so an ill friend either tarieth with us still to his owne griefe and ours both, or else away he goeth perforce with euill will, malice and enmitie like bitter choler that is vomited out of the stomacke. It is not good therefore to receive and admit of friends over-lightly and over-soone, nor to set our mindes and knit our affections to those that come next hand, and present themselves first, ne yet love those incontinently that seeke to us and follow us; but rather to seeke after them and follow them our selves that are worthy of friendship: for we must not alwaies choofe that which is easie to be had & willing to be gotten; for we put by gorie and fuzzen busshies; we tread under foot briars and brambles though they catch hold of us, and hang unto us as we walke whether we will or no; whereas wee go forward to the olive tree and the vine; and even so it is not alwaies decent & good to entertaine into our familiaritie one that is ready to embrace and hang about us; but rather such ought we our selves affectionately to embrace whom we have tried to be profitable unto us, and who deserve that we should love and make account of them. And like as *Xenxis* the painter answered sometime to those who found fault with him for his slow hand in painting: I confesse indeed (quoth he) that I am long in drawing a picture, for I purpose that my worke should continue long; and even so that friendship and familiaritie is like to last and be preserved long which was a good while in proofe and triall. Is it then no easie matter to make triall and choise of many friends together? and is it no hard thing to converse & keepe companie with many at once, or rather is this also impossible? for surely it is conversation and fellowship, whereby we enjoy the benefit of friendship, and the most sweet and pleasant fruit of amitie consisteth in keeping continuall societie, and daily frequenting one anothers companie, like unto those who uttered these words,

*For during life we will not sit
in counsell from our friends,
Nor yet resolve of doubtfull points
before we know their minds.*

As *Homer* reporteth in one place: and in another *Menelaus* speaking of *Ulysses*, saith thus,

*Ne ought else us twaine our mutual love,
and pleasures shall depart
Untrill death close up both our eyes
and strike us to the hart.*

But this pluralitie of friends whereof we now speake, seemeth to do cleane contrarie; for whereas the simple amitie of twaine draweth us together, holdeth & uniteth us by frequent and 40 continuall conversation, fellowship, and duties of kindenesse,

*Much like as when the figtree juice,
you put white milke among,
It cradles, knits, and bindes the same,
no lesse then renner strong.*

according to the words of *Empedocles*; and surely desirous it is to make the semblable union and conporation: this friendship of many separateth, distracteth and diverteth us, calling and transporting us sundry waies, not permitting the commixture and sodering (as it were) of good will and kinde affection to grow into one, and make a perfect joint by familiar conversation, enclosing & fastning every part together. But the same anon bringeth withall a great 50 inequality in offices and reciprocall services meet for friends, and breedeth a certaine foolish bawlingnesse and streining of courtesie in the performance thereof, for by occasion of many friends those parts in amitie, which otherwise are easie and commodious, become difficult and incommodious: And why?

*All men do not agree in humor one,
Their thoughts their cares bend diversly each one.*

and no marvell, for our verie natures do not all incline in affection the same way; neither are we

at all times conversant and acquainted with the like fortunes and adventures. To say nothing of their sundrie occasions and occurrences which serve not indifferently for all our actions; but like as the windes unto failers, they are with some and against others; sometimes on our backs and other whiles full in our face. And say that it may fall out so, that all our friends at once do stand in need, and be desirous of one and the same helpe and ministerie at our hands, it were verie hard to fit all their turnes and satisfie them to their content; whether it be in taking our advice and counsell in any negotiations, or in treating about State matters, or in suite after dignities, places of government, or in feasting and entertaining strangers in their houses: But suppose that at one & the same instant, our friends being diversly affected & troubled with sundrie affaires, request all of them together our helping hand; as for example, one that is going 10 to sea for to have our companie in that voiage; another who being defendant & to answer for himselfe in the law, to assit him in the court; and a third that is a plaintife, to second him in his plea; a fourth who either is to buy or sell, for to helpe him to make his markets; a fifth who is to marrie for to sacrifice with him, and be at his wedding dinner; and a sixth, who is to inter a dead corps for to mourne & solemnize the funerals with him: in such a medley and confusion as this, as it according to *Sophocles*:

*A citie smoakt with sense sweet,
And ring with songs for mirths sweet,
With plaints also and groanes resound,
And all in one and selfe same sound.*

20 Certes having so many friends, to assit and gratifie them all were impossible, to pleasure more were absurd, and in serving ones turne to reject many others, were offensive and hurtful: for this is a rule:

*Who to his friend is well affected,
Loves not himselfe to be neglected.*

and yet commonly such negligences and forgetfull defaults of friends, we take with more patience, and put up with lesse anger and displeasure, when they shall come to excuse themselves by oblivion making these and such like answeres. Surely, you were but forgotten; it was out of my head; and I never thought of it: but he that shall alledge thus and say: I was not your assistant in the court, nor stood to you in your cause, by reason that I attended another friend of mine in a triall of his; or I came not to visite you whiles you had an ague, for that I was busstie employed at a feast, that such a one made to one of his friends; excusing his negligence to one friend, by his diligence to others; surely he maketh no satisfaction for the offence already taken, but increaseth the same and maketh it worse than before, by reason of jealousy added thereto; howbeit most men as it should seeme aime at nothing else but at the profit and commoditie which friendship bringeth and yeeldeth from without, & never regard what care it doth imprint and worke within; neither remember they that he whose turne hath bene served by many friends, must likewise reciprocally be ready to helpe them as their need requirerth. Like as therefore the giant *Briareus* with his 100 hands feeding 50 bellies, had no more sustenance for his whole bo- 40 dy than he who with two hands furnish and fill one belly; even so the commoditie that wee have by many friends bringeth this discommoditie withall, that we are to be employed also to many, in taking part with them of their griefs and passions, in travelling and in being troubled together with them in all their negotiations and affaires: for we are not to give care unto *Euripides* the poet when he saith thus,

*In mutall love men ought a meane to keepe,
That it touch not heart roote nor marrow deepe,
Affections for to change is well best,
To rise and fall, now hot now coole by fits.*

giving us to understand that friendship is to be used according as need requirerth more or lesse, 50 like to the helme of a ship, which both holdeth it hard, and also giveth head, or the tackling which spread and draw, hoile and strike faile, as occasion serveth. But contrariwise, rather (good *Euripides*) we may turne this speech of yours to enmitie, & admonish men that their quarrels & contentions be moderate and enter not to the heart and inward marrow (as it were) of the soule, that hatred (I say) and malice, that anger, offence, defiance, and suspitions, be so intertained as that they may be soone appeased, laid downe & forgotten. A better precept is that yet of *Pythagoras*, when he teacheth us not to give our right hand to many; that is to say, not to make many men our friends, nor to affect that popular amitie common to all, and exposed or offered to every

every one that commeth, which no doubt cannot chuse but bring many passions with it into the heart, among which, to be disquieted for a friend, to condole or grieve with him, to enter into troubles, and to plunge ones selfe into perils for his sake, are not very easie matters to be borne by those that carie an ingenuous minde with them, and be kind-hearted: but the saying of wife *Chilena* profleour of philosophie is most true, who answering unto a man that vaunted how he had not an enemie; It should seeme then (quoth he) that thou hast never a friend; for certainly enmities ensue presently upon amities, nay they are both interlaced together: neither is it the part of a friend not to feele the injuries done unto a friend, nor to participate with him in all ignominies, hatred, and quarrels that he incurreth; and one enemie evermore will be sure to suspect the friend of another, yea and be ready to malice him; as for friends oftentimes they envie their owne friends, they have them in jealousie, and traduce them every way. The oracle answered unto *Timæus* when he consulted about the planting and peopling of a new colonie in this wise:

*Thou think'st to lead a swarme of bees full kind,
But angrie waspes, thou shalt them shortly find.*

Semblable they that seeke after a bee-hive (as it were) of friends, light ere they be aware upon a wapes nest of enmities: where there is a great ods and difference even in this, that the revenging remembrance of an enemie for wrong done, over-weigheth much the thankfull memorie of a friend for a benefit received: and whether this be true or no, consider in what manner *Alexander* the great entreated the friends of *Philotas* and *Parmenio*; how *Dionysius* the tyrant used the familiars of *Dion*; after what sort *Nero* the emperor dealt by the acquaintance of *Plutarch*; or *Tiberius Caesar* by the well-willers of *Sejmus*, whom they caused all to be racked, tortured and put to death in the end. And like as the costly jewels of golde, and the rich apparell of king *Creons* daughter, served him in no stead at all, but the fire that tooke hold thereof, flaming light out suddenly, burned him: when he ran unto her to take her in his armes, and so consumed father and daughter together; even so you shall have some, who having never received any benefit at all by the prosperitie of their friends, are entangled notwithstanding in their calamities, and perish together with them for companie; a thing that ordinarily and most of all they are subject unto, who be men of profession, great clerks, and honourable personages. Thus *Thescus*, when *Perithous* his friend was punished and lay bound in prison

*With fetters sure to him: tied was,
Farre stronger than of yron or brass.*

Thucydides also writeth; That in the great pestilence at *Athens*, the best men and such as made greatest profession of vertue, were they who did most with their friends that lay sicke of the plague: for that they never spared themselves, but went to visit and looke to all those whom they loved and were familiarly acquainted with. And therefore it is not meet to make so little regard and reckoning of vertue, as to hang and fasten it upon others, without respect, and (as they say) hand over head, but to reserve the communication thereof to those who be worthy; that is to say, unto such who are able to love reciprocally, and know how to impart the like againe. And verily this is the greatest contrariety and opposition which crosseth pluralitie of friends, in that amitie in deed is bred by similitude and conformitie: for considering that the very brute beasts not ended with reason, if a man would have to ingender with those that are of divers kinds, are brought to it by force, and thereto compelled, inso much, as they thinke, they couch downe upon their knees, and be ready to flee one from another; whereas contrariwise, they take pleasure and delight to be coupled with their like and of the same kinde, receiving willingly and entreining their companie in the act of generation, with gentleness and good contentment: how is it possible that any found and perfect friendship should grow betwene those who are in behaviour quite different, in affections divers, in conditions opposite, and whose course of life tendeth to contrary or sundry ends? True it is, that the harmonie of musike, whether it be in song or instrument, hath symphony by antiphony (that is to say) the accord ariseth from discord and of contrarie notes is composed a sweet tune, so as the treble and the base concurre, after a sort, (I wot not how) & meet together, bringing forth by their agreement that sound which pleaseth the eare: but in this consonance and harmonie of friendship, there ought to be no part unlike or unequal, nothing obscure and doubtfull, but the same should be composed of all things agreeable, to wit, the same will, the same opinion, the same counsell, the same affection, as it one soule were parted into many bodies. And what man is he, so laborious, so mutable, so variable, and apt to take every fashion & form? who is able to frame unto all patterns, and accommodate himselfe

himselfe to so many natures, and will not rather be ready to laugh at the Poet *Theognis*, who giveth this lesson:

Put on a minde (I thee do wish)

As variable as Polype fish,

Who ay resemble will thy osh,

To which he neereby doth approach.

and yet this change and transmutation of the said polype or porcuttle fish, entrench not deeply in, but appeareth superficially in the skin, which by the closenesse or laxitie thereof, as he draws it in or lets it out, receiveth the deflections of the colours from those bodies that are neere unto it; whereas amities do require that the manners, natures, passions, speeches, studies, desires and inclinations may be conformable; for otherwise to doe, were the propertie of a *Protem*, who was neither fortunate nor yet verie good and honest, but who by enchantment and forcerie could effoones transforme himselfe from one shape to another in one and the same instant; and even so he that entertaineth many friends, must of necessity be conformable to them all; namely, with the learned and studious, to be ever reading; with professours of wrestling, to bestrew his bodie with dust (as they doe) for to wrestle; with hunters, to hunt; with drunkards, to quaffe and carouse; with ambitious citizens, to sue and manage for offices, without any settled mansion (as it were) of his owne nature for his conditions to make abode in. And like as naturall Philosophers do holde: That the substance or matter that hath neither forme nor any colour, which they call *Materia prima*, is a subject capable of all formes, and of the owne nature so apt to alter and change, that sometimes it is ardent and burning, otherwhiles it is liquid and moist; now rare and of an airie substance, and afterwards againe grosse and thicke, resembling the nature of earth; even so must the minde applied to this multiplicitie of friends, be subject to many passions, sundry conditions, divers affections pliable, variable and apt to change from one fashion to another. Contrariwise, simple friendship and amitie betwene twaine, requieth a staied minde, a firme and constant nature, permanent and abiding alwaies in one place, and retaining still the same fashions; which is the reason that a fast and assured friend is very gealous and hard to be found.



OF FORTUNE.

The Summarie.

Long time hath this proverbe become currant, That there is nothing in this world but good fortune and misfortune. Some have expounded and taken it thus; as if all things were carried by mere chance and adventure, or moved and driven by inconstant fortune, and idle forgerie in their braine, for that they were ignorant in the providence of the True God who conducteth or dirigit all things in this world by second causes and subalterne meanes; yea the verie motion, will and workes of men, for the execution of his ordinance and purpose. Now *Plutarch* not able to arise and reach up to this divine and heavenly wisdom hidden from his knowledge, flaicth below; and yet poore *Pagan* and *Eshnik* though he were, he consulteth that dangerous opinion of Fortune; shewing that it taketh away all distinction of good and evil, quencheth and putteth out the light of mans life, blending and confounding vice and vertue together. Afterwards he proveth that prudence and wisdom, over-ruleth this blind fortune, by considering the miserie and dominion that man hath above beasts: the arts also and sciences whereof he maketh profession, together with his judgement and will directly opposite and contrarie to all casualties and changes.

V

OF

OF FORTVNE.



*Lind fortune rul's mans life alway,
Sage counsell therein beares no way,*

said one (who ever it was) that thought all humane actions depended upon meer casualtie, and were not guided by wisdom. What? and hath justice and equitie no place at all in this world? Can temperance and modestie do nothing in the direction and managing of our affaires? Came it from fortune; and was it indeed by meer chance that *Aristides* made choise to continue in povertie, when it was in his power to make himselfe a Lord of much wealth and many goods? or that *Scipio* when he had forced *Carthage* tooke not to himselfe, nor so much as saw any part of all that pillage? And was it long of fortune, or by casualty that *Philocrates* having received of King *Philip* a great summe of gold, bought there-with harlots and daintie fishes? or that *Laithenes* and *Euthyrates* betraied the cite *Olynthus*, measuring soveraigne good and felicity of man by belly-cheere, and those pleasures which of all other be most dishonest and infamous? And shall we say, it was a worke of fortune that *Alexander*, sonne of *Philip*, not onely himselfe forbore to touch the bodies of the captive women taken in war, but also punished all such as offered them violence and injurie: and contrariwise, came it by ill lucke and unhappie fortune, that another *Alexander* the sonne of King *Priamus* slept and lay with his friends wife, when he lodged and entertained him in his house, and not only so, but carried her away with him, and by that occasion brought all manner of calamitie upon two maine parts of the continent, to wit, *Europe* and *Asia*, and filled them both with those miseries that follow warres?

If we graunt that all these occurrents came by fortune, what should let us, but we might as well say that cats, goats and apes be likewise by fortune given to be alwaies licentious, lecherous, shrewd and sawy. But in case it be true (as true it is) that the world hath in it temperance, justice and fortitude; what reason is there to say, that there is no prudence and wisdom therein? now if it be yeelded that the world is not void of prudence: how can it be maintained that there should not be in it sage counsell? For temperance (as some say) is a kinde of prudence; and most certein it is, that justice should be assisted by prudence; or to say more truly, ought to have it present with her continually. Certes, sage counsell & wisdom in the good use of pleasures and delights, whereby we continue honest, we ordinarily do call continence and temperance; the same in dangers and travels, we terme tolerance, patience and fortitude; in contracts and managment of State affaires we give the name of loialtie, equitie and justice; whereby it cometh to passe, that if we will attribute the effects of counsell and wisdom unto fortune, we must likewise ascribe unto her the works of justice and temperance. And so (beleeve me) to rob and steale, to cut purses, and to keepe whores, must proceed from fortune; which if it be so, let us abandon all discourse of our reason, and betake our selves wholly to fortune to be driven and carried to and fro at her pleasure like to the dust, chaffe, or sweepings of the floore, by the puffs of some great wind. Take away sage & discreet counsell; farewell then all consultation as touching affaires, away with deliberation, consideration and inquisition into that which is behovefull and expedient: for surely then, *Sophocles* talked idly, and knew not what he spake in saying thus:

*Seeke, and be sure to finde with diligence,
But loose, what you for-let by negligence.*

And in another place where dividing the affaires of man he saith in this wise:

*What may be taught, I strive to learne;
What may likewise be found*

*I seeke, for wises all I pray,
and would to God be bound.*

Now would I gladly know, what is it that men may finde and what can they learne, in case all things in the world be directed by fortune? What Senate house of cite would not be dissolved and abolished? what counsell chamber of Prince should not be overthrowen and put downe, if all were at the disposition of fortune? we doe her wrong in reproching her for blindeesse, when we runne upon her as we doe, blinde, and debasing our selves unto her; for how can we chuse but stumble upon her indeed, if we plucke out our owne eyes, to wit, our wisdom & dexte-
teritie

teritie of counsell, and take a blinde guide to lead us by the hand in the course of this our life? Certes, this were even as much, as if some one of us should say, the action of those that see, is fortune, and not sight or eyes, which *Plato* calleth *phantasy*, that is, Light-bearers: the action likewise of them that heare, is nothing else but fortune, and not a naturall power and facultie to receive the stroke or repercussion of the aire, carried by the eare and the braine. But better it were (I trow) and so will everie wise bodie thinke to take heed how to discredit our senses so, as to submit them to fortune: For why? Nature hath bestowed upon us sight, hearing, taste and smell, with all the parts of the body indued with the rest of their powers and faculties, as ministers of counsell and wisdom. For it is the soule that seeth, it is the soule & understanding that heareth, all the rest are deafe and blinde: and like as if there were no sunne at all we should (for all the starrs besides) live in perpetuall night as *Heraclitus* saith; even so if man had not reason and intelligence, notwithstanding all his other senses, he should not differ in the whole race of his life from brute and wilde beasts; but now in that we excell and rule them all, it is not by chance and fortune: but *Prometheus* (that is to say) the use and discourse of reason is the very cause that hath given us in recompence

*Both horse and asse, with breed of beests so strong
To carry us, and ease our labour long.*

according as we read in *Aeschylus* the poet. Forasmuch as otherwise fortune and nature both have bene more favourable, and beneficiall to most of the brute beasts in their entrance into this life, than unto man; for armed they be with hornes, tusks, spurs, and stings; moreover as *Empedocles* saith,

*The urchin strikes with many a pricke,
Which grow on backe both sharpe and thicke.*

Again there be many beasts clad and covered with scales and shag haire; shod also with claws and hard hooves: onely man as *Plato* saith is abandoned and forsaken by nature, all naked, unarmed, unhod, and without any vesture whatsoever,

*But by one gift which she hath given,
Amends she makes, and all is even.*

and that is, the use of reason, industrie, and providence.

For strength of mortall man is small,
His limbs but weak and sinewes all:
Yet by his wit and quick conceit,
By cunning casts and subtil sleight,
No beast in sea, or mount, so fell,
So wilde or ste, but he doth quell.

What beast more nimble, more light and swift than is the horse; but for man it is that he runneth in the race: the dogge is couragious and eager in fight, but it is in the defence of man: fishes yeeld a most delicate and sweet meat; and swine be full of good flesh, but both of them serve as viands for the food and nourishment of man: what creature is bigger or more terrible to see than is the elephant? howbeit he maketh man sport and pastime, he is shewed as a goodly sight in festivall solemnities where people bee assembled, he is taught to friske and daunce his measures, to fall upon his knees likewise and do reverence: and verily these and such like flights and examples are exhibited not in vaine nor without good profit, but to this end, that thereby we may know how farsooth reason & wisdom doth advance and lift up a man, above what things it maketh him surmount, and how by means thereof he ruleth all, and surpasseth all:

*As fight with fitt we are not good,
nor yet in tripping feet,
In wrestling we may well be blam'd,
our running is not fleet.*

But in all these feats we are inferiour to brute beasts, howbeit for experience, memorie, wisdom and artificiall sleights (as *Anaxagoras* said) we go beyond them all, and thereby we have the matrie and use of them, making them to serve our turnes: we streine honic out of the combs of bees; we presse milke out of beasts udders; we rob and spoile them; we drive and carrie them away and whatsoever they have, in so much as in all this there is nothing that can be justly attributed to forme, but all proceeds from counsell and fore-cast.

Furthermore, the works of carpenters are done by hand of man, so are they also of smithes and

and braisers, of masons, builders, gravers and imagers: in all which there is nothing to bee seene, that a man can say is done by chance or fortune, at leastwise when it is wrought absolutely, and as it should be. And say that it may fall out otherwhiles that a good artisan, whether he be a cutter in brasle or a mason, a finisher or a carpenter, may meet with fortune and doe some little thing by chance; yet the greatest peeces of worke, and the most number are wrought and finished respectively by their arts, which a certaine poet hath given us secretly to understand by these verses,

*March on your way each artisan
Who live upon your handy craft,
On sooth I say in comely vaine,
Your sacred pinnies beere aloft;
You that Ergane dread and feare
The daughter grim of Iupiter.*

For this *Ergane* (that is to say *Minerva*) all artifices and artificers acknowledge and honor for their patronesse, and not fortune. True it is that the report goes of a certaine painter, who drawing the picture of an horse, had done verie well in all respects, both in portraiture and also colours, save onely that he pleased not himselfe in painting the some and swelling froth which useth to gather about the bit as hee champeth upon the same, and so falleth from his mouth when he snuffeth and bloweth; this I say he liked not, neither thought he it workmanly done, inso much as hee wiped it out many times and began it anew; but never was it to his mind; at last in a pelting chafe because it would frame no better, he takes in his spung full as it was of colours, and flange it against the table wherein hee wrought; but see the wonderfull chance; this sponge lighting as it did upon the right place, gave such a print, and dashed so, as that it represented the froth that he so much desired most lively; and to my remembrance there is not in anie historie set downe an artificiall thing but this that fortune ever did.

Artificers use altogether in everie piece of worke, their iquires, their rules, their lines and leavels; they goe by measures and numbers, to the end that in all their workes there should not be any thing found done either rashly or at adventure. And verily these arts are petiekinde of Prudence and so called; for rills and rivets flowing from Prudence, or certaine parcels rather of it, sprinkled and dispersed among the necessities of this life: and thus much is covertly signified by the fable of the fire that *Prometheus* divided by sparkles, which flew some heere some there; for semblahy, the small parcels and fragments of wisdom, being cut into sundrie portions, are ranged into their severall ranks and become arts. A wonderfull thing how these arts and sciences should have no dealing with Fortune nor need her helpe, for to attaine unto their proper ends; and yet Prudence which is the greatest soveraigne and most perfect of them all, yea and the verie height of all the glorie, reputation, and goodnesse of man, should be just nothing. In the winding up and letting downe of the strings of an instrument, there is one kind of wisdom, and that is called Musicke; in the dressing and ordering of meates and viands there is another, which they name Cookerie; in washing and scouring of clothes and garments there is a third, so wit, the fullers craft. As for our little children, we teach them to draw on their shooes, to make them readie and dresse the selves in their clothes decently, to take meat in their right hand, and to hold bread in the left; an evident argument and prooffe, that even such small matters as thes, depend not of chance and fortune, but require skill and heed taking. Shall we say then that the greatest and most principall things that are, even those that be most materiall and necessarie for mans felicitie, use not wisdom, nor participate one whit with providence and the judgement of reason? There is no man so blockish and voide of understanding, that after he hath tempered clay and water together, lets it alone and goeth his way when he hath so done, looking that of the owne accord, or by fortune there will be bricks or tiles made thereof: neither is any one such a foole, as when he hath bought wool & leather, sits him downe & praies unto fortune, that thereof he may have garments or shooes: and is there any man so foolish thinke you? who having gathered together a great masse of gold and silver, gotten about him a mightie retinue of slaves and servants, and being possessed of divers faire and stately houses with many a doore within and without, and those lured locked on everie side, having before him in his eyesight a sort of sumptuous beds with their rich and costly furniture, and of tables most precious, will repose soveraigne felicitie therein, or thinke that all this can make him to live happily, without paine, without griefe, secure of change and alteration, if he have not wisdom withall?

There

There was one that cawiled upon a time with Captaine *Sphierax*, and by way of reproch & minding to prove that he was of no reckoning, demanded what he was? For (quoth he) you are not a man at armes, nor areher, nor yet targuier: I am not indeed I confesse (quoth *Sphierax*), but I am he who commaund all thes, and employ them as occasion serveth; even so wisdom, is neither gold nor silver, it is not glorie or riches, it is not health, it is not strength, it is not beautie: what is it then? Surely even that which can skill how to use all thes, and by means whereof each of these things is pleasant, honorable and profitable; and contrariwise, without which, they are displeasing, hurtfull and dangerous, working his destruction and dishonor who possesseth them. And therefore right good counsell gave *Prometheus* in *Hesiodus* to his brother *Epimetheus* in this one point:

*Receive no gifts at any time,
which heavenly Iove shall send:
But see thou do refuse them all,
and backe againe them send.*

Meaning thereby these outward goods of fortunes gift, as if he would have said: Goe not about to play upon a Flute, if thou have no knowledge in Musick; nor to reade if thou know never a letter in the booke; mount not on horsebacke, unless thou canst tell how to sit him and ride; and even so he advised him thereby, not to seeke for office and place of government in common-weale, wanting wit as he did; nor to lay for riches, so long as he bare a covetous minde and wist not how to be liberall; nor to marrie a wife, for to bee his maister and to lead him by the nose: for not onely wealth and prosperitie hapning above desert unto unadvised folke, giveth occasion (as *Demosthenes* said) unto them for to commit many follies; but also wordly happings beyond all reason and demerit, causeth such as are not wise, to become unhappie and miserable in the end.



OF ENVIE AND HATRED.

The Summarie.

In this brife Treatise concerning Envie and Hatred, Plutarch after he hath shewed in generall termes, that they be two different vices, and declared withal the properties of the one and the other, proveth this difference by divers reasons and arguments ranged in their order: he discovereth the nature of envious persons and malicious; and sheweth by a proper similitude that the greatest personages in the world, be secured from the claws and pawes of envious persons, and yet for all that cease not to have many enemies. And verily it seemeth that the Author began this little worke, especially for to beat downe envie, and that the insanie thereof might so much more appeare in comparing and matching it with another detestable vice, the which notwithstanding he saith is lesse enormous than it.

V 3

OF

OF ENVIE AND HATRED.



It seemeth at the first sight, that there is no difference between envie and hatred, but that they be both one. For vice (to speake in generall) having (as it were) many hookes or crochets, by means thereof as it thrust to and fro, it yeeldeth unto those passions which hang thereto many occasions and opportunities to catch holde one of another, and so to be knit and enterlaced one within the other; and the same verily (like unto diseases of the body) have a sympathie and fellow-feeling one of anothers distemperature and inflammation: for thus it commeth to passe, that a malicious and spitefull man is as much grieved and offended at the prosperitie of another, as the envious person: and so we holde, that benevolence and good-will is opposit to them both, for that it is an affection of a man, wishing good unto his neighbour: and envie in this respect resembleth hatred, for that they have both a will and intention quite contrary unto love: but forasmuch as no things like to the same, and the resemblances between them be not effectuall to make them all one, as the differences to distinguish them asunder; let us search and examine the said differences, beginning at the very fource and originall of these passions.

Hatred then, is ingendred and ariseth in our heart upon an imagination and deepe apprehension that we conceive of him whom we hate, that either he is naught & wicked in general to every man, or els intending mischief particularly unto our selves: for commonly it falleth out, that those who thinke they have received some injurie at such an ones hand, are disposed to hate him, yea, and those whom otherwise they know to be maliciously bent and wont to hurt others, although they have not wronged them, yet they hate and can not abide to looke upon them with patience; whereas ordinarily they beare envie unto such onely as seeme to prosper and to live in better state than their neighbours: by which reckoning it should seeme that envie is a thing indefinite, much like unto the disease of the eyes *Ophthalmia*, which is offended with the brightnesse of any light whatsoever; whereas hatred is determinate, being alwayes grounded upon some certaine subject matters respective to it selfe, and on them it worketh. Secondly, our hatred doeth extend even to brute beasts; for some you shall have, who naturally abhorre and can not abide to see cats nor the flies cantharides, nor todes, nor yet snakes and any such serpents. As for *Germanicus Caesar*, he could not of all things abide either to see a cocke or to heare him crow. The Sages of *Persia* called their *Magi*, killed all their mice and rats, aswell for that themselves could not away with them but detested them, as also because the god (forsooth) whom they worshipped, had them in horror. And in trueth, all the Arabians and Aethiopians generally, holde them abominable. But envie properly is betweene man and man; neither is there any likelihood at all, that there should be imprinted envie in savage creatures one against another; because they have not this imagination and apprehension, that another is either fortunate or unfortunate, neither be they touched with any sense of honour or dishonour; which is the thing that principally and most of all other giveth an edge, and whetteth on envie; whereas it is evident that they hate one another, they beare malice and mainteine enmitie, nay, they go to warre as against those that be disloyall, treacherous, and such as are not to be trusted: for in this wise doe eagles warre with dragons, crows with owles, and the little nonnet or tit-moule fighteth with the linnet, inso much, as by report, the very blond of them after they be killed, will not mingle together; and that which is more, if you seeme to mixe them, they will separate and run apart againe one from the other: and by all likelihood, the hatred that the lion hath to the cocke, and the elephant also unto an hogge, proceedeth from feare: for lightly that which creatures naturally feare, the same they also hate; so that herein also a man may affigne and note the difference betweene envie and hatred, for that the nature of beasts is capable of the one but not of the other.

Over and besides, no man deserveth justly to be envied: for to be in prosperitie and in better state than another, is no wrong or injurie offered to any person; and yet this is it for which men be envied; whereas contrariwise, many are hated worthily, such as those whom in Greeke we call *disparat*, that is to say, worthy of publike hatred, as also as many as do not flie from such, detest them

them not nor abhorre their companie. And a great argument to verifie this point, may be gathered from hence, namely, in that some there be who confesse and take it upon them, that they hate many; but no man will be known that he envieth any: for in trueth, the hatred of wicked persons and of wickednesse, is commended as a qualitie in men praise-worthy. And to this purpose serveth well that which was said of *Charillus*, who reigned in *Sparta*, and was *Eugenius* his brothers sonne, whom when there were certaine that commended for a man of milde behaviour and of a relenting and gentle nature: And how can it be (quoth he who was joined with him in the roiall government) that *Charillus* should be good, seeing he is not sharpe and rigorous to the wicked. And the Poet *Homer* describing the deformitie of *Thersites* his bodie, depicted his defects and imperfections in sundrie parts of his person, and by many circumlocutions; but his perverse nature and crooked conditions he set downe briefly and in one word in this wise:

*Worthy Achilles of all the best
And sage Ulysses, he hated most.*

for he could not chuse but be sharke naught and wicked in the highest degree, who was so full of hatred unto the best men. As for those who denie that they are envious, in case they be convinced manifestly therein, they have a thousand pretences and excuses therefore, alledging that they are angry with the man, or stand in feare of him whom indeed they beare envie unto, or that they hate him, colouring and cloaking this passion of envie with the vaile of any other whatsover for to hide and cover it, as if it were the only malady of the soule, that would be concealed and dissimuled. It cannot chuse therefore, but that these two passions be nourished and grow as plants of one kinde, by the same means, considering that naturally they succeed one the other: howbeit, wee rather hate those that be given more to leawdnesse and wickednesse, and we envy such rather who seeme to excel others in vertue. And therefore *Themistocles* (being but a youth) gave out and said, that he had done nothing notable, because as yet he was not envied: for like as the flies cantharides settle principally upon that wheat which is the fairest and come to full perfection; and likewise sticke unto the roses that are most out, and in the vertie pride of their flourings; even so envie taketh commonly unto the best conditioned persons, and to such as are growing to the height of vertue and honour: whereas contrariwise the leawdest qualities that be, and wicked in the highest degree doe mightily moove and augment hatred: and hereupon it was that the Athenians had them in such detestable hatred, and abhorred them so deadly, who by their slanderous imputations brought good *Socrates* their fellow-citizen to his death, inso much as they would not vouchsafe either to give them a coale or two of fire, or light their candles, or deigne them an answer when they asked a question; nay they would not wash or bathe together with them in the same water, but commanded those servitors in the baines which were called *Parachysie*, that is to say, drawers and ladders of water into the bathing vessels, to let forth that as polluted and defiled, wherein they had washed; whereupon they feeling themselves thus excommunicate and not able to endure this publike hatred which they had incurred, being wearie of their lives, hung and strangled themselves. On the contrary side it is often seene, that the excellency of vertue, honour and glory, and the extraordinary successe of men is so much, that it doth extinguish and quench all envie. For it is not a likely or credible matter that any man beare envie unto *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the great, after they were become the onely lords and monarches of the whole world: but like as the sunne when he is directly and plumb over the head or top of any thing, causeth either no shadow at all, or the same very small and short by the reason that his light overspreadeth round about; even so when the prosperitie of a man is come to the highest point and have gotten over the head of envie, then the said envie retireth and is either gone altogether, or else drawn within a little roome by reason of that brightnesse over-spreading it: but contrariwise the grandence of fortune and puissance in the enemies, doth not one jot abreviate or allay the hatred of their evil willers; and so that this is true, may appeare by the example of *Alexander* aboue named, who had not one that envied him, but many enemies he found and those malicious, and by them in the end he was traitorously forsaied and murdered.

Semblably, adversities may well staie envie and cause it cease, but onmitie and hatred they do not abolith; for men never give over to despite their enemies, no not when they are brought lowe and oppressed with calamities; whereas you shall not see one in miserie envied. But most true is that saying found of a certaine sophister or great professor in our daies: That envious persons of all other be ever pitifull and delight most in commiseration: for that heerein lieth one

one of the greatest differences between these two passions; that hatred departeth not from those persons of whom it hath once taken hold, neither in the prosperitie nor adversitie of those whom they hate; whereas envie doth avoid and vanish away to nothing upon extremitie awfull of the one as the other.

Over and besides we may the better discover the difference also of them by the contraries: for hatred, enmitie, and malice cease presently so soone as a man is perswaded that he hath caught no harme nor susteined injurie by the party; or when he hath conceived an opinion that such as he hated for their leawdnesse are reformed and become honest men; or thirdly if he have received some pleasure or good turae at their hand: for evermore the last favor that is shewed (as *Thucydides* saith) though it be lesse than many others, yet if it come in season and a good time, is able to do out a greater offence taken before. Now of these three causes before specified, the first doth not wash away envie; for say that men were perswaded at the first that they received no wrong at all; yet they give not over for all that to beare envie still: and as for the two later they do irritate and provoke it the rather: for such as they esteeme men of qualitie and good woorth, those they doe eie-bite more than before, as having vertue the greatest good that is; and notwithstanding that they do reape commoditie & find favour at their hands, who prosper more than they; yet they grieve and vexe thereat, envying them still both for their good mind to benefit them, and for their might and abilitie to performe the same; for that the one proceedeth from vertue, and the other from an happie estate, both which are good things.

We may therefore conclude, that envie is a passion farre different from hatred, since it is so that wherewith the one is appeased and mollified, the other is made more exasperate and greivous. But let us consider a little in the end the scope and intention awfull of the one as the other: Certes the man that is malicious, purposeth fully to do him a mischief whom he hateth; so that this passion is defined to be a disposition and forward will to spe out an occasion & opportunity to wait another a shrewd turne; but surely this is not in envie: for many there be who have an envious eie to their kinsfolke and companions, whom they would not for all the good in the world see either to perish or to fall into any greivous calamitie; onely they are greived to see them in such prosperitie, and would impeach what they can their power, and ecclips the brightnesse of their glorie; many they would not procure nor desire their utter overthrow, nor any distresses remediless or extreame miseries; but it would content and suffice them to take downe their height, and as it were the upmost garget or turret of an high house which overlooketh them.



HOW A MAN MAY RECEIVE PROFIT BY HIS ENEMIES.

The Summarie.



Among the dangerous effects of envie and hatred this is not the least nor one of the last, that they boor (as it were) from within our adversaries, for to slide and enter into us and take possession in our hearts, making us believe that we shall impeach one evill by another; which is as much as to desire to cleanse one or aure by a new, and to quench a great fire by putting in oil plenty of oil. As for hatred it hath another effect nothing lesse pernicious, in that it maketh us blinde, and causeth us that we can not tell at which end or turning to take our enemies, nor know our selves how to reenter into the way of vertue. Plutarch willing to cut off such effects by the helpe of morall Philosophie, taketh occasion to begin this discourse with a sentence of Xenophon; and prooveth in the first place by divers similitudes: That a man may take profit by his enemies: and this he saith abroad in particulars, shewing that their ambushes and inquisitions

inquisitions serve us in very great stead. After this, he teacheth us the true way how to be revenged of those that hate us, and what we ought to consider in blaming another. Now forasmuch as our life is subject to many injuries and calumnies, he instructeth us how a man may turne all to his owne commoditie: which done, he presenteth foure remedies and expedient meanes against their slanderous language: and how we should confound our enemies: The first is, To concaine our owne tongues without rendering evil for evil: the second is, To doe them good, to love and praise their vertues: the third, To out-goe them in well doing: and the last, To provide that vertue remaine alwaies on our side, in such sort, that if our enemies be vicious, yet we persist in doing good; and if they carry some shew and apparence of goodnesse, we endeavour to be indeed and without all comparison better than they.

HOW A MAN MAY RECEIVE profit by his enemies.



See that you have chosen by your selfe (*ſ Cornelius Puleher*) the meetest course that may be in the government of common-wealth wherein having a principall regard unto the weale-publike, you shew your selfe most gracious and courteous in private to all those that have access and repaire unto you. Now forasmuch as a man may well finde some country in the world, wherein there is no venomous beast, as it is written of *Canadie*, but the management and administration of State affaires was never knowne yet to this day cleere from envie, jealousy, emulation and contention, passions of all other most apt to engender and breed enmities, unto which it is subjected; for that if there were nothing els, even amity & friendship it selfe is enough to entangle and encomber us with enmities; which wife *Chilon* the Sage knowing well enough, demanded upon a time of one (who vaunted that he had no enmities) whether he had not a friend. In regard hereof a man of State and policie, in mine opinion (among many other things wherein he ought to be well studied) should also thorowly know what belongeth to the having of enemies, and give good care unto the faying of *Xenophon*, namely: That a man of wit and understanding isto make his profit and benefit by his enemies. And therefore having gathered into a pretie Treatise, that which came into my minde of late to discourse and dispute upon this matter, I have sent unto you written and penned in the very same tearmes as they were delivered, having this eie and regard as much as possible I could, not to repeat any thing of that which heretofore I had written touching the politike precepts of governing the weale publike, for that I fee that you have that booke often in your hand.

Our fore-fathers in the olde world contented themselves in this: That they might not be wounded or hurt by strange and savage beasts brought from forren countreys, and this was the end of all those combats that they had against such wilde beasts; but those who came after, have learned moreover, how to make use of them; not onely take order to keepe themselves from receiving any harme or dammage by them; but (that which more is) have the skill to draw some commoditie from them, feeding of their flesh, clothing their bodies with their wooll and haire, curing and healing their maladies with their gall & rennet, arming themselves with their hides and skinnies; inso much as now from henceforth, it is to be feared (and not without good cause) lest if beasts should faile, and that there were none to be found of men; their life should become brutish, poore, needie and savage. And since it is so, that whereas other men thinke it sufficient not to be offended or wronged by their enemies, *Xenophon* writeth: That the wife reape commodity by their adversaries; we have no reason to derogate any thing from his credit, but to believe him in so faying, yea, and we ought to search for the method & art to attaine and teach unto that benefit, as many of us (at least wife) as can not possibly live in this world without enemies. The husbandman is not able with all his skill to make all sort of trees to cast off their wilde nature, and become gentle and domestically. The hunter can not with all his cunning, make tame and tractable all the savage beasts of the forest; and therefore they have sought and devised other meanes and uses to make the best of them; the one finding good in barren and fruitlesse plants, the other in wilde and savage beasts. The water of the sea is not potable, but brackish and hurtful unto us, howbeit, fishes are nourished therewith, and it serveth mans turne

also to transport passengers (as in a waggon) into all parts, and to carrie whatsoever a man will. When the Satyre would have killed and embraced fire the first time that ever he saw it, *Prometheus* admonished him and said:

*Thou wilt bewaile thy goats-beard soon,
If thou touch it, it will burne anon.*

but it yeeldeth light and heat, and is an instrument serving all arts, to as many as know how to use it well; feably, let us consider and see whether an enemy being otherwise harmefull and intractable, or at least-wile hard to be handled, may not in some sort yeeld as it were a handle to take hold by, for to touch & use him so as he may serve our turne and minister unto us some commodity. For many things there are besides, which be odious, troublefome, comberous, hurtfull and contrarie unto those that have them or come neere unto them; and yet you see that the verie maladies of the bodie give good occasion unto some for to live at rest and repose; I meane sequestred from affairs abroad, & the travailles presented unto others by fortune, have so exercised them that they are become thereby strong and hardy: and to say more yet, banishment and losse of goods, hath bene the occasion unto divers, yea and a singular means to give themselves to their quiet studie & to philosophy; like as *Diogenes* and *Crates* did in times past. *Zeno* himselfe when newes came unto him that his ship wherein he did venture and traffike was split and cast away: Thou hast done well by me fortune (quoth he) to drive me againe to my scholars weed. For like as those living creatures which are of a moist found and healthfull constitution, & have besides strong stomachs, are able to concoct & digest the serpents & scorpions which they devour; may some of them there be which are nourished of stones, scales, and shels, converting the same into their nutriment by the strength and vehement heat of their spirits; whereas such as be delicate, tender, soft, and crasie, are ready to cast and vomit if they take a little bread onely, or doe but sip of wine; even so foolish foike doe marre and corrupt even friendship and amity; but those that are wise can skill how to use enemies to their commoditie, and make them serve their turnes. First and foremost therefore in my conceit, that which in enmitie is most hurtfull, may turne to be most profitable unto such as be warie and can take good heed: and what is that you will say? Thine enemy as thou knowest well enough watcheth continually, spying and prying into all thine actions, he goeth about viewing thy whole life, to see where he may finde any vantage to take hold of thee, and where thou liest open that he may assaile and surprize thee; his sight is so quick that he pierceeth not onely through an oke, as *Lyncus* did, or stones and shels; but also it goeth quite through thy friend, thy domestick servants, yea and every familiar of thine with whom thou daily dost converse, for to discover as much as possibly he can what thou doest or goest about; he foundeth and searcheth by undermining and fether waies what thy desseignes & purposes be. As for our friends, it chaunceth many times that they fall extreme sicke, yea and die thereupon before we know of it, whiles we defer and put off from day to day to go and visit them, or make small reckoning of them; but as touching our enemies we are so observant, that we curiously enquire & hearken even after their very dreames, the diseases, the debts, the hard usage of men to their owne wives, and the untoward life betweene them, are many times more unknown unto those whom they touch and concerne, 40 than unto their enemies: but above all, he sticketh close unto thy faults, inquisitive he is after them and those he traceth especially: and like as the gaies or vultures doe into the stinking sent of dead carions and putrified carcases, but they have no smell or sent at all of bodies found and whole; even so those parts of our life which are diseased, naught and ill affected, be they that move an enemy; to these leape they in great haste who are our ill willers, these they seize upon, and are ready to worry and plucke in peeces; and this it is that profiteth us most, in that it compelleth us to live orderly, to looke unto our steps that we tread not awry, that we neither do or say ought inconsiderately or rashly; but alwaies keepe our life unblameable, as if we observed a most strict and exquisite diet; and verily this heedfull caution repressing the violent passions of our minde in this sort, and keeping reason at home within doores, engendeth a certaine studious desire, an intention and will to live uprightly and without touch: for like as those cities by ordinary waies with their neighbour cities, and by continuall expeditions and voiaiges, learning to be wise, take a love at length unto good lawes and found government of state; even so they that by occasion of enmitie be forced to live soberly, to save themselves from the imputation of idleness and negligence, yea, and to doe everie thing with discretion and to a good and profitable end, through use and custome shall be brought by little and little (ere they be aware) unto a certaine settled habit that they cannot lightly trip and do amisse, having their manners framed

framed in passing good order, with the least helping hand of reason and knowledge beside; for they who have evermore ready before their eyes this sentence:

*This were alone for Briamus, and his sonnes likewise all,
Oh how would they rejoice at heart,
In case this should befall.*

certainly would quickly be diverted, turned and withdrawn from such things, whereas their enemies are wont to joy and laugh a good: see we not many times stage-players, chautiers, musicians and such artificers in open theaters, who serve for the celebration of any solemnitie unto 10 *Bacchus* or other gods, to play their parts carelessly, to come unprovided, and to carie themselves I know not how negligently, nothing forward to shew their cunning and doe their best, when they are by themselves alone and no other of their owne profession in place? but if it chance that there be emulation and contention betweene them and other concurrents who shall do best; then you shall see them not onely to come better prepared themselves, but also with their instruments in very good order; then shall you perceive how they will bestir themselves in trying their strings, in tuning their instruments more exactly, & in fitting every thing about their flutes and pipes, and assaying them. Hee then who knoweth that he hath an enemy ready and provided to be the concurrent in his life, and the rivall of his honour and reputation, will looke better to his waies and stand upon his owne guard; he will (I say) steadfast and 20 looke circumspectly about him to all matters, ordering his life and behaviour in better sort: for this is one of the properties of vice, that when we have offended and trespassed, we have more reverence and stand rather in awe of our enemies left we be shamed by them than of our friends. And therefore *Scipio Nasica* when some there were that both thought and gave out that the Romane estate was not settled and in safetie, considering that the Carthaginians who were wont to make head against them and keepe them occupied, were now vanquished and defeated, the Athenians likewise subdued and brought under subjection: Nay many (quoth he) for it is cleane contrarie, and even now are we in greatest danger, being at this passe that we have left our selves none to feare, none to reverence.

And hereto moreover, accordeth well the answer that *Diogenes* made, like a Philosopher 30 and a man of State indeed: One asked him how he should be revenged of his enemy: *Marie* (quoth he) by being a virtuous and honest man thy selfe. Men seeing the horses of their enemies highly accounted of, or their hounds praised and commended, do grieve thereat, if they perceive also their land well tilled and husbanded, or their gardens in good order, fresh and flowing, they fetch a sigh and sorrow for the matter. What (thinke you then) will your enemy do? how will he fare, when you shall be scene a just man, wise and prudent, honest and sober, in words well advised and commendable, in deeds pure and cleane, in diet neat and decent?

*Reaping the fruit of wisdom and prudence,
Sown in deepe furrow of heart and conscience,
From whence there spring and bud continually
Counsell full sage, with fruits abundantly.*

40 *Pindarus* the Poet said: That those who are vanquished and put to soyle, are so tongue-tied, that they can not say a word; howbeit, this is not simply true, nor holdeth in all, but in such as perceive themselves overcome by their enemies, in diligence, goodnesse, magnanimity, humanity, bounty and beneficence: for these be the things (as *Demosthenes* saith) which stent the tongue, close up the mouth, stop the wind-pipes and the breath, and in one word, cause men to be silent and dumb.

*Resemble not leaerd folke, but them our goe
In veruous deeds, for this thou maist well doe.*

Wouldst thou doe thine enemy who hateth thee a great displeasure in deed? Never call 50 him by way of reproch, buggerer, wanton, lascivious, ruffian, scurle scoffer, or covetous miche; but take order with thy selfe to be an honest man every way, chaste, continent, true in deed and word, courteous and just to all those that deal with thee: but if thou be driven to let fall an opprobrious speech, and to revile thine enemy, then take thou great heed afterwards that thou come not neere in any wise to those vices which thou reprochest him with, enter into thy selfe, and examine thine owne conscience, search all the corners thereof, looke that there be nor in thy soule some putrified matter and rotten corruption, for feare lest thine owne vice within may hit thee home, and requite thee againe with this verse out of the tragical Poet:

*Alcech both others to wrong;
Pestred himself with sores impure.*

If thou chance to upbraid thine enemy with ignorance, and call him unlearned, take thou greater paines at thy booke, love thou thy studie better, and get more learning: if thou twit him with cowardise, and name him dastard, stirre up the vigour of thine owne courage the rather, and shew thy selfe a man so much the more: hast thou given him the tearmes of beastly whoremaster or lascivious lecher, wipe out of thy heart the least taint and spot that remaineth hidden therein of concupiscence and sensualitytie; for nothing is there more shamefull or causeth greater griefe of heart, than an opprobrious and reprochfull speech returned justly upon the author thereof. And as it seemeth that the reverberation of a light doth more offence unto the feeble 10 eyes; even so those reproches which are retorted and sent backe againe by the truth, upon a man that blafed them before, are more offensive: for no lesse than the North-east winde *Cassio* doth gather unto it clouds; so doth a bad life draw unto it opprobrious speeches; which *Plato* knowing well enough, whensoever he was present in place, and saw other men do any unseemly or dishonest thing, was wont to retire apart, and say thus secretly unto himselfe: *Doe not I also labour other while of this disease?* Moreover, he that hath blamed and reproched the life of another, if presently withall he would goe and examine his owne, reforming the same accordingly, redressing and amending all that he findes amisse, untill he have brought it to a better state, shall receive some profit by that reproving and reviling of his; otherwise it may both seeme (as it is no lesse indeed) a vaine and unprofitable thing. Commonly men cannot chooseth but laugh 20 when they see either a bald-pate or a bunch-backe to taunt and scoffe at others for the same defects or deformities; and so in truth, it were a ridiculous thing and a meere mockerie, to blame or reproch another in that, for which he may be mocked and reproched himselfe. Thus *Leo* the Byzantine cut one home that was crumpled shouldered and bunch-backe, when he seemed to hit him in the teeth with his dimme and feeble eye-sight: *Doe*st thou twit me (quoth he) by any imperfection of nature incident unto a man, when as thy selfe art marked from heaven, and carriest the divine vengeance upon thy backe? Never then reprove thou an adulterer, if thy selfe be an unclean wanton with boies; nor seeme thou to upbraid one with prodigality, if thou be a covetous miser thy selfe. *Alcemon* reviled *Adrastus* (upon a time) in this wise: Thou

*A sister hast by parents twaine,
Whose hands her husband deare have staind.*

But what answered *Adrastus*? He objected not unto him the crime of another, but paideth him home with his owne, after this manner:

*But thou thy selfe hast murdered
Thine owne kinde mother, who thee bred.*

In like sort, when *Domitius* (upon a time) seemed to reproch *Crasius*, saying: Is it not true, that when your lamprey was dead which was kept full deintily for you in a stew, you wept therefore? *Crasius* presently came upon him againe with this bitter reply: And is it not true, that you when you followed three wives of yours one after another to their funeral fire, never shed teare for the matter? It is not so requisite or necessarie wis (as the vulgar sort doe thinke) that hee who 40 checketh and rebuketh another, should have a ready wit of his owne, and a naturall gift in doing it, or a loud and big voice, or an audacious and bold face; no, but such an one he ought to be, that cannot be noted and taxed with any vice: for it should seeme that *Apollo* addressed this precept of his (*Know thy selfe*) to no person so much as to him who would blame and finde fault with another; for feare lest such men, in speaking to others what they would, heare that againe which they would not. For it happeneth ordinarily as *Sophocles* saith: That such an one

*Who lets his tongue runne foolishly,
In noting of others bitter ly,
Shall heare himselfe (unwillingly)
The words he gave so wisely.*

Lo what commoditie and profit ensueth upon reproching an enemy.

Neither commeth there lesse good and advantage unto a man by being reproched by another, and hearing himselfe reviled by his enemies: and therefore it was well and truly saide of *Antisthenes*, that such men as would be saved and become honest, another day ought of necessity to have either good friends, or most spitefull and bitter enemies: for as they with their kind remonstrances and admonitions; so these with their reprochfull tearmes were like to reforme their sinfull life. But forasmuch as amity and friendship now adaires speaketh with a small 45 and

and low voice when faults should freely be reproved, and is very audible and full of words in flattering, altogether mute and dumbe in rebukes and chastisements; but what remaineth now but that we should heare the truth from the mouth of our enemies? much like unto *Talephus*, who for default of a physician that was a friend to cure him, was forced to commit his wound or ulcer to the iron head of his enemies: speare sote to be healed; and even so those that have no well willers that dare freely reprove their faults, must perforce endure with patience the stinging tongue of their enemy and evil willer in chastising and rebuking their vices; not regarding to much the intent and meaning of the ill speaker, as the thing it selfe, and the matter that he speaketh; and looke how he who enterprised the killing of *Prometheus* the Thessalian, ran him so 10 deepe with his sword into the impostume or swelling botch which he had about him, that he let forth the corruption, and saved his life by the breaking and issue thereof; even so for all the world it falleth out many times, that a reprochfull speech delivered in anger or upon evil will is the cause of healing some maladie of the soule, either hidden or unknowne altogether; or else neglected: but the most part of those who are in this manner reproched, never consider whether the vice wherewith they are touched be in them or no, but they looke rather if they can finde some other vice to object unto him, who hath thus challenged them; and much like unto wrestlers, they never wipe away their owne dust, that is to say, the reproches that be fastned upon themselves, and wherewith they be defamed, but they bestrew one another with dust, and afterwards trip up one anothers heeles, and tumble downe one upon another, weltering in the 20 fame, and soiling one another therewith: whereas indeed it behooved rather that a man when he findeth himselfe tainted by his enemy, to endeavour for to do away that vice wherewith he is noted and defamed, much rather than to fetch out any spot or staine out of his garment, which hath bene shewed him: and although there be charged upon us some slanderous imputation that is not true; yet nevertheless we are to search into the occasion wherupon such an opprobrious speech might arise and proceed, yea and take heed we must and feare, lest ere we be aware we commit the like or come neere unto that which hath bene objected unto us. Thus for example sake *Lycides* king of the *Argives*, for that hee did weare his haire curiously set, in manner of a peruke, and because his gate or manner of going, seemed more delicate and nice than ordinary, grew into an ill name and obloquy of effeminate wantonnesse. And *Pompeius* the great could not avoid the like suspition, because he used otherwhiles to scratch his head with one finger onely, and yet otherwise he was so fure from feminine wantonnesse and incontinence as any man in the world. *Crasius* was accused for to have had carnall companie with one of the religious nuns or votaries of *Vesta*, for that being desirous to purchase of her a faire peece of land and house of pleasure which she had, he resorted oftentimes privately unto her, spake with her apart, and perhaps made court unto her for to have her good wil in that respect onely. *Posthumia* likewise another vestall virgin, for that she was given much to laugh upon a small occasion, and withall would not sticke to enterreine talke with men, more boldly peradventure than became a maiden of her profession, was so deeply suspected of incontinence, that she was brought judicially into question about it, howbeit found unguilty, and acquit the was; but when *Spirius Mincius* the high-priest for the time being, assailed her and pronounced the sentence of her abolition, minding to dismiss her of the court, he gave her a gentle admonition by the way, that from thence forward she should forbear to use any words lesse modest & chaste then the carriage of her life was. *Themistocles* likewise notwithstanding he was most innocent indeed, was called into question for treason, because he interteined amitie with *Pausanias*, sent and wrote oftentimes unto him, and so by that meanes gave suspition that he minded to betray all *Greece*. When as therefore thou art charged with a false crimination by thine enemy, thou must not neglect it and make final account thereof because it is not true, but rather looke about thee and examine what hath bene done or said, either by thee or anie one of those who affect and love thee, or converse with thee, founding and tending any way to 30 that imputation which might give occasion or likelihood thereof, and carefully to beware and avoid the same: for if by adverse and heavy fortune wherunto others have inconsiderately fallen, they are decreely taught what is good for them, as *Merope* saith in one tragedie:

*Fortune hath taken for her salary,
My dearest goods of which I am bereft,
But me she taught by that great miserie
For to be wise, and so she hath me left.*

X

What

What should let or hinder us, but that we may learne by a master that costeth us nought, nor taketh nothing for his teaching (even our enemy) to profit and learne somewhat that we knew not before: for an enemy perceiveth and findeth in us many things more than a friend, by reason that (as *Plato* saith) That which loveth is alwaies blinde in the thing that is loved; whereas he who hateth us, besides that he is very curious and inquisitive into our imperfections, he is not meale mouthed (as they say) nor will spare to speake; but is ready enough to divulge and blafe all abroad. King *Hero* chanced upon a time being at words with one of his enemies to be tolde in reprochfull manner by him of his stinking breath; whereupon being somewhat distressed in himselfe, he was no sooner returned home to his owne house, but he chid his wife: How comes this to passe (quoth he?) what say you to it? how hapneth it that you never told me of it? the woman being a simple, chaste, & harmlesse damie: Sir (saith she) I had thought all mens breath had smelled so. Thus it is plaine, that such faults as be object and evident to the senses, grosse and corporall, or otherwise notorious to the world, we know by our enemies sooner than by our friends and familiars.

Over and besides, as touching the continence and holding of the tongue, which is not the least point of vertue, it is not possible for a man to rule it alwaies, and bring it within the compasse and obedience of reason, unless: by use and exercise, by long custome and painfull labour he have tamed and mastered the woorth passions of the soule, such as anger is: for a word that hath escaped us against our willes, which we would gladly have kept in; of which, *Homer* saith thus:

*Out of the mouth a word did fly
For all the rage of teeth fast by.*

And a speech that we let fall at adventure (a thing hapning often-times, and especially unto those whose spirits are not well exercised, and who want experience, who runne out, as it were, and break forth into passions) this (I say) is ordinary with such as be hasty and cholericke, whose judgement is not settled and staied, or who are given to a licentious course of life: for such a word, being (as *Plato* saith) the lightest thing in the world, both gods and men have many a time passed amost grievous and heave penalty; whereas Silence is not only (as *Hippocrates* saith) good against thirst, but also is never called to account, nor amerced to pay any fine; and that which more is, in the bearing and putting up of taunts and reproches, there is observed in a kinde of gravitie becoming the person of *Socrates*, or rather the magnanimity of *Hercules*, if it be true that the Poet said of him:

*Of bitter words he lesse account did make
Than doth the fle, which no regard doth take.*

Neither verily is there a thing of greater gravitie, or simply better, than to heare a malicious enemy to revile, and yet not to be moved nor grow into passions therewith,

*But to passe by a man that loves to rule,
As rocke in sea, by which we swimme or saile.*

Moreover, a greater effect will ensue upon this exercise of patience, if thou canst accustom thy selfe to heare with silence thine enemy whilst he doth revile; for being acquainted therewith, thou shalt the better endure the violent fits of a curse and shrewd wife chiding at home; to heare also without trouble the sharpe words of friend or brother; and if it chance that father or mother let thee bitter rebukes at thee or beat thee, thou wilt suffer all, and never shew thy selfe displeased and angrie with them. For *Socrates* was wont to abide at home *Xanthippe* his wife, a perillous shrewd woman and hard to be pleased, to the end that he might with more ease converse with others, being used to endure her curtnesse. But much better it were for a man to come with a minde prepared and exercised before-hand with hearing the scoffes, railing language, angrie taunts, outrageous and foule words of enemies and strangers, and that without anger and shew of disquietnesse, than of his domestical people within his owne house. Thus you see how a man may shew his meeknesse and patience in enemies; and as for simplicity, magnanimity and a good nature in deed, it is more seene here than in friendship: for it is not so honest and commendable to do good unto a friend, as dishonest, not to succour him when he standeth in need and requesteth it.

Moreover, to forbear to be revenged of an enemy if opportunitie and occasion is offered, and to let him goe when he is in thy hands, is a point of great humanitie and courtiesie; but him that hath compassion of him whē he is fallen into adversity, succoreth him in distresse, at his request

quest is ready for to shew good will to his children, and an affection to susteine the state of his house and familie being in affliction; whosoever doth not love for this kindnesse, nor praise the goodnesse of his nature.

*Of colour blacke (no doubt) and tincture sweet,
Wrongs of stiffle Steele or yron he hath an heart,
Or rather forg'd out of the Diamond,
Which will not stirre heret, nor once relent.*

Cæsar commanded that the statues erected in the honour of *Pompeius*, which had bene beaten downe and overthrowen, should be set up againe; for which act *Cicero* said this unto him: In rearing the images of *Pompeius*, *Cæsar*, thou hast pitched and erected thine owne. And therefore we ought not to be sparing of praise and honour in the behalfe of an enemy especially when he deserveth the fame; for by this meanes the partie that praisth shall winne the greater praise himselfe; and besides, if it happen againe that he blame the said enemy, his accusation shall be the better taken, and carie the more credit, for that he shall be thought not so much to hate the person as disallow and mislike his action.

But the most profitable and goodliest matter of all, is this: That he who is accustomed to praise his enemies, and neither to grieve or envie at their well-fare, shall the better alie the prosperitie of his friend, and be furthest off from envying his familiars in any good successe or honour that by well-doing they have achieved. And is there any other exercise in the world, that can bring greater profit unto our soules, or worke a better disposition and habit in them, than that which rideth us of emulation and the humour of envie? For like as in a city wherein there be many things necessarie, though otherwise simply evill, after they have once taken fire footing, and are by custome established in manner of a law, men shall hardly remove and abolish, although they have bene hurt and endamaged thereby; even so enmity, together with hatred and malice, bringeth in envie, jealousy, contentment and pleasure in the harme of an enemy, remembrance of wrongs received, and offences passed, which it leaveth behinde in the soule, when it selfe is gone; over and besides, cunning practices, fraud, guile, deceit, and secret for-layings or ambushes, which seeme against our enemies nothing ill at all, nor unjustly used, after they be once settled and have taken root in our hearts, remaine there fast, and hardly or unnerth are removed; inasmuch as if men take not heed how they use them against enemies, they shall be so inured to them that they will be ready afterwards to practise the same with their verie friends. If therefore *Pythagoras* did well & wisely in acquainting his scholars to forbear cruelty and injustice, even as farre as to dumb and brute beafts; whereupon he misliked fowles, and would request them to let those birdes flie againe which they had caught; yea and buy of fishers whole draughts of fishes, and give order unto his disciples to put them alive into the water againe, inasmuch as hee expressly forbade the killing of any tame beast whatsoever; certes it is much more grave and decent, that in quarrels, debates, and contentions among men; an enemy that is of a generous minde, just, true, and nothing treacherous, should re-press, keepe downe, and hold underfoot the wicked, malicious, cautelous, base, and ungentleman-like passions; to the end that afterwards in all contracts and dealings with his friend they breake not out, but that his heart being cleere of them, he may abstaine from all mischievous practices. *Scamius* was a professed enemy and an accuser of *Domitius* judicially; now there was a domestical servant belonging to the said *Domitius*, who before the day of trial and judgement, came unto *Scamius* saying, That he would discover unto him a thing that he knew not of, the which might serve him in good steed when he should plead against his matter; but *Scamius* would not so much as give him the hearing; nay he laid hold on the party, and sent him away bound unto his lord and master. *Cato* (the younger) charged *Marana*, and indicted him in open court for popularitie and ambition, and declaring against him that he sought indirectly to gaine the peoples favour and their voices to be chosen Consul; now as he went up and downe to collect arguments and proofes thereof, and according to the manner and custome of the Romanes, was attended upon by certaine persons who followed him in the behalfe of the defendant, to observe what was done for his better instruction in the proceffe & suit commenced, these fellows would oftentimes be in hand with him and aske whether he would to day search for ought, or negotiate any thing in the matter and cause concerning *Marana*? If he said, No; such credite and trust they reposed in the man that they would rest in that answer, and go their waies; a singular argument this was of all other to prove his reputation, and what opinion men conceived of him for his justice; but sure a farre greater testimonie is this, and that passeth

all the rest, to prove that if we be accustomed to deale justly by our very enemies, we shal never
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A mate and fellow (to be plaine)

Obvian: like soles and persons vaine.

A man should not reape a small benefit & commoditie by discharging these passions upon his
 enemies, to purge & cleanse himselfe quite thereof, & as it were by certaine gutters or channells,
 to derive and draw them as farre as possibly he can from his friends and familiar acquaintances;
 whereof I suppose *Onomadenus* a great politician, & wise Stateman in the *Ile Chios* was well
 advised, who in a civile dissention being sided to that faction which was superior, & had gotten
 the head of the other; counselled the rest of his part not to chafe & banish out of the city at their
 adversaries, but to leave some of them still behind: For feare (quoth he) least having no enemies
 to quarrell withall, we our selves begin to fall out and go together by the eares; feebly if we
 spend these vicious passions of ours upon our enemies, the lesse are they like to trouble & molest
 our friends: for it ought not thus to be as *Hesiodus* saith: That the potter should envy the potter;
 or one mistrell or musician spite another; neither is it necessarie that one neighbor should be
 in jealousie of another; or cousins and brethren be concurrents & have emulation one at ano-
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shew of aspiring unto vertue. Having thus discouered these points aforesaid, he propoeth and setteth downe againe diuerse rules which may resolve us in this advancement and proceeding forward of ours in goodnesse, namely: That we ought to love reprehensions; to take heed even unto our dreames; to examine our passions, and so to hope well, if we perceiue that they waxe milde and gentle to imitate good things; in no wise to heare any speech of euill; to take example by the best persons, to reioice and be glad, to haue witness and beholders of our good will and intention; and not to esteeme any sinnes or offences small, but to auoide and shun them all: last of all, he closeth up his treatise with an excellent simile, wherein he discovereth and laeth open the nature as well of the vicious as the vertuous; thereby to make the meanes of aspiring and attaining unto vertue, so much the more amiable to each person.

HOW A MAN MAY PER- ceiue his owne proceeding and going forward in Vertue.



It is not possible (my good friend *Sophus Senecio*) that a man by any meanes should haue a feeling in himselfe, and a conscience of his owne amendment and progresse in vertue; if those good proceedings do not daily make some diminution of his follie, but that the vice in him weighing in equall ballance against them all, doe holde him downe

Like as the lead plucks downe the net,
Which for to catch the fish was set.

For to verily in the art of Musicke or Grammar, a man shall never know how farre he is proceeded, so long as in the studying and

learning thereof, he diminish no part of his ignorance in those arts, but still findeth himselfe as unskillfull and unlettered as he was before; neither the cure which the Physician employeth about his patient, if it worke no amendment at all, nor alleviation of the disease seeming in some sort to yeeld unto medicines and to slake, can procure any sensible difference and change unto a better state, before that the contrary disposition and habit be rectored perfectly to the former health; and the body made found and strong againe. But certainly, as in these cases there is no amendment to be accounted of, if those that seeme to amend do not perceiue the change by the diminution and remission of that which weighed them downe, and finde themselves to encline and bend (as it were) in a ballance to the contrary; even so it is with those that make profession of philosophie; it can not be granted that there is any progresse or sense at all of profiting, so long as the soule cast not off by little and little, and purge away her folly, but until such time as shee can atcaine (forsooth) unto the soveraigne and perfect good, continueth in the meane while fully possessed of vice and sinne in the highest degree; for by this meane it would follow, if at one instant and moment of time a wife man should passe from extreme wickednes unto the supream and highest disposition of vertue: That he had all at once and in the minute of an houre shed vice and cast it from him fully, whereof in a long time before he was not able to be rid of one little portion. But you know full well already that those who holde such extravagant opinions as these, make themselves worke enough, and raise great doubts and questions about this point, namely, How a man should not perceiue and feele himselfe when he is become wise, and be either ignorant or doubtfull that this growth and increase cometh in long processe of time by little and a little, partly by addition of some thing, and partly by subtraction of other, until one arrive gently unto vertue, before he can perceiue that he is going toward it. Now if there were fo quick and sudden a mutation, as that he who was to day morning most vicious, should become in the evening as vertuous; and if there ever were known to happen unto any man such a change, that going to bed a very foole and so sleeping, should awake and rise a wife man, and taking his leave of yesterdaies follies, errors and deceits, say unto them:

My vaine lying dreames so vaine, a day, aday,
Nought worth you were, I now both see and say.

Is it possible that such a one (I say) should be ignorant of this sudden change, and not perceiue so great a difference in himselfe, nor feele how wisdom all at once hath thus lightened and il-

luminated

luminated his soule? for mine owne part, I would rather thinke that one upon earnest prayer transformed by the power of the gods from a woman to a man (as the tale goes of *Ceneu*) should be ignorant of this Metamorphosis, than he who of a coward, a foole and a dissolute or loose person become hardie, wife, sober and temperate; or being transported from a sensuall and beastly life unto a diuine and heavenly life, should not marke the very instant wherein such a change did befall. But well it was said in olde time: That the stone is to be applied and framed unto the rule, and not the rule or quire unto the stone. And they (the Stoicks I meane) who are not willing to accommodat their opinions unto the things indeed, but wrest and force against the course of nature, things unto their owne conceits and suppositions, have filled all philosophie with great difficulties and doubtfull ambiguities; of which this is the greatest: In that they will seeme to comprise all men, excepting him onely whom they imagine perfect, under one and the same vice in general: which strange supposition of theirs, hath caused that this progresse and proceeding to vertue, called *Heim*, seemeth to be a dark and obscure riddle unto them, or a mere fiction little wanting of extreame follie; and those who by the meanes of this amendment be delivered from all passions and vices that be, are held thereby to be in no better state, not lesse wretched and miserable, than those who are not free from any one of the most enormous vices in the world; and yet they reute and condemne their owne selves; for in the disputations which they holde in their schooles, they set the iniustice of *Aristides* in equall ballance to that of *Phalaris*; they make the cowardice and feare of *Brasidas*, all one with that of *Dolon*; yea, and compare the follie or error of *Alextus* and *Plato* together, as in no respect different; howbeit, in the whole course of their life, and management of their affaires, they decline and auoid those as inaplaceable and intractable; but these they use and trust in their most important business, as persons of great worth and regard: but we who know and see that in every kinde of sinne or vice, but principally in the inordinate and confused state of the soule there be degrees according to more or lesse; and that herein differ our proceedings and amendments, according as reason by little and little doth illuminate, a purge and cleanse the soule in abating and diminishing evermore the visibitie thereof, which is the shadow that darkeneth it, are likewise further-perswaded that it is not without reason to be assured, that men may haue an evident sense and perceiuaunce of this mutation, but as if they were raised out of some deepe and dark pit, that the same amendment may be reckoned by degrees in what order it goeth forward. In which computation we may goe first and formost directly after this manner, and consider, whether like as they who under saile set their course in the maine and vast ocean, by observing together with the length and space of time, the force of the winde that driueth them, doe cast and measure how farre they have gone forward in their voiage, namely, by a probable conjecture how much in such a time and with such a gale of winde it is like that they may passe; so also in philosophie a man may giue a gesse and conjecture of his proceeding and going forward, namely, what he may gaue by continuall marching on still, without stay or intermission otherwhiles in the mids of the way, and then beginning a fresh againe to leape forward, but alwaies keeping one pace, gaining and getting ground still by the guidance of reason. For this rule

If little still to little thou do ad,

A boape at length, and mickle will be had.

was not given respectiue to the encrease of summes of money alone, and in that point truly spoken, but it may likewise extend and reach to other things, and namely to the augmentation of vertue, to wit, when with reason and doctrine continuall use and custome is joynd, which maketh matter and is effectual to bring any worke to end and perfection; whereas these intermissions at times without order and equallitie, and these coole affections of those that studie philosophie, make not onely many staies and lets in proceeding forward as it were in a journey, but that which is worse, cause going backward, by reason that vice which evermore lies in wait to set upon a man that idly standeth still never so little haleth him a contrary way. And it is that the Mathematicians do call the planets Stationarie, and say they stand still, while they cease to mooue forward; but in our progresse and proceeding in philosophie, that is to say, in the correction of our life and manners, there can be admitted no interuall, no pause or cessation, for that our wit naturally being in perpetuall motion in manner of a ballance, alwaies casteth with the least thing that is, one way or other, willing of it selfe either to encline with the better or else is forcibly caried by the contrary to the worse. If then according to the oracle deliuered unto the inhabitants of *Cirra*, which willed them if they minded afterwards to live in peace, they should make war both night and day without intermission; thou finde in thy selfe and thine

thine owne conscience, that thou hast fought continually with vice as well by night as by day, at leastwise that thou hast not often left thy ward, and abandoned thy station in the garrison, not continually admitted the heralds or messengers between comming from far as it were to parlie and compound, to wit, pleasures, delights, negligences, and amulements upon other matters, by all likelihood thou maist with confidence and alacrity be assured to go forward and make an end of thy course behind.

Moreover, say that there fall out some interruptions and stiaies betweene, that thou live not altogether canonically and like a philosophie; yee if thy latter proceedings be more constant than the former, and the fresh courses that thou takest longer than the other, it is no bad signe, but it testifieth, that by labour and exercise idleness is conquered, and sloth utterly chased away; whereas the contrary is a very ill signe, to wit, if by reason of many cessations and those comming thicke one after another, the heat of the former affection be cooled, languish and weareth to nothing: for like as the shoote of a cane or reed whiles it hath the full strength and greatest force, putteth forth the first stem reaching out in length, straight, even, smooth, & united in the beginning, admitting few knots in great distances between, to itay and put backe the growth and rising thereof in height; but afterwards as if it were checked to mount up aloft by reason of short winde and failing of the breath, it is held downe by many knots, and those neere one to another, as if the spirit therein which coveteth upward found some impeachment by the way, smiting it backe, and causing it as it were to pant and tremble; even so as many as at first tooke long courses and made haste unto philosophie or amendment of life, and then afterwards meet 20 esthones with stumbling blocks, continually turning them out of the direct way, or other means to distrust and plucke them aside, finding no proceeding at all to better them, in the end are wearie, give over, & come short of their journey end; whereas the other above-said hath his wings growing still to helpe his flight, and by reason of the fruit which he findeth in his course goeth on apace, cutteth off all pretences of excuse, breaketh through all lets, (which stand as a multitude in the way to hinder his passage) which he doth by fine force and with an industrious affection to attaine unto the end of his enterprise. And like as to joy and delight in beholding of beautie present is not a signe of love beginning, for a vulgar and common thing this is, but rather to be grieved & vexed when the same is gone or taken away; even so many there be who conceive pleasure in philosophie, and make semblance as if they had a fervent desire to the studie thereof; but if it chance that they be a little retired from it by occasion of other businesse 30 and affaires, that first affection which they tooke unto it vanisheth away, and they can well abide to be without Philosophie;

But he who feels indeed the pique

Of love thus pierceth neerer the quicke.

as one poet saith; will seeme unto thee moderate and nothing hot in frequenting the philosophicall schoole and conferring together with thee about philosophie; but let him be plucked from it, and drawn apart from thee, thou shalt see him enflamed in the love thereof, impatient, and weary of all other affaires and occupations; thou shalt perceive him even to forget his own friends, such a passionate desire he will have to philosophie. For we ought not so much to delight in learning and philosophie whiles we are in place, as we do in sweet odors, perfumes, and ointments, and when we are away and separated therefro, never grieve thereat, nor seeke after it any more; but it must imprint in our hearts a certaine passion like to hunger and thirst when it is taken from us, if we wil profit in good earnest & perceive our owne progresse and amendment; whether it be, that marriage, riches, some friendship, expedition or warfare come between, that may drive him away and make separation, for the greater that the fruit is which he gathered by Philosophie, so much the more will the griefe be to leave and forgoe it. To this first signe of progresse in Philosophie may be added another of great antiquitie out of *Hesiodus*; which if it be not the verie same, certes it cometh neere unto it, and this he describeth after this sort, namely, When a man findeth the way no more difficult, rough & craggy, nor exceeding steep 50 and upright, but easie, plaine, with a gentle descent, as being indeed laid even and smooth by exercise, and wherein now there begins light clearly to appeare and shine out of darkenes, in place of doubts, ambiguities, errors, and those repentances and changes of minde, incident unto those who first betake themselves to the studie of Philosophie; after the manner of them who having left behinde them a land which they know well enough, are troubled whiles they cannot descie and discover that for which they set saile and bend their course; for even so it is with these persons, who when they have abandoned these common and familiar studies whereto they were in- ured

ured before they came, to learne, apprehend and enjoy better, oftentimes in the verie middle of their course are caried round about and driven to returne backe againe the same way they came. Like as it is reported of *Scxius* a noble man of *Rome*, who having given over the honorable offices and magistracies in the citie, for love of Philosophie, afterwards finding himselfe much troubled in that studie, and not able at the beginning to brooke and digest the reasons and discourses thereof, was so perplexed, that he went verie neere to have throwen himselfe into the sea out of a galle.

The semblable example we read in histories, of *Diogenes* the Sinopian, when he first went to the studie and profession of Philosophie: for when about the same time it chanced that the Athenians celebrated a publike solemnitie with great feasting and sumptuous fare, with theatricall plaies and pastimes, meeting in companies and assemblies to make merrie one with another, with revels and daunces all night long, himselfe in an odde corner of the market place lay lapped round in his cloathes, purposing to take a nap and sleepe; where and when he fell into certaine fantasticall imaginations which did not a little turne and trouble his braines, yea and brake his heart, discoursing thus in his head: That he upon no constraint or necessitie, should thus wilfully betake himselfe to a laborious & strange course of painful life, sitting thus by himselfe moping, sequestred from all the world, & deprived of all earthly goods; In which thoughts and conceits of his, he spied (as the report goeth) a little mouse creeping & running towards the crumbs that were fallen from his lofe of bread, and was verie busie about them, whereupon hee 20 tooke heart againe, reprooved and blamed his owne feeble courage, saying thus to himselfe: What saiest thou *Diogenes*? Seest thou not this fillic creature what good chere it maketh with thy leavings? how merrie she is whiles she feedeth thereupon? and thou (like a trim man indeed as thou art) dost waile, weepe and lament, that thou drinkest not thy selfe drunke as those doe yonder; nor lie in soft and delicate beds, richly set out with gay and costly furniture. Now when such temptations and distractions as these be, returne not often, but the rule and discourse of reason presently riseth up against them, maketh head, turneth upon them suddenly againe (as it were) in the chase and pursued in the route by enemies, and so quickly discomfitteth and dispatcheth the anxietie and dispaire of the minde, then a man may be assured that he hath profited indeed in the schoole of Philosophie, and is well seised and confirmed therein. But forasmuch 30 as the occasions which doe thus shake men that are given to Philosophie, yea and otherwhiles plucke them a contrarie way, doe not onely proceed from themselves by reason of their owne infirmities and so gather strength; but the sad and serious counsels also of friends, together with the reprooves and contradictorie assaules made upon them by adversaries, betweene good earnest and game, doe mollifie their tender hearts, and make them to bow, bend and yeeld, which otherwhiles have bene able in the end to drive some altogether from Philosophie, who were well entred therein: It may be thought no small signe of good proceeding, if one can endure the same meekly without being mooved with such temptations, or any waies troubled and pinched when hee shall heare the names and surnames of such and such companions and equals otherwise of his, who are come to great credit and wealth in Princes courts; or be advanced by 40 marriages, matching with wives who brought them good dowries & portions; or who are wont to go into the common Hall of a citie, attended upon and accompanied with a traine and troupe of the multitude, either to attaine unto some place of government, or to plead some notable cause of great consequence: for he that is not disquieted, astonished, or overcome with such assaults; certaine it is and we may be bold to conclude that he is arrested (as it were) and held fast as he ought to be by Philosophie. For it is not possible for any to cease affecting and loving those things, which the multitude doth so highly honor and adore, unless they be such as admire nothing else in the world but vertue. For to brave it out, to contest, and make head against men, is a thing incident unto some by occasion of choler, unto others by reason of folly; but to contemne and despise, that which others esteeme with admiration, no man is able to performe, 50 without a great measure of true and resolute magnanimitie: In which respect such persons comparing their state with others magnifie themselves, as *Solon* did in these words:

Many a wicked man is rich,

And good men there be many poore:

But we will not exchange with fish,

Nor give our goodnes for their store.

For vertue as it is durable,

Whereas riches be mutable.

And

And *Diogenes* compared his peregrination and sitting from the city of *Corinth* to *Athens*, and againe his removing from *Tebes* to *Corinth*, unto the progresse and changes of abode that the great king of *Persia* was wont to make; who in the Spring season held his Court at *Susiss* in *WVinter*, kept house at *Babylons*; and during Summer, passed the time and sojourned in *Media*. *Aggestus* hearing upon a time the faid king of *Persia* to be named, The great king: And why (quoth he) is he greater than my selfe? unless it be that he is more iust and righteous. And *Aristotle* writing unto *Antipater* as touching *Alexander* the great, said: That it became not him onely to vaunt much and glorifie himselfe for that his dominions were so great, but also any man els hath no lesse cause who is instructed in the true knowledge of the gods. And *Zeno* seeing *Theophrastus* in great admiration because he had many scholars: Indeed (quoth he) his auditory or quire is greater than mine, but mine accordeth better and makes sweeter harmonie than his. When as therefore thou hast so grounded and established in thine heart that affection unto vertue, which is able to encounter and stand against all externall things, when thou hast voided out of thy soule all envies, jealousies, and what affections soever are wont either to tickle or to fret, or otherwise to depresse and cast downe the minds of many that have begonne to professe philosophie; this may serve for a great argument and token that thou art well advanced forward, and hast profited much; neither is it a small signe thereof, if thou perceive thy language to be changed from that it was wont to be; for all those who are newly entred into the schoole of philosophie (to speake generally) affect a kinde of speech or stile which aimeth at glory and vaine ostentation: some you shall heare crowing aloft like cocks and mounting up aloft, by reason of their levity and haughty humour, unto the sublimitie and splendor of physicall things or secrets in nature; others take pleasure (after the manner of wanton whelps, as *Plato* saith) in tugging and tearing evermore whatsoever they can catch or light upon; they love to be doing with litigious questions, they goe directly to darke problemes and sophisticall subtilties, and most of them being once plunged in the quillits & quiddities of Logicke, make that (as it were) a means or preparative to flesh themselves for Sophistrie: many there be, who goe all about collecting and gathering together sententious sawes and histories of ancient times; and as *Anacharsis* was wont to say: That he knew no other use that the Greeks had of their coined pieces of money, but to tell and number them, or els to cast account and reckon therewith; even so do they nothing els but count and measure their notable sentences and sayings, without drawing any profit or commoditie out of them: and the same befalleth unto them, which one of *Platoes* familiars applied unto his scholars by way of allusion to a speech of *Asiphanes*: this *Antiphanes* was wont to say in merriment: That there was a city in the world, whereas the words so foone as ever they were out of the mouth and pronounced, became frozen in the aire, by reason of the coldnesse of the place, and so when the heat of Summer came to thaw and melt the same, the inhabitants might heare the talke which had bene uttered and delivered in *WVinter*; even so (quoth he) it is with many of those who come to heare *Plato* when they be young; for whatsoever he speaketh and readeth unto them, it is very long ere they understand the same, and hardly when they are become olde men: and even after the same sort it fareth with them above said, who stand thus affected universally unto Philosophie, until their judgement being well settled and grown to found resolution, begin to apprehend those things which may deeply imprint in the minde a morall affection and passion of love, yea, and to search and trace those speeches, whereof the tracts (as *Aesope* was wont to say) leade rather in, than out. For like as *Sophocles* saith merrily upon a time, by way of derision: That he would fust cut off the haughtie and stately invention of *Aeschylus*, and then abridge his affected, curious and artificiall disposition, and in the third place change the manner and forme of his elocution, which is most excellent, and fullest of sweet affections; even so, the students in Philosophie, when they shall perceive that they passe from orations exquisitely penned and framed for ostentation in frequent and solemne assemblies, unto morall speeches, and those that touch the quicke, aweile the milde and gentle motions, as the honest and violent passions of the minde, then begin they indeed to lay downe all pride and vanity, and profit truly in the schoole of Philosophie.

Consider then, not onely in reading the works of Philosophers, or in hearing their lectures, first and foremost, whether thou art not more attentive to the words than to the matter; or whether thou be not carried with a greater affection to those who deliver a more subtilt and curious composition of sentences, than such as comprise profitable, commodious, substantiall & fleshy matters: (I may so say) but also in perusing Poemes, or taking in hand any history, observe well and take heed, that there escape thee not any one good sentence tending properly to the reformation

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of manners or the alleviation of passions: for like as (according to *Sthenides*) the bee setteth upon flowers for to sucke out of it the yellow hony, whereas others love onely their colour or pleasant sent, and neither care nor seeke for any thing els thereout; even so, when other men be conversant in Poemes for pleasure onely and pastime, thou finding and gathering somewhat out thereof worth the noting, shalt seeme at the first fight to have some knowledge already thereof by a certaine custome and acquaintance with it, and a love taken unto it as a good thing and familiar unto thee. As for those that reade the books of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, in no other regard but for the beautie of their gallant stile, seeking for nought els but for the purity of speech, and the very naturall Atticke language, as if they went to gather the thin dew or tender moss or downe of herbs; What will you say of such? but that they love physicke drugs, which have either a lovely colour or a pleasant smell onely; but otherwise the medicinable vertues thereof and properties either to purge the bodie or mitigate any paine, they neither desire to know nor are willing to use.

Moreover, such as are proceeded farther, yet profited more, have the skill and knowledge how to reape fruit not onely out of words spoken or books written, but also to receive profit out of all sights, spectacles, and what things soever they see, gathering from thence whatsoever is fit and commodious for their purpose; as it is reported of *Aeschylus* and other such as he: For *Aeschylus* being upon a time at the Isthmian games, beheld the sight of the sword-fencers that fought at sharpe, and when one of the faid champions had received a grievous wound; whereupon the whole theater set up a crie, he jogging one that was by him (named *Ion of Chios*) See you not (quoth he) what use and exercise is able to do? the partie himselfe that is hurt saith never a word, but the lookers on crie out. *Brasides* chanced among drie figs to light upon a fillie mouse that bit him by the finger, and when he had shaken her off and let her goe, said thus to himselfe: See how there is nothing so little and so feeble, but it is able to make shift and save it life, if it dare onely defend it selfe. *Diogenes* when he saw one make meanes to drinke out of the ball of his hand, cast away the dish or cuppe that hee carried in his budget. Loe, how attentive taking heed and continuall exercise maketh men ready and apt to marke, observe and learne from all things that make any way for their good. And this they may the rather doe when the joine wordes and deedes together, not onely in that sort (as *Thucydides* speaketh of) by meditating, and exercising themselves with the experience of present perils, but also against pleasures, quarrels, and altercations in judgements about defences of causes and magistracies; as making proofe thereby of the opinions that they holde, or rather by carriage of themselves, teaching others what opinions they are to holde. For such as yet bee learners, and notwithstanding that, intermeddle in affaires like pragmaticall persons, spying how they may catch any thing out of philosophie, and goe therewith incontinently in manner of jugglers with their boxe, either into the common place and market, or into the schoole which young men frequent, or els to princes tables, there to set them abroad; we are not to thinke them philosophers; no more than those to be physicians, who only sell medicinable spices, drugs or compound confections; or to speake more properly, such a sophister or counterfeiter philosopher as this, resemblen the bird that *Homere* describeth, which forsooth, so soone as he hath gotten any thing, carrieth it to his scholars (as the faid bird doth in her mouth convey meat to her naked young ones that cannot seele)

And so himselfe he doth beguile

And thereby take much harme the while.

converting and distributing naught of all that which he hath gotten to his owne nourishment, nor so much as concocting and digesting the same: and therefore we ought of necessitie to regard and consider well whether we use any discourse and place our words so, that for our selves they may do good; and in regard of others, make no shew of vaine-glorie nor ambitious desire to be knowne abroad, but onely of an intention rather to heare, or els to teach.

But principally we are to observe whether our wrangling humour and desire to be cavilling about questions disputable, be allayed in us or no, as also whether we have yet given over to devise reasons and arguments to assaile others; like as champions armed with hurlebats of tough leather about their armes and bals in their hands, to annoy their concurrents, taking more pleasure and delight to fell and astonish with one rap our adversarie, and so to lay him along on the earth, than to learne or teach him: for surely modestie, mildenesse and courtiesse in this kinde will doe well; and when a man is not willing to enter into any conference or disputation, with a purpose to put downe and vanquish another, nor to breake out into fits of choler, nor having

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vinge evicted his adverſarie to be readie as they ſay to tread and trample him under foot, nor to ſeeme diſpleaſed and diſcontent if himſelfe have the foile and be put to the worſt, be all good ſignes of one that hath ſufficiently profited. And this ſhewed *Aristippus* very well upon a time. when he was ſo hardly preſſed and overlaid in a certaine diſputation, that he knew not what answer to make preſently unto his adverſarie a jolly bold and audacious ſophiſter, but otherwiſe a brainſicke ſoole and without all judgement: for *Aristippus* ſeeing him to vaunt himſelfe, puffed up with vaine glorie, that he had put him to a non plus: Well (quoth he) I ſee that for this time I go away with the worſe, but ſurely when I am gone I will ſleepe more foundly and quietly than you that have gotten the better. Moreover we may alſo proove and found our ſelves, whether we have profited or no, even whiles we ſpeake in publicke place; namely, if neither upon the ſight of a greater audience than we looked for, we ſhrinke not for feare and falſe heart, nor contrariwiſe be diſcouraged to ſee fewer come to heare our exerciſes than we hoped for; ne yet when we are to make a ſpeech to the people, or before a great magiſtrate, we leſſe the opportunity thereof, for that we have not well premeditated thereof before, nor come provided of apt words to declare our mind, a thing that by report beſell unto *Demosthenes* & *Alcibiades*: for *Alcibiades* as he was paſſing ingenious and inventive of matter, ſo he wanted audacitie, and was not ſo ready as ſome other to utter the ſame, but troubled eſſoones in his pleading and deliverie of it, inſomuch as many times in the very mids of his oration he would be out and to ſeek for a proper and fit terme to expreſſe the conception of his minde, or els to recover that word againe which was ſlipped and eſcaped out of his memorie. As for *Homer* he had ſuch an opinion of his owne perfection, and his poeticall veine in the reſt of all his worke, that he ſtucke not to ſet downe the very fiſt verſe of his poeme defective in meaſure, and not answerable to the rules of verſifying. So much the rather therefore likely it is, that they who ſet nothing before their eyes, nor aime at ought els but vertue onely and honeſtie, will make uſe of the preſent occaſion and the occurrence of affaires, fall out as they will, without regard of applauſe, hiſſing or any other noiſe whatſoever in token of liking or diſliking their ſpeech.

Now every man ought to conſider not onely his owne ſpeeches, but alſo his actions, namely whether they carie with them more profit and found truth, than vaine pompe and ornamentation; for if the true love indeed of young folke, man or woman, requirith no witneſſes, but reſteth in the private contentment & enjoying of their ſweet delights, although the ſame were performed and their deſires fully accompliſhed ſecretly betweene them without the privie of any perſon: how much more credible is it that he who is enamoured of honeſty and wiſedome, uſing the company and ſellowſhip familiarly of vertue by his actions, and enjoying the ſame, ſhall finde in himſelfe without ſaying one word an exceeding great contentment, and demand no other hearers or beholders but his owne conſcience? For like as he was but a vaine ſoole who called unto his maid in the houſe and cried with a loud voice: *Dionysia* come and ſee I am not proud and vain glorious now as I was wont to be; even ſo hee that hath done ſome vertuous and commendable act, and then goes forth to tell it abroad and ſpied the fruit thereof in every place, certaine it is that ſuch an one regards ſtill outward vanities, and is caried with a covetous deſire of vain-glorie, neither hath he ever had as yet a true ſight indeed and perfect viſion of vertue, but onely a fantaſticall dreame of her, imagining as hee lies aſleepe, that hee ſeeth ſome wandring ſhadow and image thereof, and then afterward repreſenteth thus unto his view that which he hath done, as a painted table to looke upon. Well then, it is the propertie of him that proceedeth in vertue, not onely when he hath beſtowed ſomething upon his friend, or done a good turne unto one of his familiars, for to make no words there of; but alſo when hee hath given his voice juſtly, or delivered his opinion truly, among manie others that are unjuſt and untrue; or when he hath ſtatly denied the unhoneſt requeſt, or ſtoutly croſſed a bad motion of ſome rich man, great Lord or mightie Magiſtrate; or reſuſed gifts and bribes; or proceeded ſo farre that being aſtirt in the night he hath not drunke at all; or hath reſuſed to kiſſe a beautilful boy or faire maiden & turned away from them coming toward him as *Agellus* did; to keepe al this to himſelfe and ſay nothing: For ſuch a one as is content to be proved and tried by his owne ſelfe, not ſetting light by that triall and judgement, but joying and taking delight in his conſcience, as being a ſufficient witneſſe and beholder, both of good things and commendable actions, ſweth that reaſon hath turned in, to lodge and keepe reſtance with him, that it hath taken deepe root there: and as *Democritus* ſaith: That he is well framed, and by cuſtome brought to rejoyce and take pleaſure in himſelfe. And like as husbandmen are more glad and willing to ſee the eares of come hang downe their heads, and bend toward

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the earth, than thoſe who for their lightnes ſtand ſtraight, upright, and ſtaring aloft, for that they ſuppoſe ſuch eares are empty, or have little or nothing in them, for all their faire ſlew; even ſo, among young men, ſtudents in Philoſophie, they that have leaſt in them of any weight, and be moſt void, be thoſe that are at the verie fiſt moſt confident; ſet the greateſt countenance, carrie the biggeſt port in their gate, and have the boldeſt face, ſhewing therein how full they are of pride in themſelves, contempt of all others, and ſparing of none: but afterwards as they begin to grow on and burniſh, furniſhing and filling themſelves with the fruits of indeed of reaſon and learning; then and never before they lay away theſe proude lookes; then downe goes this vaine pride and outward oftentation. And like as we ſee in veſſels, wherinto men uſe to powre in liquor, according to the quantitie and meaſure of the ſaid liquor that goeth in, the aire which was there before ſieth out; even ſo to the proportion of thoſe good things which are certaine and true indeed, wherewith men are replenished, their vanitie giveth place, all their hypocriſie vaniſheth away, their ſwelling and puffing pride doth abate and fall, and giving over then to ſtand upon their goodly long beards and ſide robes, they tranſferre the exerciſe of outward things into the minde and ſoule within, uſing the ſharp bit of bitter reprehention principally againſt themſelves. And as for others, they can finde in their hearts to deviſe, conferre, and talke with them more graciouſly and with greater courteſie; the manner of Philoſophie, and reputation of Philoſophers, they do not uſurpe nor take upon them, neither do they uſe it as their addition in former time; and if haply one of them by ſome other be called by that name, he will not anſwere to it; but if he be a young gentleman indeed, after a ſmiling and pleaſant manner, yea and bluſhing withall for ſhame, he will ſay thus out of the Poet *Homer*:

*I am no God nor heavenly wight;
Why doeſt thou give to me their right?*

For true it is as *Aeschylus* ſaith:

*A damſell young if ſhe have knownen,
And taſted man once carnally;
Her eie doth it bewray anon,
It ſparkles fire ſuſpiciously.*

But a young man having truly taſted the profit and proceeding in Philoſophie, hath theſe ſignes following him, which the Poetreſſe *Sappho* ſeteth downe in theſe verſes:

*When I you ſee, What do I ſaie?
Firſt ſuddenly my voice doth faile,
And then like fire a colour red,
Under my ſkinne doth run and ſpread.*

It would do you good to view his ſetled & ſtaied countenance, to behold the pleaſant and ſweet regard of his eie, and to heare him when he ſpeaketh: for like as thoſe who are profeſſed in any confraternity of holy myſteries, at their fiſt aſſembly & meeting together, hurry in tumultuous ſort with great noiſe, inſomuch as they thruſt and throng one another; but when they come to celebrate the divine ſervice thereto belonging, and that the ſacred reliques and ornaments are once ſhewed, they are verie attentive with reverent feare and devout ſilence; ſo, at the beginning of the ſtude of Philoſophie, and in the verie entrie (as it were) of the gate that leadeth unto it, a man ſhall ſee much ado, a ſoule ſtirre, great audaciousneſſe, inſolencie, and jangling words more than enough; for that ſome there be, who would intrude themſelves rudely, and thruſt into the place violently, for the greedie deſire they have to winne reputation and credit: but he that is once within and ſeeth the great light, as if the ſanctuaries and ſacred cabinets or tabernacles were ſet open, anon he putteth on another habit, and a divers countenance with ſilence and alonſhment, he becommeth humble, pliable and modeſt, readie to follow the diſcourſe of reaſon and doctrine, no leſſe than the direction of ſome god. To ſuch as theſe, me thinks, I may do verie well to accommodate that ſpeech which *Menademus* ſometime in mirth ſpoke pleaſantly: Many there be that ſaile to *Athen* (quoth he) for to goe to ſchools there, who when they come firſt thither ſeeme * *Sophi*, that is, be wiſe, and afterwards proove * *Philophi*, that is, lovers of wiſedome; then of Philoſophers they become * *Sophiſters*, that is, proteſſors and readers, untill in proceſſe of time they grow to be * *Idiots*, that is to ſay, ignorant and ſooles to ſee to: for the neerer that they approach to the uſe of reaſon and to learning indeed, the more do they abridge the opinion that they have of themſelves, and lay downe their preſumption. Among thoſe that have need of phyſicke, ſome that are troubled with the tooth-ach, or have a felon or whitlaw on their finger, goe themſelves to the phyſician for to have remedie; others

* *Sophi*.
* *Philophi*.
* *Sophiſters*.
* *Idiots*.

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who are sicke of an ague send for the physician home to their houses, and desire to be eased and cured by him; but those that are fallen either into a fit of melancholy, or phrensie, or otherwise be distracted in their braines and out of their right wits, otherwhiles will not admit or receive the physicians, although they came of themselves uncalled, but either drive them out of doores, or else hide themselves out of their sight, and so farre gone they bee and dangerously sicke, that they feele not their owne sicknesses; semblably of those who sinne and doe amisse, such bee incorrigible and incurable, who are grievously offended and angry, yea, and in mortall hatred with those who seeme to admonish and reprove them for their misbehaviour; but such as will abide them, and are content to receive and entertaine them, be in better state and in a readier way to recover their health: marke he that yeeldeth himselfe to such as rebuke him, confessing unto them his errors, discovering of his owne accord his poverie and nakednesse, unwilling that any thing as touching his state should be hidden, not loving to be unknownen and secret, but acknowledging and avowing all that he is charged with, yea, and who praith a man to checke, to reprove, to touch him to the quick, and so craveth for helpe; certainly herein he sheweth no small signe of good progresse and amendment: according to that which *Diogenes* was wont to say: He that would be saved (that is to say) become an honest man, had need to seek for either a good friend or a sharpe and bitter enemy, to the end that either by gentle reproofe and admonition, or els by a rigorous cure of correction, he may be delivered from his vices. But how much soever a man in a glorious bravery sheweth to those that be abroad either a foule and thred-bare coat or a steined garment, or a rent shoe, or in a kinde of a presumptuous humilitie mocketh himselfe in that peradventure he is of a very low stature, crooked or bunch-backed, and thinketh herein that he doth a worthy and doughtie deed; but in the meane while covereth and hideth the ordures and filthinesse of his vile life, cloaketh the villanous enormities of his manners, his envie, maliciousnesse, avaricie, sensuall voluptuousnesse, as if they were beauly botches or ugly ulcers, suffering no bodie to touch them, nay, nor so much as to see them, and all for feare of reproofe and rebuke, certes, such a one hath profited but a little, or to speake more truly, never a whit at all; but he that is ready to encounter and set upon these vices, and either is willing and able (which is the chiefe and principally) to chastise and condemne, yea, and put himselfe to sorrow for his faults; or if not so, yet in the second place at the least can endure patiently, that another man by his reprehensions &c. monstrances should cleanse and purge him; certes evident it is, that such an one hateth and detesteth wickednes indeed, and is in the right way to shake it off: and verily, we ought to avoid the very name and apperance onely thereof, and to be ashamed for to be thought and reputed wicked; but hee that grieveth more at the substance of vice it selfe, than the infamie that cometh thereof, will never be afraid, but can very well abide both to speake hardly of himselfe, and to heare ill by others, so he may be the better thereby. To this purpose may very wel be applied a pretie speech of *Diogenes* unto a certain yonker, who perceiving that *Diogenes* had an eye on him within a taverne or tipling house, withdrew himselfe quickly more inward, for to be out of his sight: Never do so (quoth he) for the farther thou fliest backward, the more shalt thou be still in sight: Never do so (quoth he) for those that be given to vice, for the more that any one of the taverne; even to a man may say of those that be given to vice, for the more that any one of them seemeth to denie his fault, the farther is he engaged, and the deeper sunke in sinne; like as poore men, the greater shew that they make of riches, the poorer they be, by reason of their vanity and bragging of that which they have not. But hee that profiteth in deed, hath for a good president and example, to follow that famous Physician *Hippocrates*, who both openly confessed and also put downe in writing, that he was ignorant in the Anatomie of a mans head, and namely, as touching the feames or sinues thereof; and this account will he make, that it were an unworthy indignitie, if (when such a man as *Hippocrates* thought not much to publish his owne error and ignorance, for feare that others might fall into the like) hee who is willing to save himselfe from perdition, can not endure to be reprov'd, nor acknowledge his owne ignorance and follie. As for those rules and precepts which are delivered by *Pyrrho* and *Bion* in this case are not in my conceit the signes of amendment and progresse so much, as of some other more perfect and absolute habit rather of the minde; for *Bion* willed and required his scholars and familiars that conversed with him, to thinke then (and never before) that they had proceeded and profited in Philosophie, when they could with as good a will abide to heare men revile and raile at them, as if they spake unto them in this manner:

*Good for you, you seeme no person leawd,
nor foolish for, in vs.*

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*All haile, Faire chieve you and adieu,
God send you alwaies blis.*

And *Pyrrho* (as it is reported) being upon a time at sea, and in danger to be cast away in a tempest, shewed unto the rest of his fellow passengers a porker feeding hard upon barley cast before him on ship board: Loe, my masters (quoth he) we ought by reason and exercise in Philosophie, to frame our selves to this passe, and to attaine unto such an impassibilitie, as to be moved and troubled with the accidents of fortune no more than this pig.

But consider furthermore, what was the conceit and opinion of *Zeno* in this point; for hee was of mind that every man might and ought to know whether he profited or no in the schoole of vertue, even by his very dreames; namely, if hee tooke no pleasure to see in his sleepe any filthy or dishonest thing, nor delighted to imagine that he either intended, did or approved any leawd, unjust or outrageous action; but rather did beholde (as in a settled calme, without winde, weather and wave, in the cleere bottome of the water) both the imaginative and also the passive facultie of the soule, wholly overspread and lightened with the bright beames of reason: which *Plato* before him (as it should seeme) knowing well enough, hath prefigured and represented unto us, what fantastical motions they be that proceed in sleepe from the imaginative & sensuall part of the soule given by nature to tyrannize & overrule the guidance of reason; namely if a man dreamt that he seeketh to have carnall company with his owne mother, or that he hath a great minde and appetite to eate all strange, unlawful and forbidden meats; as if then the said tyrant gave himselfe wholly to all those inequalities & concupiscences as being let loose at such a time, which by day the law either by feare or shame doth repress & keepe downe. Like as therefore beasts which serve for draught or saddle, if they be well taught and trained, albeit their governors and rulers let the reins loose and give them the head, thing not out nor goe aside from the right way, but either draw or make pace forward still, & as they were wont ordinarily keepe the same traine and hold on in one course and order, even so they whose sensuall part of the soule is made trainable and obedient, tame, and well schooled by the discipline of reason, will neither in dreames nor sicknesses easily suffer the lusts and concupiscences of the flesh, to rage or breake out unto any enormities punishable by law; but will observe and keepe still in memorie that good discipline and custome which doth ingenerate a certaine power and efficacy unto diligence, whereby they shall and will take heed unto themselves: for if the mind hath bene used by exercise to resist passions and temptations, to hold the bodie and all the members thereof as it were with bit & bridle under subjection, in such sort that it hath at command the eyes not to shed teares for pittie; the heart likewise not to leape & pant in feare; the naturall parts not to rise nor stirre but to be still & quiet without any trouble at all, upon the sight of any faire and beautifull person, man or woman; how can it otherwise be but that there should be more likelihood that exercise having seized upon the sensuall part of the soule and tamed it, should polish, lay even, reforme, and bring unto good order all the imaginations and motions thereof, even as farre as to the very dreames and fantasies in sleepe: as it is reported of *Stilpo* the philosopher, who dreamed that he saw *Neptune* expostulating with him in anger, because he had not killed a bee: to sacrifice unto him as the manner was of other priests to doe, and that himselfe nothing altoned or dismayed at the said vision should answer thus againe: What is that thou faist *Neptune*? commeth thou to complaine indeed like a child (who pules and cries for not having a peece big enough) that I take not up more money at interest, and put my selfe in debt, to fill the whole citie with the sent and savor of frost and burnt, but have sacrificed unto thee such as I had at home according to my abilitie and in a meane? whereupon *Neptune* (as hee thought) should merrily smile and reach forth unto him his right hand, promising that for his sake and for the love of him he would that yere send the Megarians great store of raine and good soition of sea-loaches or fishes called *Aphyra* by that meane: comming unto them by whole fennes. Such then, as while they sleepe have no illusions arising in their braines to trouble them, but those dreames or visions onely as be joyous pleasant, plaine and evident, nor painfull, nor terrible, nothing rough, malignant, tortuous and crooked; may boldly say that these fantasies and apparitions be no other than the reflexions and raies of that light which rebound from the good proceedings in Philosophie; whereas contrariwise the furious pricks of lust, timorous frights, unmanly and base flights, childish and excessive joies, dolorous sorrowes, and dolefull moones by reason of some piteous illusions strange and absurd visions appeering in dreames, may be well compared unto the broken waves and billowes of the sea beating upon the rocks and craggy banks of the shore; for that the soule having not as yet that

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felct perfection in it selfe which should keepe it in good order, but holdeth on a course still according to good lawes onely and sage opinions, from which when it is farthest questered and most remote, to wit, in sleepe, it suffereth it selfe to returne againe to the old wont and to be let loose and abandoned to her passions: But whether these things may be ascribed unto that profit and amendment whereof we treat, or rather to some other habitude, having now gathered more strength and firme constancie not subject by meanes of reasons and good instruction to shaking, I leave that to your owne consideration and mine together.

But now forasmuch as this total impossibilitie (if I may so speake) of the mind, to wit, a state so perfect that it is void of all affections, is a great and divine thing; and seeing that this profit and proceeding whereof we write consisteth in a kind of remission and mildnesse of the said passions, we ought both to consider ech of them apart and also compare them one with another, thereby to examine and judge the difference: conferre we shall every passion by it selfe, by observing whether our lusts and desires be more calme and lesse violent than in former time, by marking likewise our fits of feare and anger, whether they be now abated in comparison of those before, or whether when they be up and enflamed, we can quickly with the helpe of reason remove or quench that which was wont to let them on worke or a fire: compare we shall them together, in case we examine our selves whether we have now a greater portion of grace and shame in us than of feare; whether we finde in our selves emulation and not envie; whether we covet honor rather than worldly goods; and in one word, whether after the manner of musicians we offend rather in the extremitie and excesse of harmonic called *Dorian*, which is 20 grave, solemne, and devout, than the *Lydian*, which is light and galliard-like, that is to say inclining rather in the whole maner of our life to hardnes and severitie, than to effeminate softnesse; whether in the enterprize of any actions we shew timidity and slacknesse, rather than temeritie and rashnesse, and last of all, whether we offend rather in admiring too highly the sayings of men and the persons themselves, than in despising and debasing them too low: for like as we say in physick it is a good signe of health when diseases are not diverted and translated into the noble members & principal parts of the body, even so it seemeth that when the vices of such as are in the way of reformation and amendment of life change into passions that are more milde and moderate, it is a good beginning of ridding them away cleane by little & little.

The Lacedæmonian *Ephori*, which were the high controllers of that whole State, demanded 30 of the Musician *Phrynis*, when he had set up two strings more to his seven stringed instrument, whether he would have them to cut in sunder the trebles or the baxes, the highest or the lowest? but as for us, we had need to have our affections cut both above and beneath, if we desire to reduce our actions to a meane and mediocritie. And surely this progresse or proceeding of ours to perfection, professeth rather to let downe the lightest first, to cut off the extremitie of passions in excesse, and to abate the acrimonie of affections before we doe any thing else, in which as saith *Sophocles*:

*Folke foolish and incontinent,
Most furious be and violent.*

As for this one point, namely that we ought to transerre our judgement to action, and not to 40 suffer our words to remaine bare and naked words still in the aire, but reduce them to effect, we have already said, that is the chiefe propertie belonging to our progresse and going forward: now the principall arguments and signes thereof be these; if we have a zeale and fervent affection to imitate those things which we praise; if we be forward and readie to execute that which we so much admire, and contrariwise will not admit nor abide to heare of such things as we in our opinion dispraise and condemne. Probable it is and standeth with great likelihood that the Athenians al in general praised and highly esteemed the valour and prowesse of *Miltiades*; but when *Themistocles* said; that the victorie and Trophæe of *Miltiades* would not give him leave to sleepe, but awakened him in the night, plaine it is and evident, that he not onely praised and admired, but had a desire also to imitate him, and do as much himselfe; semblably we are to make 50 this reckoning, that our progresse and proceeding in vertue is but small, when it reacheth no farther than to praise onely and have in admiration that which good men have worthily done, without any motion and inclination of our will to imitate the same and effect the like. For neither is the carnall love of the bodie effectually, unlesse some little jealousie be mixed withall, nor the praise of vertue fervent and active, which doth not touch the quicke, and pricke the heart with an ardent zeale in stead of envie, unto good and commendable things, and the same defirous to performe and accomplish the same fully. For it is not sufficient that the heart should be

be turned upside downe onely, as *Alibiades* was wont to say by the words and precepts of the Philosopher reading out of his chaire, even until the teares gush out of the eyes: but he that truly doth profit & go forward, ought by comparing himselfe with the works & actions of good men, and those that be perfectly vertuous, to feele withall in his owne heart, as well a displeasure with himselfe, and a grieve in conscience for that wherein he is short and defective, as also a joy and contentment in his spirit upon a hope and desire to be equall unto them, as being full of an affection and motion that never resteth and lieth still, but seemleth for all the world (according to the similitude of *Simonides*):

*The sucking foale that keeps just pace,
And runs with dam in everie place.*

10 affecting and desiring nothing more than to be wholly united and concorporate with a good man, by imitation. For surely this is the passion peculiar and proper unto him that truly taketh profit by the studie of Philosophie; To love and cherissh tenderly the disposition & conditions of him whose deeds he doth imitate and desire to expresse, with a certaine good will to render alwaies in words, due honor unto them for their vertue, and to assay how to fashion and conforme himselfe like unto them. But in whomsoever there is infused (I wot not what) contentious humor, envie, and contestation against such as be his betters, let him know that all this proceedeth from an heart exulted with jealousie for some authoritie, might and reputation, and not upon any love, honor, or admiration of their vertues. Now, when as we begin 20 to love good men in such sort that (as *Plato* saith) we esteeme not only the man himselfe happy who is temperate; or those blessed who be the ordinarie hearers of such excellent discourses which daily come out of his mouth; but also that we do affect and admire his countenance, his port, his gate, the cast and regard of his eye, his smile and maner of laughter, inasmuch as we are willing, as one would say to be joined, lodged, and glued unto him; then we may be assured certainly that we profit in vertue; yea and so much the rather, if we have in admiration good and vertuous men, not onely in their prosperities, but also (like as amorous folke are well enough pleased with the lipping or stammering tongue; yea and do like the pale colour of them whom for the flower of their youth and beautie they love and thinke it becometh them, as we reade of *Ladie Pamela*, who by her teares and sad silence, all heave, afflicted and blubbered as she was, 30 for the dolor and sorrow that she rooke for the death of her husband, seized *Araspe* to as hee was enamoured upon her) in their adversities, so as we neither start backe for feare, nor dread the banishment of *Aristides*, the imprisonment of *Anaxagoras*, the povertie of *Socrates*, or the condemnation of *Phocion*, but repute their vertue, deservable, lovely and amiable even with all these calamities, and runne directly toward her for to kisse and embrace her by our imitation, having alwaies in our mouth at everie one of these cross accidents this notable speech of *Euripides*:

*Oh how each thing doth well become,
Such generous hearts both all and some!*

For we are never to feare or doubt that any good or honest thing shall ever be able to avert from vertue this heavenly inspiration and divine instinct of affection, which not onely is not grieved 40 and troubled at those things which seeme unto men most full of miserie and calamitie, but also admireth & desireth to imitate the. Hereupon also it followeth by good consequence, that they who have once received so deepe an impression in their hearts, take this course with themselves: That when they begin any enterprize, or enter into the administration of government, or when any sinister accident is presented unto the, they set before their eyes the examples of those who either presently are or heretofore have bene worthy persons, disconsoling in this maner: What is it that *Plato* would have done in this case? what would have *Epinomidas* said to this? how would *Lycurgus* or *Agessilaus* have behaved themselves herein? After this sort (I say) will they labour to frame, compose, reforme and adorne their manners as it were before a mirrour or looking- 50 glasse, to wit, in correcting any unseemly speech that they have let fall, or repreffing any passion that hath risen in them. They that have learned the names of the demi-gods called *Idæ Dætyls*, know how to use them as counter-charmes or preservatives against sudden frights, pronouncing the same one after another readily and ceremoniously; but the remembrance and thinking upon great and worthy men represented suddenly unto those who are in the way of perfection, and taking holde of them in all passions and perplexions which shall encounter them, holdeth them up, and keepeth them upright, that they can not fall; and therefore this also may go for one argument and token of proceeding in vertue.

Over and besides, not to be so much troubled with any occurrent, nor to blush exceedingly

for shame as before-time, nor to seeke to hide or otherwise to alter our countenance or any thing els about us, upon the sudden comming in place of a great or sage personage unexpected, but to persist resolute, to go directly toward him with bare and open face, are tokens that a man feeleth his conscience fedled and assured. Thus *Alexander* the great seeing a messenger running toward him apace with a pleasant and smiling countenance, and stretching forth his hand afaire off to him: How now good fellow (quoth he) what good newes canst thou bring me more, unless it be tidings that *Homer* is risen againe? esteeming in truth that his woorthie acts and noble deedes already achieved, wanted nothing els, nor could be made greater than they were, but only by being consecrated unto immortality by the writings of some noble spirit; even so a yooing man that groweth better and better every day, and hath reformed his manners, loving nothing more than to make himselfe knownen what he is unto men of worth and honour; to shew unto them his whole houle and the order thereof, his table, his wife and children, his studies and intents; to acquaint them with his sayings and writings; inasmuch as other-whiles he is grieved in his heart to thinke and remember, either that his father naturall that begat him, or his master that taught him, are departed out of this life, for that they be not alive to see in what good estate he is in and to joy therat; neither would he with or pray to the gods for any thing so much, as that they might revive and come againe above ground, for to spectators and eye-witnesses of his life and all his actions. Contrariwise, those that have neglected themselves and not endeavoured to do wel, but are corrupt in their manners, can not without feare and trembling abide to see those that belong unto them, no nor so much as to dreame of them. Adde moreover, if you please, unto that which hath bene already said, thus much also for a good token of progresse in vertue: When a man thinketh no sinne or trespass small, but is very careful and wary to avoid and shunne them all. For like as they who despaire ever to be rich, make no account at all of saving a little expence; for thus they thinke: That the sparing of a small matter can adde no great thing unto their stocke, to heape it up; but contrariwise, hope when a man sees that he wanteth but a little of the marke which he shooeth at, causeth that the nearer he commeth thereto, his covetousnesse is the more; even so it is in those matters that pertaine to vertue: he who giveth not place much, nor proceedeth to these speeches: Well, and what shall we have after this? Be it so now: It will be better againe for it another time: and such like: but alwaies taketh heed to himselfe in every thing; and whensoever vice insinuateth so selfe into the least sinne and fault that is, seemeth to pretend and suggest some colourable excuses for to crave pardon, is much discontented and displeased; he (I say) giveth hereby good evidence and prooffe that he hath a houle within cleane and neat, and that he would not endure the least impuritie and ordure in the world to defile the same: For (as *Aeschylus* saith) an opinion conceived once, that nothing that we have is great and to be esteemed and reckoned of, causeth us to be carelesse and negligent in small matters. They that make a palisado, a rampier or rough mud wall, care not much to put into their worke any wood that commeth next hand, neither is it greatly materiall to take thereto any rubbish or stone that they can meet with, or sift commeth into their eie, yea, and if it were a pillar fallen from a monument or sepulchre; flemblably doe wicked and leawd folke, who gather, thrumbe & heape up together all sorts of gaine, all actions that be in their way, it makes no matter what; but such as profit in vertue, who are already planted, and whose golden foundation of a good life is laid (as it were) for some sacred temple or iouall palace, will not take hand over head, any fluffe to build thereupon, neither will they worke by aime, but every thing shall be couched, laied and ranged by line and level, that is to say, by the squire & rule of reason: which is the cause (as we thinke) that *Polydorus* the famous imager was wont to say: That the hardest piece of all the worke remained then to do, when the clay and the naille met together, signifying thus much: That the chiefe point of cunning and perfection was in the up-thoor and end of all.

OF

OF SVPERSTITION.

The Summarie.

IT should seeme that *Plutarch* composed this booke in mockerie and derision of the *Idols* whom he toucheth, and girdeeth as in one place, and whose religion he minglith with the superstition of the *Pagans*; to asmuch purpose (I wis) as that which he delivereth in a discourse at the table, where he compareth the feast of the *Tabernacles* ordemed by the eternall and almightie God, with the *Bacchanalles* and such stinking ordures of idolaters; thinking verily that *Bacchus* was the god of the *Jewes*. This slander of his and false calumination ought to be imputed unto that ignorance of the true God, wherein *Plutarch* did remaine invrapped: yet is not he the man alone who hath derided and flouted the religion of the *Jewes*; but such scoffes and derisions of the sages and wises men of this world, especially and above all when they are addrest against God, fall upon the head of the authors and devisers thereof to their utter confusion. Moreover as touching this point, that some have thought this present discourse wherein he endeavoureth and laboureth to prove superstition to be more peridious than *Atheisme* is dangerous to be read, & containeth false doctrine; for that superstition of the twaine is not so bad: I say that in regard of the foolish devotion of *Plutarch* and such as himselfe, which in no wise deserveth the name of religion, but is indeede a derision and profanation of true pietie and a godlinesse; it were not amiss to affirme that superstition is more wretched and miserable than *Atheisme*, considering that lesse hurtfull and dangerous is for a man not to have his minde and soule troubled at all and disquieted with a fantastie of idols and *Chimæres* in the aire, than to feare, honor and serve them in such sort as justice & humanity should in manner be abolished by such superstitious idolaters. To be short, that it were better to defeat and overthrow at once all false gods, than to lodge any one in his head, for to languish thereby in perpetuall miserie. Concerning true religion and the extremities thereof, the safe is otherwise, and the question disputable, which we leave to *Divines* and *Theologians* to scan upon, to discourse and determine, since our intention and purpose ureth us not at this time to discourse hereupon.

But to returne unto our author, considering that which we come to touch, *Atheists* cannot find how to prevail and maintaine their opinion: for sufficient prooffe and accusation against themselves, they may every minute of an houre in their caiterized & seered conscience: but he sheweth that to worship any *Idols*, is a thing without comparison more deplorable than to disavow and dishonour them all. But to prove this, after he hath discovered the course of superstition & *Atheisme* and declared the difference of these two extremities, he saith in the first place, that superstition is the most unworthy and unseemly of all the passions of the soule, proving the same by divers reasons, to wit: That the superstitious man is in continuall perplexity, he doubteth his owne *Idols* no lesse than a cruel tyrant, and imagineth a thousand evils even after his death. After this he taketh a view of the *Atheists*, and opposeth him against the superstitious, resolving upon this point; that the superstitious person is more miserable of the twaine, as well in adversitie as prosperitie; and to consume and satiate his affliction, he setteth downe many arguments and notable examples. Moreover he sheweth that the superstitious persons are enemie to all devitie or godhead, he putteth cleane out of his heart, and treadeth under foot all humane and righteousnesse for to please his *Idols*; and in one word, that he is the most wretched creature in the world. And for a conclusion he exhorteth us so to flee superstition, that we should hold our selves from falling into *Atheisme*, keeping in the middle betwixt these two extremes, which point every good man ought to consider and thinke upon well: and in good earnest in these latter times of the world, al-
beit he who advertiseth us thereof in this
place, never knew what was
true religion.

OF

OF SUPERSTITION.



He ignorance and want of true knowledge as touching the gods divided even from the beginning into two branches, meeting on the one side with stubborne and obstinate natures, as it were with a churlish peece of ground, hath in them engendered Impietie and Atheisme; and on the other side, lighting upon gentle and tender spirits like a moist and soft soile, hath bred and imprinted therein superstition: now as all error in opinion and judgement, and namely in these matters, is hurtfull and dangerous enough; so if it be accompanied with some passion of the minde it is most pernicious. For this we must thinke, that every one of these passions resembleth a deception that is feaverous and inflamed; and like as the dislocations of any joints in a mans bodie out of their place joined with some passion are more difficult to be reformed. As for example, let case that one doe thinke that the little moles and indivisible bodies called *Atomi*, together with voidnesse and emptinesse be the first elements and principles whereof all things are made; certainly this is an erroneous and false opinion of his; howbeit the same breedeth no ulcer, no feaver causing disordinate pulse in the arteries, nor yet any pricking and troublesome paine. Doth some one hold that riches is the soveraigne good of man? This error and false opinion hath a rust or canker and a worne that eateth into the soule and transporteth the same besides it selfe, it sufficeth it not to take any repose, it stingeth, it pricketh it and fethereth it a gadding, it throweth it downe headlong (as it were) from high rocks, it flitteth and strangeth it, and in one word bereaveth it of all libertie & franke speech. Again, are there some perswaded, that vertue and vice be substances corporall and materiall? this haply is a grosse ignorance and a foule error, howbeit not lamentable nor worthie to be deplored: but there be other judgements and opinions like unto this:

*Overture wretched and miserable,
Nought else but words and winde variable;
Thee serv'd I daily with all reverence,
As if thou hadst beene some reall essence:
Whereas injustice neglected I have,
Which would have made me a man rich and brave;
Intemperance eke have I cast behind,
Of pleasures all the mother deere and kind.*

Such as these verily we ought to pittie, yea and withall to be offended at, because in whose minds they are once entered and settled they engender many maladies and passions like unto wormes and such filthy vermine. But now to come unto those which at this present are in question: Impietie or Atheisme, being a false perswasion and lewd belief, that there is no soveraigne Nature most happie and incorruptible, seemeth by incredulitie of a God-head to bring miscreants to a certaine stupiditie, bereaving them of all sense and feeling, considering that the end of this misbelief, that there is no God, is to be void altogether of feare. As for superstition, according as the nature of the Greeke word (which signifieth *Feare of the Gods*) doth imply, is a passionate opinion and turbulent imagination, imprinting in the heart of man a certaine fearfulness, which doth abate his courage and humble him downe to the verie ground, whiles he is perswaded that they be gods indeed, but such as be noyosome, hurtfull, and doing mischief unto men: In such sort, that the impious Atheist having no motion at all as touching the Deitie and Divine power, and the superstitious person moved and affected thereto after a perverse sort, and otherwise than he should, are both out of the right way. For ignorance as it doth ingenerate in the one an unbelief of that soveraigne Nature which is the cause of all goodness; so it imprinteth in the other a misbelief of the Deitie, as being the cause of evil: so that as it should seeme, Impietie or Atheisme is a false judgement and opinion of the God-head; and superstition a passion proceeding from an erroneous perswasion. True it is that all maladies of the soule are foule and the passions naught; howbeit in some of them, there is a kinde of (I wot not what) alacrity, haughtines and jollitie, proceeding from the lightnesse of the minde; and to say in a word, there

is

is in manner not one of them all, destitute of one active motion or other, serving for action; but a common imputation this is and a blame laid generally upon all passions, that with their violent pricks (as it were) they incite, provoke, urge, compell, and force reasons onely feare, which being no lesse void of audacitie and boldnesse, than of reason; carrieth with it a certaine blockishnesse or stupiditie, destitute of action; perplexed, idle, dead, without any exploit or effect whatsoever; whereupon it is named in Greeke *Adraia*; that is to say, a Bond, and *Tetras*, that is to say, Trouble, for that it both bindeth and also troubleth the minde. But of all sorts of feare, there is none so full of perplexitie, none so unfit for action as that of superstition. The man who faileth not, is not afraid of the sea; neither feareth he the warres, who followeth not warfares; no more than he who keepeth home and stirreth not out of doores, is afraid of thieves that rob by the high way side; or the poore man that hath nought to loose, of the Sycophant or promoter; nor he that liveth in meane estate, of envie; no more (I say) than he that is in *Gaulle* feareth earth-quake, or in *Aethiopia* thunder and lightning: but the superstitious man that stands in feare of the gods, feareth all things, the land, the sea, the aire the skie, darkenesse, light, silence and his verie dreames. Servants whiles they be a sleepe, forget the rigour and hardnesse of their masters. Sleepe easeth the cheines, gives and feters, of those that ly by the heeles bound in prison; dolorous inflammations, smart wounds, painfull ulcers and marimuls that eate and consume the flesh, yeeld some ease and alleviation unto patients whiles they be aleepe, according as he saith in the Tragedie:

*O sweet repose, O sleepe so gracious
That dost allay our maladies,
How welcome art thou unto us,
Bringing in season remedies?*

Thus said he: But superstition will not give a man leave thus to say: For it alone maketh no truce during sleepe; it permitteeth not the soule at any time to breathe and take rest, no nor suffereth it to plucke up her spirits and take heart againe by removing out of her the unpleasant, tart and troublesome opinions as touching the divine power; but as if the sleepe of superstitious folke were a verie hell and place of damned persons, it doth present unto them terrible visions and monstrous fantasies; it raiseth devils, fiends and furies, which torment the poore and miserable soule; it driveth her out of her quiet repose by her owne fearful dreames, wherewith she whippeth, scourgeth, and punisheth herselfe (as if it were) by some other, whose cruell and unreasonable commandments she doth obey; and yet here is not all; for, that which worke is, such superstitious persons after they be awakened out of their sleepe and risen, do not as other men, despise their dreames, and either laugh thereat or take pleasure therein, for that they see there is nothing true in all their visions and illusions which should trouble and terrifie them; but being escaped out of the shadow of those false illusions, wherein there is no harme or hurt at all, they deceive and trouble themselves in good earnest, spending their substance and goods infinitely upon magicians, jugglers, enchanters, and such like deceivers whom they light upon, who beare a man in hand and thus say unto him:

*If frighted thou be with fantasies in sleepe,
Or haunted with Hecate that beneath doth keepe.*

Call for an old trot that tends thy backhouse, and plunge thy selfe in the sea water, and sit a whole day upon the groundy:

*O Greekes, you that would counted be most wise,
These barbarous and wicked toies devise.*

namely upon a vaine and foolish superstition, enjoining men to begrieme and beray themselves with durt, to lie and wallow in the mire, to observe Sabbaths and cease from worke, to lie prostrate and groveling upon the earth with the face downeward, to sit upon the ground in open place, and to make many strange and extravagant adornings. In times past the manner was, among those especially who would enterteine and observe lawfull musike, to command those that began to play upon the harpe or citterne, to sing thereto with a just mouth, to the end they should speake no dishonest thing; and even we also require and thinke it meet to pray unto the gods with a just and right mouth, & not to prie in the Least sacrificed, to looke into the entrails, to observe whether the tongue thereof be pure and right, and in the meane time perverting and polluting our owne tongues with strange and absurd names, infecting and defiling the same with barbarous rearmes, offending thereby the gods, and violating the dignitie of that religion which is received from our ancestours, and authorised in our owne country. The Comicall

Poet

Poet said pleasantly in one Comedie, speaking of those who laied their bedsteds thicke with golde and silver: Why do you make your sleepe deare and costly unto your selves, which is the only gift that the gods have given us freely? even so may a man very well say (and with great reason) unto those that are superstitious: Seeing that the gods have bestowed upon us sleepe, for the oblivion and repose of our miseries, why makest thou it a very hel & place of continuall and dolorous torment to thy poore soule, which can not sleepe nor have recourse unto any other sleepe but that which is troublesome unto thee? *Heraclitus* was wont to say: That men all the whiles they were awake, enjoyed the benefit of no other world, but that which was common unto all; but when they slept, every one had a world by himselfe: but surely, the superstitious person hath not so much as any part of the common world, for neither whiles hee is awake hath hee the true use of reason and wisdom, nor when he sleeth is he delivered from feare & secured; but one thing or other troubleth him still: his reason is asleepe, his feare is alwaies awake; so that neither can he avoid his owne harme quite, nor finde any means to put it by, and turne it off. *Polyrates* the tyrant was dread and terrible in *Samos*, *Periander* in *Corinth*, but no man feared either the one or the other, who withdrew himselfe into any free city or popular State; as for him who standeth in dread and feare of the imperiall power of the gods, as of some rigorous and inexorable tyranny, whither shall he retire & withdraw himselfe? whither shall he flie: where shall he find a land, where shall he meet with sea, without a god? into what secret part of the world (poore man) wilt thou betake thy selfe, wherein thou maist lie close and hidden, and be assured that thou art without the puissance and reach of the gods? There is a law that provideth for miserable slaves, who being so hardly intreated by their masters, are out of all hope that they shall be enfranchised and made free, namely; that they may demand to be sold againe and to change their master, if haply they may by that means come by a better and more easie servitude under another: but this superstition alloweth us not that libertie to change our gods for the better, nay, there is not a god to be found in the world, whom a superstitious person doth not dread, considering that he feareth the tutelar gods of his native country, and the very gods protectors of his native: he quaketh even before those gods which are known to be faviour propitious and gracious; he trembleth for feare, when he thinketh of them at whose hands we crave riches, abundance of goods, concord, peace, and the happie successe of the best words and deeds that we have. Now if these thinke that bondage is a great calamitie, saying thus:

*O heavie crosse and vnsull miserie,
Man and woman to be in thrall & slave:
And namely, if their slavery
Be under lords unfortunate.*

how much more grievous thinke you is their servitude which they endure, who can not flie, who can not runne away and escape, who can not change and turne to another. Altars there be, unto which bad servants may flie for succour; many sanctuaries there be and priviledged churches for theeves and robbers, from whence no man is so hardy as to plucke and pull them out. Enemies after they are defeated and put to flight, if in the very rout and chase they can take holde of some image of the gods, or recover some temple and get it over their heads once, are secured and assured of their lives; whereas the superstitious person is most affrighted, feared, and put in feare by that, wherein all others who be afraid of extreame evils that can happen to man, repose their hope and trust. Never goe about to pull force a superstitious man out of sacred temples, for in them he is most afflicted and tormented. What needs many words? In all men death is the end of life; but it is not so in superstition, for it extendeth and reacheth farther than the limits and utmost bounds thereof, making feare longer than this life, and adjoining unto death an imagination of immortall miseries; and even then, when there seemeth to be an end and cessation of all sorrows & travels, the superstitious men perswaded that they must enter into others which be endless & everlasting: they dream of (I wot not what) deepe gates of a certain *Pluto* or infernall God of hell, which open for to receive them; of ferie rivers alwaies burning; of hollow gulfs and floods of Styx to gaze for them; of ugly and hideous darkenesse to overspread them, full of sundry apparitions; of gasty ghosts and sorrowfull spirits, representing unto them grizlie and horrible shapies to see, and as fearefull and lamentable voices to heare: what should I speake of judges, of tormentors, of bottomlesse pits, and gaping caves, full of all sorts of torture and infinite miseries. Thus unhappy and wretched superstition, by fearing overmuch and without reason, that which it imagineth to be nought, never taketh heed how it submitteth it selfe to all miseries; and for want of knowledge how to avoid this passionate trouble, occasioned

occasioned by the feare of the gods, forgeth and deviseth to it selfe an expectation of inevitable evils even after death. The impietie of an Atheist hath none of all this geere; most true it is, that his ignorance is unhappie, and that a great calamitie and miserie it is unto the soule, either to see amisse or wholly to be blinded, in so great & woorthy things, as having of many eies the principall and clearest of all to wit, the knowledge of God extinct and put out; but surely (as I said before) this passionate feare, this ulcer and sore of conscience, this trouble of spirit, this servile abjection is not in his conceit; these goe alwaies with the other, who have such a superstitious opinion of the gods. *Plato* saith that musick was given unto men by the gods, as a singular means to make them more modest and gracious, yea and to bring them as it were into tune, and cause them to be better conditioned, and not for delight and pleasure, nor to tickle the eares: for falling out as it doth many times, that for default and want of the Muses and Graces, there is great confusion & disorder in the periods and harmonies, the accords and consonances of the minde, which breaketh out otherwhiles outrageously by means of intemperance and negligence; musick is of that power that it setteth every thing againe in good order and their due place; for according as the poet *Pindarus* saith:

*To what power from above,
God Jupiter doth cast no love,
To that the voice melodious
Of Muses seemeth odious.*

Inomuch as they fall into fits of rage therewith, and be very fell & angrie; like as it is reported of tygers, who if they heare the found of drums or tabours round about them, will grow furious and (tarke mad, untill in the end they teare themselves in peeces: so that there cometh lesse harme unto them who by reason of deafnesse or hard hearing, have no sense at all of musick, and are nothing mooved and affected therewith: a great infortunitie this was of blind *Turkses*, that hee could not see his children and friends; but much more unfortunate and unhappie were *Athamas* and *Agave*, who seeing their children, thought they saw lions and snakes. And no doubt when *Hercules* fell to be enraged and mad, better it had beene and more expedient for him, that he had not seene nor knowne his owne children, than so to deal with those who were most deere unto him, and whom he loved more than all the world besides, as if they had beene his mortall enemies. Think you not then, that there is the same difference between the passions of Atheists and superstitious folke? Atheists have no sight nor knowledge of the gods at all; and the superstitious thinke there are gods, though they be perswaded of them amisse; Atheists neglect them altogether as if they were not; but the superstitious esteeme that to be terrible, which is gracious & amiable; cruell and tyrannike, which is kind and fatherlike; hurtful and damageable unto us, which is most carefull of our good and profit; rough, rigorous, savage and fell of nature, which is void of choler and without passion. And hereupon it is that they beleevie brasse founders, cutters in stone, imagers, gravers and workers in waxe, who shape, & represent unto them gods with bodies to the likeness of mortall men, for such they imagine them to be, such they adorne, adore and worship, whiles in the meane time they despise philosophers and grave personages of State and government, who do teach and shew that the majestie of God is accompanied with bountie, magnanimitie, love and carefull regard of our goods: So that as in the one sort we may perceive a certaine senselesse stupiditie and want of beleife in those causes from whence proceed all goodnesse; so in the other we may observe a distrustfull doubt and feare of those which cannot otherwise be than profitable and gracious. In sum, impietie and Atheisme is nothing else but a meere want of feeling and sense of a deitie or divine power, for default of understanding and knowing the soveraigne good; and superstition is a heape of divers passions, suspecting and supposing that which is good by nature to be bad; for superstitious persons feare the gods; and yet they have recourse unto them; they flatter them, and yet blasphem and reproch them; they pray unto them, and yet complaine of them.

50 A common thing this is unto all men, not to be alwaies fortunate, whereas the gods are void of sicknesse, not subject to old age, neither taste they of labour or paine at any time: and as *Pindarus* saith,

*Escape they do the passage of the firth
Of roaring Acheron, and live away in mirth.*

But the passions and affaires of men be intermeddled with divers accidents and adventures which run as well one way as another. Now consider with me first and formeost the Atheist in those things which happen against his minde, and learne his disposition and affection in such occurrences:

rences: if in other respects he be a temperate and modest man, beare he will his fortune patiently without saying a word; seeks for aide he will and comfort by what meanes he can; but if he be of nature violent, and take his misfortune impatiently, then he directeth and openeth all his plaints and lamentations against fortune and casualtie; then he crieth out that there is nothing in the world governed either by iustice or with providence, but that all the affaires of man run confusedly headlong to destruction: but the fallion of the superstitious is otherwise, for let there never so small an accident or mishap befall unto him, he sits him downe forrowning, and thereto he multiplieth and addeth other great and greivous afflictions, such as hardly be removed; he imagineth sundry frights, feares, suspitions; and troublefome terrors, giving himselfe to all kinde of wailing, groaning, and dolefull lamentation; for he accuseth not any man, fortune, occasion, or his owne selfe; but he blameth God as the cause of all, giving out in plaine termes, that from thence it is that there falleth and runneth over him such a celestiall influence of all calamitie and misery, contesting in this wise, that an unhappie or unluckie man he is not, but one hated of the gods, woorthily punished and afflicted, yea and suffering all deservedly by that divine power and providence: now if the godlesse Atheist be sicke, he discourseth with himselfe and calleth to minde his repletions and full feedings, his surfeiting upon drinking wine, his disorders in diet, his immoderate travell & paines taken, yea and his unusuall and absurd change of aire, from that which was familiar, unto that which is strange and unnatural: moreover, if it chance that he have offended in any matter of government touching the State, incurred disgrace and an evil opinion of the people and country wherein he liveth, or become fallie accused and slandered before the prince or soveraigne ruler, he goeth no farther than to himselfe and those about him, imputing the cause of all thereto and to nothing els, and thus he reasoneth:

Where have I benee what good have I done? and what have I not done?

Where have I sinned? what dutie begun, is left by me undone?

whereas the superstitious person will thinke and say, that everie disease and infirmite of his bodie, all his losses, the death of his children, his evil successe and infortunie in managing civil affaires of State, and his repulses and disgraces, are to many plagues inflicted upon him by the ire of the gods, and the verie assaults of the divine iustice; inasmuch as he dare not go about to seek for helpe and succour, nor avert his owne calamitie; he will not presume to seek for remedie, nor oppose himselfe against the invasion of adverse fortune, for feare (forsooth) lest he might seeme to fight against the gods, or to resist their power and will when they punish him: thus when he lieth sicke in bed, he driveth his physician out of the chamber, when he is come to visit him; when he is in sorrow, he shutteth and locketh his doore upon the Philosopher, that commeth to comfort him and give him good counsell: Let me alone (will he say) and give me leave to suffer punishment as I have deserved, wicked and profane creature that I am, accursed, hated of all the gods, demi-gods, and saints in heaven. Whereas if a man who doth not believe nor is perswaded that there is a God) be otherwise in exceeding griefe and forrow, it is an ordinary thing with him to wipe away the teares as they gush out of his eyes, and trickle downe the cheekes, to cause his haire to be cut, and to take away his mourning weed. As for a superstitious person; how should one speake unto him, or which way succour and helpe him? without the doores he sits clad in sackloth, or else girded about his loines with patched clothes and tattered rags; oftentimes he will welter and wallow in the mire, confessing and declaring (I wot not) what finnes and offences that he hath committed; to wit, that he hath eaten or drunk this or that, which his god would not permit; that he hath walked or gone some whither against the will and leave of the divine power. Now, say he be of the best sort of these superstitious people, and that he labour but of the milder superstition; yet will he at leastwise sit within house, having about him a number of all kinde of sacrifices and sacred aspersions; yee shall have old witches come and bring all the charmes, spells, and forceries they can come by, and hang them about his necke or other parts of his bodie (as it were) upon a stake, as *Bion* was wont to lay.

It is reported that *Tristram* when he should have bene apprehended by the Persians, drew his cemiter, and (as hee was a valiant man of his hands) defended himselfe valiantly; but so soone as they that came to lay hands on him, cried out and protested that they were to attach him in the kings name & by commission from his Majestie, he laid downe his weapon afore said immediately, and offered both his hands to be bound and pinnioned. And is not this whereof we treat the semblable case? whereas others withstand their adversitie, repell and put backe their afflictions, and worke all the meanes they can for to avoide, escape, and turne away that which they

they would not have to come upon them. A superstitious person will heate no man, but speake in this wise to himselfe: Wretched man that thou art, all this thou sufferest at the hands of God, and this is befallen unto thee by his commandement, and the divine providence; all hope hee rejecteth, he doth abandon and betray himselfe, and looke whosoever come to succour and helpe him, those he shunneth and repelleth from him. Many crosses there be and calamities in the world, otherwise moderate and tolerable, which superstition maketh mischievous and incurable.

That ancient King *Atidas* in old time being troubled and disquieted much in his minde (as it should seeme) with certaine dreames and visions, in the end fell into such a melancholy and despair, that willingly he made himselfe away by drinking buls blood. And *Aristodemus* king of Messenians, in that warre which he waged against the Lacedaemonians, when it hapned that the dogs yelled and howled like wolves, and that there grew about the altar of his house the herbe called *Dent de chien*, or Dogs grasse, whereupon the wifards and footherayers were afraid (as of some tokens prefiging evil) conceived such an inward griefe, & tooke so deepe a thought, that he fell into desperation and killed himselfe. As for *Nicias* the Generall of the Athenian armie, haply it had bene farre better that by the examples of *Atidas* and *Aristodemus* he had bene delivered and rid from his superstition, than for feare of the shadow occasioned by the eclipse of the moone to have suten stil as he did and do nothing, untill the enemies environed and enclosed him round about; and after that fortie thousand of Athenians were either put to the sword or taken prisoners, to come alive into the hands of his enemies, and lose his life with shame and dishonor: for in the darkenesse occasioned by the opposition of the earth just in the mids, betweene the sunne and the moone, whereby her body was shadowed and deprived of light, there was nothing for him to feare, and namely at such a time, when there was cause for him to have stood upon his feet and served valiantly in the field; but the darkenesse of blinde superstition was dangerous, to trouble and confound the judgement of a man who was possessed therewith, at the very instant, when his occasions required most the use of his wit and understanding:

*The sea already troubled is
With billowes blew within the sound,
Up to the eapes and cliffs arise
Thicke mistie clouds which gather round
About their tops, where they do seat,
Fore-shewing shortly tempests great.*

A good and skilful pilot seeing this, doth well to pray unto the gods for to escape the imminent danger, and to invoke and call upon those saints for helpe, which they after call Saviours: but all the while that he is thus at his devout praier, he holdeth the helme hard, he letteth downe the crosse saile-yard,

*Thus having struck the maine saile downe the mast,
He escapes the sea, with darknesse over cast.*

Heiodorus giveth the husbandman a precept, before he begin to drive the plough or sow his seede:

*To Ceres chaste his vowes to make,
To Iove likewise god of his land,
Forgetting not the while to take
The end of his plough-taile in hand.*

And *Homer* bringeth in *Ajax* being at the point to enter into combat with *Hector*, willing the Greeks to pray for him unto the gods; but whiles they praied, he forgot not to ame himselfe at all pieces. Semblable, *Agamemnon* after he had given commandement to his fouldiours who were to fight,

*Ech one his lance and sheare to whet,
His shield likewise fity to set.
then, and not before, praith unto Jupiter in this wise:
O Jupiter vouchsafe me of thy grace,
Thine rarely hall of Priamus to race.*

for God is the hope of vertue and valour, not the pretense of sloth and cowardise. But the Iewes were so superstitious, that on their Sabbath (sitting still even whiles the enemies reared their scaling ladders and gained the walles of their citie) they never stirred foot, nor rose for the matter,

but remained fast tied and inwrapped in their superstition as it were in a net. Thus you see what superstition is in those occurrences of times and affairs which succeed not to our minde, but contrary to our will (that is to say) in adversity: and as for times and occasions of mirth, when all things fall out to a mans desire, it is no better than impietie or atheisme; and nothing is so joyous unto man, as the solemnitie of festivall holidays, great feasts and sacrifices before the temples of the gods, the mysticall and sacred rites performed when wee are purified and cleansed from our sinnes, the ceremoniall service of the gods when wee worship and adore them; in which all, a superstitious man is no better than the Atheist: for make an Atheist in all these, he will laugh at them untill he be ready to goe beside himselfe; these toies will set him (I say) into a fit of Sardonian laughing, when he shall see their vanities; and other-whiles he will not sticke to say softly in the eare of some familiar friend about him: What mad folke be these? how are they out of their right wits, and enraged, who suppose that such things as these doe please the gods? Setting this aside, there is no harme at all in him. As for the superstitious person, willing he is, but not able, to joy and take pleasure: for his heart is much like unto that city which *Sophocles* describeth in these verses:

*Which at one time is full of sense sweet,
Rejoinding mirth with loud triumphant song,
And yet the same doth weep in every street
All signes of griefe, with plaints and groanes among.*

he looketh with a pale face, under his chaplet of flowers upon his head, he sacrificeth, & yet quaketh for feare; he maketh his prayers with a trembling voice, he putteth incense into the fire, and his hand shaketh withall; to be short, he maketh the speech or sentence of *Pythagoras* to be vaine and foolish, who was wont to say: That we are then in best case, when we approach unto the gods and worship them. For verily even then it is, when superstitious people are most wretched & miserable, to wit, when they enter into the temples & sanctuaries of the gods, as if they went into the denness of beares, holes of serpents and dragons, or caves of whales & such monsters of the sea. I marvel much therefore at them, who call the miscreance & sinne of atheists, impietie, & give not that name rather to superstition. And yet *Anaxagoras* was accused of impietie; for that he held and said that the Sun was a stone: whereas never man yet called the Cimmerians impious or godlesse, because they suppose & beleeve there is no Sunne at all. What say you then? shall he who thinketh that there be no gods at all, be taken for a profane person and excommunicate? and shall not he who beleeve them to be such as superstitious folke imagine them, be thought infected with more impious and wicked opinions? For mine owne part, I would be better pleased and content, if men should say of me thus: There neither is nor ever was in the world a man named *Plutarch*, than to give out of me and say: *Plutarch* is an unconstant man, variable, cholericke, full of revenge for the least occasion that is, or displeased and given to grieve for a small matter; who if when you invite others to supper, he be left out and not bidden, or if upon some businesse you be let and hindered, so that you come not to his doore for to visit him, or otherwise do not salute and speake unto him friendly, will be ready to eat your heart with salt, to set upon you with his fangs, and bite you, will not sticke to catch up one of your little babes and worry him, or will keepe some mischievous wild beast of purpose, to put into your come-fields, your vineyard or orchards, for to devoure and spoile all your fruits. When *Timotheus* the musician one day in an open Theater at *Athens* chanted the praises of *Diana*, giving unto her in his song the attributes of *Thyas*, *Phaebus*, *Maenas*, and *Lysias*, that is to say, Furious, Possessed, Enraged, and Starke mad; as Poets are wont to doe, *Cineas* another minstrell or musician, rose up from out of the whole audience, and said thus aloud unto him: Would God thou haddest a daughter of those qualitties. And yet these superstitious folke thinke the same of *Diana*, yea, and worse to: neither have they a better opinion of *Apollo*, *Juno*, and *Venus*; for all of them they feare and tremble at. And yet what blasphemie uttered *Niobe* against *Latona*, like unto that which superstition hath perswaded foolish people to beleeve of that goddesse? to wit, that she being displeased with the reprochfull words that *Niobe* gave her, killed with her arrowes all the children of that silly woman,

*Even daughters sixe, and somes as many just,
Of spite yeeres all, no helpe, but die they must.*

so insatiable was she of the calamities of another, so implacable was her anger. For grant it were so, that this goddesse was full of gall and choler; say, that she tooke an hatred to leawd and wicked persons, or grieved & could not endure to heare herselfe reproched, or to laugh at humane

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follic and ignorance; certes she should have bene offended and angry, yea, and discharged her arrowes upon these, who untruefully impute and ascribe unto her that bitterness and exceeding crueltie, and sticke not both to deliver in words and also to set downe in writing, such things of her. Wee charge *Heceba* with beastly and barbarous immagie, for saying thus in the last booke of *Homers* liads:

*O that I could his liver get
Amid his corps, so bite and eat.*

As for the Syrian goddesse, superstitious folke are perswaded, that if any one doe eat *Enchofes* or such little fish as *Aphyæ*, she will likewise gnaw their legs, fill their bodies with ulcers, and putrifie or rot their liver. To conclude therefore, is it impiously done to blasphemie the gods and speake badly of them, and is it not as impious to thinke and imagine the same, considering that it is the opinion and conceit of the blasphemous and foule mouthed profane person which maketh his speech to be reputed naught and wicked? For even we our selves detest and abhorre foule language, for nothing so much as because it is a signe of a malicious minde, and those we take for to be our enemies who give out bad words of us, in this respect that we suppose them to be faithlesse and not to be trusted, but rather ill affected unto us, and thinking badly of us. Thus you see what judgement superstitious folke have of the gods, when they imagine them to be dull and blockish, treacherous and disloyall, variable and fickle minded, full of revenge, cruell, melancholike and apt to fret at every little matter: whereupon it must needs follow, that the superstitious man doth both hate and also dread the gods; for how can it otherwise be, considering that he is perswaded that all the greatest calamities which either he hath endured in times past, or is like to suffer hereafter proceed from them; now who so ever hateth and feareth the gods, he is no doubt their enemy; neither is it to be woondred at for all this, that although he stand in dread of them, yet he adoreth and worshippeth them, he prayeth and sacrificeth unto them, frequenteth duly and devoutly their temples, and is not willingly out of them; for do we not see it ordinarily, that reverence is done unto tyrants, that men make court unto them, and crye: God save your grace; yea and erect golden statues to the honour of them: howbeit as great devotion and divine honour as they doe unto them in outward apparence, they hate and abhorre them secretly to the heart. *Hermolus* courted *Alexander*, and was servicable about him: *Panjanias* was one of the squires of the bodie to king *Philipp*, and so was *Chereas* to *Caligula* the Emprour; but there was not of these but even when he served them, said thus in his heart,

*Certes in case it did now lie in mee,
Of thee (thou tyrant) revenged would I be.*

Thus you see the Atheist thinketh there be no gods; but the superstitious person wisheth that there were none; yet he beleeveeth even against his will that there be, nay he dare not otherwise doe for feare of death. Now if he could (like as *Tantalus* desired to goe from under the stone that hung over his head) be discharged of this feare which no lesse doth presse him downe, surely he would embrace, yea and thinke the disposition and condition of an Atheist to be happie, as the state of freedome and libertie: but now the Atheist hath no sparke at all of superstition, whereas the superstitious person is in will and affection to a meere Atheist, howbeit weaker than to beleeve and shew in opinion that of the gods, which he would and is in his minde. Moreover, the Atheist in no wise giveth any cause, or minisheth occasion that superstition should arise; but superstition not onely was the first beginning of impietie and Atheisme, but also when it is sprung up and growne, doth patronise and excuse it, although not truly and honestly, yet not without some colourable pretence: for the Sages and wise men in times past grew not into this opinion, that the world was wholly void of a divine power and deitie, because they beheld and considered any thing to be found fault withall in the heaven, some negligence and disorder to be marked, some confusion to be observed in the starres in the times and seasons of the yeere, in the revolutions thereof, in the course and motions of the sunne round about the earth, which is the cause of night and day, or in the nouriture and food of beasts or in the yeerely generation and increase of the fruits upon the earth; but the ridiculous works and deeds of superstition, their passions woorthy to be mocked and laughed at, their words, their motions and gestures, their charms, forceries, enchantments and magicall illusions, their runnings up and downe, their beating of drums & tabours, their impure purifications, their filthy castimonies and beastly sanctifications, their barbarous and unlawful corrections and chastisements, their inhumane and shamefull indignities practiced even in temples; these things (I say) gave occasion first unto some for to say, that better it were there had bene no gods

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at all, than to admit such for gods who received and approved these abuses, yea andooke pleasure therein, or that they should be so outrageous, proud, and injurious, so base and pinching, so easie to fall into choler upon a small cause, and so heard to be pleased againe. Had it not bene farre better for those Gaules, Scythians, or Tartarians in old time to have had no thought, no imagination, no mention at all delivered unto them in histories, of gods; than to thinke there were gods delighting in the bloudshed of men, and to beleeve that the most holie and accomplished sacrifice and service of the gods was to cut mens throates and to spill their blood: and had it not bene more expedient for the Carthaginians by having at the first for their law-givers either *Critias* or *Diagoras* to have bene perswaded that there was neither God in heaven nor divell in hell, than to sacrifice so as they did to *Saturne*, who not (as *Empedocles* said) reprooving 10 and taxing those that killed living creatures in sacrifice;

*The fire lifts up his deere beloved son,
Who first some other forme and hope did take:*

*He doth him slay, and sacrifice anon,
And therewith vows and foolish prayers doth make.*

but witting and knowing killed their owne children indeed for sacrifice; and looke who had no issue of their owne, would buie poore mens children, as if they were handes, young calves, or kiddes, for the saide purpose. At which sacrifice the mother that bare them in her wombe would stand by without any they at all of being moved, without weeping or fighting for pittie and compassion; for otherwise if these either fetched a sigh or shed a teare, these must loose the 20 price of her child, and yet notwithstanding suffer it to be slaine and sacrificed. Moreover, before and all about the image or idoll to which the sacrifice was made, the place resounded and rung againe with the noise of flutes and hautboies, with the sound also of drums and timbrels, to the end that the pitifull erie of the poore infants should not be heard. Now if any *Tryphones* or other such like giants, having chaled and driven out the gods, should usurpe the empire of the world and rule over us: what other sacrifices would they delight in, or what offerings else and service besides could they require at mens hands? *Ameities* the wife of the great Monarch *Xerxes*, buried quick in the ground twelve persons, and offered them for the prolonging of her owne life unto *Pluto*; which god (as *Plato* saith) was named *Pluto*, *Dis*, and *Hades*, for that being full of humanitie unto mankind, wife and rich besides, he was able to entertaine the soules of 30 men with perswasive speeches and reasonable remonstrances.

Xenophanes the Naturalist, seeing the Egyptians at their solemne feasts knocking their breasts, and lamenting pitiously, admisthed them verie fitly in this wise: My good friends, if these (quoth he) be gods whom you honor thus, lament not for them; and if they be men, sacrifice not unto them. But there is nothing in the world so full of errors, no maladie of the minde so passionate and mingled with more contrarie and repugnant opinions, as this of superstition; in regard whereof, we ought to shunne and avoide the same, but not as many who whiles they seeke to elchue the assaults of theeves by the high way side, or the invasion of wilde beasts out of the forest, or the danger of fire, are to transported and caried away with feare that they looke not about them, nor see what they doe or whither they goe, and by that means light 40 upon by-waies, or rather places having no way at all, but in stead thereof bot-tomlesse pits and gulfs, or else sleepe downe-falls most perilous; even so, there be divers that seeking to avoid superstition, fall headlong upon the cragged rocke of perverse and stiff-necked Impietie and Atheisme, leaping over true religion which is seated just in the mids betweene both.



OF

OF EXILE OR BANISHMENT.

The Summarie.



Here is not a man, how well soever framed to the world and settled therein, who can promise unto himselfe any peaceable and assured state, throughout the course of his whole life; but according as it seemeth good to the eternall and wise providence of the Almighty (which governeth all things) to chastise our faults, or to try our constancy in suites be ought in time of a calme, to prepare himselfe for a tempest, and not to attend the mids of a danger, before he provide for his safetie, but betimes and long before to fortifie and 20 nish himselfe with that, whereof he may have need another day in all occurrences and accidents, what-soever. Our Author therefore in this Treatise writing to comfort and encourage one of his friends, cast downe with anguish occasioned by his banishment, sheweth throughout all his discourse, that vertue it is which maketh us happy in everie place, and that there is nothing but vice that can hurt and endamage us. Now as touching his particularising of this point, in the first place he treateth what kinde of friends we have need of in our affliction, and how we ought then to serve our turnes with them: and in regard of exile more particularly, he adjoyneth this advertisement, above all other things to see unto those goods which we may enjoy during the same, and to oppose them against the present griefe and sorrow. Afterwards he proveth by sundrie and divers reasons, that banishment is not in 30 itselfe simply naught; he discovereth and laith open the folly and miserie of those, who are too much addicted unto one countrey, shewing by notable examples that a wise man may live at ease and contentment in all places; that the habitation in a strange region, and the same limited and confined straightly within certaine precincts, do much more good ordinarily than harme; that a large countrey lying out sure everie way, maketh a man never a whit the more happy: whereas contrariwise to be enclosed and pent up, bringeth many commodities with it, declaring that this is the onely life; and that it is no life at all to be evermore sitting to and fro from place to place. Now when he hath benetified this theme above-staid with many faire similitudes and proper inductions, he comforteth those who are debarred and excluded from any citie or province, refusing with very good and sound arguments certaine persons who held banishment for a note of infamie; shewing withall, that it is nothing else but 40 sinne and vice which bringeth a man into a lamentable state and condition: concluding by the examples of *Anaxagoras* and *Socrates*, that neither imprisonment, nor death can enthrall or make miserable the man who loveth vertue.

And contrariwise, he giveth us to under stand by the examples of *Phaethon* and *Icarus*, that vicious and foolish persons fall duly and continually one way or other, into most grievous calamities brought their owne audaciousnes and follie.

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OF

OF EXILE OR BANISHMENT.



Emblable is the case of wise sentences and of good friends; the best and most assured be those reputed, which are present with us in our calamities, not in vaide and for a shew, but to aide and succour us: for many there be who will not sticke to present themselves, yea, and be ready to conferre and talke with their friends in time of aduersitie; howbeit, to no good purpose at all, but rather with some danger to themselves, like as unskillfull diuors, when they goe about to helpe those that are at point to be drowned, being clasped about the body, sinke together with them for company. Now the speeches and discourses which come from friends and such as would seeme to

be helpers, ought to tend unto the consolation of the partie afflicted, and not to the defence and justification of the thing that afflicteth: for little need haue we of such persons as should weepe and lament with us in our tribulations & distresses, as the manner is of the *Chori* or quires in Tragedies, but those rather, who will speake their minds frankly unto us, and make remonstancie plainly: That for a man to be sad and sorrowfull, to afflict and cast downe himselfe, is not onely every way bootlesse and unprofitable, but also most vaine and foolish: but where the aduerser occurrents themselves being well handled and managed by reason, when they are discovered what they be, give a man occasion to say thus unto himselfe:

*Thou hast no cause thus to compleine,
Unlesse thou be dispos'd to sinne.*

A meere ridiculous follie it were, to aske either of bodie and flesh, what it aileth, or of soule, what it suffereth, and whether by the occurrence of this accident it fare worse than before; but to haue recourse unto strangers without, to teach us what our griefe is, by wailing, sorrowing and grieving together with us: and therefore when wee are apart and alone by our selves, wee ought each one to examine our owne heart and soule, about all and every mishap and infortunie, yea, and to peise and weigh them, as if they were so many burdens, for the bodie is pressed downe onely by the weight of the fardell that loadeth it; but the soule often-times of it selfe giueth a furcharge over and above the things that molest it. A stone of the owne nature is hard, and yce of it selfe colde; neither is there any thing without, that giueth casually to the one the hardnesse to resist, or to the other the coldnesse to congeale; but banishments, disgraces, repulse and losse of dignitie, as also contrariwise, crownes, honours, soveraigne magistracies, preeminences, and highest places, being powerfull either to afflict or reioice hearts, in some measure more or lesse, not by their owne nature, but according to judgement and opinion: every man maketh to himselfe light or heauie, easie to be borne or contrariwise intolerable: whereupon we may heare *Polynices* answering thus to the demand made unto him by his mother:

*Now then? is it a great calamitie,
To quit the place of our natiuitie?*

POLYNICES.

*The greatest crosse of all it is doubtlesse,
And more indeede, than my tongue can expresse.*

but contrariwise, you shall heare *Alciman* in another song, according to a little Epigram written of him by a certaine Poet:

*At Sardes, where mine ancefours sometime abode did make,
If I were bred and nourished, my surname I should take
Of some Celinus or Bacchus, in robes of golde array'd,
And jewels fine, while I upon the labour platt d.
But now Alciman I cleped am, and of that Sparta great
A citizen, and poet: for in Greekeish muse my vaine
Exalts me more than Dalcyles or Gyges, tyrants twaine.*

for it is the opinion, and nothing els, that causeth one and the same thing to be unto some, good and commodious, as currant and approved money, but to others, unprofitable and hurtfull.

But let case, that exile be a grievous calamitie, as many men doe both say and sing; even so, among those meats which we eat, there be many things bitter, sharpe, hote and biting in taste,

howbeit,

howbeit, by mingling therewith somewhat which is sweet and pleasant, we take away that which disagreeeth with nature; like as there be colours also offensive to the sight, in such sort, as that the eyes be much dazled and troubled therewith, by reason of their unpleasant hew, or excessive and intolerable brightnesse. It then, for to remedie that inconvenience by such offensive and repelendent colours, we haue devised meanes, either to intermingle shadowes withall, or turne away our eyes from them unto some greene and delectable objects; the semblable may we doe in those sinister and crosse accidents of fortune; namely, by mixing among them those good and desirable blessings which a man presently doth enjoy, to wit, wealth and abundance of goods, a number of friends, and the want of nothing necessarie to this life: for I do not thinke,

10 that among the Sardinians there be many, who would not be very well content with those goods and that estate which you haue even in exile, and chuse rather with your condition of life otherwise, to live from home and in a strange countrey, than (like snailles, euenmore sticking fast to their shels) be without all good things els, & enjoy only that which they haue at home in peace, without trouble and molestation. Like as therefore in a certaine Comedie, there was one who exhorted his friend being fallen into some aduersitie, to take a good heart, and fight against fortune; who when he demanded of him againe, how he should combat with her, made answer: Marie after a Philosophicall manner; even so let us also mainteine battell, and be revenged of aduersitie, by following the rule of Philosophie, & being armed with patience as becometh wise men. For after what sort doe we defend our selves against paine? or how be we revenged of the

20 North winde? marie we seeke for fire, we go into a stoupe, we make provision of clothes, and we get an house over our heads; neither doe we set us downe in the raine, untill we be thorowly wet to the skinne, and then weepe our fill; and even so, haue you also in those things which are presently about you, good meanes, yea, and better than any other, to revive, refresh, and warme this part of our life which seemeth to be frozen and benumbed with colde, as hauing no need at all of any other helps and succours, so long as you will use the foresaid meanes, according as reason doth prescribe & direct. For true it is, that the ventoses or cupping-glasses that Physicians use, drawing out of mans body the worst & most corrupt blood, do disburden & preserve all the rest. But they that are given to heavinesse & sorrow, who love also evermore to whine and complaine, by gathering together & multiplying continually in their cogitations the worst matters

30 incident unto them, and cōsume consuming themselves with the dolorous accidents of their fortune, cause those meanes to be unprofitable unto them, which otherwise are wholesome and expedient, and even at such a time, especially when they should do most good. As for those two tunnes my good friend which *Homer* saith to bee set in heaven full of mens destinies, the one replenished with good and the other with bad, it is not *Jupiter* who fitteth to disperse and distribute them abroad, sending unto some milde and pleasant fortunes intermingled alwaies with goodnesse, but unto others continual streames (as a man would say) of meere misfortunes without any temperature of any goodnesse at all: but even among our owne selves as many as be wife and are of any sound understanding, draw out of their happy fortunes whatsoeuer crosse and aduerser matter is mingled therewith, and by this meanes make their life the pleasanter,

40 and as a man would say more portable; whereas contrariwise, many men doe let their fortunes runne (as it were) through a colander or streiner, wherein the worst sticke and remaine in the way behind, whilst the better do passe and runne out; and therefore it behooveth that although we be fallen into any thing that is in truth naught and grievous unto us, we set a cheerefull countenance on the matter, and make the best supplie and recompence that we can by those good things that otherwise we haue and doe remaine with us besides, lenifying and polishing the strange and aduerser accident which hapneth without by that which is milde and familiar within.

But as touching those occurrents that simply of their owne nature be not ill, and wherein whatsoeuer doth trouble and offend us, ariseth altogether and wholly upon a vaine conceit and foolish imagination of our owne; we ought to doe as our manner is with little children that bee afraid of masks and disguised visours; for like as we hold the same clofe and meere unto them, handle and turne them in our hands before them every way, and so by that meanes acquaint them therewith, untill they make no reckoning at all of them; even so by approaching neere, by touching and perusing the said calamities with our understanding and discourse of reason, we are to consider and discover the false appearance, the vanitie and feigned tragedie that they pretend; like to which, is that present accident which now is befallen unto you, to wit, the banishment out of that place, which according to the vulgar error of men you suppose to be your

your native countie. For to say a truth, there is no such distinct native soile that nature hath ordeined, no more than either house, land, smiths forge or chirurgians shop is by nature, as *Ariston* was wont to say; but every one of these and such like according as any man doth occupie or use them, are his, or to speake more properly, are named and called his: for man, according to the saying of *Plato* is not an earthly plant, having the roote fixed fast within the ground and unmoveable, but celestiall and turning upward to heaven, whose body from the head as from a roote that doth strengthen the same abideth streight and upright. And heereupon it is that *Heraclitus* in a certaine tragedie said thus:

What tell you me of Argive or Thebain,

I do not want of any place certain,

No how rough towne nor city comes amiss

Through out all Greece, but it my countie is.

And yet *Socrates* said better than so; who gave it out; That he was neither Athenian nor Grecian, but a citizen of the world; as if a man should say for example sake, that he were either a Rhodian or a Corinthian; for he would not exclude himselfe within the precincts and limits of the promontories *Samion* or *Tenarus*, nor yet the Ceraunian mountains,

But seest thou this starrie firmament,

So high above and infinitely vast,

In bosome moist of water element,

The earth beneath how it enclasseth fast.

These are the bounds of a native countie within the pourtrise and compasse whereof whosever is, ought not to thinke himselfe either banished, pilgrime, stranger or forrener; namely, whereas he shall meete with the same fire, the same water, the same aire, the same magistrates, the same governors and presidents; to wit, the sunne, the moone, and the morning starre; the same lawes throughout, under one and the selfe same order and conduct; the solstice and tropicke of summer in the north; the solstice and tropicke of winter in the south; the æquinoxes both of spring and fall, the starres *Pleiades* and *Arcturus*; the seasons of seedtime, the times of planting; one King, and the same prince of all, even God, who hath in his hand the beginning, the midde, and the end of the whole and universall world; who by his influence goeth according to nature, directly through and round about all things, attended upon with night, conscience and justice, to take vengeance and punishment of those who transgresse any point of divine law: which all we likewise that are men doe exercise and use by the guidance and direction of nature against all others, as our citizens and subjects. Now say that thou dost not dwell and live in *Sardis*, what matter is that? surely it is just nothing: No more doe all the Athenians inhabit in the burroughs or tribe *Colyttus*; nor the Corinthians in the street *Craminus*; ne yet the Lacedæmonians in the vilage *Pytane*: are those Athenians then to be counted strangers, and not inhabitants of the citie, who have remooved out of *Melina* into *Dionaea*: considering that even there they doe solennize yet the moneth of their transmigration named thereupon *Metageitnion*; yea and do celebrate a festivall holiday and sacrifice, which in memoriall of that remooving they call *Metageitnia*, for that this passage of theirs into another neighbourhood, they received and intermeined right willingly with joy and much contentment? I suppose you will never say so. Now tell me what part of this earth habitable or rather of the whole globe and compasse thereof, can be said farre distant or remote one from the other, seeing that the Mathematicians are able to prove and make demonstration by reason, that the whole in comparison and respect of heaven or the firmament is no more than a very pricke which hath no dimension at all: But we like unto pismires driven out of our hole; or in manner of bees dispossessed of our hive, are cast downe and discomfited by and by, and take our selves to be foreigners and strangers, for that we know not how to esteeme and make all things our owne, familiar and proper unto us, as they be. And yet we laugh at the folly of him who said: That the moone at *Athens* was better than at *Corinth*; being in the meane while after a sort in the same error of judgement, as if when we are gon a journey from the place of our habitation, we should mistake the earth, the sea, the aire and the skie, as if they were others and farre different from those which we are accustomed unto: for Nature hath permitted us to goe and walke through the world loose and at libertie: but we for our parts imprison our selves, and we may thanke our selves that we are pent up in straight roomes, that we be housed and kept within walls; thus of our owne accord we leape into close and narrow places; and notwithstanding that we do thus by our selves, yet we mocke the Persian Kings, for that (if it be true which is reported of them) the drinke all of the water only

of the river *Choaspes*, by which means they make all the continent besides waterlesse, for any good they have by it: whereas, even we also when we travell and remoove into other countries, have a longing desire after the river *Cephissus* or *Euratas*; yea and a minde unto the mountaine *Taigetum* or the hill *Parnassus*; whereby upon a most vaine and foolish opinion, all the world besides is not onely void of water, but also like a desert, without citie, and altogether inhabitable unto us. Contrariwise, certaine Egyptians by occasion of some wrath and excessive oppressing of their King, minding to remoove unto *Ethiopia*, when as their kinsfolke and friends requested them to tume backe againe, and not to forsake their wives and children, after a shamelesse manner shewing unto them their genitall members, answered them: That they would neither want wives nor children, so long as they carried those about them. But surely a man may avouch more honestie, and with greater modestie and gravitie; that hee who in what place soever feelth no want or misse of those things which be necessarie for this life, cannot complaine and say: That he is there out of his owne countie, without citie, without his owne house and habitation, or a stranger at all; so as he onely have as he ought, his citie and. understanding bent hereunto, for to stay and governe him in manner of a sure anchor, that he may be able to make benefit and use of any haven or harborough whatsoever he arriveth unto. For when a man hath lost his goods, it is not so easie a matter to recover them soone againe; but surely everie citie is straight waies as good a native countie unto him, who knoweth and hath learned how to use it; to him (I say) who hath such rootes as will live, be nourished and grow in every place to use and by any meanes, such as *Themistocles* was furnished with; and such as *Demetrius* the Phalerian was not without; who being banished from *Athens*, became a principall person in the court of King *Ptolomeus* in *Alexandria*, where he not onely himselfe lived in great abundance of all things, but also sent unto the Athenians from thence rich gifts and presents. As for *Themistocles* living in the estate of a Prince, through the bountifull allowance and liberality of the King of *Persia*, he was wont (by report) to say unto his wife and children: We had bene utterly undone for ever, if we had not bene undone. And therefore *Diogenes* surname the Dog, when one brought him word and said, the Sinopians have condemned thee to be exiled out of the kingdome of *Pontus*: And I (quoth he) have confined them within the countie of *Pontus* with this charge,

That they shall never passe the utmost bounds

Of Euxine sea, that hems them with her strands.

Strasimon being in the Ile *Scirphos* which was a verie little one, demanded of his host, for what crimes the punishment of exile was ordained in that countie; and when he heard and understood by him, that they used to banish such as were convicted of falshood and untrueth: Why then (quoth he againe) hast not thou committed some false and leawd act, to the end that thou mightest depart out of this straight place and be enlarged? whereas one Comical Poet said: A man might gather and make a vintage (as it were) of figs with slings, and soison of all commodities might be had, which an Iland wanted. For if one would weigh and consider the truth indeed, setting aside all vaine opinion and foolish conceits, he that is affected unto one citie alone, is a verie pilgrim and stranger in all others; for it seemeth neither meete, honest, nor reasonable, that a man should abandon his owne for to inhabit those of others. *Sparta* is fallen to thy lot (saith the proverbe) adorne and honor it, for so thou art bound to doe; be it that it is of small or no account; say that it is seated in an unhollesome aire, and subject to many diseases, or be plagued with civill dissensions, or otherwise troubled with turbulent affaires. But whosever he be whom fortune hath deprived of his owne native countie; certes he hath graunted and allowed him to make choice of that which may please and content him. And verily the precept of the Pythagoreans serveth to right good stead in this case to be practised: Choole (say they) the best life; use and custome will make it pleasant enough unto thee. To this purpose also it may be wisely and with great profit said: Make choice of the best and most pleasant citie, it may well cause it to be thy native countie, and such a native countie as shall not distract and trouble thee with any businesse, nor impose upon thee these and such like exactions: Make payment and contribute to this levie of money: Goe in embassage to *Rome*: Receive such a captaine or ruler into thine house, or take such a charge upon thee at thine owne expenses. Now he that calleth these things to remembrance, if he have any wit in his head, will be not overblind every way in his owne opinion and selfe-conceit, will with and choose, if he be banished out of his owne countie, to inhabit the verie Ile *Cyprus*, or the rough and barraine Iland *Cima*, where trees or plants do hardly grow, without complaining with griefe of heart, without lamenting

lamenting and breaking out into these plaints and womanly moanes, reported by the Poet *Symonides* in these words:

*The roaring noise of purple sea,
resounding all about,
Doth fright me much, and so in close,
that I can not get out.*

but rather he will beare in minde and discourse with himselfe the speech that *Philip* king of *Macedonie*, sometime delivered: for when his hap was in the wrestling place to fall backward and lie along on the ground; after he was up againe upon his feet, and saw the whole proportion and print of his bodie in the dust of the floor: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a small deale of the earth is our portion by the appointment of nature, and yet see how we will not rest, but covet to conquer the whole world that is habitable. You have seene (I suppose) the isle *Naxos*; if not, yet at leastwise the island *Thurina* neere by; of which twaine, this was in olde time the habitation of *Orion*; but in the other there dwelt *Ephrares* and *Otus*: as for *Alexandron*, he made his abode and residence upon the muddy banke, which the river *Achelous* had newly gathered and cast up, after it was a little dried and compact together, to avoid the pursute (as the Poets say) of the *Furies*; but in my conceit rather, because he would decline the offices of State, civill magistracies, seditious broiles, and biting calumniationes fit to furies in hel, he chose such a streight and narrow place to inhabit, where he might leade a life in quietnesse and repose, secured from all such busie affaires. And *Tiberius Caesar* in his latter daies, lived seven yeeres (even untill his death) 20 in the little island *Caprea*, in such wise, as the very temple and imperiall throne of the whole world retired and drawn in (as it were) into the heart, for all that time never went out from thence; and yet for his part, the ordinarie cares incident unto the empire, which were brought from all parts and came upon him to amule his head continually, on every side, would not permit him to enjoy cleerly without turbulent anguish of minde, that intended rest and quietnesse of his, in the said island. But even that man, who may by his departure into some little island be freed and delivered from no small troubles and calamities, is notwithstanding miserable, if he do not oftsoones say unto himselfe when he is apart, yea, and chaunt oftentimes these verses of *Pindarus*:

*Love well the place where Cypres trees do grow,
But thin and small. The Forrest great let go
Of Candie isle, about the Ida hill:
As for my selfe, small lands I holde and will,
By fortune given, and those without anoke,
My heart like wise no griefs nor cares do yoke.*

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exempt I am from civill tumults and seditions; I am not subject to the command of princes and governours; my hand is not in the charge and administration of State affaires, nor in any publike ministries or services, which hardly admit excuse or refusal. For considering that *Calimachus* seemeth not unwisely in one place to say thus: Measur not wisdom by the Persian Schenoc: why then should we (meeting felicitie with *Schenoc* & *Parafanger*) complaine, lament 40 and torment our selves, as if we were unhappy, if our fortune be to dwell in a little isle which is not in circuit above two hundred furlongs, and nothing nere foure daies sailing about, as *Sicilie* is: for what good can a spacious and large region do, for to procure felicitie, or make a man to leade a quiet and peaceable life? Heare you not how *Tantalus* in the Tragædie crieth out, and saith thus?

*The spacious land and country large,
cal'd Bercynrhan plaine,
Daies journeys twelve right out, I sow
yeerely with corne and graine.*

and a little after, he proceedeth to this speech;

*But now my soule, sometime an heavenly power,
Descended thence into this earthly bower,
Speaks thus to me: Learn, and bestimes take heed,
Love not this world too much, I do thee heed.*

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And *Nausifon* leaving the wide and large country *Hyperia*, for that the *Cyclopes* were so neere neighbours unto it, and departing into an island farre remote from other men, where he lived alone by himselfe without conversing with any people:

From

From other mortal men apart,

Of surging sea within the hart.

provided for his citizens and subjects a most pleasant life. As for the islands called *Cyclades*, they were at first (by report) inhabited by the children of *Minos*, and afterwards the offspring of *Cadmus* and *Nileus* held the same, into which, foolish persons now-a-daies thinke themselves forced punished and undone for ever, if they be confined. And yet, what island is there destined and appointed for exiled and banished people, but it is larger than the territorie *Scyllantia*, wherein *Xenophon* after that renowned expedition and voiage of his into *Persia*, passed his olde age in elegancie and much happinesse? semblably, the *Academie*, a little pingle or plot of ground, the purchase whereof cost not above three thousand drachmes, was the habitation of *Plato*, *Xenocrates*, and *Polemon*, wherein they kept their schooles, and lived at repose all their life time: and yet I must needs except one day every yeere, upon which, *Xenocrates* was wont to go downe to the city, for to see the plaies and pastimes exhibited with new Tragædies at the feast called *Bacchanales*, onely to honour (as folke said) and countenance that solemnitie with his personall presence. Also *Theocritus* of *Chios* challenged and reproched *Aristotle* many times, for that to live in the court of *Philip* and *Alexander*,

*upon the mouth of Borborus to dwell
He chose, and Academie had farewell.*

Now was this *Borborus* a river, so called by the Macedonians, which ran along the citie of *Pella* 20 in *Macedonie*. As for *Islands*, *Homer* the Poet doth of purpose and expresse recommend unto us, and celebrate them with heavenly and divine praises, in this wise:

*At Lemnos he arriv'd; then,
whereas the citie stood,
In which sometime that prince divine,
king Thoas made abode:
And whatsoever Lesbos isle,
the pallace and the seas
Of gods above sometimes enclos'd
within her pourpris great.*

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Also,
When soon he had the stately isle,
which Scyros sometime bight,
The native place and towne of Mars,
the god of armes and fight.

Likewise,
And those came from Dulichium,
and eke the sacred isles,
Against Elis, Eclimades,
within sea many miles.

Moreover it is said, that of famous and renowned men, devout *Aeolus*, and best beloved of the gods, dwelt in one isle; the most prudent and wise *Ulysses* in another; *Ajax* likewise, that right valiant and hardie warriour; and *Alcinous* the most courteous prince for hospitalitie and entertainment of strangers, were islanders. *Zeno* the Philosopher when newes was brought unto him: That the ship of his which remained alone of all the rest, was drowned in the sea with all the freight and merchandise therein: Thou hast done well o fortune (quoth he) to drive us to our studying gowne and Philosophers life againe; even so, in mine opinion, there is no reason that a man (unlesse he be very much befouled and transported with the vaine wind of popularity) when he is confined and inclosed within an island, should complaine of fortune therefore, but rather praise her, for that she hath rid him of much anguish of spirit and trouble of his head, delivered him from tedious travell and wandering pilgrimages up and downe in the world from place to place; freed him from the perils of sea, remooved him from the tumultuous stirs of the multitude in iudiciall courts and publicke assemblies of the citie; and reduced him to a settled and staied life, full of rest and tranquillitie, not distracted with any superfluous and needlesse occupations, wherein he may live indeed properly to himselfe, being ranged within the center and circumference of those things which are required onely for necessitie. For what island is there which hath not houses, walking places, stoupes and baines, or that is without fishes or hares, if a man be disposed to passe the time in fishing or hunting; and that which

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is the greatest matter of all, you may oftentimes there enjoy fully your rest and repose, which other do so much thirst and hunger after; for whereas when we are haply playing at dice, or otherwise keeping close at home, there will be some of these sycophants or busy priests and curious searchers into all our actions, ready to draw us out of our houses of pleasure in the suburbs, or out of our delightful gardens, to make our appearance judicially in the common place, or to performe our service and give attendance in the court: there will be none such about to faile into the Island where thou art confined for to trouble thee; none will come to thee to demand or crave any thing, to borrow monie, to request thy friendship, or thy assistance for to second him in the suite of any office and magistracie; unless peradventure some of thy best friends onely and nearest kinsfolke, of meere love and affectionate desire to see thee, faile over for thy sake; for the rest of thy life besides is permitted to be as free and safe as a sanctuary, not subject to any spoile, trouble, or molestation, if thou be willing & can skill to use thy liberty and repose. As for him who thinketh those to be happy who trudge up and downe in the world abroad, spending most part of their time out of their owne houses, either in common innes and hostleries, or els in ferrying from place to place, he is much like unto him that supposeth the wandering planets to be in a better state than the other starres which be fixed in the firmament and remove not; and yet there is not one of the said planets but is carried round in a peculiar and proper sphere of the owne, as it were in a certaine Isle, keeping alwaies a just order in their revolution: for according as *Heracitus* saith; The very sunne himselfe will never passe beyond his bounds; and if he do, the furies which are the ministers of justice will finde him out and be ready to encounter him. But these and all such like reasons my good friend we are to alledge unto them and sing in their eares, who being sent away and confined to some one Isle, can not possibly change for another countrey, nor have commerce and dealing in any place els whatsoever, those I say,

*Whom surging waves of sea both night and day
Enclose perforce, and cause them there to stay.*

As for you unto whom no certaine place is allotted and assigned for to inhabit, but who are debarred and excluded onely out of one, are thus to thinke, that the exclusion out of one citie alone, is an overtire and ready way made unto all others.

Now if any man will object and say; In this case of exile and banishment we are disabled for bearing rule and office of State, we fit not at counsell table in the Senate house; we are not presidents in the publicke plaies and solemnities &c. You may answer and reply againe in this manner; neither are we troubled with factions and civill dissensions; we are not called upon, nor charged with payments in publicke levies and exactions; neither be we bound to make count unto great governors, and to give attendance at their gates; nor to take care and regard whether he who is chosen to succeede us in the government of our province, be either hallic and cholericke, or otherwise given to oppression and hard dealing: but as *Archilochus* making no account at all of the fruitfull corn fields and plenteous vineyards in *Thasos*, despised and contemned the whole Isle because of some other rough, hard, and uneven places in it, giving out thereof in these termes,

*This Island like an asses backe doth sticke,
All over spread with woods so wild and thicke.*

even so we casting our eyes and fixing them upon that part onely of exile which is the worst and vilest of the rest, doe contemne and make no reckoning of the repose from businesse, the libertie also and leisure which it doth afford. And yet the kings of *Persia* be reputed happy, in that they passe their winter time in *Babylon*, the summer in *Media*, and the most sweet and pleasant part of the spring at *Susa*. May not he likewise who is departed out of his owne native country during the solemnities of the mysteries of *Ceres*, make his abode within the city *Eteuonia*; all the time of the Bacchanales, celebrate that feast in *Argos*; and when the Pythian games & plaies are exhibited, go to *Delphos*; as also when the Isthmian pastimes be represented, make a journey likewise to *Corinth*? in case he be a man who taketh pleasure in the diversitie of flowers and publicke spectacles, if not, then either sit still and rest, or else walke up and downe, read somewhat, or take a nap of sweet sleepe without molestation or interruption of any man; and according as *Diogenes* was wont to say, *Aristotle* dineth when it pleaseth king *Philip*; but *Diogenes* taketh his dinner when *Diogenes* thinketh it good himselfe, without any businesse & affaires to distract him, and no magistrate, ruler, or captain there was to interrupt his ordinary time and manner of diet. This is the reason why very few of the wisest and most prudent men that ever

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were, have beene buried in the countries where they were borne; but the most part of them without any constraint or necessitie to enforce them, have willingly weighed anker, and of their owne accord failed to another roade or haven to harbour in, and there to lead their life; for some of them have departed to *Athens*, others have forsaken *Athens* & gone to other places: for what man ever gave out such a commendation of his owne native countrey as did *Euripides* in these verses, in the person of a woman:

*Our people all, at first no strangers were,
From strange parts who thither did arrive;
Time out of minde those that inhabit here,
Were borne in place, and so remain'd alive.
All cities else and nations as one word
With aliens peopled be, who like to men
At table play, or else upon chess-board
Remov'd have, and leapt some now some then.
If women we may be allow'd to grace
Our native soile, and with proude words exalt,
Presume we dare to say that in this place,
A temperate air we have without default,
Where neither heat nor cold excessive is;
If ought there be that noble Greece doth yield,
Or Asia rich of best commodities,
And daintiest fruits, by river or by field,
We have it here, in season plentiful
To hunt, to catch, to reap, to crop and pull.*

And yet even he who hath set such goodly praises upon his native countrey, left the same, went into *Macedonia*, and there lived in the court of King *Archelaus*. You have heard likewise (I suppose) this little Epigram in verse:

*Enter'd and entomb'd lieth here,
Euphorians (saith the Poet Aeschylus
(In Athens towne though borne (saith he) were)
To Gelas nere, in corne so plenteous.*

For he also abandoned his owne countrey, and went to dwell in *Sicilie*, like as *Simonides* did before him. And whereas this title or inscription is commonly read (*This is the Historie written by Herodotus the Halicarnassan*) many there be who correct it and write in this manner; *Herodotus the Thurian*, for that he removed out of the countrey wherein he was borne, became an inhabitant among the Thuriens, and enioyed the freedome of that colonie. As for that heavenly and divine spirit in the knowledge of Muses and Poetrie, *Homerus*, who with wondrous pen, set forth the battels *Phrygian*.

what was it that caused so many cities to debate about the place of his nativitie, challenging everie one unto themselves, but onely this; that hee seemed not to praise and extoll any one citie above the rest: Moreover, so *Jupiter* surnamed *Hospital*, know we not that there be many, & those right great, honors done. Now if any one shall say unto me, that these personages were all of them ambitious, aspiring to great honor and glorie, doe no more, but have recourse unto the Sages, and those wise schooles and learned colleges of *Athens*; call to minde and consider the renowned clerks and famous Philosphers, either in *Lycium* or the *Academic*: go to the gallerie *Sras*, the learned schoole *Palladium*, or the Musicke-schoole *Odeum*. If you affect love and admire above all other the sect of the Peripateticks, *Aristotle* the prince thereof was borne in *Stagira*, a citie of *Macedonia*; *Theophrastus* in *Ereus*; *Syrato* came from *Lampacius*; *Glycon* from *Troas*; *Ariston* from *Chios*; and *Critolaus* from *Phaselus*. If your minde stand more to praise the Stoicks, *Cleanthes* was of *Assos*; *Zeno* was a *Citean*; *Chrysippus* came from *Soli*; *Diogenes* from *Babylon*; and *Antipater* from *Tharsus*; and *Archidamus* being an Athenian borne, went to dwell among the Parthians, and left behind him at *Babylon* in succession, the Stoicke discipline and Philologic. Who was it that chased and drove these men out of their native countries? certes none, but even of their owne accord and voluntary motion they sought all abroad for their contentment and repose, which hardly or not at all can they enjoy at home in their owne houses, who are in any authoritie and reputation; so that, as they have taught us verie well out of their

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bookes, other good sciences which they professed; so this one point of living in quietnes and rest they have shewed unto us by practise and example. And even in these daies also, the most renowned and approved clerkes, yea and greatest men of marke and name, live in strange countries, farre remote from their owne habitations; not transported by others, but of themselves removing thither; not banished, sent away, and confined; but willing to flie and avoide the troublesome affaires, negotiations and businesse, which their native countries amuse them with. That this is true, it may appeare by the most approved, excellent, and commendable workes and compositions, which ancient writers have left unto posteritie; for the absolute finishing whereof it seemeth that the Muses used the helpe and meanes of their exile. Thus *Thucydides* the Athenian penned the warre betweene the Peloponnesians and the Athenians whiles he was in *Thracia*, and namely neere unto a place called the *Forest of the Fosse*. *Xenophon* compiled his storie at *Scallos in Elea*; *Philip* wrote in *Epirus*; *Timaeus* who was borne at *Taurominium* in *Sicilie*, became a writer in *Athens*; *Andron* the Athenian at *Megara*, and *Bacchilides* the Poet in *Peloponnesus*; who all and many others besides, being banished out of their countries, were never discouraged nor cast downe, but shewed the vivacitie and vigor of their good spirits, and tooke their exile at fortunes hands as a good maintenance and provision of their journey; by meanes whereof they live in fame and renowne now after their death: whereas on the other side, there remaineth no memoriall at all of those, by whose factions and sidings they were driven out and exiled. And therefore he deserveth to be well mocked, who thinketh that banishment carrieth with it some note of infamie and reproch, as necessarily adherent thereto. For what say you to this? Is *Diogenes* to be counted infamous, whom when King *Alexander* saw sitting in the sunne, he approached neere and standing by him, demanded whether he stood in need of any thing or no? he had no other answer from him but this, that he had need of nothing else, but that he should stand alittle out of the sunne-shine, and not shadow him as he did; whereupon *Alexander* wondering at his magnanimitie and haughtie courage, said presently unto those friends that were about him; If I were not *Alexander* I would be *Diogenes*. And was *Camillus* disgraced any way for being banished out of *Rome*, considering that even at this daie he is reputed and taken for the second founder thereof? Neither lost *Themistocles* the glorie which he had won among the Greeks by his exile, but rather acquired thereto great honor & estimation with the Barbarians. And no man is there so bafe minded and carelesse of honor and credit, but he would chosse rather to be *Themistocles* banished as he was, than *Leobates* his accuser, and the cause of his banishment; yea, and to be *Cicero* who was exiled, than *Clodius* who chased him out of *Rome*; or *Timotheus*, who was constrained to abandon and forsake his native country, than *Aristophan* who ended him and caused him to leave the same. But for that the authoritie of *Euripides* who seemeth mightily to defame and condemne banishment, mooveth many men; let us consider what be his severall questions and answers to this point:

IOCASTA.

How then is it a great calamitie
To losse the place of our nativeitie?

POLYNICES.

The greatest crosse I hold it is doubtlesse,
And more indeed than my tongue can expresse.

IOCASTA.

The manner would I gladly understand,
And what doth grieve man, but from native land?

POLYNICES.

This one thing first, the sorest grieve must be,
That of their speech they have not libertie.

IOCASTA.

A sight it is no doubt, and that of servile kind,
For men to be debar'd to speake their mind.

POLYNICES.

Besides, they must endure the foolishnesse,
And ignorance of rulers more or lesse.

But herein I cannot allow of his sentence and opinion as well and truly delivered. For first and forme, not to speake what a man thinketh, is not the point of a slavish and bafe person, but rather he is to be counted a wife and prudent man, who can hold his tongue at those times and in

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such occasions as require taciturnitie and silence; which the same Poet hath taught us in another place more wisely, when he saith,

Silence is good when this it doth avoide,
Likewise to speake in time and not so foile.

And as for the folly and ignorance of great and mightie persons, we must abide no lesse when we tarry at home, than in exile; nay it falleth out many times, that men at home feare much more the calumniation and violence of those who unjustly are in high places of authoritie within cities, than if they were abroad and out of their owne countries. Again, this also is most false and absurd, that the said Poet deprive th banished persons of their libertie and franke speech. 10 Certes, this were a wonderfull matter, that *Theodoros* wanted his freedome of tongue, considering that when King *Isimachus* said unto him: And hath thy country chafed and cast thee out, being so great a person among them; Yea (quoth he againe) for that it was no more able to beare me, than *Semele* to beare *Bacchus*: neither was he daunted and afraid, notwithstanding that the King shewed unto him *Telephorus* enclosed within an iron cage, whose eies he had caused before to be pulled out of his head, his nose and eares to be crot, and his tongue to be cut, adding with these words: See how I handle those that displease and abuse my person. And what shall we say of *Diogenes*? Wanted he (thinke you) his libertie of speech? who being come into the campe of King *Philip*, at what time time as he made an expedition against the Grecians, invaded their country and was ready to give them battell, was apprehended and brought before 20 the king as a spie, and charged therewith: I am indeed (quoth he) come hither to spie your insatiable avarice, ambition, and folly, who are about now to hazard in one houre (as it were) with the cast of a die, not onely your crowne and dignitie, but also your life and person; semblably, what thinke you of *Anniball* the Carthaginian? was he tongue-tied before *Antiochus*, banished though himselfe were, and the other a mightie monarch? For when he advised *Antiochus* to take the opportunitie presented unto him, and to give battell unto the Romans his enemies; and the king having sacrificed unto the gods answered againe, that the entrails of the beast killed for sacrifice, would not permit but forbad him to do so: Why then (quoth he by way of reproofe and rebuke) you will doe that belike, which peece of dead flesh biddeth you, and not that which a man of wisdom and understanding counselleth you unto. But neither Geometricians, nor 30 those that use linearie demonstrations, if haply they be banished, are deprived of their libertie, but that they may discourse & speake frankly of their art, and science of such things as they have learned and knowen: how then should good, honest and honorable persons be debarred of that freedome, in case they be exiled? But in truth, it is cowardice and balenes of minde, which alwaies stoppeth the voice, tieth the tongue, stiflith the wind-pipe, and causeth men to be speechlesse. But proceed we to that which followeth afterwards in *Euripides*:

IOCASTA.

But thus we say those that are banished
With hopes alwaies of better daies be fild.

POLYNICES.

Good eies they have, as farre off they doe see,
Staying for things that most uncertaine be.

Certainly these words implice rather a blame and reprehension of folly, than of exile. For they be not those who have learned and doe know how to apply themselves unto things present, and to use their estate such as it is, but such as continually depend upon the expectation of future fortunes, and covet evermore that which is absent and wanting, who are tossed to and fro with hope as in a little punt or bote floating upon the water; yea although they were never in their life time without the wals of the citie wherein they were borne: moreover whereas we read in the same *Euripides*,

IOCASTA.

Thy fathers friends and allies have not they
Beene kind and helpfull to thee, as they may?

POLYNICES.

Looke to thy selfe from troubles Gods thee blesse,
Friends helpe is naught if none be in distress.

IOCASTA.

Thy noble blood from whence thou art descended:

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Hath is not thee advanc'd and much amended?

POLYNICES.

I hold it ill to be in want and need,

For parentage and birth doth not men feed.

These speeches of Polynices are not onely untrue, but also bewray his unthankfulnesse, when he seemeth thus to blame his want of honor and due regard for his nobility, and to complain that hee was destitute of friends by occasion of his exile, considering that in respect of his noble birth, banished though he were, yet so highly honoured he was that he was thought woorthe to be matched in marriage with a kings daughter, and as for friends, allies, and confederates, hee was able to gather a puissant armie of them, by whose aide and power he returned into his owne 10 country by force of armes, as himselfe testifieth a little after in these words:

Many a lord and captain brave here stands

With me in field, both from Mycenæ bright,

And cities more of Greece, whose helping hands

(Though loth) I must needs use in claime of right.

Much like also be the speeches of his mother lamenting in this wise;

No nuptiall torch at all lighted have

To thee, as doth a wedding feast beseme,

No marriage song was sung, nor thee to leave

Was water brought from faine Iminus streame.

whom it had become and behooved rather to rejoice and be glad in heart, when he heard that her sonne was so highly advanced and married into so roiall an house; but in taking griefe and sorrow her selfe that there was no wedding torch lighted, & that the river Iminus afforded no water to bathe in at his wedding; as if new married bridegroomes could not be furnished either with fire or water in the city Argos; she attributeth unto exile, the inconveniences which more truly proceed from vanitie and tollie.

But some man will say unto me; That to be banished is a note of ignominie and reproch: true it is indeed, but among fooles onely, who thinke likewise that it is a shame to be poore, to be bald, to be small of stature, yea and to be a stranger forsooth, a tenant, in-mate or alien inhabitant: For certes such as will not suffer themselves to be caried away with these vaine persuasions, nor do subscribe thereto, esteeme & have in admiration good and honest persons, never respecting whether they be poore, strangers, and banished or no: Do we not see that all the world doth honor and reverence the temple of *Thesus* as well as *Parthenon* and *Eleusinium*, temples dedicated to *Atmerva*, *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*? and yet was *Thesus* banished from *Athens*; even that *Thesus* by whose means the same citie was first peopled, and is at this day inhabited; and that citie lost he which he held not from another, but founded first himselfe. As for *Eleusis* what beautie at all would remaine in it if we dishonor *Eumolpus* and be ashamed of him who removing out of *Thracia*, instituted at first among the Greeks the religion of sacred mysteries, which continueth in force and is observed at this day: what shall we say of *Codrus* who became king of *Athens*? whose sonne I pray you was he? was not *Melanthinus* his father a banished man 40 from *Athens*. Can you chuse but commend the answer of *Antisthenes* to one who said unto him; Thy mother is a Phrygian: So was (quoth he) the mother of the gods: why answer you not likewise when you are reproched with your banishment? even so was the father of that victorious conqueror *Hercules*: the grand-fire likewise of *Bacchus*, who being sent out for to seeke lady *Europa*, never returned backe into his native countie:

For being a Phænician borne,

At Thebes he after did arrive,

Far from his native soile before,

And there begot a sonne belove,

Who Bacchus did engender the,

That moves to furie women, hight

Mad Bacchus, runner to and fro,

In reverence such is his delight.

As for that which the Poet *Aeschylus* would seeme covertly by these daike words to insinuate, or rather to shew a farre off, when he saith thus:

And chaste Apollo sacred though be were,

116

Yet banished a time heaven did for bear.

I am content to passe over in silence, and will forbear to utter according as *Herodotus* saith: and whereas *Empedocles* in the very beginning of his philosophie maketh this praeface:

An ancient law there stands in force,

decreed by gods above,

Grounded upon necessity,

and never to remoque:

That after man hath stain'd his hands

in bloodshed horrible,

And in remorse of sinne is vext

with horror terrible.

The long liv'd angels which attend

in heaven, shall chase him quite,

For many thousand yeeres from view

of every blessed wight:

By vertue of this law, am I

from gods exiled now,

And wander heere and there throughout

the world I know not how.

20 This he meaneth not of himselfe alone, but of all us after him, whom he declareth and sheweth by these words to be meere strangers, passengers, forreiners, and banished persons in this world. For it is not bloud (quoth he) o men, nor vitall spirit contemperate together; that hath given unto us the substance of our soule and beginning of our life; but hereof is the bodie only composed and framed, which is earthly and mortall; but the generation of the soule which commeth another way, and descendeth higher into these parts beneath, he doth mitigate and seeme to disguise by the most gentle and milde name that hee could devise, calling it a kinde of pilgrimage from the naturall place; but to use the right terme indeed, and to speake according to the very truth, the doth vague and wander as banished, chafed and driven by the divine lawes and statutes to and fro, untill such time as it sedeth to a bodie, as an oyster or shell fish to one 30 rocke or other in an island beaten and dashed upon with many windes and waves of the sea round about (as *Plato* saith) for that it doth not remember nor call to mind from what height of honor, & from how blessed an estate it is translated, not changing as a man would say *Sardinia* for *Athens*, nor *Corinth* for *Lemnos* or *Seyros*, but her reliance in the very heaven and about the moone, with the abode upon earth, and with a terrestriall life; whereas it thinketh it strange and as much discontented heere for that it hath made exchange of one place for another not farre distant; much like unto a poore plant that by removing doth degenerate and begin to wither away: and yet we see, that for certaine plants some soile is more commodious and fortable than another, wherein they will like, thrive, and prosper better: whereas contrariwise there is no place that taketh from a man his felicitie, no more than it doth his vertue, fortitude or 40 wisdom: for *Anaxagoras* during the time that he was in prison wrote his *Quadrature* of the circle: and *Socrates* even when he drunke poison, discoursed as a philosopher, exhorting his friends and familiars to the studie of philosophie, and was by them reputed happie; but contrariwise *Phaeton* and *Tarnus* who (as the poets do report) would needs mount up into heaven, through their owne folly and inconsiderate rashnes, fell into most grievous and wofull calamities.



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THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO TAKE UP MONEY UPON VSVRIE.

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The Summarie.

THe covetous desire of earthly goods, is a passion incurable, but especially after that it hath gotten the mastery of the soule, in such sort, as the advertisements which are made in regard of covetous men, be not proposed for any thing els but for the profit and benefit of those persons who are to keepe themselves from the nets and snares of these enemies of humane societie. Now among all those who have need of good counsels in this behalfe, we must range them that take up money upon interest, who serving as a pray and bootie to these greedie and hungry hunters, ought so much the rather to looke unto their owne preservation, if they would not be cruelly devoured. And as this infortunie hath bene in the world ever since the enrie of sinne, that alwaies some or other, yea, and great numbers have endeavoured to make their commoditie and gaine by the losse and damage of their neighbours; so we may see here, that in Plutarchs time things were grown to a wonderfull confusion, the which is nothing diminished since, but contrariwise it seemeth that in these our daies it is come to the very height. And for to apply some remedie heereto, our author leaveth usurers altogether as persons gracelesse, reprobate and incapable of all remonstrance, addresseing himselfe unto borrowers, to the end that he might discover and lay open unto them the snares and nets into which they plunge themselves; and thus he doth without specifying or particularising over never of usurie, because there is no meane or measure limited nor any end of this furious desire of gathering and heaping up things corruptible. Considering then that covetous folke have neither nerve nor veine that reacheth or tendeth to the jittie of their neighbours, meet it is and good reason that borrowers should have some mercie and compassion of themselves, to weigh and ponder well the grave discomfites of this inhouse, and to apply the same unto the right use. He saith therefore, that the principall meanes to keepe and save themselves from the teeth of usurie, is to make the best of their owne, and stiffe with those things that they have about them, before they approach unto the denne of this hungry and greedy beast, and that men ought to make an hand & quicke dispatch of that which is not very necessary, before they come thither; where he taxeth those who had leaver lay to gage and payne their goods, and remaine under the burden of usurie, than to sell up all and disage themselves at once. After this, he presenteth the true remedie of this mischief, namely, to spare and spend in measure; and to canse us to be more warie and better advised, he propoeth the lively image of this horrible monster, whom we call an Usurer, describing him in his colours, with all his practises and passions. Which done, he sheweth the source of borrowing money upon interest, and the way to stop the same; he directeth his pen particularly first unto the poore, giving them a goodly lesson, and then unto the richer sort, teaching the one as well as the other, how they are to demaue and carie themselves, that they be not exposed in the clutches of usurers. And for a conclusion, he exhorteth them to behold the example of certaine Philosophers by name, who chose rather to abandon & forsake all their goods, than to undoe themselves in the possession & holding thereof.

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THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO take up money upon usurie.



PLate in his booke of Lawes, permitte I not one neighbour to make bolde with anothers water, before he have digged and fenne a pit so deepe in his owne ground, that he is come to a veine of clay or porters earth; until (I say) he have founded thorowly, and found that the plot of ground is not apt to ingender water, or yeeld a spring; [for the said porters clay being by nature fentie, folide and strong, retaineth that moisture which it hath once received; and will not let it foke or passe thorow:] but allowed they are, and ought to furnish themselves with water from others, when they have no meanes to find any of their own, forasmuch as the law intendeth to provide for mens necessitie, and not to favour their idleness; even so there ought to be an ordinance and act as touching money; That it might not be lawfull for those to borrow upon usurie, nor to goe into other mens purses (as it were) to draw water at their welles or pits; before they have cast about all meanes at home, searched every way, and gathered (as it were) from overie gutter and spring, trying and assaying how to draw and come by that which may serve their owne turnes, and supplie their present necessities. But now it falleth out contrariwise, that manie there be, who to furnish their foolish and riotous expences, or elso to accomplish their superfluous and chargeable delights, never serve their owne turnes, nor make use of those things which they have, but are ready to seeke unto others, even to their great cost, though they stand in no need at all: for an undoubted & certeine prooffe hereof, make how usurers do not ordinarily put forth their money unto those who are in necessity & distresse, but to such as be desirous to purchase and get that which is superfluous, and whereof they stand not in need; inasmuch as that which is credited out and delivered unto him that borroweth, is a good prooffe and sufficient testimonie, that he hath somewhat to take to of his owne; whereas indeed he ought (since he hath wherewith) to looke unto it, that he take not upon interest, and contrariwise, not to be credited nor to be in the usurers booke, is an argument that such an one is needie.

Why doest thou repaire and make court (as it were) obsequiously to a banker or merchant? goe thy waies and borrow of thine owne banke, make a friend of thine owne stocke; flaggons thou hast and pots, chargers, basons and dishes all of silver plate; employ the same about thy necessities, for to supply thy wants, and when thou hast dismishd thy table and cup-board, the gentle towne Antia or els the isle Tenedos, will make up all again with faire vessel of earth and pottery, which is much more neat & pure than those of silver; for these carry not the strong smel nor unpleasant sent of usury, which like rust or canker, every day more & more, sullieth, fretteth & eateth into thy costly magnificence; these will not put thee in minde daily of the calends and new moones, which being in it selfe the most sacred & holy day of the month, is by meanes of the usurers, become odious and accursed. For as touching those, who choose rather to lay their goods to gage, & to pawn them for to borrow money thereupon & pay for use, than to sel them right out, I am verily perswaded that god Jupiter himselfe furnamed *Ctesius*, that is, Possessor, can not fave them from beggery. Abashed they are to receive the price and value of their goods to the world; but they be not ashamed to pay interest for the lone of money. And yet that wife and politike *Pericles* caused the costly robe and attire of the statue of *Minerva* weighing forty talents in fine gold, to be made in such sort, that he might take it off and put it on as he would at his pleasure; To the ende (quoth he) that when we stand in need of money for maintenance of warre, we may serve our turnes therewith for the time, and afterwards put in the place againe another of no lesse weight and worth; even so welikewise in our accusations and affaires, like as in the besieging of a citie, ought never to admit the garrison of an usurer or enemy, nor to endure to see before our eyes our owne goods delivered out for to continue in perpetuall servitude, but rather to cut-off from our labour all that is neither profitable nor necessarie; likewise from our beds, from our couches, and our ordinarie expences in diet whatsoever is heedlesse, thereby to maintaine and keepe our selves free, in hope and with full intent to supply and make amends againe for it, if fortune afterwards smile upon us. Certes, the Romane dames in times past were willing to part with their jewels and ornaments of gold, yea and give them away as an offering

offering of first fruits to *Apollon Pythius*, whereof was made a golden cup, and the same sent to the citie of *Delphi*. And the Matrons of *Carthage* shone the haire of their heads, to make thereof twisted cords for to winde up and bend their engines and instruments of artillerie in the defence of their countrey, when the citie was besieged. But woe, as if we were ashamed of our owne sufficiency, and to stand upon our owne bottomes, seeke to enurall our selves by gages and obligations; whereas it behooved us much more by restraining our selves and reducing all to such things onely as be profitable and good for us, of those needlesse, unprofitable and superfluous vessels which we have, after they be either melted, broken in pieces, or sold, to build a privileged chappell of libertie, for our selves, our wives and children. For the goddesse *Diana in Ephesus*, yielded sanctuary, franchise and safeguard unto all debtors against their creditors, who fled for succour into her temple. But the sanctuary indeed of parsimonie, frugallitie and moderate expence, into which no usurers can make entrie, for to hale and pull out of it any debter prisoner, standeth alwaies open for those that are wise, and affordeth unto them a large space, of joyous and honorable repose. For like as that Prophetesse which gave oracles in the temple of *Pythia Apollo*, about the time of the Medians warre, made answer unto the Athenian Embassadors: That God gave vnto them for their safetie a wall of wood; whereupon they leaving their lands and possessions, abandoning their citie, and forsaking their houses and all the goods therein, had recourse unto their ships for to save their libertie; even so, God giveth unto us wooden tables, earthen vessels, and garments of coarse cloth, if we would live in freedom:

*Set not thy minde upon steeds of great price,
And chariots brave in silver harness dight,
With claspes, with booke, and studs by fire device
T'wrought, in race to see a goodly fight.*

for how swift soever they be, these usurers will soone overtake them and run beyond. But rather get upon the next asse thou meetest with, or the first pack-horse that cometh in thy way, to flee from the usurer, a cruell enemy and meere tyrant, who demandeth not at thy hands fire and water, as sometimes did that barbarous King of *Media*; but that which woofeth thy libertie, woundeth thine honor and credit by proscriptions, writs, and open proclamations. If thou pay him not to his content, he is ready to trouble thee; if thou prize and sell thy goods, he will have them under their worth; art thou not disposed to make a sale of them? hee will force thee to it; doest thou sue him for his extreme dealing, he will seeme to offer parley of agreement; if thou swear unto him that thou wilt make payment, he will impose upon thee hard conditions, and have thee at command; if thou goe to his house for to speake and conferre with him, hee will locke the gates against thee; and if thou stay at home and keepe house, thou shalt have him rapping at thy doore; he will not away but take up his lodging there with thee. For in what stead served the law of *Salon in Athens*, wherein it was ordained, that among the Athenians, mens bodies should not be obliged for any civill debt? considering that they be in bondage and slavery to all banquets and usurers, who force men to keepe in their heads; and that which more is, not to them alone (for that were not such a great matter) but even to their verie slaves, being proud, insolent, barbarous and outrageous, such as *Plato* describeth the divels and fiery executioners in hel to be, who torment the foules of wicked and godlesse persons. For surely these cursed usurers make thy hall and judiciall place of justice, no better than a very hell and place of torment to their poore debtors, where after the manner of greedie geirs and hungrie griffons, they flay, mangle and eat them to the verie bones,

*And of their beaks and talons keene,
Th'emarkes with him their flesh be seene.*

And some of them they stand continually over, not suffering them to touch and taste their owne proper goods; when they have done their vintage and gathered in their corne & other fruits of the earth, making them fast & pine away like unto *Tantalus*. And like as king *Darius* sent against the citie of *Athens* his lieutenants generall *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, with chaines, cordes and halters in their hands, therewith to binde the prisoners which they should take; semblable these usurers bring into *Greece* with them their boxes and caskets full of schedules, bills, hand-writings, and contracts obligatorie, which be as good as so many irons and fetters to hang upon their poore debtors; and thus they go up and downe leaping from citie to citie, where they sow not as they passe along good and profitable seede, as *Triptolemus* did in old times but plant their rootes of debts, which bring forth infinite troubles and intolerable usuries, whereof there

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is no end, which eating as they goe and spreading their spawnes round about, in the end cause whole cities to stoupe and stinke, yea and be ready to suffocate and strangle them. It is reported of hares that at one time they suckle young leverets and be ready to kinne others that be in their bellies, and withall to conceive a fresh: but the debts of these barbarous, wicked and cruell usurers, do bring forth before they conceive. For in putting out their money, they redemmed it presently in laying it downe, they take it up, they deliver that againe for interest, which they received and tooke in consideration of lone and use. It is said of the Messenians citie,

*Gone after gate a man shall here find,
And yet one gate ther's alwaies behind.*

10 But it may better be said of usurers:

*Usurie here, upon usurie doth grow,
And end thereof you never shall know.*

and here withall in some sort they laugh at natural philosophers, who holde this Axiome, That of nothing can be engendered nothing: for with them usurie is bred of that which neither is, nor ever was; of that I say which never had subsistence nor being. Howbeit these men thinke it a shame & reproch to be a publicane, and take to farme for a rent the publike revenewes, notwithstanding the lawes do permit and allow that calling, whereas themselves against all the lawes of the world, exact a rent and custome for that which they put forth to usurie; or rather to speake a truth in lending their money they defraude their debtors as bankrupts do their creditors. For the poore debter who receiveth lesse than he hath set downe in his obligation, is most falsely censured, deceived, and cut short of that which he ought to have. And verily the Persians repute lying to be a sinne, but in a second degree: for in the first place they reckon to owe money and be indebted; in as much, as leasing followeth commonly those that be in debt. But yet usurers ly more than they, neither are there any that practise more falshood and deceit in their day debt booke wherein they write, that to such a one they have delivered so much, whereas indeed it is farre lesse; and so the motive of their lying is faire avarice, & neither indigence nor poverty, but even a miserable covetousnes and desire ever to have in more and more; the end whereof turneth neither to pleasure nor profit unto themselves, but to the losse and ruine of those whom they wryng and wrong: for neither till they those grounds which they take away from their debtors; nor dwell in the houses out of which they turne them; nor cate their meat upon those tables which they have from them; ne yet clad themselves with their apparell, of which they spoile them; but first, one is destroyed, than a second followeth after, and is assured as a prey by the other. And this is much like to a wilde fire, which still consumeth, and yet encreaseth alwaies by the utter decay and destruction of all that falleth into it, and devoureth one thing after another. And the usurer which maintaineth this fire, blowing and kindling it with the ruine of so many people, gaineth thereby no more fruit than this, that after a certaine time, he taketh his booke of accounts in hand, and there readeth what a number of debtors he hath bought out of house and home, how many he had dispossest of their land and living, from whence he hath come and whither he hath gone in turning, winding, and heaping up his silver. Now I would 40 not that you should thus thinke of me, that I speake at this upon any deadly war and enmitie that I have sworn against usurers,

*For God be praised they neither horses mine
Have driven away, nor oxen, ne yet kine.*

But onely to them who them who are so ready to take up money upon usurie, what a villanous, shamefull, and base thing there is in it, and how this proceedeth from nothing else but extreme folly and timidity of heart. If thou have wherewith to weld the world, never come into the usurers booke, considering thou hast no need to borrow. Hast thou not wherewith, yet take not money up and pay not interest, because thou shalt have no meanes to make payment. But let us consider the one and the other apart by it selfe. Old *Cato* said unto a certaine aged man, who behaved himselfe verie badly: My friend (quoth he) considering that old age of it selfe hath so manie evils; how cometh it to passe, that you adde thereto moreover the reproch and shame of leawdnesse and misdemeanour? even so may we say, seeing that povertie of it selfe hath so many and so great miseries, do not you over and above go and heape therupon the troubles and anguishes that come of borrowing and being in debt; neither take thou from penurie that onely good thing, wherein it excelleth riches, to wit, the want of carking and penive cares; for otherwise thou shalt be subject unto the mockerie implied by this common proverb:

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*Agout alone when beare unneeth I may,
An exe upon my shoulder you do lay.*

Sensibly, you being not able to sustaine povertie alone, do surcharge your selfe with an usurer, a burden hardly supportable even for a rich and wealthie man. How then, would you have me to live? haply some man will say: And doest thou indeede aske this question, having hands and feet of thine owne? having the gift of speech, voice, and being a man, unto whom it is given both to love and also to be loved; as well to doe a pleasure, as to receive a countesse with thanksgiving. Thou maist teach Grammar, bring up yong children, be a porter or doore-keeper; thou maist be a failer or mariner, thou maist row in a barge or galley: for none of all these trades is more reprochfull, odious, or troublesome, than to heare one say unto thee: Pay me mine owne, or discharge the debt that thou owest me. *Rutilius* that rich Romane comming upon a time at Rome to *Mufonius* the Philosopher, said unto him thus in his care: *Mufonius*, *Jupiter* furnamed *Saviour*, whom you and such other Philosophers as you are, make profession to imitate and follow, taketh up no money at interest: but *Mufonius* smiling againe, returned him this present answer: No more doth he put forth any money for use.

Now this *Rutilius* who was an usurer, reproched the other for taking money at interest, which was a foolish arrogant humour of a Stoicke: for what need hadst thou *Rutilius*, to meddle with *Jupiter Saviour*, and alledge his name, considering that a man may report the selfe fame by those very things which are familiar and apparent? The swallows are not in the usurers booke, the palmiers pay not for use of money, and yet to them hath not nature given either hands or reason, or any art and myserie; whereas she hath indued man with such abundance of understanding, and aptnesse to learne and practise, that he can skill not onely to nourish himselfe, but also to keepe horses, hounds, partridges, hares and jayes: why doest thou then disable and condemne thy selfe, as if thou wert lesse docible and sensible than a jay, more mute than a partridge, more idle than a dogge, in that thou canst make no meane to have good of a man, neither by double diligence, by making court, by observance and service, nor by mainteining his quarrell and entering into combat in his defence? seest thou not how the earth doth bring forth many things, and how the sea affordeth as many for the use of man? And verily as *Crates* saith:

*I saw my selfe how Mycilius would feede,
And how with him his wife the rols did spin:*

*I husdoring warre when times were extreame hard,
Both jointly wronght, to keepe them from famine.*

King *Antigonus* when he had not of a long time scene *Cleantes* the Philosopher, meeting him one day in *Athens*, spake unto him, and said: How now *Cleantes*, doest thou grinde at the mill, and turne the querne-stone still? Yea sir (quoth *Cleantes* againe) I grinde yet, and I doe it for to earne my living; howbeit, for all that, I give not over my profession of Philosophie. O the admirable courage and high spirit of this man, who comming from the mill, with that verie hand which turned about the stone, ground the meale and kneaded the dough, wrote of the nature of the gods, of the moone, of the starres and the sunne! But we do thinke all these to be base and servile works; and yet verily, because we would be free (God wot) we care not to thrust our selves into debt, we pay for the use of money, we flatter vile and base persons, we give them presents, we invite and feast them, we yeeld (as it were) tribute under-hand unto them; and this we do not in regard of povertie, (for no man off to put forth his money into a poore mans hand) but even upon a superfluity and riotous expence of our owne: for if we could content our selves with those things that are necessarie for the life of man, there would not be an usurer in the world, no more than there are Centaures and monstrous Gorgones. But excessive it is and deintinesse, which hath ingendered usurers; like as the same hath bred gold-finishes, silver-finishes, confectiouners, perfumers, and diers of gallant colours. We come not in debt to bakers and vintners for our bread and wine; but we owe rather for the price and purchase of faire houses and lands, for a great number and retinue of slaves, of fine mules, of trimme halles and dining chambers, of rich tables and the costly furniture belonging thereto, besides other foolish and excessive expences, which we often-times are at, when we exhibit plaies and solemne pastimes into whole cities for to gratifie and do pleasure unto the people; and that upon a vaine ambition and desire of popular favour; and many times we receive no other fruit of all our cost and labour, but ingratitude. Now he that is once enwrapped in debt, remaineth a debtror still all the daies of his life; and he fareth like to an horse, who after he hath once received the bit into his

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mouth, changeth his rider effoones, and is neuer untidden, but one or other is alwaies on his backe. No way and meane there is to avoid from thence, and to recover those faire pastures and pleasant meadowes, out of which those indebted persons are turned; but they wander astray to and fro, like to those cursed fiends and malignant spirits, whom *Empedocles* writeth to have bene driven by the gods out of heaven:

For such the heavenly power first chas'd downe to the sea beneath;

The sea againe, up to the earth did cast them by and by;

Then afterwards, the earth them did unto the beames beageth

Of reslesse sunne, and they at last sent them to starre sky.

Thus fall they into the hands of usurers or bankers, one after another; now of a Corinthian, then of a Patrian, and after of an * Athenian; so long, untill when all of them have had a sting at him, he become in the end, wasted, eaten out, & consumed with usurie upon usurie. for like as he that is stepped into a quavemire, mult either at first gett forth of it, or els continue still there, and not remove at all out of one place; for he that striveth, turneth and windeth every way, not only doth wet and drench his bodie, but mireth it all over, and beraith himselfe more than he was at first, with filthy dirt; even so they that do nothing but change one banke for another, making a transcript of their name out of one usurers booke into another, loading their shoulders effoones with new and fresh usuries, become alwaies overcharged more and more; and they rescuable for all the world, those persons who are diseased with the cholericke passion or flux, who will not admit of any perfect cure to purge it at once, but continually taking away a certaine portion of the humor, make roome for more & more fill, to gather and ingender in the place; for even so these are not willing to be ridde and cleansed at once, but with dolour, griefe and anguish pay usurie euery season and quarter of the yeece; and no sooner have they discharged one, but another distilleth and runneth downe after it, which gathereth to an head; and so by that meane they are grieved with the heart-ache and paine of the head; whereas it behooved that they should make quick dispatch, and give order to be cleere and free once for all; for now I direct my speech unto those of the better sort, who have wherewith above their fellows, and yet be nicer than they should be; and those commonly come in with such like words and excuses, as these: How then; would you have mee unfurnished of slaves and servants? to live without fire, without an house and abiding place? which is all one as if thee that were in a droppe and swollen as bigge as a tunne, should say unto a physician; What will you doe? would you have me to be leane, lanke, spare bodied and emptic; and why not? or what shouldst not thou be contented to be, so thou maist recover thy health and be whole againe? and even so may it be said unto thee? Better it were for to be without slaves than to be a slave thy selfe; and to remaine without heritage and possessions, that thou maist not be possessed by another. Hearken a little to the talke that was betweene two geires or vultures as the tale goes; when one of them disgorged so strongly, that he said withall; I thinke verily that I shall cast up my very bowels: the other being by, answered in this wise: What harme wil come of thy vomiting so long as thou shalt not cast up thine owne entrails, but those onely of some dead prey which we tare and devoured together but the other days; semblably every one that is indebted selleth not his own land, nor his owne house; but indeede the usurers house & land of whom he hath taken money for interest, considering that by the law the debter hath made him lord of him and all. Yea marie will he say anon; but my father hath left me this peece of land for mine inheritance: I wot well and beleve it; so hath thy father left unto thee freedome, good name and reputation, whereof thou oughtest to make much more account than of land and living. He that begat thee made thy hand and thy foot; and yet if it chance that one of them be mortified, he will give a good fee or a reward to a chirurgeon for to cut it off. I adie *Cathys* clad thy selfe with a vesture and robe senting sweet like baulme, yeelding an odor of a body immortal which she presented unto him as a gift and memoriall of the love that she bare unto him; and this he did weare for her sake; but after that he suffred shipwracke and was readie to sinke, being hardly able to flote above water, by reason that the said robe was all drenched and so heave that it held him downe, he did it off and threw it away; and then girding his naked breest underneath with a certaine broad siller or swadling band, he saved himselfe by swimming, and recovered the banks now when he was past this danger, and seemed to be landed, he seemed to want neither raiment nor nutriment: and what say you to this? may not this be counted a verie tempest, which as the usurer after a certaine time shall come to assaile the poore debtors and say unto them: Paie,

* Or Corinthian againe.

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*Which word once said, therewith the clouds above,
He gathereth thicke, and sea with waves doth moove:
For why, the winds anon at once from east,
From south, from west do blow and give more fast.*

And what be these windes and waves? even usuries, puffing, blowing and rolling one after another; and he that is overwhelmed therewith & kept under with their heavy weight, is not able to swim forth and escape, but in the end is driven downe and fluketh to the verie bottome, where he is drowned and perished together with his friends, who entred into bonds, and became sureties and pledges for him.

Crates the philosopher of Thebes therefore did very well, who being in daunger and debt to no man, onely wearied with the cares and troubles of house-keeping, and the pensive thoughts how to hold his owne, left all, and gave over his estate and patrimonie which amounted to the value of eight talents; tooke himselfe to his bagge and wallet, to his simple robe and cloke of course cloth, and fled into the sanctuarie and liberties of Philosophie and poverie. As for *Maxagoras* he forsooke his faire lands and plenteous pastures: but what need I to alledge these examples? considering that *Philoxenus* the musician being sent with other to people & possesse a new colonie in *Sacile*, and having befallen to his lot a goodly houle and living to it, enjoying (I say) for his part a good portion wherewith he might have lived in fullnesse and plentie; when he sawe once that delights, pleasures, and idleness without any exercise at all of good letters reigned in those parts; *Par die* (quoth he) these goods here shall never spoile and undoe me, but I will rather (I trow) make a hand and havocke of them; leaving therefore unto others his portion that fell unto him by lot, he tooke sea againe & sailed away to *Athens*. Contrariwise those that be in debt are evermore fued in the law, become tributaries & very slaves, bearing and induring all indignities, like unto those vaulets that digge in silver mines, nourishing and maintaining as *Plinius* did the ravenous winged harpies: for surely these usurers alwaies flie upon them, and be ready to snatch and carie away their very food and sustenance; neither have they patience to stay and attend times and seasons; for they buie up their debtors come before it beripe for the harvest; they make their markets of oile before the olives fall from the tree, and likewise of wine: For I will have it at this price (quoth the usurers) & withal the debtor giveth him presently a bill of his hand for such a bargain; meane while the grapes hang still upon the vine, waiting for the moneth of September, when the star *Achurus* riseth and sheweth the time of vintage.



THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH PRINCES AND GREAT RVLERS, AND WITH THEM TO DISCOVERSE.

The Summarie.

IF there be any in the world who have need of good companies, they are Princes and great Lords; for that their affaires being of such consequence as everie man knoweth, the seables of bodie and insufficiencye of spirit, not able to furnish them thoroughly, great reason they have to see by the eyes, and to worke with the hands of others. Now in this case, three sorts of men there be who fault verie much: In the first place, Princes and Rulers themselves, who in stead of drawing and training neere unto their persons such as can aide and assist them, give access rather unto flatterers and other like pestilent members, who are ready to corrupt and vitiate their estates: Secondly, those (whose number at all times hath beene verie small)

whom

whom we call Philosophers (that is to say) men of authoritie, wise, sage, learned, friends to vertue, lovers of the good of Princes and their subjects; who being of great power and able to doe much; notwithstanding reule and draw backe, or being advanced to high place; have not abates that respect and consideration, nor such courage as appertaineth; suffering themselves to be whiled to be carried away to the entertainment and maintenance of the greatest opinion, and mingling a little too much of worldly wisdom with the apprehension of their true duty, whereof their conscience being lightened in sundry sorts advertiseth him sufficiently. The last (and also those as pernicious & execrable as the thought of man is not able to devise and comprehend) be the enemies of vertue (to wit) ignorant teachers, and profane schoolemasters & professors; mockers, scorers, jesters, flatterers; in sum, all the enimies of vanities and filthie pleasures, who do insinuate and invade themselves, by most lewd and wicked means into the service of Princes, and in recompence of the honor and rich gifts which they receive at their hands, doe deceive and undoe their simple lords and masters, according as an infinite number of examples in Histories doe verifie and give evidence unto us. Plutarch therefore in consideration of these inconveniences, is desirous in this treatise to encourage those who wish that all things were well, and in good order; and exhorteth them to approach neere unto Princes. But forasmuch as ignorance and leaviness causeth men to become shamelesse, whereas wisdom and honestie maketh us modest and considerate in all our actions; he sheweth in the first place, that it is no point of ambition for a wise and learned man to joine himselfe unto Grand signories & to sort with them; but that it is their duty to do so considering that such receive honor, pleasure, and profit by him. And this he prooveth by reasons; 20 similitudes, examples, al singular and notable. Afterwards he condemneth those who enter into Princes courts, onely because they would be great and powerfull, shewing that wise men indeed do nime cleane at another marke. And for the last point of all, he treateth of the contentment which they receive, why by their service to one alone, helpe by that meane an infinite number of others, who remaine bonnd and obliged unto them for so great a benefite.

THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT to converse especially with Princes and great Rulers, and with them to discourse.

TO embrace a common love, to finde out, accept, intertaine and maintaine that amitie which may be profitable and commodious to many in particular, and yet to more in generall, is the part of honest men, politike, wise and affectionate to the publike good; and not as some thinke, of those that be ambitious and vaine-glorious. But contrariwise, he is to be reputed vaine-glorious, or rather timorous and wanting courage, who doth thunne and is afraid to heare himselfe called, a follower, waiter and servitor to those that are in highest place. For what faith one of these personages who having need to be cured, is desirous to learne and to bee acquainted with some Philosopher? O that I were *Simon* the Souter, or *Dionysius* the Pedante, in stead of *Pericles* or *Cato*, that a Philosopher might discourse and dispute with me, that he might sit by my side, as *Socrates* did sometime with those. And verily *Ariston* of *Chios* being reprooved and blamed by the Sophists in his time, for that he used to devise and discourse with all those that were disposed to heare him: I could wish (quoth he) in my heart, that the verie beasts themselves were able to give care and understand those discourses that do excite and moove unto vertue. Doe we then avoide the meanes and occasions to converse and confere familiarly with great personages and mightie men, as if 50 they were wilde and savage persons? The doctrine of Philosophy is not like unto an imager who casteth dumbe and deafe idole statues, without any sense, onely for to stand upon a base as *Pindarus* was wont to say, but is willing to make whatsoever it toucheth, active, operative and lively; it imprinteth therein affections and motions, judgements also inciting and leading to things unprofitable; intentions desirous of all honestie, haughtie courage also and magnanimitie, joined with meeknesse, resolution and assurance; by meanes of which good parts, men of State & policie, are more readie and forward to converse and devise with persons of great puissance and authoritie, and not without good causes for an honest and gentle phyician will take

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alwaies more pleasure to heale an eie that seeth for many, and which doth guard and looke to many; and even so a Philosopher will be more affectionate to take care for that soule and spirit, which he seeth to be vigilant for many, and which ought to be wise, prudent, and just for many: for such an one if he were skillfull and cunning in the art, of finding, gathering, and conducting of waters (as we read in Histories that *Hercules* and many other in old time were) would not take delight to goe into some desert corner, farre remote from the frequencie of men, and to dig or sink pits there, nere to the Ravens rocke (as the Poet saith) and to open that Swine-heards marish *Aretusa*, but would studie rather to discover the lively sources and overrunning springs of a river, to serve some great citie or campe, or to water the orchards, gardens, and groves of kings. According as we heare that *Flomer* called *Atinos*, *Jupiters Owisles*, which is as much to say (as *Plato* himselfe doth interpret the word) his Familiar & Disciple; for he never meant that the disciples of the gods were private persons, home-keepers, and such as meddle in nothing but house matters, keeping in and living idly without any action; but Princes and Kings who being wise, just, debonaire and magnanimous, as many as be under their government and command, shall live in blisse and happines.

An herbe there is called *Eryngium* or Sea-holly, which hath this propertie, that no sooner one goat taketh it in his mouth, but she herselfe first, and afterwards all the rest of the flocke, will stand still, untill such time as the goat-head come and take away out of the flocke which he will, in like manner, the defluxions which proceed from persons of great power and authoritie, have the same swiftnesse and celeritie, which doth dilate and spread it selfe in one moment, and in manner of fire seith upon whatsoever is nere thereto on every side. And verily the speech and remonstrance of a Philosopher, if it be addressed and directed unto a private man, and that loveth to live in repose, and who doth limit and circumscribe himselfe, as within a center and circumference geometrickally, with the necessities of his owne bodie, the same speech is not distributed and divided unto others, but after it hath in that one man alone, composed and wrought a great tranquillitie and calme of all perturbations, it fadeeth, vanisheth away, and so doth end incontinently; but on the contrarie side, if the said remonstrance meet with a man of State and government, a magistrate, a politician, and one that dealeth in great affaires, and by the effectuall vertue thereof, replenish him with goodnesse and honestie, by the means of that one person, the benefit will be imparted unto many. In this wise *Anaxagoras* kept companie with *Pericles*; *Plato* conversed with *Dion*, and *Pythagoras* did associate himselfe to the princes and lords of *Italy*; and as for *Cato*, he departed alone from the campe, and failed to *Athenodorus*; *Scipio* likewise laid for *Panetius*, and sought after him, at what time as the Senate sent him forth with commission, for to goe in vilitation (as it were) and survey, to see what right and wrong, what justice and injustice reigned in the world, according as *Posidonius* maketh report. What then ought *Panetius* for to say? If you were either *Castor* or *Pollux*, or some other private person, desirous to flee and avoid the frequencie of great cities, and retire your selfe into some corner of a schoole apart, there at your leisure and full repose to folke and unfold, to resolve and compound the syllogismes of Philosophers, I would willingly accept your offer, and be desirous to converse and stay with you; but seeing you are the sonne of *Paulus Aemilius*, who had bene twice Consul, and the nephew of *Scipio Africanus*, who defeated *Annibal* the captaine of the Carthaginians, I will not reason and dispute with you. Moreover, to say that speech is two folde; the one interior or inward, the gift of *Mercurie* surnamed *Hegemon*, that is, Guide; the other pronounced and uttered forth, which is instrumentall, and a very interpreter to give notice of our conceptions, is a meere vaine and stale position, and may wel be comprised under this old proverbe: Thus much I knew before *Theognis* was borne. But let not this distinction trouble or impeach us in that which wee are about to say; for aswell of that which is contained within the secret minde, as of the other which is pronounced and uttered, the end is all one; to wit, Love or amitie of this, in respect of a mans owne selfe, and of that, in regard of others: for that speech which by the precepts of Philosophie, bendeth unto vertue, and there doth end, maketh a man in time and accordant with himselfe, never repining and complaining of ought, full of peace, full of love and contentment:

In all his limmes is no sedition,

No strife, no warre, no strange dissention,

no passion rebellious and disobedient to reason, no combat of will or appetite against will and appetite, no repugnancie and contrarietie of reason against reason; there is no unpleasant bitterness or turbulent disorder mixed with joys and pleasures, as it falleth out in the confines of

delire,

desire, repentance and sorrow; but all things there be uniforme, delightfull and amiable, which causeth each one to content himselfe, and joy as in abundance of all goods. As for the other kind of speech that is pronounced, *Pindarus* saith: That the Muse thereof was never in old time covetous, greechie of gaine or meere mercenarie; neither beleeve I that it is so at this day; but rather, through the ignorance and negligence of men who be carelesse of their owne good and honour. *Mercurie*, who before was free and common, is now become an occupier and merchant, willing to doe nothing without a fee and reward. For it is not likely or probable, that *Venus* in times past was so deadly offended and angry with the daughters of *Prospulus*, because they devised first to fow hatted and enmity among young folke, and that *Urania*, *Chloe* and *Calliope*, take pleasure in them who debase the dignitie of speech and literature; by taking silvers; but in private opinion, the workes and gifts of the Muses ought to be more amiable than those of *Venus*: for fame and honour, which some propose for the end of their speech and learning, hath bene held deare and highly beloved, for that it is the very beginning and seminarie of friendship; and thus which more is, the common sort of people measure honour by good-will and benevolence, esteeming that we ought to praise those onely whom we affect and love: but certainly the eternall fare like unto *Ision*, who in love following after the goddesse *Juno*, fell upon a cloud; for even as they, in stead of amitie embrace a vaine image of popularitie, deceitfull, pompous, wandering and uncertaine: howbeit, a man of good conceit and judgement, if he manage State affaires, so intermeddle in government of the common-weale, will seeke for honour and reputation for so forth onely, as to maintaine his authoritie and credit in all his actions, for the better management of publike affaires: for it is no pleasure, neither is it easie, to doe them good who are not willing to profit and receive good; and the disposition of the will proceedeth from belife and confidence. Like as the light doth more good unto them that see, than to those who are seene; even so is honour more profitable unto them who perceive and seele the same, than to such as are neglected and contemned. But hee who dealeth not in affaires of State; who liveth to himselfe, and setteth downe his felicitie in such a life, apart from others, in rest and repose, saluteth a farre off vaine-glorie and popularitie, which others joy in, who be conversant in the view and sight of people, and in frequent assemblies and theaters, much like unto *Hippolytus*, who living chaste, saluted the goddesse *Venus* a great way off, but as for the other glory which proceedeth from men of woorth and honour, he neither refuseth nor disdaineth it. Now when as the question is of amitie, we are not to seeke for it and to contract friendship onely with such as be wealthy, have the glorie, credit and authoritie of great lords, no more than we ought to avoid these qualities, if the same be joined with a gentle nature, which is of faire and honest conditions. The Philosopher seeketh not after beautifull and well-favoured young men, but such as be docible, tractable, well disposed, and desirous of knowledge; but if withall they be endued with beautifull visage, with a good grace, and are in the flower of youth, this ought not to fright him from thence, neither must the lovely casts of their countenance and amiable aspects drive him from comming neere unto those, nor chase him away if he see them worthy paines taking and for to be regarded. Thus when power, riches, and princely authoritie shall be found in men of good nature, who be moderate and civill; the philosopher will not forbear to love and cherish such, neither be afraid to be called a courtier or follower of great personages:

*They that serve most dame Venus to please,
Do fault as much, as they who her pursue.*

Even so it is with the amitie of princes and great potentates: and therefore the contemplative philosopher who will not deale at all in affaires of weale-publicke, must not avoid and shun such; but the civill philosopher who is busied in managing of the common weale, ought to seeke for them and finde them out, not forcing them after a troublesome manner to leave him, nor charging their cares with reports and discourtes that be unseasonable and foolish; but framing himselfe willingly to joy in their companie; to discourse, to passe the time with them when they are willing and so disposed:

*Twelve journeyes long are Berecymian plaines
And those I love yeerely with sundry graines.*

He that said this, if he had loved men as well as he affected husbandry and tillage, would more willingly have plowed and sowed that ground which is able to maintaine and feed so many men, than that little close or pindle of *Antisthenes*, which hardly was sufficient to find himselfe alone.

Certes *Epicurus* who placed the sovereign good and felicitie of man in most sound rest and deepe repose, as in a sure harbour or haven, defended and covered from all windes and surging

Bb 2

waves

waves of the world; faith: That to doe good unto another, is not only more honest and honorable, than to receive a benefite at anothers hand, but also more pleasant and delectable; for there is nothing that begetteth so much joy as doth beneficence, which the Greekes terme by the name of *χρηστη*, that is to say, Grace. Well advised he was therefore and of wise judgement who imposed these names upon the three Graces, *Aglaia*, *Euphrosyne*, and *Thalia*; for without all question, the joy and contentment is farre greater and more pure in him who doeth a good turne and deserveth a thanke, than in the partie who receiveth the fame: and therefore it is that many times men doe blush for shame when a good turne is done unto them; whereas alwaies they reioice when they confer a benefite or favour upon another. Now do they a benefite unto a whole multitude and nation, who are the meanes to make those good, whom the people and multitude can not misse but have need of: whereas contrariwise, they that corrupt and spoile princes, kings, and great rulers (as doe these flatterers, false sycophants and slanderous promoters) are abominable unto all, are chafed out and punished by all; like unto those that cast deadly poison, not into one cup of wine, but into a fountaine or spring that runneth for to serve in publike, and whereof they see all persons use to drinke. Like as therefore (according to *Epulus*) it is said onely by way of mockerie concerning those flatterers and comical parasites who haunted the table of rich *Callias*, that there was neither fire, brasse, nor Steele, that could keepe them out, but they would come to sup with him: but as for the minions and favorites of tyrant *Apollodorus*, *Phalaris*, or *Dionysius*, after the deceale of their lords and masters, the people fell upon them, did beat them with cudgels, torture upon the rack, burne at a stake, & range them with the accursed and damned crew; for that they before named did wrong to one alone, but thefe did injurie unto many by the meanes of corrupting one who was their ruler; even so those philosophers that converse and keepe companie with private persons do cause them to be well contented, pleasant, gracious and harnesse to their owne selves and no more: but whosoever reformeth some evill conditions in a great ruler or soveraigne magistrate, framing and directing his will and intention to that which he ought; this man I say after a sort is a philosopher to the publike State, in that he doth correct the mould and amend the pattern to which all the subjects be composed, and according to it governed. The cities and states which be well ruled, decree and yeeld honour and reverence to their priests; for that they doe pray unto the gods for good things, not in regard of themselves, nor of their kinsfolke and friends alone, but universally in the behalfe of all the citizens; and yet these priests doe not make the gods good, nor the givers of good things, but being such alreadie of themselves, to them they powre their prayers & make invocations. But philosophers who live and converse with princes and great lords, cause them to be more just and righteous, more moderate and better affected to well doing; by means whereof it is like that they receive more joie and contentment. And if I should speake my conceit, it seemeth unto me that the harpe-maker wrought and made his harpe more cheerefully and with greater pleasure, when he knew that the master & owner of the said harpe should build the walls about the citie *Thebes*, as *Amphion* did, or to staie and appease the great civil fedition of the Lacedæmonians, by singing to the faide harpe and by sweet exhortations, as sometimes *Thales* did; semblably the carpenter or ship-wright who maketh the helme to a ship or gally, will joy more when he shal know that the said helme shal serve to guide & rule the admirals ship, within which *Thersites* shal fight against the Persians in the defence of the libertie and freedom of Greece: or that of *Pompeius*, with which in a navall battell at sea he defeated and vanquished the armie of the pirates. What suppose you then will a philosopher thinke of his owne speech and doctrine, when he shall come to discourse with himselfe; that he who shall receive the fame being a man of authoritie, a prince or great lord, shall thereby doe good unto the common-weale, in ministring right and justice indifferently to evie man; shall punish the wicked, and advance those that be good and vertuous. I am verily perswaded (for my part) that a good and gentle ship-wright, will more willingly make an helme, when hee shall know that it must serve to rule the great shippe *Argo*, renowned throughout the world: likewise a carpenter or wheele-wright, will not with so good a will lay his hand to make a plough or a chariot, as he would to frame those tables or boords, in which he wist that *Solon* was to engrave his lawes. And (I assure you) the discourses and reasones delivered by Philosophers, if once they be well and surely imprinted in the hearts of great personages, who have in their hands the government of States, if they once get sure footing and take good root in them, they become as forcible and effectual as positive lawes. Hereupon it was that *Plato* failed into *Sicilie*, in hope that the grave sentences and principles of his Philosophy, would be as good

as lawes, and worke holefome and profitable effects in the affaires of *Dionysius*. But hee found that *Dionysius* was like writing tables all rased, and full of blurs and blots, and that he could not leave off the tincture and deepe die of tyrannie, being so fully set on, and having by continuance of time entred and peared deepe, so that it could not be washed out; whereas it behooved that those who are to make their profit by good advertisements and sage lessons, should still be in motion and so continue.

AS TOVCHING A PRINCE OR RULER UNLEARNED.

The Summarie.

AS in the former discourse he solicited Sages and Philosophers to joine themselves in acquaintance with Princes; so in this he desireth one point, whereof hee dwelleth not assure himselfe to compass the same, by reason of some difficulties therein observed. For requiring in Princes thus much that they should be well instructed, for to be capable of good counsell; he sheweth withall that it is a verie hard thing to bring them thereto, and to range them in that order for certaine material and pertinent reasons which he setteth downe. Nevertheless he passeth on still and proceedeth further; proving that the law and lively reason ought to command Kings and Princes; and for to cause them to condescend thereto, he declareth unto them that the thing which they wish for and desire so ardently to procure, namely, to maintaine themselves in happie estate, and to wake their name immortall, lieth in verue: then he pointeth out with his finger, foure impeachments and hinderances that divert and turne away Princes from so just and necessarie consideration. Which done, for to enrich this speech and treatise of his, and the better yet to draw great personages to give earc unto reason, he letteth them see and understand the difference betwene a good Prince and a tyrant: also how dangerous a wicked Prince is, concluding by the benefit which cometh by equitie, and the hurt by injustices, that right and justice ought to serve as a counterpoise against the greivous and puiissance of Princes.

AS TOVCHING A PRINCE or Ruler unlearned.

THE inhabitants of the citie *Cyrene*, requested *Plato* on a time to leave unto them by writing certaine good lawes; and withall to set them downe an order in the government of their State, which he refused to do, saying: That it was a verie hard matter to give lawes unto the Cyrenians being so rich and wealthie as they were; for there is nothing so proude and insolent, so rough and intractable, so savage and hard to be tamed, as a man perswaded well of his fortunate estate. This is the cause that it is no easie enterprise to give counsell unto princes and rulers, and to advise them as touching their government. For they be affraid to receive and admit reason as a master to command them; for feare it should take away and abridge them of that, which they esteeme to be the onely good of their grandence and puiissance, in case they were subjected once to their duty. Which is the cause also that they cannot skill to heare the discourses of *Theopompus* King of

Sparta, who was the first that brought into that citie the *Ephori*, and mingled their authority with the government of the Kings. For when his wife reproched him for leaving unto his children the royall power & dignitie, lesse than he received it of his predecessors: Nay mary (quoth he) but rather farre greater, in that it shall be more firme and assured: for in remitting and letting downe a little that which in absolute royaltie was over stiffe, strait and rigorous, hee as voided by that verie meanes all envie and perill. And verily *Theopompus* deriving unto others from his owne authoritie, as from a great river, a little rill or rivier; looke how much he gave unto the *Ephori*, so much he cut off from himselfe: but the reason and remonstrance of Philosophie, being lodged (as it were) with the Prince himselfe, for to assist him and preserve his person, taking from his puillance, as in a full plight and plethoricke constitution of the bodie, that which is excessive and overmuch, leaveth that behind which is found and healthfull. But the most part of Kings, Princes, and Sovereigne rulers, who are not wife and of good understanding, resemble unskilfull cutters in stone and imagers, who are of opinion that the enormous and huge statues, called *Colosses*, which they cut, will seeme more vast and mightie, if they frame them straddling with their legs, with their armes spread abroad and stretched forth, as also with their mouthes gaping wide open; for even so, these princes and rulers by their big commanding voice, their grim and sterne visage, fierce lookes and regard of their cie, their odious behaviour, and living apart without society of any other person, weene and suppose to counterfeit a kind of gravitie, greatnes and majestie that is required in a mightie potentate; but they differ nothing from the foresaid *Colosses*, which withouto represent the forme of some god or demigod; but all within are stuffed full of earth, stone, rubbish and lead: this onely is the difference that the waight and heavines of these monstrous statues, counterpoiseth and keepeth them standing in some fort upright, steadfast, and not inclining one way or other; but ignorant and unlearned princes, rulers, and generall capitaines, by reason of their ignorance which is within them, oftentimes do wag and totter to and fro, yea and be overturned and laid along; for coming to build their puillance and licentious power aloft upon a base that is not laid directlie to the plumb, they reele and tumble downe withall. But like as a rule or squire, being of it selfe even, straight and level, not turning or twining any way, doeth direct and set straight all other things, and make them like it selfe, by being laied thereto; even so ought a prince, when he hath first established in himselfe, his principallity and power, that is to say, composed his owne life and manners, to accommodate and frame his subjects accordingly, and to make them feynable: for neither lieth it in him who is ready to stumble and fall himselfe, to susteine and keepe up another, nor he who is ignorant and knoweth nothing, is fit to be a teacher, no more than he who is disorderly, meet to redresse and reforme, or who is irregular, able to range and set in order, or who knoweth not how to obey, like for to command. But the most part of men are herein deceived and thinke not aright, who suppose that the first and principall good in commanding and ruling, is not to be ruled and commanded. And thus the king of the Persians imagined all his subjects to be his slaves, unlesse it were his wife alone, of whom especially above all other, he should have the maistrie and lordship.

Who is it then, that shall command a king or prince? even the law, which is the ladie and queene of all, as well mortall men, as immortal gods, according as *Pindarus* saith: I meane not the written law in books or upon tables of wood, but the lively reason imprinted in his owne heart, remaining alwaies with him, his continual resident-keeper, and never leaving his soule abandoned and forsorne without conduct and government. And verily the Persian king had evermore about him one of his chamberlaines ordered for this office; namely, to say unto him every morning as he entred into his chamber: *Arise my lord, and have regard to those affaires for which Meloromaldes* (that is to say, The great God) *would have you to provide*. But if a prince be wife and well instructed, he hath alwaies within him this monitor and remembrancer, to re-found the same into his cares, and put him in minde of his dutie. *Polemon* was wont to say: That love was a minitricke of the gods in yong persons, such as they had care of, and were minded to preserve: but more truly a man might say: That princes be the ministers of the gods, to provide for the affaires and safetie of men; to the end that of those good things which God hath bestowed upon them, they should distribute some, and preserve others.

*But seest thou this starrie firmament,
So high above and infinitely vast,
In bosome moist of water element,
The earth beneath how it meloweth fast?*

for

for this is it, that by influence sendeth downe the principles of those seeds which be fit and convenient, which afterwards the earth produceth and yeeldeth forth, whereof some grow by showes of raine, others by winds; some also gather warmth and heat by the starres & the moone, but it is the sunne who ruleth and governeth all, he inspirith and infuseth into them from himselfe, the gracious instinct of love. Now, all the goods and gifts (so many and so great) which the gods endow men withall, there is no meanes to enjoy & use aright, without law, without justice, without a prince or ruler: justice is the end of law; law is the worke of a prince; and the prince is the image of God governour of all things: and this prince or soveraigne majestie hath no need either of *Phidias*, or of *Polyclitus* and *Myron*, to cut, cast or forme him; but himselfe it is, who doeth frame his owne person to the pattered and similitude of God, and by meanes of vertue, worketh and setteth up the most pleasant, excellent and divine statue that may be scene: and like as God hath placed in heaven (as a most beautifull image of himselfe and his divinitie) the sunne and the moone; even such a representation and light is in a citie and realme. A prince or magistrate, so long as he hath in his heart imprinted the feare of God and the observation of justice; that is to say, all while he hath divine reason, which is understanding; not a keeper in his hand, nor a thunder-bolt and lightning, or a three-forked mace, as some foolish princes cause themselves to be portraied and painted, making their follie odious, in affecting that which they never can attaine unto: for God indeed hateth and punisheth those who will seeme to imitate thunder, lightning, sun-beames and such like; but contrariwise, those that be zealous followers of his vertue, and who endeavour to conforme themselves to his bounty, goodness and clemencie, he loveth and advanceth, to them he willingly doth impart his owne equity, loialty, justice, verity and clemency. These qualities are such, as there is nothing in the world more divine and heavenly, not fire nor light, nor the course of the sunne, neither the risings or apparitions, nor the settings and occultations of the starres, no nor eternitie it selfe and immortality: for God is not counted happy and blessed in regard of long life, but for that he is the prince of all vertue: and as this divinity indeed, so it is true beauty to be ruled thereby. *Anaxarchus* sort to give comfort and consolation unto *Alexander*, who was cast downe and in despaire, for the bloody murder which he had committed upon the person of *Chytus*, said unto him: That the goddesse *Dice* and *Themis* (that is to say) Justice and Equity, far as assistants to * *Jupiter*, to shew (quoth he) that whatsoever is done by a prince, is to be thought just and righteous; but hee offended herein grossly, and faulted much, to the hurt of *Alexander*, in that he went about to remedy the sorow and griefe which this prince conceived in remorse of conscience and repentance for his heinous sinne, by giving him heart and assurance to commit the like againe. And if it be meet and lawfull in this case, to project our conjectures; *Jupiter* hath not equity and justice for his assessors, but himselfe is justice and equity; he (I say) is the most ancient and perfectest law that is: thus speake, write and teach all ancient authours; That even *Jupiter* himselfe can not well command and rule without justice, which is the virgine (as *Hesiodus* saith) not touched & defiled, but pure and immaculate, lodged alwaies with shamesfastnesse, modestie, pudicitie and utilitie. Hereupon it is, that men ordinarily give this addition unto kings and princes, calling them

*As dogs that be of gentle kinde,
Who watchfully about the fold attend,
In case they once by subtil hearing finde
A savage beast approach, and thither send,*

scare not for themselves, but in regard of the cattell which they keepe. In like manner, *Epaminondas*, when the Thebanes fell disloyally to drinke and make good chere at a certaine festivall time, himselfe went all alone to survey the armour and wals of the citie, saying: That he would fast and watch, that all the rest might quaffe the while and sleepe with more securitie. *Cato* likewise at *Utica* proclaimed by sound of trumpet, to send away by sea all those who escaped alive upon the overthrow which there hapned; and when he had embarked them all, and made his prayers unto the gods to vouchsafe them a bon voyage, he returned into his owne lodging and killed himselfe; shewing by this example what a prince or commander ought to feare, and what

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he should contemne and despise. Contrariwise, *Clearchus* the tyrant of *Pontus*, shutting himselfe within a chest, slept there as a serpent within her hole: and *Aristodemus* the tyrant of *Sagor* went up into a hanging chamber aloft which had a trap dore, whereupon he caused a little bed or pallet to be set, and there he slept and lay with his concubine and harlots which hee kept; and when he was gotten up thither, the mother of the said concubine came ordinarily to take downe the ladder, and brought it thither againe every morning. How thinke you, did this tyrant tremble for feare, when he was in a frequent theater in the palace; in the counsell house and court of justice, or at a feast, considering that he made a prison of his bed chamber? To say a verie truth, good princes are afraid for their subjects sake, but tyrants feare their subjects; and therefore as they augment their puissance, so doe they encrease their owne feare; for the more persons that they commaund and rule over, the greater number they stand in dread of: for it is neither probable nor seemely as some philosophers affirme: That God is invisibly subsistent and mixed within the first and principall matter, which suffreth all things, receiveth a thousand constraints and adventures, yea and is subject to innumerable changes and alterations: but hee sitteth in regard of us above, and there is resiant continually in a nature alwaies one, and ever in the same estate, seated upon holy foundations (as *Plato* saith) where he inseth his power, and goeth through all, working and finishing that which is right according to nature: and like as the sunne in heaven, the most goodly and beautifull image of him, is to be seene by the reflexion of a mirror, by those who otherwise can not endure to behold himselfe as he is; even so God ordeineth in cities and societies of men, another image of his, and that is the light of justice and reason accompanying the same; which wise and blessed men describe and depaint out of sentences philosophicall, conforming and framing themselves to that which is the fairest and most beautifull thing in the world; and nothing is there that doth imprint in the soules and spirits of men such a disposition, as reason drawe and learned out of philosophic, to the end that the same should not befall unto us which king *Alexander* the great did; who having seene in *Corinth*, *Diogenes* how generous he was, esteemed highly and admired the haughtie courage & magnanimitie of the man, inso much as he brake forth into these words; Were I not *Alexander* surely I would be *Diogenes*: which was all in manner as if he should have said; That he was troubled & embroiled with his wealth, riches, glory and puissance, as impeachments and hinderances of vertue, and bare an envious and jealous eie to the homely clothe of the philosopher, to his baggage and wallet, as if by them alone *Diogenes* was invincible and impregnable, and not (as himselfe) by the means of armes, hamill, horses, speares, and pikes: for surely he might with governing himselfe by true philosophicall reason have bene of the disposition and affection of *Diogenes*, and yet continue nevertheless in the state and fortune of *Alexander*; and so much the rather be *Diogenes* because he was *Alexander*; as having need against great fortune, (like a tempest raised with boisterous winds, and full of furling waves) of a stronger cable and anchor, of a greater helme also, and a better pilot: for in meane persons who are of low estate, and whose puissance is small, such as private men be, follie is harmefull; and forrith though such be, yet they doe no great hurt, because their might is not answerable thereto; like as it falleth out in foolish and vaine dreames: there is a certaine griefe (I wot not what) which troubleth and disordereth the mind, being not able to compass & bring about the execution of her desires & lusts: but where might & malice are met together their power addeth folly unto passions & affections; & most true is that speech of *Demys* the tyrant, who was wont to say; That the greatest pleasure & contentment which he enjoyed by his tyranny was this, that whatsoever he would was quickly done, & presently executed; according to that verse in *Homer*:

*No sooner out of mouth the word was gone,
But presently withall the thing was done.*

A dangerous matter it is for a man to will and desire that which he ought not, being not able to performe that which hee willett and desireth: whereas malicious mischief making a swift course through the race of puissance and might, driveth and thrusteth forward every violent passion to the extremitie, making choler and anger to turne to murder, love to prove adultery, and avarice to growe into confiscation of goods; for no sooner is the word spoken, but the partie once in suspicion is undone for ever, and presently upon the least surmise and imputation ensueth death. But as the naturall philosophers do hold, that the lightning is shot out of the cloud after the clap of thunder (like as bloud issueth after the wound is given and incision made) and yet the said lightning is seene before, for that the eare receiveth the sound

found or cracke by degrees, whereas the eie meeteth at once with the flash; even so in these great rulers and commanders, punishments oftentimes go before accusations, and sentences of condemnation before evident proofes:

*For wrath in such may not long time endure,
No more than flouke of anchor can assure*

A ship in storme, which taketh slender hold

On sand by shore, whereof none may be bold:

unless the weight of reason doe repress and keepe downe licentious power, whiles a Prince or great Lord doth after the manner of the sunney who at what time as he is most high mounted in the septentrionall or northern parts, seemeth least to move; and by his slow motion maketh his rage the more stedfast and asured; For impossible it is that vices in great persons should remaine covert and hidden; but like as those who are subject to the falling sicknesse, so soone as ever they be surprisid with outward cold, or turne round never so little, presently fall into a dimnes of sight, grow to be dizzie in the head and ready to stagger; which passions do bewray and detect their maladie; even so ignorant persons and such as want instruction and good bringing up, no sooner are lifted up by fortunes favour to wealth and riches, to dignities, promotions, and places of high authoritie, but presently these sheweth them their owne fall and ruine; for rather to make the thing more plaine and familiar; like as a man can hardly know whether vessels be sound or faultie, so long as they be empty; but in case you powre into them any liquor, it appeareth whether they leake and runne or no; even so, the soules of men that be purified and corrupt, can not containe and hold sure their might and authoritie, but run out by means of their lusts and desires, their cholerick fits, their vanities and absurd demeanours. But what neede we draw forth the discourse hereof more at large? considering that great men and noble personages are exposed to calumniation and reproches for the least delinquencie and fault that they commit. *Cimon* was blamed for his good wine; *Scipio* for his sleepe, and because hee loved his bed well; and *Lucullus* grew into an ill name in regard of his bountifull table and liberal fare that he kept.



THAT VICE ALONE IS SUFFICIENT TO MAKE A MAN WRETCHED.

The Summarie.



Although this Treatise be so defective both in the beginning and the end, that to this present wee know not how to guess and conjecture, which way to redresse, and supply the same; yet the very title and fragments remaining thereof, sufficiently discover the intention of the Author. And like as by the ruines of some ancient royall palace, there is in some sort represented to our thought and conceit the beautie thereof whiles it stood entire and upright; even so, this remnant which is left unto us, sheweth sufficiently what wee have lost. But albeit the malice and injurie of this time hath deprived us of so great a benefit, and of many others semblably; yet notwithstanding, that which remaineth may profit us, maimed and imperfect as it is, and suffice to range and conkeine us in our dute. In the beginning, our Author discourseth of the miserie of a covetous person, and one that followeth the court. Then he addeth according to his principall designe and purpose: That vice is the absolute work-mistresse of wretchednesse and infelicity, having need of no other ministers or instruments to cause a man to be miserable; whereupon he doth collect and gather that there is no danger nor calamitie, but we ought to chooseth rather than to be foolish and vicious. Afterwards he answereth those objections which are made to the contrary, and concludeth, that adversitie can not prejudice or hurt us anything so long as it is not accompanied with vice.

THAT

THAT VICE ALONE IS SUFFICIENT TO MAKE A MAN WRETCHED.



H E abideth much who hath his bodie sold for a dowtie (as *Euipides* saith) to wit, small auailes he hath thereby, and those verie uncertaine. But unto him who passeth not through much affies, but a royall fire (as one would say) wherewith he is scorched and burnt round about, who continually draweth his winde thicke and short, and is full of feare and sweat by tugging over sea for gaine; he giueth in the end a certaine Tantalian riches (that is to say) such as he is not able to enjoy by reason of the continuall occupations wherewith he is encombrd. For verie wisely did that *Sicyonian* who bred and kept a race of horses, when he gave unto *Agamemnon* the king of the Achaeans as a present, a notable swift mare for a courser, because he might be dispensed with, for going in warlike to *Troy*:

*Thst unto Troy that stately towne,
he might not win him go
To serue in armes; but stay at home,
and rest there far from woe,
Where he might liue in solace much,
enjoying all his owne,
For Iupiter in measure great,
had wealth on him beflowne.*

to the end, that he staying behinde at home, might roule and welter at ease in a depth of riches, and give himselfe much time and leasure for assured repose void of all paine and trouble. Howbeit our courtiers at this day, who would be esteemed men of action and great affaires, never expect untill they be called, but of themselves intrude and thrust their heads into princes courts and stately palaces, where they must watch, waite and give attendance in all dutifull service, with much paine and travell, to gaine thereby at last, a great horse, a faire chaine, or some such blessed favour.

*Meane while the wife is left alone behind
In Playce, and thicke hee is unkind
To leave her so: her face she rears and teares;
The house remains halfe built, when he it rears.*

and the husband is carried here and there wandering in the world, drawn on with certaine hopes which oftentimes in the end deceive him and worke his shame. But if peradventure he obtaine some thing that his heart desired, after a certaine time that he hath bene turned round about with the wheele of fortune, so long untill his head be dizzie, and mounted on high in the aire, he witheth and seeketh nothing more than evasion and meanes to escape, deeming and calling those happie, who leade a private life, without exposing themselves to such perils: and they againe repute him blessed and fortunate, seeing him so highly advanced above themselves. Thus in one word you see, how vice doeth dispose men unto all sorts of infelicities, being of it selfe a perfect artisan of infortunity, and needs none instruments and ministers besides. As for other tyrants, who study nothing more, than to make those most wretched and miserable whom they pinch, doe mainteine executioners and tormentours, devise red-hot fearing yrons to burne, and invent racks and other instruments for to put the reasonlesse soule to extreame torture; but vice without any such preparation of engines, so soone as it seizeth upon the soule, presently overturneth and bringeth it to ruine and destruction, filleth a man with dolour and griefe, with lamentations, sorowes and repentance. For a certaine prooffe hereof, you shall see many endure to have their flesh mangled and cut, without saying one word; abide to be whipped and scourged patiently; who being put to the racke and other tortures by their cruell masters or tyrants, will not give one creakke or crie, so long as the soule represseth the voice by reason, as with the hand keepeth it downe, and containeth it from breaking out: whereas contrariwise, a man shall hardly or never command either anger to stay and be quiet, or dolour to be silent, no nor persuade him that is surprisid with sudden feare to rest still, or one who is stung with remorse and repentance

*Homere de
Parislo.*

repentance to forbear crying out, to hold his hands fro tearing his haire & finiting his thighs, of such force and violence is vice & sinne, above either the heat of fire or the edge of the sword. Moreover, cities & states, when they publish their purpose to put forth to making any ships or huge statues called *Colossi*, give eare willingly to the workmen disputing one against the other, as touching the workman's hip, heare their reasones, & see their models & platformes which they bring, and afterwards make choise of him to goe in hand with that piece of worke, who with lesse cost and charges will do the deed as well or rather better; and more speedily. Now put the case that we publish by proclamation to make a man infortunate, or cause a life to be wretched and miserable, and that there present unto us for to enterprize this, fortune on the one side and vice on the other; the one (to wit, fortune) is full of her tooles and instruments of all sorts, and provided of furniture costly and chargeable, for to make a life unhappie and miserable; as for example, brigandise and robberies, bloody warres, inhumane cruelty of tyrants, and tempests at sea; she draweth after her flashes of lightning out of the aire, she mixeth and dresteth a poisoned cup of deadly henlocke, she bringeth sharpe edged swords to do the businesse, she stirreth slanders and raiseth false summes and calumnies, she kindleth burning ages and hote feavers, she commeth with fetters, manacles and other yrons jingling; finally, she buildeth cages and prisons for this purpose; and yet the most part of all this geere proceedeth rather from vice than fortune; but suppose that all came from fortune, and that vice standing by all naked, and having need of no other thing in the world without it selfe to assaile a man; should demand of fortune, how she could make a man infortunate and heartlesse in these tearmes? What fortune? doest thou menace povertie? *Metrocles* will be ready to laugh thee to scorne, who in Winter time used to sleepe among sheepe, and in Summer season tooke his repose in cloisters and church porches; and so challenged for his felicity the king of *Persia*, who was wont to Winter in *Babylon* and passe the Summer in *Media*; threatenest thou servitude and bondage? bringest thou chaines and yrons, or the wofull condition to be solde in open market as a slave? *Diogenes* will despise thee for all that, who being exposed and offered to sale by the rovers and thieves that tooke him, cried and proclaimed himselfe aloud: Who will buy a master who? doest thou temper or brew a cup of poison? why didst not thou before offer such a cup to *Socrates* for to drinke? but hee full meekely with all mildnesse and patience, without trembling for feare and changing either countenance or colour for the matter, drunke it off roundly; and after he was dead, those that survived, judged him happy, as one who in the other world made account to live an heavenly and blessed life: presentest thou fire to burne withall? loe, how *Decius* a Roman captain hath prevented thee; who when there was a fire made in the mids betweene two armies for to consume him, voluntarily and with a formall praier offered himselfe as an holocaust or burnt offering unto *Saturne*, according to his vow made for the safetie of the Romane empire. The honest and chaste dames of the Indians, such as entirely love their husbands, strive and be ready to fight one with another about the funerall fire; and as for her who obtineth the victorie, and is burned therein together with the dead corps of her husband, all the rest doe deeme right happie, and testifie so much in their hymnes and songs. As for the Sages and wise Philosophers of those parts, there is not one of them all reputed a holy man or blessed, if he do not whiles he is alive, in perfect health and found sence and understanding, separate his owne soule from the body by the meanes of fire, and after he hath cleaused and consumed all that was mortall, depart out of the flesh all cleane & pure; but (sooth) from abundance of wealth and riches, from an house sumptuously built and furnished, from a costly and daintie table full of fine & delicate viands, thou wilt bring me to a poore three-bare cloake, to a bag and wallet, and to begging of my daily bread from doore to doore; well, even these things were the cause of *Diogenes* felicity; these woe unto *Crates* freedome and glory: but thou wilt crucifie mee or cause mee to be hanged upon a gibbet, or stickie my body thorow with a sharpe stake? and what cared *Theodorus* whether his corps rotted above ground or under the earth? these were the hap-
pic sepulchures of Tartarians and of the Hircanians, to be eaten and devoured of dogs; as for the Baſtrians, by the lawes of the countrey those were thought to have had the most blessed end, whom the fowles of the aire did eat after they were dead; Who then are they whom these and such accidents do make unhappy? even such as are false-hearted, base-minded, senselesse and void of understanding, untaught, and not exercised in affaires of the world, and in one word, such as retaine still the opinions which were imprinted in them from their infancie. Thus you see how fortune alone is not a sufficient worke-mistresse of unhappinesse and infelicity, in case she have not sinne and vice to aide and helpe her: for like as a thred is able to divide and saw (as

it were) throw a bone which hath lien soaking long before in ashes and vinegar; and as workmen can bend, bow and bring into what fashion they will, yvorie, after it hath bene infused and mollified in ale or beere, and otherwise not; even so fortune comming upon that which is already of it selfe crazie and corrupt, or hath bene fustained by vice, is of power to pierce, wound and hollow the faine.

Moreover, like as the poison *Pharicum*, otherwife called *Napethus* or *Aconitum*, being hurtfull to no other person, nor doing harme to those who handle and beare it about them; but if it touch never so little one that is wounded, presently killeth him by meanes of the force or wound which receiveth the infusion and venom thereof; even so he whose soule is like to be destroyed and overthrowen by fortune, ought to have within himselfe and in his owne flesh some ulcer, some impostume or maladic for to make those accidents which befall outwardly, wretched, pitifull, and lamentable. What? is vice then of that nature that it had neede of fortunes helping hand to worke wretchednesse & infelicitie? from what coast I pray you doth not fortune raile tempests upon the sea, and trouble the water with stirring billowes? environeth not she and berefteth the foote of desart mountaines, with the ambushes and forelayings of thieves and robbers? powreth not she downe with great violence, stormes of faire stones out of the clouds upon the fertile come-fields? was it not vice and malice that stirred up *Melitus*, *Amyus* and *Calliclema* to be sycophants and false accusers? is it not she that bereaveth folke of their goods, empeacheth and disableth men for being commanders and leaders of armies, and all to make them unhappie? may she it is that maketh them rich and plentifully; she heapeth upon them heritages and possessions; she accompanieth them at fea; she is alwaies close unto them and neer at hand; she causeth them to consume and pine with lusts and desires; she enflameth and setteth them on fire with choler and anger; she troubleth their minds with vaine superstitions, and draweth them away after the lusts of their eyes.



HOW A MAN MAY PRAISE HIMSELFE WITHOUT IN- CURRING ENVIE AND BLAME.

The Summarie.



Impossible it is during the time that we sojorne in this life, that our spirit which knoweth not how to be still and at rest, should not stirre and move the tongue to speake of the actions either of other men or of our owne; whereby we cannot chooseth but incurre many velleous dangers of flatterie, slander, or els of selfe-praising; in so much as not without good cause that man hath bene called perfect, who knoweth well to moderate this little member, which is at it were the bit and bridle of the whole bodie of man, and the verie helme and sterne of that ship or vessel in which we row and hull to and fro in the sea of this world. Requie it is therefore, that morall philosophie should speake, to the end that it may teach us for to speake. We have seene before in many discourses the dutie of civrie one towards his neighbours, as well in words as in deeds: but in this treatise (Plutarch) eweth the carriage of a man towards himselfe; and above all in that way which is most slipperie, to wit, in the question of our owne praises: then after hee hath laide this for a ground and foundation; That it is an unseemely thing for a man to make himselfe seeme great by vaine babble, and alledge the reasons wherefore, he setteth downe one generall exception; to wit, that a virtuous man may praise himselfe in certaine cases and occurrences, the which (after hee hath raised the ambition of those who set up a note of their owne praises to be chanted aloud by others) he particularizeth upon these points; to wit, if he be driven to answer unto some false slanderers; if a man

be in any distresse and adversitie, or if he be blamed for the best deeds that he hath done. After this, he enterleth certaine advertisement or correction; to wit, that a man ought to mingle his owne praises with those of other men; that he ascribe not the whole honor of a worthy deed to his own selfe; that he utter only those things which be chiefe and principall, and stand upon that which is most commendable; and that he give a certaine luster thereto, by the foile of confessing his owne imperfections: which done, he proceedeth to declare what kinde of men they ought to bee who are allowed to praise themselves; to what this praise ought to be referred and have respect; and wherefore they should enter into it; moreover, at what time, and for what occasion he ought to make head unto a third, who would do sufficient; and for a small conclusion, he propoeth an excellent meane to avoid the troubles and inconveniences that might arise from importunate praise, willing that the partie who speaketh of his owne good part should see all ambition, not please himselfe in rehearsing and recitall of his owne exploits, take heed how in selfe-praising hee feigne praises, and never belesse in blaming his neighbours to be content; for to be praised of another, without putting himselfe betwixt and speaking in his owne behalfe. In summe, since there is nothing so odious as to see and beare a man speake exceeding much of himselfe, he concludeth that in no wise a man ought so to do, unless there accrue ther by great profit and commoditie to the hearers.

HOW A MAN MAY PRAISE HIMSELFE WITHOUT INCURRING ENVIE AND BLAME.



O speake much of ones selfe in praise, either what he is in person, or of what valour and power among others; there is no man (friend *Herculanus*) but by word of mouth will profess it is most odious, and unbefcoming a person well borne and of good bringing up; but in very deed few there be who can take heed and beware of falling into the inconvenience and enormitie thereof, no not even those who otherwise do blame and condemne the same: as for *Euripides* when he saith,

If words were costly men among,
for to be bought and sold,
No man to praise and magnifie
himselfe would be so bold:
But now (since that each one may take
out of the aire so large,
As much as will his minde suffice,
without his cost and charge)
Well pleas'd are all men of themselves
to speake what comes in thought,
As well untruth as what is true,
for speech to them costeth nought.

doth use a most odious and importune vanterie, especially in this, that he would seeme to interlace amongst the passionate accidents and affaires of Tragical matters, the speech of a mans selfe, which is not befitting nor pertinent unto the subject argument; seemably *Tindarus*, having said in one place,

To brag and vaunt unreasonably,
Sound's much of rash and vain-folly,

so ceaseth not nevertheless, to magnifie his owne sufficiency in the gift of poetrie, as being (in truth) worthy of right great praise, as no man can denie. But those who are crowned with garlands in those sacred plaies and games, are declared victours and conquerors by the voice of others, who thereby ease them of that odious displeasure that selfe-praise carrieth with it. And in very deed our heart riseth against that vaine glory of *Timotheus*, in that he wrote himselfe (as touching the victorie which he achieved against *Phrynia*) Oh happy man thou *Timotheus*; at what time as the herald proclaimed with a loud voice these words: *Timotheus* the Milesian hath conquered *Ionocampes* that sonne of *Carbo*: for surely this carrieth with it no grace at all, but is

a meere absurditie and against all good fashion, for a man to be the trumpeter of his owne victorie: for true it is according to *Xenophon*; That the most pleasant voice that a man can heare, is his owne praife delivered by another, but the most odious thing unto others, is a man commending himselfe: for first and foremost, we esteeme them to be impudent who praise themselves, considering that they ought rather to blush and be ashamed even when others fall to praise them in their presence: secondly, we repute them unjust herein, for that they give and attribute that to themselves which they should receive at the hands of others: thirdly, either if we keepe silence when we heare one to praise himselfe, it seemeth we are discontented or do beare envie unto him, or if we feare that, compelled we are our selves to confirme and approve those praises, and to give testimonie thereof against our owne minde; a thing more becoming vile and base flatterie, than true honour, namely, if we can abide to praise any in presence. Howbeit, although this be most true, and that the case standeth so, such occurrences may fall out, that an honourable person who manageth the politike affaires of a common-wealth, may hazzard and venture boldly to speake of himselfe and in his owne behalfe for his advantage, not in regard of any glory, grace or pleasure to gaine thereby, but for that the occasion or action that is presented, requireth that he should speake and give testimonie of himselfe, as he would and might doe of any other matter of truth, especially when the deeds by him achieved or the parts that be in him be good and honest, then he is not to forbear or spare to speake hardly, that he hath done so or els much like: for surely such a praife as this, bringeth forth good fruit, and out of it as from a fruitfull graine or seed, there proceed many other praises, & those farre greater. And certes, a civill and politike man doeth not desire and love honour as a salarie, solace or recompense for his virtuous actions; but for that to have the credit and reputation among others of a trustie and faithfull person, in whom men may repose their trust and confidence, doth afford him good meanes and occasions to performe many other greater and more goodlier actions: for a pleasant and easie matter it is to benefit them who love thee and put their trust in thee; whereas on the contrary side, exceeding hard it is, or rather impossible, to make life of vertue, and to imploy it to the good of those who have thee in suspition, or be ready to raise false calumniation against thee, and so to force them who do avoid the meanes of receiving any good and pleasure at thy hands.

Moreover, it would be considered, what other occasions there may be, for which a man of honour and honestie may praise himselfe; to the end that by taking good heed and avoiding of that which in selfe-praife is so vaine and odious, we faile not to serve our turnes with the profit and commodity that may come thereby. Now of all others, most foolish is their praife who commend themselves to this end, that they would be praised of others; and such praife as this we hold most contemptible, for that it seemeth to proceed from ambition and an unreasonable appetite of vaine-glory onely: for like as those who have no other food to feed upon, be constrained to eat the flesh of their owne bodies against nature, which is the very extremity and end of famine; even so those that hunger after honour and praife, if they can not meet with others to praise them, fall to praise themselves; wherein their behaviour is unseemly and shameful, for that upon a love of vaine-glory they are desirous to make a supply and sufficiency from their owne selves; but yet when as they go not simply to worke nor seeke to be praised by themselves, but upon a certaine emulation and jealousy of other mens praises, they come to compare and oppole their owne deeds for to dim and darken the actions of others; then over and besides their vanity, they adde thereto envie and malice; for according to the common proverb: He is curious and ridiculous, who setteth his foot in another mans daunce; but upon envie and jealousy to thrust a mans selfe betweene the praises of others, and to interrupt the same with his owne selfe-praife, is a thing that we ought to beware of; and not onely so, but also to take heed that we suffer not others at such a time to praise us, but gently to yeeld honour unto those who are worthy to be praised and honoured; and if peradventure, they be unworthy and deserve not the same, yet ought not wee to deprive them of the praises which are given unto them, by interposing our owne, but rather stand up against them, convince them openly, and prove by evident and pregnant reasons that there is no cause why they should be reputed so great, and be so highly honoured. As touching this point therefore, plaine and evident it is, that we ought not so to doe, howbeit, a man may praise himselfe without blame: first and foremost, if he do it by way of his owne defence in answering to a slander raised, or an imputation charged upon him; like as *Pericles* did in *Thucydides*, where he uttereth these words: And yet you my masters of *Athenes* are angry with me, who may vaunt of my selfe to be such an one as

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need not to give place unto any whatsoever, either in foresight and knowledge of that which is behovefull to the common-wealth, or in eloquence and delivery thereof, or in love to the State, or in sincere integrity, free from all corruption, bribery and avarice, against which I stand invincible: for in speaking thus magnificently of himselfe in such a case, he did not onely avoid the blame and reproch of vanity, of arrogancy and presumptuous ambition; but also that which more is, he shewed withall his wisdom and greatnesse, yea, and the magnanimitie of vertue, which was so farre from being humbled and dejected, that it rather conquered and held under hand, envie in so much as others hearing such men speake in this wise, proceed not any farther nor be willing to judge and censure them, but are carried away and ravished with a certaine joy, yea and inspired (as it were) from heaven to heare such brave vanteries; namely, if the persons be constant and the reports which they make true, according as the effects which follow do testifie. The *Thebanes* verily (at what time as their captaines were accused, for that when the terme of their government and magistracie, called *Baotarchie*, was expired, they returned not incontinently home, but made an invasion and entred in armes into *Laconia*, and desired the administration of affaires about the cite of *Messene*) hardly and with much ado asseiled and quit *Pelopidas*, when he humbled himselfe and became a suppliant unto them for pardon; but contrariwise, when *Epaminondas* came and recounted in magnificent words those brave exploits which he had achieved in that voiage and at the same time, protesting in the end that he was prest and readie to take his death, so that they would confesse and acknowledge, that mauger their minds and against their wills he had pillied and spoiled *Laconia*, re-peopled *Messene*, and reduced into a league and amitie with them all the cities of *Arcadia*, they had not the heart so much as to give their voices and suffrages in any sentence of condemnation against him; but departed out of the assembly, admiring the haughtie courage of the man, and rejoicing with mirth and laughter to heare him plead his cause with resolution. And therefore the speech of *Sthenelus* in *Homer* is not simply and altogether to be reprooved, when he saith:

Pronounce I dare and it even,
we better warriors be
In these daies than our fathers were
by many a degree.

30 If we call to minde and remember the precedent words a little before:

Thou soune of noble Tydeus
a wise and hardy knight,
How is it that thy heart doth pant,
for feare when thou shouldst fight?
Why dost thou cast thine eie about,
and looke on everie side?
How thou must out of battell scape,
and dar'st not field abide.

for it was not *Sthenelus* himselfe unto whom this sharpe and bitter speech was addressed, but he 40 replied thus in the behalfe of his friend whom he had thus reproved, and therefore so just a cause and so fit an occasion gave him libertie to speake thus bravely and boldly of himselfe: As for the citizens of *Rome*, they were offended & displeased much with *Cicero* praising himselfe so much as he did, and namely relating so often the woorthie deeds by him done against *Catilines*; but contrariwise, when *Scipio* said before them all in a publike assembly: That it was not meet and seemely for them to sit as judges upon *Scipio*, considering that by his meanes they were grown to that grandee as to judge all the world; they put chaplets of flowers upon their heads, and in this wise adorned, mounted up together with him into the temple of the Capitoll, for to sacrifice and render thanks unto *Jupiter*: and good reason both of the one and the other; for *Cicero* rehearsed his owne praife-worthy deeds so many times without any need enforcing him there- 50 to, onely to glorifie himselfe; but the present perill wherein the other stood, freed him from all hatred and envie, notwithstanding he spake in his owne praife. Moreover, this vantage and glorious boasting of a mans selfe, is not befitting those onely who are accused or in trouble and danger of the law, but to as many also as be in adversitie rather than in prosperitie; for that it seemeth that these reach and catch (as it were) at glorie and take pleasure and joy therein, onely to gratifie and content therein their owne ambitious humor; whereas the other by reason of the qualitie of the time, being farre from all suspition of vaine glorie and ambition, doe plucke up and erect themselves upright against fortune, sustaining and upholding what they can the gene-

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*Since that th'almightie Gods have given me grace,
Mine enemy to overthrow in place.*

Well likewise did *Timoleon at Syracuse*, who upon his valiant and noble exploits dedicated an altar to *Bon adventure*, and likewise consecrated an house to his good Angell. But best of all and most wisely did that *Python the Aenean*, who being arrived at *Athens* after he had murdered King *Corys*, when the orators strived avie one with another, who should extoll and set forth his praises most unto the people, and perceiving some to carrie an envious eye unto him, and be highly displeased with him; as he passed by, brake forth into these words: It was some God (quoth he) & yee Athenians that did this deed, as for my selfe, I did but lend my helping hand. Semblably, *Sylla* exempted his owne acts from envie, in giving alwaies the praise to his good fortune; in so much as in the end, he furnished himselfe *impediments*, that is, lovely, fortunate, or *Venus* darling. For all men in manner would seeme to be vanquished rather by fortune, than conquered by vertue; for that they thinke the one to be a good, not pertinent to the conqueror, and the other a proper defect and imperfection of their owne, and which proceedeth from themselves: which is the reason for report, that the lawes of *Zalema* wonderfully pleased the Locrians, for that he put into their heads and bare them in hand, that the goddess *Minerva* appeared and came many times unto him; that she endited and taught him those lawes which he penned and gave unto them; finally, that there was not one of them proceeding from his head, counsell and invention. Peradventure therefore needfull it is to devise these and such like remedies, and lenitive medicines to meet with those persons, who are by nature fierce and envious; but to such as be of the better fort, and of a modest and temperate disposition, it would not be impertinent and absurd to use certaine corrections of praises in this case: as for example; If one haply in our presence fall to praise us for being eloquent, learned, rich, or in great reputation, to pray him not to give such reports of us, but rather for to commend us if we be good and bountifull, hurtfull to none, and profitable to many; for in so doing, we seem not to confer praises upon our selves, but to transfer them; not to take pleasure in them that praise us, but rather to be grieved and displeased, that we are not praised for such things as we ought, nor as we should; as also to hide the woofe qualities under the better, not so much willing and desirous to be praised, as to teach: how it is meet to praise: for this manner of speech (neither with stone nor bricke have I fortified and walled this citie, but if you will needs know how I have fenced it, you shall finde that I have furnished it with armor, horses, confederates and allies) seemeth to come neerer and tend unto such a rule: yea and the saying of *Pericles* toucheth it neerer; for when the hower of his death now approached, and that he was to goe out of this world, his kinsfolke and familiar friends, weeping, wailing, and grieving thereat (as good reason was) called to minde and rehearsed the armies that hee had conducted, the expeditions which hee had made, his puissance that hee had borne, as also how many victories hee had achieved, what Trophies hee had erected, what townes & cities hee had conquered, and laid to the seignorie of the Athenians; all which hee now should leave behind him: but hee lifting up himselfe a little, reproved and blamed them greatly, for relating and alledging those praises, which were common to manie, and whereof some were more due to fortune than to vertue; whiles they omitted and let passe the greatest and most beautifull commendation of all others, and that which truly and indeed properly belonged unto him: namely, that for his sake, there was never any Athenian that put on blacke or wore a mourning gowne: this example of his, giveth both unto an oratorist if he be praised for his singular eloquence, meanes and occasion to transerre the praise unto his life and maners; and also to a warrior & generall captain, who is had in admiration for his martiall prowesse, experience, or fortunate successe in wars, to stand rather upon his clemencie and justice and thereof freely to discourse. And contrariwise againe, when a man hath excessive praises heaped upon him (as the manner commonly of many is, by way of flatterie to give those commendations which moove envie) meet it is to use such a speech as this:

*With gods in heaven above I have no share,
To them therefore why dost thou me compare?*

But if thou knowest me aright, and takest me truly for such an one as I am, praise these good parts in me; that I am uncorrupt and not overtake with gifts and briberie; that I am sober and temperate; that I am sensible, reasonable, full of equitie and humanitie. For the nature of envie, is willingly to yeeld unto him that refuseth the greater praises those that be lesse and more modest; neither depriveth she of true commendation those who will not admit and receive false and vaine praises: and therefore men thinke not much to honor those Kings and Princes who

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who are unwilling to be stiled gods or the children of gods, but rather to be intiqued either *Philadelphus*, that is, kinde to brothers and sisters; or *Philometores*, that is, loving to their mothers; or *Euergetes*, that is, Benefactors; or else *Theophiles*, that is, Dearely beloved of the gods; which are goodly and beautifull denominations, meet for men and good princes: like as againe, those who hardly will endure them, that either in writing or speaking, attribute unto them the name of *Sophi*, that is, Sages or wise men, can well abide to heare those who name them *Philosophi*, that is, Lovers of wisdom; or such as say of them, that they profit in the study of wisdom, or give them such like attribute as is modest and not subject to envie; whereas these ambitious Rhetoricians and vaine-glorious Sophisters, who in their orations (to shew their learning) exceed these and such like acclamations from their auditors: O divine and angel-like speech! O heavenly and magnifically spoken; lo!e withall this commendation, as to be said for to have delivered their minde modestly, equiteously, and as becometh civill men. Certes, like as they who be loth and take heed to offend and hurt them that are beleeved or otherwise given to the paine and inflammation of them, do mingle among the gallant and lively colours, some dusky shadows; even so, some there be, who in rehearsing their owne praises not altogether resplendent & cleere without any mixture at all, but intermeddled with some imperfections, defects and light faults among, by that meanes discharge themselves of the heave load of envie and hatred. Thus *Epheus* in *Homer*, giving out glorious words of his wrestling and buffet-fight, vaunting bravely of his valour;

*As if he would his teene and anger wreake
upon him, and with fists his boones all beake.*
said, withall:

*Is't not enough that herein I do want?
For other skill in combat I do want.*

But haply this man is woorthy to be mocked and laughed at, who for to excuse his arrogant braverie of a wrestler and champion, bewraied and confessed that otherwise he was but a fearefull coward; whereas contrariwise that man is of judgement, civil also and gracious besides, who alledgeth against himselfe some oblivion or ignorance, some ambitious spirit, or els a desire to heare and learne the Sciences and other knowledge, like as *Ulysses* when he said:

*But lo my minde desirous was
to hearken and give eare,
I will'd my mates me to unloose,
that I might go more neare.*
And againe in another place;
*Although much better it had beene,
yet would I not beleeve:
But see his person, and then trie
if gifts he would me give.*

To be short, all sorts of faults, so they be not altogether dishonest and over-bare, if they be set unto praises, rid them of all envie and hatred; and many other there be, who interposing a confession of povertie, want of experience, yea, and (beleeve me) their base parentage, among their praises, cause them thereby to be lesse odious and envied. Thus *Agatholes*, as hee sat drinking unto yong men out of golde and silver plate right curiously wrought, commanded other vessels of stone, earth and potters worke to be set upon the table, saying unto them: Lo (quoth he) what it is to perforce in travell, to take paines, and adventure valiantly? for wee in times past made those pots, (pointing to the earthen vessel) but see, now we make these, (shewing the plate of golde and silver: and verily it seemed that *Agatholes* (by reason of his base birth and povertie) was brought up in some potters forge, who afterward became the absolute monarch (almost) of all *Sicilie*. Thus it appeareth what remedies may be applied outwardly, to avoid envie, if a man be forced to speake of himselfe: other meanes there are besides, inherent (after a sort) even in them who be in this wise praised; and such *Cato* made use of, when he said, that he was envied, because he neglected his owne affairs, and sat up watching whole nights for the good and safetie of his country. Like to which is this speech:

*What wisdom thinke you was in me,
who cleane exempt from care,
From charge and travell, like some one,
who in the armie were.*

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*A plaine and common souldiour
might enjoy within the host
My fortune with the wisest of
them all that meddle most?*

as also this other:

*I doubt and feare, that of my labours past,
The thanks is gone, and cared with a weepe;
And yet those paines that now presented be
Affekt, reject unmet I will from me.*

For men ordinarily beare envie unto those who seeme to acquire glory gratis, without any cost, 10 and to come by vertue easily, like as if they purchased house or land for a little or nothing; whereas seldome or never they envie such as have bought the fame very deare, with many travels and great dangers. And forasmuch as we ought in praising of our selves to effect not only this; that we offend not the hearers thereby nor procure their envie, but endeavour also to profit them and doe them good, as if we seemed not to aime at our selfe-praise, but to shoot at some other thing: in so doing consider first and forsooth when a man is in a vein of praising himselfe, whether he may do it by way of exhortation, to kindle a zeale, and exercise a kinde of emulation and strive for glory in the hearers; after the example of *Nestor*, who in recounting his owne prowesse and valiant service, encouraged *Patroclus* and the other nine gallants and brave knights, to enter combat and single fight with *Hector*: for an exhortation which hath word and 20 deed to meet together, carrying with it example, with a familiar zeale and imitation, is wonderful quick and lively, it pricketh, provoketh and stirreth exceedingly, and together with a resolute courage and ardent affection, it carrieth with it the hope of compassing things very accessible and in no wise impossible: and therefore of the three renowned daunces and quires in *Lacedaemon*, one which consisted of olde men, chaunted thus:

*The time was, when we gallants were,
Toughfull and hardie, void of feare.*

another, of children, sung in this wise:

*And we one day shall be both tall and strong,
And surer surpasse, if that we live so long.*

the third, namely of yong men, had this ditty:

*But we are come to prooffe, and now at best,
Trie who that will, to fight we are now prest.*

wherein the law-giver, who instituted these dances, did wisely and politickely, to propose unto yong men such familiar examples and at hand, even by those things that were done and executed. Yet nevertheless, it were not amisse, otherwhiles to vaunt and to speake highly and magnifically of ones selfe, for to daunt, beat downe, yepresse, and keepe (as it were) under hand, a bragging and audacious fellow, like as *Nestor* himselfe did againe in another place:

*Conversed have I in my daies,
with men of better deed
Than you now, and yet dislaine
they never would my need.*

Sensibly said *Aristotle* unto king *Alexander*: That lawfull it was and becomming not onely for those to have an haughtie minde, who had many subjects under them at their command; but such also as held true opinions as touching the gods. And verily these points are commendous for us otherwhiles, even in regard of our enemies, foes, and evill willors, according to that verse in *Homer*:

*Children they are of wretched fires,
and borne to misadventure,
Whose lucke it is my force of armes
in battell to encounter.*

Agellus also, having speech upon a time as touching the King of *Persia*, who usually was called the Great Monarch: And wherein (quoth he) is that king greater than my selfe, if he be not more just and righteous. *Epaminondas* likewise replied upon the *Lacedaemonians*, who had framed a long accusation against the *Thebans*: Well it is (quoth he) and a good tunc that we yet have made you give over your accustomed short speech. Thus much of those rules which concerne either our private and particular evill willors, or our publike enemies.

As

As for our friends and fellow-citizens, we may likewise by using fitly in time and place, and as the case requireth haughty language, not only take downe and cause those to vaile bonet who are over-proude and audacious; but also on the other side raise up and encourage such, as be dismayed, altonied and beyond measure timorous. For *Cyrus* also in the mids of battell and dangers of warre was wont to speake bravely, but else-where not. And *Antigonus* the younger or second of that name, who otherwife was in words sober, modest, and nothing proude; yet in a battell at sea which he fought neere the isle *Cos*; when one of his friends about him said a little before the medley began: See you not sir how many more ships our enemies have than we? Why (quoth he) for how many ships doest thou reckon me? And it should seeme that *Homer* 10 was of the same minde and meant so much, when he feigneth that *Ulysses* seeing his people affrighted with the hideous noise and fearfull tempest that issued out of the gulfe *Charybdis*, called to their remembrance his subtil engine and singular valour, in saying thus unto them:

My friends and mates, this accident

is not so dangerous;

As when that monstrous Cyclops he,

a giant furious,

us turn'd and coust with mightie force

about his hollow cave,

Yet thence we chace him by my wit,

advice, and proovesse brave.

For this manner of praising proceedeth not from a glozing vaine-glorious orator, nor a 20 vaunting Sophister, nor from one that seeketh applause, and clapping of hands; but becometh a personage who pawneth unto his friends, as a gage of assurance and confidence his owne vertue and sufficiency. For a matter this is of great importance & consequence tending to safety in dangerous times, to wit, the opinion, reputation and affiance, that we may have of a man in authority, and the experienced prowesse of a captain. Now albeit I have sufficiently shewed before, that it is neither convenient nor seemly for a man of State and honour to oppose himselfe against the glorie and praise of another; yet nevertheless when the case so standeth, that a false and perverse commendation doth bring hurt and damage, and by example inferreth a 30 dangerous imitation of evill things, together with a wicked purpose and lewd intention in matters of great moment, it were not amisse to repulse the same backe, or rather to divert and turne away the hearer unto better things, and open unto him the difference: for in mine advice a man may well take content and delight, to see that men abstaine willingly from vice, when they perceive it to be blamed and reprooved; but in lieu of condemning it, if they heare it commended, and if over and besides the pleasure and profit that commonly it seemeth to bring with it, it be held also in honor and reputation, there is not a nature so happie and blessed, nor so strong and stout withall, but theee is able to conquer it: and therefore a man of policie and government ought to make warre and fight, not so much against the praises of persons, as of things, in case they be corrupt and naught: for these they be that spill and marre our manners, by reason that 40 with such praises there entrench commonly a will to imitate and follow such dishonest and foule actions, as if they were good and seemly: but then most of all are they detected what they be, and do appeere in their colours, when they are compared in opposition with true praises indeed. Thus it is reported, that *Theodorus* the Tragedian actor, said upon a time unto *Satyrus* a Comical player: That it was no great marvel to make the spectators to laugh, but rather a matter of wonder to cause them for to weepe and crie: but (I suppose) a sage and wise philosopher may well say thus unto the same *Theodorus*: Nay (good sir) it is not so great a matter to set men a weeping and wailing, but rather to still and stay their sorrow and lamentation, were an admirable thing: for if a man praise himselfe in this sort, he profitteth the hearer and changeth his judgement. Thus did *Zeno* speake of the great number of *Theophrastus* his scholars, who reformed 50 unto his schoole: His quire (quoth he) is greater than mine, but yet mine accordeth better and maketh the sweeter harmonic. *Phocion* likewise, when as *Leophanes* still flourished and bare a great name, being demanded by the Rhetoricians who used to make solemne orations, what good himselfe had ever done to the weale-publike, answered them in this manner: None other (quoth he) but this, that all the whiles I was lord General, and had the conduct of an army, none of all you made ever any funerall oration, but interred all your citizens who departed this life in the sepulchers and monuments of your ancestors. As for *Crates* when he read these verses containing the Epitaph of *Sardanapalus*:

What

*What hath gone downe my throat I have,
my wanton sports remaine,
Which Ladie Venus did vouchsafes,
or else I count but vaine.*

wrote thus againe verie wittily and in a pleasant conceit:

*What during life I studied haue
and learned, is my gaine,
The skill which muses then me gave,
and nought in else I reaine.*

for such manner of praise as this, is excellent, honest, and profitable, teaching men to love, esteeme and admire such things as be commodious and expedient, and not those that are vaine and superfluous; and therefore this advertisement ought to be ranged with the rest before specified as touching the subject argument now in question.

It remaineth now by order and course according as the present theame in hand requireth, and our discourse admonisheth us, to declare how every man may avoid this importunate and unseasonable selfe-praise: for surely to speake of a mans selfe, having selfe-love as a commodious sort from whence it issueth, seemeth many times to lay wait and give the assault even unto them who are of all others most modest and farthest from vain-glory. And like as one precept of health there is, to flie and shunne altogether unholosome tracts and contagious, or at leastwise to take heed of them most carefully if a man be in them; even so there be certaine dangerous times and slipperie places which one shall slide and fall into upon the least occasion in the world, by rashly speaking of himselfe. For first and foremost those who are by nature ambitious, when they heare another man praised, commonly (as it hath beene said before) advance forward to talke of themselves, and then anon this humour of selfe-praise being once provoked and tickled (as it were) with an itch, a certaine desire and furious appetite of glory which hardly can be held in, taketh hold of them, especially if the partie who is praised before them be but equal or inferior to them in merit: for like as they who are hungrie have the greater appetite, and are provoked more to eate when they see others fall to their meate before them; even so the praise of another inflameth the jealousy of those who be given to the greedy desire of honor & glory. Secondly, the recitall and discourse of those things which have beene happily executed and to a mans minde, drive many men into a brave vaunting, for the joy that they conceive in relating the fame: for after they be once fallen into a narration of their victories achieved in warre, or the enterprises which they have fortunately managed in their soveraigne government of State, or their actions and affaires performed under other chiefe rulers and commanders, or of the speeches which they have made to great purpose and good successe and commendation, they cannot containe and hold themselves to which kind of vaunting & speaking of ones selfe, we see those are most subiect who are warriors and serve especially at sea; likewise this hapneth usually unto such who are come from the courts of mighty princes, or from those places where there hath beene exploited some great service: for in making mention of princes and grand Seigneours, they can not chuse but interlace ordinarily among, some speeches which those potentates have delivered to their commendation; and therein they doe not thinke that they praise themselves, but recite onely the commendable testimonies that others have given out of them: and verily such as these, be of opinion that the hearers perceive them not, when they recount the embracements, greetings, salutations, and favours which kings, emperours, and such great potentates have bestowed upon them; as if forsooth they rehearsed not their owne selfe-praises, but the courtesies and demonstrations of the bountie and humanitie of others; whereof every one of us ought most fully and warily to looke unto our selves when we praise any one, that the said praises be pure and sincere, void of suspicion, that we do not respect & aime at an oblique selfe-love, & speech of our owne selves, for feare lest we make the commendation of *Parroclius*, as it is in *Homer*, a covert, colour and pretence of our owne praise, and by commending others cunningly, praise our owne selves. Moreover, all the sort of blames and reprehensions of others, are otherwhiles very dangerous, causing those to goe out of the way and stumbe, who are never so little sicke of vain-glory; into which maladic old folke many times incur, and namely when they breake out into the reprofe of their youngers, finding fault with their leawd manners and actions, for then in blaming others, they fall to magnifying themselves, as if in times past they had done wonders, in comparison of those things which now they condemne: and verily such as they be we ought to give place unto, in case they be not only for age, but also

also in regard of their vertue and reputation venerable: for this manner of rebuke is not unprofitable, but breedeth in those who are chastised by them, a great desire and emulation withall to ataine unto the like place of honour and dignitie. But as for our selves we ought to take heed and beware how we trip or tread awry in this case; for the manner of blaming our neighbours, being as it is otherwhise very odious and almost intolerable, and which hath need of great caution and warinesse; he that medleth his proper praise with the blame of another, and seeketh glory by his infamy, cannot chuse but be exceeding hatefull and unportable, as if he hunted after renowne and honour by the reprochfull and dishonorable parts of his neighbours. Furthermore, as they who naturally are enclined and disposed to laughter, are to avoid and decline the ticklings and soft handling in those parts of the body that are most smooth, sleek and tender, which soone yeelding and relenting to those light touches, stirre up and provoke immediately that passion of laughing; even so this caveat and advertisement would be given unto such as passionately be given to this desire of glory, that they abstaine from praising themselves, at what time as they be collauded by other: for a man that heareth himselfe praised, ought indeed to blush for shame, and not with a bold and shamelesse face to hearken thereto, nay he should doe well to reprove those that report some great matter of him; rather then to finde fault for saying too little, and not praising him sufficiently; a thing iwis that many men doe, who are ready of themselves to prompt and suggest, yea and to inferre other magnanimous facts and prowesses, so far forth that they marre all, awfull the praise that they give themselves, as the laudable testimoniall of others. And I assure you many there be who flattering themselves, tickle and puffe up their owne conceits with nothing els but wind; and againe upon a malicious intent, laying some petite praise as it were a bait for them to bite at, draw them on thereby to fall into their owne commendation: some also you shall have who to that purpose will keepe a questioning with them, & propose certaine demands for the nonce to traine them within their toile, and all to have the more matter that they might soone after laugh at. Thus in *Méander* the glorious soldier made good sport, being demanded of one

DEMAND. *Good sir how came you by this wound and scar?*

SOLDIER. *By dint of sword hee launched from a fir.*

DEMAND. *But how? for gods sake how? let us all know:*

30 SOLDIER. *As I a wall did scale I caught this blow,
But well I see whilest that I do my best
This to relate, these make of me a jest.*

And therefore in all these cases, a man ought to bee as warie as possible hee can, that he neither himselfe breake out in his owne praises, nor yet bewray his weaknesse and folly by such interrogatoies; and that hee may in the best and most absolute manner take heed thereto, and save himselfe from such inconveniences, the readiest way is to observe others neerely that love to bee praisers of themselves; namely to call to minde and represent unto their owne remembrance how displeasing and odious a thing it is to all the world, and that there is or can be no other speech so unfavory, tedious and ikesome to heare: for suppose that we are not able to say that we suffer any other harme at their hands who praise themselves, yet we do all that we can to avoid such speech; we make shift to be delivered from it, and hasten all that we may to breath our selves, as if it were an heavy burden which of it selfe and the owne nature overchargeth us, inasmuch as it is troubleosome and intolerable even to flatterers, parasites, and needy smel-sealts in that necessitie and indigence of theirs, to heare a rich man, a prince, a governor, or a king to praise himselfe: nay they give out that they pay the greatest portion of the shor, when they must have patience to give eare to such vanities; like unto that jester in *Méander*, who breaketh out into these words,

*He killeth me when at his boord I sit
And with his cheere I satter am no wit,
But rather pine away, you may be sure,
When such bald jests to heare I must endure.
And yet as wise and warlike as they seeme,
A bragging foole and leawd sot I him deeme.*

For considering that we are wont to say thus, not only against soldiers and glorious upstarts newly enriched, whose manner is to make much of their painted theaths, powring out brave and proud discourses; but also against sophisters, rhetoricians, and philosophers, yea and great captaines, puffed up with arrogancy and presumption, and speaking bigge words of themselves: If

we would call to remembrance that a mans owne proper praises be accompanied alwaies with the dispraises of others, and that the end commonly of such vaine-glory is shame and infamie; also, that tediousnesse unto the hearers, is (as *Demosthenes* saith) the reward, and not any opinion to be reputed such as they say, we would be more sparing and forbear to speake so much of our selves, unless some greater profit and advantage might afterwards grow either to us or to the hearers in place.



WHAT PASSIONS AND MALADIES BE WORSE, THOSE OF THE SOULE, OR THOSE OF THE BODIE?

The Summarie.

This present question upon which Plutarch hath framed this declaration, whereas there remaineth extant in our hands but one little parcell, hath bene of long time discussed and debated among men; the greater is our damage and detriment, that we have here no better division, nor a more ample resolution of it by so excellent aphorophor as he was: but seeing that this losse can not be recovered, let us seeke for the clearing of all this matter in other authors; but principally in those, who search deeply to the verie bottom, for to discover the source of all the maladies of the soule, in stead of such writers who have created of morall philosophie, according to the doctrine and light of nature, one being ignorant what precept out of her schoole, and have not touched the point but superficially, as being ignorant what is originall and hereditarie corruption; what is sinne; how it entred first into the world; what are the greatest impressions, assaults, effects, and what is the end and reward thereof. But to come unto this fragment, our author after he had shewed that man of all living creatures is most miserable, declareth wherein these humane miseries ought to be considered, and prooveth withall, that the diseases of the soule are more dangerous than those of the body, for that they be more in number, and the same exceeding different, hard to be knowne and incurable, as evidently it is to be seene in effect, that those who are afflicted with such maladies, have their judgement depraved and overturned, refusing remedie with the losse of rest and repose, and a singular pleasure which they take to discover their unquietnesse, anxietie, and miserie.

WHAT PASSIONS AND MALADIES BE WORSE, THOSE OF THE SOULE OR THOSE OF THE BODIE?



Our having viewed and considered very well the sundry sorts of living creatures mortall, compared also one kind with another, as well in the continuance as the conversation and manner of their life, concluded in the end with this exclamation,

*To how creatures, allow earth
which walke and draw their wind,
More miserable none there are
nor wretched than mankind,*

attributing unto man this unhappie soveraigntie, that he hath the superiouritie in all miseries whatsoever: but we setting this downe

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for a supposition granted already, that man carieth the victorie, and surpasseth all others for his infortunitie, and is already declared and pronounced the most unhappie wretch of all living creatures, will set in hand to compare him with his owne selfe, in a certaine conference of his proper calamities that follow him; and that by dividing him, not in vaine and unfruitfully, but very pertinently and to good purpose, into the soule and the bodie, to the end that we may learne and know thereby whether we live more miserable in regard of our soules, or our selves, that is to say, our bodies: for a disease in our bodie is engendered by nature; but vice and sinne in the soule is first an action, but afterwards becometh a passion thereof: so that it is no small consolation, but maketh much for the contentment of our minde, to know that the worse is curable, and the lighter is that which can not be avoided.

The fox in *Aesope* pleading upon a time against the leopard, as touching the varietie of colours in their skins, after that the leopard had shewed her bodie, which to the eie and in outward apparence was well marked & beset with faire spots, whereas the foxes skin was tawny, foule and ill-favoured to see to: But you (quoth he) sir Judge, if you looke within, shall finde me more spotted and divers coloured than that leopard there; meaning the craft and subtiltie which he had, to turne and change himselfe in divers sorts, as need required; after the same maner let us say within our selves: O man, thy body breedeth and bringeth forth many maladies and passions naturally of it selfe, many also it receiveth and entertaineth coming from without, but if thou wilt anatimize and open thy selfe, thou shalt finde within, a save, an ambrie, nay a store-houise and treasure (as *Democritus* saith) of many evils and maladies, and those of divers and sundry sorts, not entering and running in from abroad, but having their originall sources springing out of the ground, and home-bred, the which, vice abundant, rich and plenteous in passions putteth forth. Now, whereas the diseases that possesse the body and the flesh, are discovered and known by their inflammations and red colour, by pulses also or beating of the arteries, and namely, when the visage is more red or pale than customably it is, or when some extraordinary heat or lassitude, without apparent cause, bewraith them: contrariwise, the infirmities and maladies of the soule are hidden many times unto those that have them, who never thinke that they be sicke and ill at ease; and in this regard worke they be, for that they deprive the patients of the sense and feeling of their sicknesse: for the discourse of reason, whilst it is found and hole, seetheth the maladies of the bodie; but as for the diseases of the soule, whilst reason herselfe is sicke, she hath no judgement at all of that which she suffereth, for the selfe same that should judge is diseased; and we are to deeme and esteeme, that the principall and greatest maladie of the soule is follie, by reason whereof vice, being remediless and incurable in many, is cohabitant in them, liveth and dieth with them: for the first degree and very beginning of a cure, is the knowledge of a disease, which leadeth and directeth the patient to seeke for helpe; but he who will not beleeve that he is amisse or sicke, not knowing what he hath need of, although a present remedie were offered unto him, will refuse and reject the same. And verily, among those diseases which afflict the bodie, those are counted worst which take a man with a privation of sense; as lethargies, intolerable head-ach, or phrenesies, epilepsies or falling-evils, apoplexies and feavers-ardent; for these burning agues many times augment their heat so much, that they bring a man to the losse of his right wits, and so trouble the senses, as it were in a muscull instrument, that

*They stirre the strings at secret root of hart,
Which touched should not be, but lie apart.*

which is the reason that practitioners in physicke desire and wish in the first place, that a man were not sicke at all, but if hee be sicke, that hee be not ignorant and senselesse altogether of his disease; a thing that ordinarily befalleth to all those who be sicke in minde: for neither wise foolles, nor dissolute and loose persons, ne yet those who be unjust and deale wrongfully, thinke that they do amisse and sinne; nay, some of them are perswaded that they do right well. Never was there man yet, who esteemed an ague to be health, nor the phthisicke or consumption to be a good plight and habit of the bodie, nor that the gout in the feet was good footman'ship, ne yet that to be ruddy and pale or yellow, was all one; yet you shall have many who are diseased in minde, to call hastines and choler, valiance; wanton love, amities; envie, emulation; and cowardise, warie prudence. Moreover, they that be bodily sicke, send for the physicians (because they know whereof they stand in need) for to heale their diseases; whereas the other avoid and shun the sage philosophers; for they thinke verily that they do well when they fault most. upon this reason we holde, that the ophthalmie, that is to say, the inflammation of bloud-shorten eyes, is a

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leffe maladie than *Mania*, that is to say, rage and furious madnesse; and that the gout in the feet is nothing so bad as the phrensie, which is an inflammation or impostume bred in the braine; for the one of these patients finding himself diseased, crieth out for paine, & calleth for the physician, and no sooner is he come, but he sheweth him his diseased eie for to dresse and anoint, he holdeth forth his veine for to be opened, & yeeldeth unto him his head for to be cured; whereas you shall heare ladie *Agave* in the Tragadies, so farre transported out of all sense and understanding (by reason of her raging fit) that shee knew not those persons which were most deare and entire unto her; for thus she saith:

*This little one here newly kild,
And cut in pieces in the field,
From hills we bring to dwelling place,
How happy, & hath bene our chace!*

As for him who is sicke in bodie, presently he yeeldeth thereto, he laies him downe upon his pallet, or taketh his naked bed, he calet himselfe all that he can, and is content and quiet all the while that the physician hath him in cures; but if peradventure he tumble and tosse in his bedde, fling and cast off his clothes, by reason that his bodie is tormented with some grievous hot fit, no sooner stirreth he never so little, but one or other that standeth or sitteth by to tend him, is ready to fay gently unto him:

*Poore soule, be quiet, feare none ill,
Dare heart, in bed see thou be still.*

he staich and keepeth him downe, that he shall not start and leape out of his bed: but contrariwise, those that be surpris'd with the passions of the soule, at such a time be most busie, then they be least in repose and quiet; for their violent motions be the causes moving their actions, and their passions are the vehement fits of such motions: this is the cause that they will not let the soule to be at rest, but even then when as a man hath most need of patience, silence and quiet retreat, they draw him most of all abroad into the open aire; then are discovered fooneft his cholerick passions, his opinionative and contentions humors, his wanton love and his grievous sorrows, enforcing him to commit many enormities against the lawes, and to speake many words unseasonably, and not besitting the time.

Like as therefore much more perillous is the tempest at sea, which impeacheth and putteth backe a ship, that it can not come into the harbour to ride at anchor, than that which will not suffer it to get out of the haven and make saile in open sea; even so those tempestuous passions of the soule are more dangerous which will not permit to be at rest, nor to settle his discourse of reason once troubled, but overturneth it upside downe, as being dismurr'd of pilots and cables, not well ballasted in the storme, wandering to and fro without a guide and steersmon, carried murther into rash and dangerous courses, so long, untill in the end it falleth into some shipwracke, and where it overthroweth the whole life, in such sort that in regard of these reasons and others semblable, I conclude, that woofe it is to be soule-sicke than diseased in bodie; for the bodies being sicke, suffer onely, but the soules if they be sicke, both suffer and doe also amisse. To prove this, what neede we further to particularize and alledge for examples 40 many other passions, considering that the occasion of this present time is sufficient to admonish us thereof, and to refresh our memorie? See you not this great multitude and preasse of people thrusting and thronging here about the Tribunal and common place of the citie; they are not all assembled hither to sacrifice unto the Tutelar gods, Protectors of their native country, nor to participate in common the same religion and sacred ceremonies of divine service; they are not all met heere together for to offer an oblation unto *Jupiter Africus* out of the first fruits of *Lydia*, and to celebrate and solemnize in the honor of *Bacchus*, during these holy nights, his festivall revells with daunces, masks, and mummeries accustomed: but like as by yearly accesse and anniverfarie revolutions, the forcible vigor of the pestilence returneth for to irritate and provoke all *Afias*; so they resort hither to entertaine their suits and proceses in law to follow their pleas; and a world here is of affaires, like to many brookes and rivers that run all at once into one channell and maine streame; so they are met in the same place, which is pestered and filled with an infinite multitude of people, to hurt themselves and others. From what fevers or colde, ague-fits, proceed these effects? from what tensions or remissions, augmentations or diminutions? from what distemperature of heat, or overspreading of cold humours comes all this? If you aske of everie severall cause here in suite, as if they were men and able to answer you from whence it arofe, how it grew, and whereupon it came and first began? you shall

shall finde that one matter was engendred, by some willfull and proud anger; another proceeded from a troublefome and litigious spirit; and a third was caused by some unjust desire and unlawful lust.



THE PRECEPTS OF WEDLOCKE.

The Summaric.

WE have heere a mixture, and medley of rules for married folke, who in the persons of Pollianus and Eurydice, are taught their mutual duty: upon which argument needlesse is to discourse at large, considering that the whole matter is set out particularly, and tendeth to this point: That both at the beginning, in the sequell also and continuation of marriage, man and wife ought to assist, support, and love one another with a single heart and affection, farre removed from disdainfull pride, violence, vanitie, and sibiennesse, the which is specified and comprised in 45. articles; bowbeit in such sort, that there be some of those precepts, which savour of the corruption of those times, bewraying the insufficiency of humane wisdom, unless it be lightened with Gods truth. We see also in this Treatise more particular advicements appropriate to both parties, touching their devoir as well at home as abroad; and all enriched with notable similitudes and excellent examples. In summe, if these precepts following be well weighed and practised, they are able to make mans life much more easie and commodious than it is. But Plutarch sheweth sufficiently by the thirtieth rule, how hard a matter it is to retaine each one in their 30 severall duties; and that in manner all doe regard and looke upon things with another eye, than they ought. How ever it be, those persons whom vertue hath linked and joined together in matrimonie, may finde here whereby to profit; and so much the more, for that they have one lesson, which naturall, equitie and conscience putteth them in minde of everie day, if they will enter never so little into themselves, which being joined with the commandments of the heavenly wisdom, it can not be but huf-band and wife shall live in consentment and blessed estate.

THE PRECEPTS OF WEDLOCKE.

PLUTARCH to POLLIANUS and EURYDICE, sendeth greeting.



After the accustomed ceremoniall linke of marriage in this countie, which the Priestresse of *Ceres* hath put upon you, in coupling you both together in one bed-chamber, I suppose that this discourse of mine, coming as it doth to favorize and second this bond and conjunction of yours, in furnishing you with good lessons and wife nuptiall advicements, will not be unprofitable, but found, verie fitting and conformable to the customarie wedding song observed in these parts. The musicians among other tunes that they had with the haut-boies, used one kind of note which they called *Hypotharos*, which is as much to say as Leape-mare; having this opinion that it stirred and provoked stallions to cover mares. But of many beautifull and good discourses which philosophie affordeth unto us, one there is which deserveth no lesse

to be effected than any other, by which these seeming to enchant and charme those who are come together to live all the daies of their life in mutual societie, maketh them to be more buxome, kinde, tractable, and pliable one to the other. Therefore I have made a certaine collection of such rules and precepts which your selves have heard already oftentimes, being both of you trained up and nourished in the studie of philosophie; and reduced them all in few words to certaine principall heads and articles, to the end that they might be more easily remembered: the which I send as a common present to you both, beseeching withall, the Muses that they would vouchsafe in your behalfe, and for your owne sake to affilit and accompanie the goddesse *Venus*; forasmuch as their office is to make a good consonance and accord in marriage and house-keeping, by the means of reason and harmonie philosophicall, no lesse than to set in tune a lute or harpe, or any musical instrument.

1 And to begin withall: This is the reason that our auncients ordeined, that the image of *Venus* should be placed jointly with that of *Mercurie*, as giving us thereby to understand, that the delight and pleasure of marriage, had need especially to be maintained with good language and wife speeches: they used to set also with these two images, the Graces, and Goddesse of Eloquence *Ladie Pithe*, that is, Perswasion, intending thereby that those folke whom the bond of matrimonie had linked together, might obtaine what they desired one at the others hand gently and by faire means, not by debate, chiding and brawles.

2 *Solon* gave order and commanded that the new-wedded bride should eate of a quince before that she came in bed with her bridegrome; signifying covertly in mine opinion by this darke ceremony, that first and above all, the grace proceeding from the mouth, to wit, the breath and the voice, ought to be sweete, pleasant, and agreeable in everie respect.

3 In the countrey of *Beotin*, the custome was upon the wedding day when the nuptiall vaile was put over the bride, for to set also upon her head a chaplet made of wilde preckie *Spirach* branches, for that this plant out of a most sharpe and pricking thorne, putteth forth a most pleasant and delectable fruit; even so, the wedded wife in case her husband do not reject and flie her company, for the sild difficulties and troublefome inconveniences incident to marriage, shall bring unto him afterwards a sweete and amiable societie; but they that can not endure at first the jarres and quarrels of their young wives, whom they married virgins, may for all the world be resembled to those who give away ripe grapes from themselves to others, because they be sowre before they are ripe; feebly, many new wedded-wives, who take a disdain to their husbands by reason of some debates and encounters at the first, doe much like unto those who having abidden the sting of the Bee, cast away the honie-combe out of their hands. It behooveth therefore new-married folke, to take heed especially in the beginning, that they avoide all occasions of dissention and offence giving; considering this with themselves, and seeing daily that the pieces of wooden vessels which are newly joined and glued together, at the first are soone disjoined, and go afunder againe upon the least occasion in the world, but after that in continuance of time the joint is strongly settled and foundly confirmed, a man shall hardly part and separate one piece from another with fire or yron edged tooles.

4 And like as fire kindleth soone & catcheth a flame if it meet with light stubble, chaffe, or the haire of an hare, but it quickly goeth out againe, if there be not put thereto some matter or fewell anon, which may both hold in and also maintaine and feede the flame; even so, we are to thinke that the love of young-wedded persons, which is enflamed and set on fire by youth, and the beavtie of the bodie onely, is not firme and durable, unlesse it be surely founded upon the conformitie of good and honest maners, and take hold of wisdom, whereby it may engender a lively affection and reciprocall disposition one toward the other.

5 Fithes are soone caught and taken up by baies made of empoysoned paste, or such like medicines, but their meat is naught and dangerous to be eaten; feebly, those women who compound certaine love drinckes, or devise other charmes and forceries for to give their husbands, and thinke by such allurements of pleasure to have the hand and command over them, it is all to nothing, that afterwards in their life together they shall find them to be blackish, foolish, & senseless companions. Those men whom *Cine* the famous forceresse enchanted with hir witchcraft, did her no pleasure, neither served they her in any stead, being transformed (as they were) into swine and asses; whereas the loved and affected entirely and exceedingly *Ulysses*, an ingenious man and who conversed wisely with her; but such wives as had rather bee mistresses and over-rule their doltish husbands, than obey them that be wife & men of understanding, may very properly be compared unto them, who chioose rather to leade and conduct the blind, than to be guided

guided by those that see, and to follow them that have knowledge. These women will never beleeve that *Aspaphis* being a Kings wife loved a bull, notwithstanding they see some wives that can not endure their husbands, if they be anything austere, grave, sober, and honest, but they abandon and give themselves over more willingly to accompanie with such as be composed altogether of luxurious loosenesse, of filthie lust and voluptuousnesse, like as if they were dogs or goats.

6 Some men there be so tender, feeble, and effeminate, that being not able to mount up their horse-backes as they stand, teach them to stoupe and rest upon their knees, that they may get upon them; and even so, you shall finde divers husbands, who having espoused rich wives and defended of noble houles, never studie to make them better, but keepe downe their wives and hold them under, being perswaded that they shall rule them the better when they are thus humbled and brought low; whereas indeed they should as well maintaine the dignitie of their wives, as regard and keepe the just stature and height of their horses, as well in the one as the other, make use of the bridle.

7 We see that the moone, the farther that she is from the sunne, the brighter she shineth and is more cleere, and when she approacheth neere unto his raies and beames, the lesfeth her light and is darkened; but a chaste, honest and wise woman must do cleane contrarie; for shee ought to be most seene with her husband, and if he be away, to keepe close and hold her selfe within house.

8 It was not well said of *Herodotus*: That a woman casteth off her pudicitie, when she putteth off her smocke or inner garment; for cleane contrarie it is in a chaste and sober matron, for in stead thereof she putteth on shamefastnes and honestie; and the greatest signe of all other that married folke do love reciprocally is this, when they have most reverence and shamefast regard one to the other.

9 Like as if one take two sounds that accord together, the base is alwaies more heard, and the song is ascribed to it; even so, in an house well ordered and governed, all goes well which is done by the consent of both parties; but evident it is and apparent, that the conduct, counsell and direction of the husband, is that which effecteth it.

10 The sunne upon a time (as the fable goeth) had the victorie over the northern winde; so for when the said winde blew forcibly upon a man, and with the violence of his blafts, did what it could to drive his cloake or upper garment from off his shoulders, the man striven so much the more to hold it on and keepe it close about him; but when the sun came to be hot after the said wind was laid, and set the man in exceeding heat by his beames, he was glad to throw off his said cloake; yea and feeling himselfe to burne with heat, put off his coat, shirt and all; and even feebly do the most part of women, for when they perceive that their husbands by their authoritie, and perforce will take from them their superfluous delights and vaine pleasures, they strive againe and make resistance, and are offended and discontented therewith; but when as contrariwise they come unto them with gentle remonstrances and milde perswasions, then of themselves they will be content peaceably to lay them aside, and endure all with patience.

11 *Cato* deprived a senatour of *Rome* of his honorable place, for that in the presence of his owne daughter, he kissed his wife. I cannot simply commend this act of his, for it favoured peradventure too much of severitie and rigor: but if it be (as no doubt it is) an unseemely sight for man and wife to kisse, clip, embrace, and use dalliance together in the presence of others; how can it chuse but be more shamefull and unseemly to chide, brawle, and taunt one another before strangers? and when a man hath plaied, sported, and used love delights in secret with his wife afterwards in open place to checke, rebuke, nip and gird at her with spightfull speeches in the face of the world?

12 Like as a mirrour or looking glasse garnished with golde and precious stones, serveth no purpose, if it doe not represent to the life the face of him or her that looketh into it; no more is a woman worth ought (be she otherwise never so rich) unlesse she conforme with frame her selfe, her life, her maners, and conditions surable in all respects to her husband. A false mirrour it is, and good for nothing, that sheweth a sad and heavey countenance to him who is merrie and jocund, and contrariwise, which resembleth a glad and smiling visage to one who is melancholicke, angrie and discontent; even so, a bad woman is she, and a very untoward piece, who when her husband is desirous to solace himselfe and be merrie in disposing with her, froweth and looketh doggedly under the browes, and on the other side, when she seeth him amused in serious matters, and in a deepe study about his affaires, is set on a merrie pin, and given to mirth

and laughter; for as the one is a signe of a sower plumme and an unpleasant yoke-fellow, so the other bewaileth a woman that seeth light by the affections of her husband; whereas indeed besetting it were, that as (by the saying of Geometricians) the lines and superficies move not at all of themselves, but according to the motions of the bodies; even so a wife should have no proper passion or peculiar affection of her owne, but be a partaker of the sports, serious affaires, sad countenance, deepe thoughts, and smiling looks of her husband.

13 They that take no pleasure, nor can not away that their wives doe eat and drinke freely with them at the table in their sight, doe as much as teach them how to cram themselves and fill their gorge apart when they be alone; even so they that will vouchsafe to live merrily and be pleasant with their wives, nor can abide to disport and laugh privately with them, teach them the ready way to seeke their pleasures and delights by themselves.

14 The kings of *Persia* at their ordinarie meales have their queenes or espoused wives to sit by them at the boord, but when they list to be merrie indeed and carouse lustily untill they be drunke, they send them away to their chambers, and call for their concubines, singing wenches, and muscull trulles in their place; * I can commend them yet for so doing, in that they would not have their owne lawfull wives to be partakers of their drunkenesse and licentious loosenesse. If therefore it chance that some private person abandoned to his owne pleasures, untaught, and given to leawd conditions, chance to do a fault in abusing himselfe either with his paramour or his wives chamber-maid, his wife must not be angrie for the matter and frowne at him for it, but rather thus to thinke with her selfe, and make this construction, that her husband being loth and afraid to offend her with his drunkenesse, unbridled lust and intemperance, turned another way for that purpose.

15 Kings if they love musick, cause many good musicians to be in their kingdome; if they set their minds upon their booke, they make many learned clerks; if they be given to feats of activitie and exercise of the body, many of their subjects (by that example) will prove champions and tall men of their hands; even so a husband that loveth to trim and pamper his bodie, causeth his wife (by that meanes) to study nothing els but the tricking and pruning of her selfe; he that followeth his pleasures and wanton delights, maketh her also to be lascivious and to play the harlot; but who that embraceth honestie, and ensueweth vertue and good things, by his example shall have an honest, virtuous and wife wife of her.

16 A young woman of *Sparta* being asked the question by one, whether she had meddled or lien yet with her husband: Not I (quoth she) but he hath with me. And in very truth, in this manner (by mine advice) it would become an honest matron and hufwife to behave herselfe toward her husband, that the neither reject and disdain dalliance and love-sports with him, if he begin with her, nor yet herselfe offer such temptations first unto him; for as this is a trick of a wanton and unthame-faced flumpster, so the other bewaileth a proud woman, and one who is nothing lovely nor amiable.

17 A woman ought to have no peculiar friends by herselfe, but to use her husbands friends and take them as her owne. Considering then, that the gods challenge the first and principall place in friendship, * the wife is to acknowledge and worship the same gods (and none els but those) whom her husband honoureth, serveth, and reputeth gods; moreover, she ought to shut and locke the gate against all curious and new inventions of religions, and not to entertaine any strange and forren superstitions; for I assure you, to none of the gods can those divine services and sacrifices be acceptable, which a woman will seeme to celebrate by stealth, and without the knowledge and privie of her husband.

18 *Plato* writeth, that the cite is blessed and happie, wherein a man shall never heare these words: *This is mine*, and, *This is not mine*; for that the inhabitants thereof have all things there (especially, if they be of any worth and importance) as neere as possibly they can, common among them: but these words ought rather to be banished out of the state of matrimonie, unlesse it be (as the Physicians holde) that the blowes or woundes which are given on the left side of the body, are felt on the right; even so a wife ought to have a fellow-feeling (by way of sympathie and compassion) of her husbands calamities, and the husband of his wives, much more; to the end, that like as those knots are much more fast and strong, when the ends of the cords are knit and interlaced one within another, even so the bond of marriage is more firme and sure, when both parties (the one aswell as the other) bring with them a mutuall affection and reciprocall benevolence, whereby the fellowship and communion betweene them is maintained jointly by them both; for nature herselfe hath made a mixture of us, of two bodies, to the

* *Plutarch* herein intireth of the corruption in his time: for a Christian dame & honest matron will not abide to put up such an injurie, nor vouchsafe at her husbands follies in that case.

* *Herein also Plutarch* sheweth of what religion he is.

the end that by taking part of one and part of another, and mixing all together, she might make that which cometh thereof, common to both, in such sort, as neither of the twaine can discern and distinguish what is proper to the one or peculiar to the other. This communion of goods especially, ought principally to be among those who are linked in wedlocke, for that they should put in common, and have all their havorie incorporate into one substance, in such wise, as they repute not this part proper to one, and that part peculiar to another, but the whole proper to themselves, and nothing to another: and like as in one cuppe where there is more water than wine, yet we say nevertheless that the whole is wine; even so the goods and the house ought to beare the name of the husband, although peradventure the wife brought with her the bigger portion.

19 *Helene* was covetous, and *Paris* lascivious; contrariwise, *Ulysses* was reputed wife, and *Penelope* chaste; and therefore the mariage of these last named, was blessed, happie and beloved; but the conjunction of those two before, unfortunate, bringing upon the Greeks and Barbarians both, a whole *Ilad*, that is to say, an infinite masse of miseries and calamities.

20 A gentleman of *Rome*, who espoused an honest, rich, faire and young ladie, put her away, and was divorced from her; whereupon being reproved and sharply rebuked by all his friends, he put forth his foot unto them and shewed them his shoo: VVhat finde you (quoth he) in this shoo of mine amisse? new it is and faire to see to; howbeit, there is not one of you all knoweth where it wringeth me, but I wot well where the fault is, and feelee the inconvenience thereof. A wife therefore is not to stand so much upon her goods and the dowrie she brings, nor in the nobilitie of her race and parentage, ne yet in her beautie, as in those points which touch her husband most, and come neere to his heart; namely, her conversation and fellowship, her manners, her carriage & demeanour, in all respects so disposed, that they be all not harsh, nor troublefome from day to day unto her husband, but pleasant, lovely, obsequious, and agreeable to his humor: for like as Physicians feare those feavers which are engendered of secret and hidden causes within the bodie, gathering in long continuance of time by little and little, more than such as proceed from evident and apparent causes without; even so there fall out other-whiles pettie jarres, daily and continuall quarrels betweene man and wife, which they see and know full little that be abroad; and these they be which breed separation, and cause them to part sooner than any thing els, these marre the pleasure of their cohabitation more than any other cause whatsoever.

21 King *Philip* was enamoured upon a certaine Theffalian woman, who was supposed and charged, by her forceries and charmes to have enchanted him to love her; whereupon queene *Olympias* his wife wrought so, that she got the woman into her hands; now when she had well viewed her person, and considered her beautifull visage, her amiable favour, her comely grace, and how her speech shewed well that she was a woman of some noble house, and had good bringing up: Out upon these slanderous fummises (quoth she) and false imputations; for I see well that the charmes and forceries which thou usest, are in thy selfe. In like manner we must thinke, that an espoused and legitimate wife is as one would say, a fort inexpugnable, namely, such an one, as (in her selfe) repofing and placing all these things, to wit, her dowrie, nobilitie, charmes and love-drinks, yea, and the very tisse or girdle of *Venus*, by her study and endeavour, by her gentle behavior, her good grace and vertue) is able to win the affectionate love of her husband for ever.

22 Another time, the same queene *Olympias* heare that a certaine young gentleman of the Court had married a ladie, who though she were faire and well-favoured, yet had not altogether the best name: This man (quoth she) hath no wit at all in his head, for otherwise hee would never have married according to the counsell and appetite of his eyes only. And in truth we ought not to goe about for to contract marriage by the eie or the fingers, as some doe who count with their fingers how much money, or what goods a wife bringeth with her, never caring to find and making computation of her demeanour and conditions, whether she be so well qualified, as that they may have a good life with her.

23 *Socrates* was wont to counsell young men who used to see their faces and looke upon themselves in mirrours, if they were foule or ill-favoured, to correct that deformitie by vertue; if they were faire, not to soile and staine their beautie with vice; semblably, it were very well that the mistress of an house having in her hand a looking glasse, should say thus unto her selfe if she be foule and deformed: VVhat a one should I be if I were sought or leawd withal? if faire and well-favoured: How highly shall I be esteemed, if I be honest and wife besides? for if an

hard

hard-favoured woman be loved for her faire and gentle conditions, she hath more honor thereby, than if (he wan love by beautie onely.

24 The tyrant of Sicily (*Dionysius*) sent upon a time unto the daughters of *Lysander* certaine rich robes, costly wreathes and precious jewels as presents; but *Lysander* would not receive these gifts, saying: These presents would bring more shame than honour to my daughters. And the Poet *Sophocles*, before *Lysander's* time, wrote to the like effect in these verses:

*This will (Sicrich) to thee none honour bring,
But may be thought a foule and shamefull thing;
It doth bewray a fop and fote in kinde,
And one who beares amongst lascivious minde.*

for (according as the Philosopher *Crates* said) That is an ornament which doth adorne; and that adorneth a wife, which maketh her more comely and decent: this are not jewels of golde able to do, nor emeralds and other precious stones, nor purple and scarlet robes, but that only which causeth her to be reputed grave, sober, lowly and modest.

25 Those that sacrificed to *Juno* (surnamed *Gemetia*, that is, Nuptiall) offered not the gall with the rest of the beast that was killed, but plucked it out of the body, cast it aside, and laid it by, about the altar; by which ceremonie, he whosoever he was that first instituted it, would give us to understand; that in matrimonie there ought to be no gall, that is to say, no bitter choler and anger at all; hee meant not thereby that a woman should not be grave, for a wife and matron that is mistress of an house, must carie an austere countenance in some sort, but this austerity or tartness ought to be like that verdure which is in wine, that is to say, holtsome and pleasant, not bitter or eager in any wise, as is *Aloe Succotrine*, nor resembling any such purgative drugs.

26 *Plato* perceiving *Xenocrates* (a mathematician otherwise vertuous and well disposed) to be given a little to overcome fevritie, admonished him to sacrifice unto the Graces; even so I suppose, that a vertuous dame hath need also of the Graces helpe, as much as of any thing els, when she converseth with her husband, to the end that she may live in joy with him (as *Aethradorus* saith) and not move him to anger and displeasure, for all she be an honest and chaste matron, and so repent another day of her pudicitie: for neither must a frugal husband and saving dame neglect to be cleane and neat, nor she that loveth her husband entirely, cease to offer kindeesse unto him, and deale with him after an amiable and loving sort; for surely the fowre conversation of a woman maketh all her honesty to be but odious, like as flattery also causeth all her frugalitie and thrift to be hatefull and displeasing; in somuch as she who is afraid to looke pleasantly, and smile upon her husband, or to shew some such like love-trickes, because forsooth she would not be thought bold and wanton, is much like unto her, who because she would not seeme to have her head besmeared with precious perfumes, forbearth also to be anointed with oyle, and for that folke should not thinke that shee painteth her face, will not so much as wash the fauce. Poets wee see and orators, as many of them as would avoide a base, illiberall, and ill affected kinde of stile, without good grace which breedeth rediousnes in the reader and hearer, studie and endeavour with all the wit they have to entertaine and moove both the one and the other by their fine invention, good dispose, and naturall representation of the manners of each person; and even so, an honest dame and huswife shall do well, to avoide and reject all superfluitie, all curiositie, and in one word whatsoever favourth of a whoore, or such an one as loveth to shew her selfe abroad in pompous manner, and rather employ all her wit, her art and industrie in the pleasant and amiable carriage of her selfe, in her affabilitie and lovely conversation with her husband, daily and howertly acquainting and accustoming him to honestie and decentie with pleasure and delight. Howbeit, if it fall out so, that some one woman be so austere of nature, that by no means which the husband useth, he can make her pleasant and sociable, in this case he must be content and beare his owne crosse; and like as *Phocion* answered to *Antipater*, who required him to do a dishonest act and little befitting his estate: Sir (quoth he) you can not have me to be your friend and a flatterer to; even so must he say to himselfe of such a wife, who is fowre and unpleasant, but yet honest: It is not meet that I should looke to converse with her as a true espoused wife and a light harlot also.

27 The Egyptian wives by the ancient custome of their country, weare no shooes at all on their feete, to the end that this fashion of going might put them in mind to keepe home; but far otherwise it is with our dames for the most part, from whom if you take their gilded pantofles, their carkanets, their bracelets, their fine garters, their purple garments and pearles, they will never go once out of their houses,

28 *Theano*

28 *Theano*, as she one day dressed her selfe and put on her raiment, chanced to shew her arme a good way bare, and when one that stood by perceived it, and said withall: Oh there is a faire elbow: True (quoth she) but it is not for every man; and even so, not the arme onely of a chaste and honest dame ought not to be common, but also not so much as her verie speech; for she is as well in manner to take heed and beware how she open her mouth and speake much, as to discover and lay her bodie naked before strangers, for that her manners, actions, and conditions which she hath, she openeth unto others when she speaketh.

29 *Phidias*, when he made the image of *Venus* for the Eleians, devised that she should tread with her feete upon a tortoise shell, signifying thereby that a woman ought to keepe home and not goe forth of doores, but stay within house with silence; for surely a wife is to speake either unto her husband onely, or els by the means of her husband; neither must she thinke much and be offended, if like the minstrell that foundeth the hautboies, she utter a lower and bigger voice than her owne, by the tongue of another.

30 Great men and rich, princes also and kings, in honouring Philosophers, do grace both them and their owne selves; but Philosophers in making court and doing service unto those rich and mighty personages, adde thereby no reputation unto them, but make themselves more honored and better accepted; seembly it fareth with wives, for when they be subject to their husbands, they winne praise and commendation, but when they will needs bee masters, they get greater shame by it, and do more undecently, than those whom they have the maistrise of. For by good right, the husband ought to rule over the wife; not as the lord over his slave, or that which he possideth; but after the same manner as the soule governeth the bodie, by a certaine muttall love and reciprocall affection, wherewith he is linked unto her: for as the soule may well have a care of the bodie, without subjecting it selfe to the pleasures and disordinate lusts thereof; even so, may an husband have the sovereignty over his wife, and withall exercise the same neverthelesse in all kindnes, and be readie to gratifie and please her.

31 Philosophers doe hold opinion that of bodies some consist of parts disjoined and distinct, and separate one from another, as a fleet of ships or an armie of men; others of pieces joined together and touching close one another, as an house or a ship; and some againe bee composed of parts united and incorporate into one nature living and growing together, as the bodies of living creatures. Much like to these compositions is wedlocke: for the conjunction of those in matrimonie, who love entirely one another, and for pure love be linked in marriage, resembleth a bodie, the parts whereof are naturally united together: that copulation of those who marrie for rich dowries, wealth, or procreation of children, may be compared to that bodie which standeth of pieces, that touch onely and meet together in a joint: but such a marriage as respecteth nothing but carnall companie in bed together, is like unto those bodies, the parts whereof stand asunder, and neither be united in one, nor touch one the other. But like as the naturall Philosophers affirme, that liquid bodies or humours be those which are apt to be mingled wholly one with another in every part; even so, it becometh that of those who are joined together in matrimony the bodies, goods, friends, & familiars, be totally intermingled together, which is the reason that the law-giver in setting downe the Romane lawes, forbade expressly such as were entred into the bond of wedlocke, to give and receive any gifts interchangeably, or to make muttall donation; not intending thereby that they should participate in nothing, but that they should repute all things in common betweene them.

32 A custome there was in *Lepis*, a citie situate in *Libya*, that the new-wedded bride the morrow after her marriage, should send unto the bridegroomes mother, for to borrow a brass pot or kettle to hang over the fire; but his mother-in-law must denie it and say, shee hath none for her; so the end that this young wife being at the first acquainted with the fashions of her mother-in-law, favouring somewhat of a crooked stepdame, might not thinke it strange or be much grieved if it chance afterward that she deale more hardly with her. A wife knowing thus much, ought betimes to meet with all occasions of such ordinarie offences which proceed from nothing els, but a jealousie that the stepmother hath over her, for the love that she beareth unto her sonne: The only remedie of which passion is this, that the new-wedded wife endeavour so to win the affection of her husband, that she doe not withall diminish nor withdraw that affection of his which a sonne ought to beare unto his naturall mother.

33 It seemeth that mothers ordinarily of children, love their sonnes better than the daughters, as at whose hands they hope for more succour another day; and fathers contrariwise affect their daughters more, as who have more need of their helping hand; and peradventure it may be

be, that in regard of the honor the one beareth to the other, either of them would seeme to carie greater affection to that which is more proper and familiar to the other: and yet happily this holdeth not alwaies, but there may be some difference therein: but certainly a civill part it is and very well befitting a wife to shew herselfe to have a better inclination to her and make much of her husbands parents than her owne; yea & if at any time she be offended or grieved at ought, to conceale her griefe from her owne father and mother, and to lay the same open and make her mone unto his; for in declaring that she hath the better affiance and trust in them, she gaineth more confidence at their hands, and by seeming to love them better, she is the rather beloved of them againe.

34 The captaines under *Cyrus* gave commandement to their soldiours, that when the enemies gave the charge upon them with great out-cries, they should receive them with silence; & contrariwise, if they came to assaile and set upon them in silence, they should encounter them with mightie shouts; even so, women that are wife and of good understanding, when they perceive their husbands in choler, & thereupon growing to high words, use to hold their tongues; and on the other side, if their husbands go up and downe and say nothing, although they be angry, ought to moove speech unto them, and by faire language to appease and mitigate their mood. Wisely did the poet *Enripides* in reprooving those that called for the harpe and other minstrellie at feasts where they dranke wine liberally: For it behoved rather (quoth he) to have musick when as men be in fits either of choler or melancholie, to delay their anger and heaviness, than to enervate them yet more, who are in their meriments and pleasure enfeebled already; femblyable you must thinke that you doe a fault, if you goe to bed and companie together for to pleasure one another, and when you bee at some debate and difference, you part beds and lie asunder; not calling at such a time for the aide of lady *Venus*, who knoweth best and is wont in such cases to remedie all: which the poet *Homer* in one place teacheth us verie well, where he bringeth in dancie *Iuno* speaking in this wise:

*Their long debates I will soon end,
and bitter braules compose,
By bringing them to bed both twaine,
to sport and raker pfe.*

Certes a wife ought at all times and in everie place to avoide the occasion of quarrels with her husband, and the husband likewise with the wife; but especially they must beware how they fall out when they are in one bed, for to solace one another and to sleepe together. A good wife there was, who when she was in travell and ready to cry out as feeling the throwes coming thicke upon her, and not able to endure them, when the women about her would have laid her upon a bed: And how can (quoth she) this bed ease the paines of this my maladie, seeing I gat it first upon the same bed; and even to verify the quarrels, braules, shrewd words, and angry fits which arise in bed, hardly can be taken up and ended at any other time, or els where than in bed.

35 It seemeth that lady *Hermion* spake truly when in a tragedie of *Enripides* she said thus:
*Leave women who to my house did resort,
Have me undone, and rais'd a bad report.*

Howbeit this is not simply true, neither falleth it out alwaies so when such use to come into an house, but onely at thole times when the quarrellous braules and jealous fits of a wife with her husband openeth not the doores onely of the house, but her cares also to such gossip. At such a time therefore a wife woman ought to stop her cares and take heed of their whispering and prating suggestions, for feare least the fire new coles, or put fire to fire, and to have in readines the saying of king *Philip of Macedon*: for we read of him, that when his friends incited him to anger against the Greekes, who (notwithstanding he was so gracious unto them, and had received many favors at his hands) ceased not to backbite and slander him, made them this answer: What thinke you will they doe then, if I should worke them a shrewd turne? femblyable when 50 make-bate women shall come twatling and say: How doth your husband misse you, loving him, and making so much of him as you doe in all dutie and loialty? your answer must be: What will become of me then if I should begin to hate him and doe him injurie?

36 A certeine matter there was upon a time who espied aslave of his that was long before runne away, and when he had set his eie upon him, ranne apace for to take hold of him; the poore slave fled still, and gat at length a mill-house over his head: That's happie (quoth the master to himselfe) I would not wish to meet with him in a better place; even so a woman who up-

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on jealousie is upon the point to be divorced and depart from her husband, and being ill appaid in her mind for being driven to this hard exigent, should thus speake unto herselfe: VVhat is it that my concurrent who is the cause of this my jealousie can with in her heart to content her better than to see me do this whereabout I am? namely, to vex and torment my selfe thus as I do, to be so far out, and in such tearmes with my husband, abandoning his house, and forsaking our marriage bed.

37 The Athenians observe and celebrate three seasons of sacred seednesse in the yeere; the first in the ile *Seyros*, in memoriall of the first invention of tillage and sowing in that country; the second in a place called *Raris*; and the third, under their owne citie wales, (which they 10 call *Euzeyon*, in remembrance of yoking oxen to the plough: but the nuptiall tillage (as I may so call) which is imploied for issue and procreation of children, and to mainteine our race and posterity is the most sacred of all other, and ought to be observed with all holinesse. And therefore *Sophocles* well and wisely gave this attribute unto *Cythera* or *Venus*, when he named her *Eucarpus*, that is, Fertile or Fruitfull; in which regard man and wife lawfully joined in matrimonic, are to use the same religiously and with all precisenesse, abstaining wholly from all incestuous, illegitimate and forbidden conjunctions, and not plowing or sowing there, whereas they are not willing to reape, or if it chance that there come up any fruit, they are ashamed thereof, and willing to hide and conceale it.

38 *Gorgias* the oratour, in a great assembly at the Olympian games, made a solemne oration to the Greekes, who were met there from all parts, exhorting them to live in peace, unitie 20 and concord one with another; at which speech of his, one *Melanthus* there present: This man (quoth he) telleth us a tale of unitie, and exhorteth us all to concord here in publike, who can not perswade in his private house at home, himselfe, his owne wife & her chamber-maid to agree and live peaceably together, being but three in all, and no more: for it should seeme that *Gorgias* cast a fancie to the laid wench, and his wife was jealous of her: and therefore his house and familie ought to be in good order, who will busie himselfe and intermeddle in ordering of publike affaires, or composing of matters among friends; for commonly it falleth out that the faults which we commit against our wives, be more divulged abroad in the world, than the misdemeanours of our wives.

39 Cats are much offended (they say) with the odour and sent of sweet perfumes, inso- 30 much as they will runne mad therewith; if it chance likewise, that a woman can not away with such perfumes, but that her braines be thereby troubled, and ready to overture, her husband were of a very strange nature and should deale hardly with her, in case he would not forbear to use sweet ointments or strong senting odours, but for a little pleasure of his owne, to suffer her for to fall into so great inconvenience, and to neglect her contentment. Now if it be so, that such accidents of brain-sicknesse happen unto women, not when their husbands be perfumed, but when they are given to keepe queanes and love harlots, it were meer injustice in them, for a small pleasure of their owne to offend and disquiet their wives, and not to doe so much for their sake as those who come among bees, who for that purpose will not touch their owne wives for 40 the time, because bees (as it is said) hate such, and are ready to sting them above all others, but cary so bad a minde with them, as to come and lie by their owne wives side, being polluted and defiled with the filthie companie of other flittrumpets.

40 They that have the government of elephants, never put on white raiment when they come about them, no more do they wear red clothes who approach neere unto bulles; for that these beasts before named are afraid of such colours especially, and grow fierce and wood therewith. It is said moreover, that tygers when they heare the found of drummes or tabours about them, become enraged, and in a furious madnesse all to reare themselves. Seeing it is so therefore, that there be some men who can not abide, but are highly displeased to see their wives in their fearle & purple robes; and others againe, who can not away with the found of cymbals or 50 tabours; what harme is it, if their wives will forbear both the one and the other, for feare of provoking and offending their husbands, and live with them without unquiet brawles and janglings in all repose and patience?

41 A certeine yong woman, when king *Philip* plucked and haled her unto him against her will: Hand off good fir (quoth she) and let me goe, all cats be gray in the darke, and when the candle is out all women are alike. It is not amisse to say so (I confesse) unto dissolute persons and adulterers; but an honest married dame ought (especially when the light is gone) not to be all one with other common naughty packs, but even then when as her body can not be seene, to

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let her chaffitic, honestie, and pure love to her husband appeare most, that it may be well seene that she keepeth herselfe for him alone.

42 *Plato* exhorted elder folke to behave themselves more modestly before yong persons, than any other, that so they might learne also to reverence their elders and be respectuous of them; for where olde people be shamelesse, it is not remember to imprint any shame or grace in the yonger. Now ought an husband evermore to eare in remembrance this precept: To have none in the world in better respect and more reverence, than his owne wife, forasmuch as the bed-chamber is unto her a schoole-house either of chastity and pudicity, or els of loosenesse and incontinence; for the husband that followeth those pleasures himselfe which he debarreth his wife of, doth as much as bid his wife to fight with those enemies unto whom he hath already yielded himselfe prisoner.

43 Moreover, as touching the love and desire to go trim, and to decke and adorne the body, I would with you (o *Eurydice*) to endeavor for to call to your remembrance those rules which you have read in the treatise that *Timoxenus* wrote unto *Aristilla* concerning that argument. And as for you (o *Polliauna*) never thinke that your wife will abstaine from such curiosity, and lay away those delights and superfluities, so long as she perceiveth that you despoile not, nor reject the like vanity in other things, but that you take pleasure both to see and have your cuppes and goblets gilt, your cabinets curiously and cosily painted, your mules and horses set out with rich caparisons, sumptuous trappings, and cosly furniture: for an hard matter it is to chafe away and banish such delicate superfluities out of the nursery and womens chamber, so long as they see the same to reigne in the mens parlour and where they have to do.

44 Furthermore, you *Polliauna* being now of ripe yeres to studie those sciences which are grounded upon reason, and proceed by undoubted demonstration, adorne from hence forward your manners by frequenting the company of such persons, and conversing with them, who may serve you in good stead and farther you that way: and as for your wife, see you doe the part of a studious and industrious Bee, in gathering for her and to her hand from all parts good things which you thinke may benefit & profit her, likewise bring the same home with you, impart them unto her, devise and conquire with her about them apart, and by that meanes make familiar and pleasant unto her the best bookes and the best discourses that you can meet with all:

For why? to her you are in stead,
of fire and brother kind;
A mother deere from henceforth now
to her she must you find.

like as in *Homer*, *Andromache* laid of her husband *Hector*. And verily in mine opinion it were no lesse honorable for a man to heare his wife say thus unto him: My husband, you are my teacher, my regent, my master, and instructor in Philosophie, and in the knowledge of the most divine and excellent literature; for these sciences and liberall arts do above all other things divert and withdraw the minds of women from other unwoorthie and unseemely exercises. A matron or dame who hath studied Geometrie, will be ashamed to make profession of dauncing the measures; and she that is already enchanted and charmed (as it were) with the singular discourses of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, will never like of the charmes and enchantments of witches and sorcerers; and if any enchanteresse should come unto her, and make promise to draw downe the moone from heaven, she would mocke those women and laugh at their grosse ignorance, who suffer themselves to be perfwaded for to beleve the same, as having learned somewhat in Astrologie, and heard that *Aganice* the daughter of *Hegetor*, a great Lord in *Thesalia*, knowing the reason of the eclipses of the moone when she is at the full, and observing the verie time when the bodie of the moone will meet right with the shadow of the earth, abused other women of that country, and made them beleve that it was herselfe who fetched downe the moon out of the skie.

45 It was never heard yet that a woman by course of nature should conceive, and bring forth a childe of her selfe alone without the companie of man: maie some there be who have beene knowne to gather in their wombe a rude masse or lump, without the true forme of a reasonable creature, resembling rather a piece of fleshe engendered and growing to a consifience by meanes of some corruption, which some call a Mole. Great heed therefore would be taken that the like befall not to the soule and mind of women; for if they receive not from others the feeds of good matters and instructions, that is to say, if their husbands helpe them not to conceive good doctrine and sound knowledge, they will of themselves fall a breeding and be delivered of

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many strange conceits, absurd opinions, and extravagant passions. But mine advice unto you *Eurydice*, is to be studious alwaies in the notable sayings and sentences morall of sage, wife, and approved men: have alwaies in your mouth the good words, which heretofore when you were a yong maiden you heard and learned of us; to the end that you may be a joy to your husband, and be praised and commended by other women, when they shall see you so honorably adorned and beautified without any cost bestowed upon brooches, tablets and jewels: for you can not possibly come by the precious pearles of this or that rich and wealthie woman, nor have the silken gownes and velvet robes of such a Ladie of a strange countrey, for to array or trim your selfe withall, but you must buy them at an exceeding high and deere price: but the ornaments and attire of *Theano*, of *Cleobulina*, of *Gorgo* the wife of king *Leonidas*, of *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, of *Clodia* the ancient Romane Ladie, of dame *Cornelia*, the sister of *Scipio*, and of other Ladies and gentlewomen so much renowned and bruted heretofore for their rare virtues, you may have gratis, freely and without a penie cost; wherewith if you decke and adorne your selfe, you shall live both happily, and also with honor and glorie. For if *Sappho* for her sufficiency in Poetrie, and the skill that she had in verifying, stucke not to write thus to a certaine rich and wealthie dame in her time:

All dead thou shalt one day entombed be,
There shall remaine of thee no memorie,
For that no part of roses came to thee
That flower upon the mountainie Picrie.

Why shouldst not thou thinke better of thy selfe, and take more joy and contentment in thine heart, considering thou hast thy part not onely of the roses and flowers, but also of the fruits which the Muses bring forth and yeeld to those who love good letters, and highly esteeme of Philosophie?



THE BANQUET OF THE SEVEN SAGES.

The Summarie.

40 **W**ether it were that the persons named in this discourse following were at a banquet in deed, and there discoursed of such matters as are here by *Plutarch* handled; or that himselfe had collected and gathered the *Apophthegmes* and histories of his time; or howsoever it was, we may see by this present Treatise what was the custome of Sages and wise men in ancient time at their feasts, namely, to invite one another courteously, to solace themselves and make merrie hartily, without many ceremonies and complements to shew sincere amitie and without excessive cost and expense to keepe good cheere after a plaine, open, and simple manner. The principall part of which meetings and frequentings of the table, being employed in devising sadly, and with settled minde both during their repast, and a prettie while after, of matters honest, pleasant, and tending to good instruction and edification; as this booke and the *Symposiakes* or Table-discourses, whereof we shall see more hereafter do plainly shew. This manner and custome serveth to be opposed partly against the solitarie life, and beggerly niggardie of base misers; covetous

50 pennisatibers, and such like enemies of humane societie, and in part against the excessive pompe, unmeasurable sumptuousitie, dissolute riots and foolish vanitie and gormandise of those that love nothing but their panceh, and know no other god to worship but their bellies; as also against the fond laughers, bragging vaunteries, impudent facings, scurrile mockeries, and dogged backbittings, that senseless jots and peevish persons are given unto; and finally against the enormities, violences, and outrages, of such as are wholly abandoned and given over to sinne and wickednes. Moreover, so come more particularly to this booke following, *Plutarch* bringeth in one named *Diocles*, who recounteth unto *Nicarachus*

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all that was said and done at Corinth in a certaine banquet, at which were these persons, namely, Perian-
der the soveraigne lord of that cite, and the host who bad all the guests, to wit, Solon, Bias, Tha-
les, Cleobulus, Pittacus and Chilon, named in host dates, The seven Sages or wise men of Greece,
Item, Anacharsis, Aelophe, Niloxenus, Cleodemus and certaine others. But before that he en-
treth into any speech of that which passed during the banquet and afterwards, he rehearseth the com-
munication held betwene Thales and those of his company upon the way of Corinth, where they take
of matters handled more at large afterwards: then consequently hee treateth of that which a guest
ought to do who is invited to a banquet, and describeth what hapned among some of the guests: proceed-
ing a little forward, he declareth what was the manner of the entrance, the first and end of the ban-
quet, to wit, modest and seasoned with pleasant speeches (and those most honest and civilly) of the host
and his familie: which done, he entred into the recital of the talke that was held after the supper or
banquet; of which the beginning grew from the musike of flutes, and by a certaine comparison devised
with a good grace, he causeth audience to be given unto Niloxenus a stranger; by occasion whereof,
Bias doth expound the riddle or darke question sent by a king of Aethiopia unto the king of Aegypt,
which in the same traine inferreth an excellent occasion to speake of the dicie and office of kings; of
which argument, all the foresaid Sages deliver their minds summarily, together with the proper riddles
and enigmatall questions from the king of Aegypt to the king of Aethiopia. Now after the
despeyering and afflicting of the said riddles, the former Sages fall into a discourse as touching the go-
vernment popular and oeconomically, upon which point they doe opine and speake their mindes in orders,
comming afterwards to conference together of certaine particularities of house-keeping to wit, of drink-
ing and other pleasures; of the quantitie of goods that may suffice a man; of the singulitie, thrift and
sobrietie of men in olde tyme; of the necessitie and delight of drinking and eating; and finally of the dis-
commodities, inconveniences and miseries incident to mans life in this behalfe. And for a conclusion,
bringeth in one Gorgias who being arrived unlooked for, and coming suddenly in place relateth the
strange accident of Axiom saved by the meanes of a dolphin, which report draweth on the companie
to other like narrations and tales: at the end whereof, after grace said and thanks giving according to
the accustomed manner of that people, the guests retire themselves and depart.

THE BANQUET OF THE seven Sages.

DIOCLES.



Ertes, the long proceffe and continuance of time (my good friend
Nearchus) can not chuse but breed and bring much darknesse, ob-
scuretie and incertitude of mens actions and affaires; when as now
in matters so fresh, so new, and so lately passed, you have met with
certaine false reports, which notwithstanding are beleevied and re-
ceived for true: for there were not onely those seven guests at the
table in this feast, as you have heard and are borne in hand, but more
than twice so many, of whom my selfe made one, being familiar and
inward with *Periander*, by reason of mine art and profession, and
the host besides to *Thales*; (for by the commandement of *Perian-
der*, he lodged in mine house) neither hath he (whosoever he was that related the thing unto
you) borne well in minde, and remembered what the speeches and discourses were, which they
held; which maketh me verily to thinke that he was not himselfe one of them who were at the
banquet. But seeing we are now at good leisure (and for that olde age is no further sufficient to
give good warrantile for to defer and putt off this report unto a farther time, and because you
are so desirous to know the truth) I will rehearse unto you all in order even from the very be-
ginning.

First and formost, the feast was prepared by *Periander*, not within the cite, but about the port
or haven *Lechaen*, in a faire great hall or dining chamber neere to the Temple of *Venus*, unto
whom there was also a sacrifice offered; for since the infortunate love of his mother, who vo-
luntarily made herselfe away, having not sacrificed unto *Venus*, this was the first time that he
moved thereto, as being incited by certaine dreames of *Melissa* to worship and adore the said
goddesse. Now to every one of the guests invited to this banquet, there was a coach brought,

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richly appointed and set out accordingly, for to convey and conduct them to the place appoint-
ed, for that it was the Summer season, and all the port-way from the cite, as farre as to the sea-
side, was full of dust, and resounded with great noise by reason of a number of chariots and a
world of people going to and fro betwene. As for *Thales*, seeing at my gates a coach standing
and ready to carie him, he fel a smiling and laughing, and so sent it backe againe: he and I then
put our selves in our way, and went faire and softly together on foot over the fields; and a third
there was, who bare us companie, to wit, *Niloxenus* of *Naxos*, a man of good worth, and
one who had beene familiarly acquainted with *Solon* and *Thales* before-time in *Aegypt*, and as
then was he sent the second time unto *Bias*, but wherefore, himselfe knew not, unless (as hee
suspected) it were to bring unto him a second question inclosed and sealed within a packet; for
this charge and commandement he had: That if *Bias* refused and would not take upon him to as-
soile and expound the same, he should shew it to the wisest Sages of the Greeks. Then began
Niloxenus: A happy feast (quoth he) is this to me (my masters) and unexpected, wherein I
shall finde you all together, for I carie with me thither a packet as you see, and with that he shew-
ed it unto us: Then (quoth *Thales* smiling) if you have therein any hard and untoward question
to bee dissolved, cary it againe to *Pyrene*, for *Bias* will declare the meaning thereof, like as hee
affoiled the former: What former question was that (quoth I): *Mary* (quoth he againe) hee
sent unto him a sheepe for sacrifice, commanding that hee should take out of it the best and
woorst piece thereof, and so to send the said flesh unto him: hee therefore well and wisely
plucked forth the tongue, and sent it unto him; for which hee was (by good right) well
praised, highly esteemed, and held in great admiration. It was not therefore onely (quoth
Niloxenus) that hee came to so great a name, but also for that hee refuted not the amitie of
princes and kings as you doe: for *Amasis* admired many more things in you, and namely
among others, when you tooke the measure of the height of the Pyramis in *Egypt*, hee woun-
dered exceedingly, and made high account of your conceit, for that without any great
hand-labour, and the same requiring no instrument at all, by setting up a staffe onely
plumbe upright, at the very point and end of the shadow which the said Pyramis cast, and
by two Triangles which the beames of the sunne caused, you made demonstration, that what
proportion there was betwene the length of both shadows, to wit, of the Pyramis and the
staffe, the same was betwene the height of the one and the other. But as I said before, you
were accused unto the same king *Amasis* for bearing no good will unto kings and their estate,
which was the cause of your disgrace and disfavour with him; besides, there were brought unto
him and presented many slanderous speeches and contumelious answers of yours as touching
tyrants: as for example; when *Molpator* as a great lord of *Ionia* demanded upon a time of
you what strange thing you had in your time scene? you answered: A tyrant living to be an old
man: Again, at a certaine banquet there being some speech mooved as touching beasts which
was the worst and did most harme? you made answer, that: Of wilde beasts a tyrant, and of tame
beasts a flatterer was most dangerous; for I may tell you: Kings howsoever they say that they
differ from tyrants, yet take they no pleasure at such Apophthegmes as those. That answer (quoth
Thales againe) was none of mine, but *Pittacus* it was, who made it one day in scoffing merilite to
Myrtilus: for mine own part, I doe not so much mervail at an aged tyrant, as I doe wonder to
see an olde pilot: howbeit as touching this transposition and taking one for another, I am of
the same minde, and am willing to say, as that young man did who flung a stone at a dogge, and
missing the dog hit his owne stepmother and felled her withall; wherat: It makes no matter
(quoth he) for even so, the stone hath not light misse. For, and in truth I my selfe alwaies este-
med *Solon* a right wise man, for that he refused to be the tyrant of his owne country: and even
so *Pittacus* if he had never come to take upon him a monarchie, would not have delivered this
speech; How hard a thing is it to be a good man! And it should seeme that *Periander* being
seized upon (as a man would say) by the same tyranny, as an hereditarie disease from his father,
did not amisse to endeavour what he could to free himselfe and get out of it, by conversing with
the best men and frequenting their companie, as hee hath done to this day, and training unto
him the societie of Sages and philosphers, and being ruled and advised by them, not approv-
ing nor admitting the perillous and unhappie counsell of my country-man *Thraibulus*, per-
suading him to cur the chief men shorter by the heads: For a tyrant who chooseth to command
and rule slaves and vasailes rather than free men indeed, nothing differeth from the husband-
man, who had leiser gather locusts and catch foules, than reape and bring in good graine of
wheat and barley; for these soveraigne dominions and principalities bring with them this

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only good thing in stead and recompence of many evils; to wit, a kind of honor and glorie: if men be so happie as in ruling over good men, they be better themselves, and in commanding great persons become greater themselves; as for such as in their government and place of command, aime at nothing but their securitie, without respect of honour and honestie, deserve to be set over a number of sheepe, horses, or beasts, and not of men: but this good gentleman stranger heere, hath (I wot not how) cast us upon such discourses which are nothing convenient for our present purpose, omitting both to speake and also to demand those matters that best better those who goe to a feast: for thinke you not that the guest who is bidden, ought not to goe prepared as well as the very master himselfe is to make preparation? For the Sybarites (as it should seeme) solemnly invite their dames to their feasts, & seeme to bid them a whole yeere before, of purpose that they might have time enough to trim themselves at their good leasure with rich aray and jewels of gold against they goe to a feast; and for mine owne part, I assure you of this mind I am, that the right preparative of one who is to go unto a great dinner as he should, would require a longer time than so, by how much harder it is to find fit and decent ornament for the manners of the minde, than to provide for the superfluous, needlesse, and unprofitable setting out of the bodie: for a wife man who hath wit and understanding, goeth not to a feast carying with him his body as a vessell to be filled, but he goes thither with an intention to passe the time either in serious discourses, or pleasant and merry talke; to speake I say and heare according as the time shall give occasion to the companie, if they meane with joy and mirth to converse together one with another. A man that is come to a feast may if he like not a dish of meat, or if it be naught refuse it, or if the wine be not good, have recourse unto the nymphes; but a troublesome guest, a talkative busie bodie, and an unmanely or untaught neighbour sitting at the boord, inarrth all the grace of the viands, be they otherwise never so deinty, he corrupteth the wine, yea and all the sweetnesse of the musick, how melodious so ever it be. Neither may a man when he list vomit and cast up readily againe this trouble and vexation once received: but in sence, a mutual discontentment and offence taken at the table one with another, sticketh by them and continueth as long as they have a day to live, inasmuch as they cannot endure the interview one of another againe; but like an old flurrie, arisen of wrong done, or of anger conceived by drinking wine, the spight remaineth festering & corrupting in the stomack and never will be digested. In mine opinion therefore did *Chilon* very well and wisely, who being invited as it were yesterday to a feast, would never promise to come before he knew what other guests he should meet with there, even everie one of them; for this was his saying: That a man must endure will he nill he if he be once at sea, a rude companion and uncivil fellow-passenger in the same ship where he is embarked; as also in warfare a troublesome mate in the same pavilion, for that he is forced of necessitie to saile with the one and encampe with the other; but for a man to fort himselfe indifferently and without discretion with all kinds of men at a banquet, bewraileth one that is void of all wit and judgement. As for the fastidious manners of the Egyptians, namely to bring in place ordinarily at their feasts a Scelet, that is to say, a drie and withered anatomic of a dead man, and there to shew it before all the guests at the boord, to put them in minde of death, and that within a while they all should become such; although I must needs say that such a one were an unwelcome guest, and came very unseasonably among them; yet it cannot be denied but there is some good use thereof; for although he chere not up the guests there to drinke freely and to make merry, yet he inviteth and stirreth them up to carie mutuall love and affection one to the other, in admonishing them to remember that their life being of it selfe short, they should not seeke to make it long and tedious by troublesome businesse and affaires.

Thus spent we the time by the way, until at length we were come to the banquetting house. And as for *Thales* he refused to wash or go into a baine: For that (quoth he) I am annoied already; but in the meane time that the rest were bathing, he went walking up and downe to see the pleasant races, the wrestling places, and the faire grove which along the sea was very well planted and kept accordingly; not because he wondered at the sight of any of all these delights, but for that he would not seeme to despise *Periander*, or disdaine his magnificence in any thing. As for the others, according as any of them were washed or anointed, the servants were ready to conduct them into the hall or dining place, appointed for men, and that through a porch or gallerie, within which sate *Anacharsis*, and before him stood a damosell plaiting and combing the haire of his head with her hands (whom as she ran toward *Thales*) most willingly and courteously he kissed, and after a smiling manner: Well done (quoth he) make that stranger, who of himselfe

himselfe is the mildest and gentlest man in the world, to have a pleasant and faire countenance, that he looke not upon us fearfull and hideous to see to. I enquired then what pretie maiden this was: Why (quoth *Thales*) know you not that wife damosell so famous and so much renowned, *Eumetis*? for that is the name that her father gave her, howsoever the people call her after her fathers name *Cleobuline*. You praise this virgin (quoth *Thales*) doe you not? for her quick spirit in propounding, and her subtil wit and wisdom in assailing riddles and dark questions, such as be called Aenigmes? For by report there be some of her enigmaticall questions, which are gone as far as *Egypt*: No marie (quoth *Thales* againe) I say not so; for she useth them but as dice or coc-kall bones, when she list to disport her selfe and passe away the time with those that encounter her, and are disposed to enter into contention with her: but of a woodefull courage and haughtie mind she is; a politike head the mind of her owne worthy to governe a State; of a courteous nature she is beside, and of sweet behaviour; in regard of which her carriage, shee maketh her father to seeme a more milde and popular ruler among his citizens and subjects. It may well be so (quoth *Thales*) for surely she seemeth no lesse, if a man behold her homely apparell; and how simply she goes: but how cometh this inward affection and kindnesse to *Anacharsis* that so lovingly she dresseth and trimmeth him? Because (quoth *Thales*) he is a temperate and sober man, and besides a great scholar and a learned Clarke, and for that he hath willingly and at large recounted unto her the manner of the Tartarians life, and namely how they use to charme the maladies of those that are sicke; and I verily beleeve that even now whiles she maketh so much of the man, stroking his head, plaiting and broiding his haire, she learneth somewhat of him, or discourseth with him about some point of learning. Now when we drew neere to the hall or dining chamber abovesaid, who should meet us but *Alexidamus* the Milesian, a bastard sonne of *Thrasibulus* the Tyrant? who was newly come forth from thence in a great heat, dis tempered and troubled, and saying (I wot not what) to himselfe in a pelting chafe: for underfild we could not plainly what his words were, he spake them so huddle: he had no sooner his eie upon *Thales*, but he seemed to reclaime himselfe, and so staied a little, breaking out into these audible tearmes: *Periander* (quoth he) hath offered me abuse & done me great wrong, in that he would not give me leave to depart, when I was willing and ready to embarke, but by his entreatie hath importuned me to stay supper; and now forsooth that I am come, he hath so fet me at the table in a place most dishonorable for my person, and hath preferred the Aelians, the Islanders, and other base companions, and indeed whom not, and before *Thrasibulus*; for apparant it is, that he despiseth my father who sent me, and meaneth that the disgrace offered unto me should redound upon him. How now (quoth *Thales*) is it so indeed? and are you afraid that like as the Egyptians hold opinion & say? That the flays in making their ordinarie revolutions, are one while elevated on high, & another while afterwards falling as low, and according to their heights, or baseness of the place, become either better or worse than they were? so you in regard of the place that is given you, should be advanced or debased more or lesse; for by this means you are worse & more base minded than the Laconian, who being by the matter of the ceremonies set in the lowest place of the quire or daunce, was no more moved thereat, but said: Well done of you, I see you can skill of the means how to make this place more honorable: for when wee beset at a table, wee ought not to looke and regard, either beneath whom we sit, or after whom we are placed, but rather how we may accommodate and frame our selves to fit and agree with those next to whom wee sit; shewing presently at the verie first that wee have in our selves the beginning and handle (as a man would say) of amitie, in that we can finde in our hearts not to be offended with the place that is given us, but to praise our fortune in that wee are matched with so good companie: for he that is angry about a place or seat, is more offended with him to whom he sitteth next, than with the matter of the seat that had him, and hee maketh himselfe odious as well to the one as the other. Tush (quoth *Alexidamus*) these are but words; for in verie deed I have observed, that even you who would be counted Sages and wise men, lay for meanes enough to make your selves honored; and with that he passed by us and went his way. Now as we mused and wondered much at this strange fashion and behaviour of the man: *Thales* turning unto us; This man (quoth he) is a brain-sicke foole, and of a monstrous nature; as you may well know by one trick that he plaied when he was a verie youth: for when there was brought unto *Thrasibulus* his father, a most excellent, sweet and precious ointment, he powred it out into a great boll or standing cup, and wine likewise upon it, and when he had so done, drunke it up himselfe every drop, working by this meane enmitie in stead of friendship to *Thrasibulus*. Immediately after this there comes to mee a servant with these words:

words: *Periander* requesteth you to take *Thales* & this other stranger with you, and to come and see a thing that is newly presented and brought unto him, for to know your opinion, whether he is to take it as an accident happened by mere chance, or rather a prodigie that doth preface and prognosticate some strange event, for he himselfe is much troubled in minde thereat, and mightily feareth that it be some pollution or stain to this his feastivall sacrifice; hee had no sooner said this, but he brought us into one of the houseen that stood upon the garden, where we found a young lad, seeming unto us to be some heard-man, he had not yet an haire on his face, and otherwise (beleeve me) he was faire enough and well-favoured, who opening a leather poke or bag that he had, shewed unto us a young monstrous babe, which (as he said) was borne of a mare; in the upper parts about the necke and armes shaped like a man, but all the rest resembling an horse; howbeit, crying and wrawling, as like as possibly might be to an infant new come into the world: at which sight *Niloxenus* turning his face at one side, cried out: God bleesse us, & turne away his displeasure from us. But *Thales* after he had looked wistfully a good while upon the young lad afore said, smiled at the matter (as his manner was to play and make good game with me about mine art:) Are you not minded (quoth he) *o Diocles* to go about some expiatorie sacrifice for this prodigious sight, and to set on worke those gods whose care and charge it is to divert such imminent perils and misfortunes, this being as it is so fearfull a prodigie and unluckie accident? How else? (quoth I againe) for I assure you this is a token prefiging discord and sedition; and I much feare lest this matter proceed as farre as to marriages, and the act of generation, even to the prejudice of posteritie, considering that the goddesse before the expiation and satisfaction of her former anger, threatneth thus the second time, as you see. *Thales* answered never a word to this, but departed laughing. And when *Periander* met us at the verie hall doore, and enquired what we thought of this strange occurrent which we went to see? *Thales* left me, and taking him by the hand: As touching that (quoth he) which *Diocles* wil perswade you unto, do you as he willett you at your best leisure: for mine owne part, mine advice and counsell unto you is, that you entertaine no more such youtnes as this to keepe your maies, or at least wife, that you give them wives to wed. At the hearing of which words, it seemed unto me that *Periander* was exceeding well pleased; for he laughed a good, and after he had embraced *Thales*, kissed him. Then *Thales* turning unto me: I suppose verily (quoth he) *o Diocles* that this prodigious token hath wrought the effect, and is come to an end already; for feci not what an evil accident is befallen unto us, in that *Alexidemus* will not dine with us? VVell, when we were come within the hall, *Thales* beginning to speake with a loud voice: And where is the place (quoth he) wherein this honest man thought scorne, & tooke such snuffe to be set: which when it was shewed unto him, he turned about, and went to sit there himselfe, and so tooke us with him; saying withall, I would (for mine owne part) have given any money (rather than failed) to sit at the same boord with *Ardalus*. Now was this *Ardalus* a Troezenian, by profession a Piper, and a Priest serving the Atdalian Muses, whose images ancient *Ardalus* the Troezenian had erected and dedicated. Then *Aesope*, who not long before had bene sent by king *Craesus*, as well to *Periander* as to the oracle of *Apollo* in the citie of *Delfos*, being set upon a low sette neere to *Solon*, who sat above him, came in with his fable, and thus said: A mule (quoth he) of *Lydia* having beheld the forme and shape of his owne body within a river, and wondering much at the beaurie and goodly statue thereof, began to runne with full carriere, to fling and shake his head and his maine, like a lustie brave horse; but within a while, remembering that hee was an asses sonne, and foaled by an asse, he staid his swift course all on a sudden, and laid away his pride and insolent braverie. At these words, *Chilo* briefly in his Laconian language: Thou hast told (quoth he) a tale by thine owne selfe, who being a slow-backe like and asse, will needs runne as the said mule. After this entered in dame *Melissa*, and tooke her place close unto *Periander*: *Eumetus* also sat downe to supper with them: Then *Thales* addrest his speech unto me who sat next above *Bias*, and said: My friend *Diocles*, how hapneth it that you tell not *Bias*, that your friend and guest *Niloxenus* of *Nauaratis* is come from beyond sea the second time, sent from his lord the King unto him with new questions and riddles for to assoile, to the end that he may take knowledge of them while he is sober, and in case for to studie and thinke upon their solutions? Then *Bias* taking the word out of his mouth: It hath bene (quoth he) his old fashions of long time, for to seeme to fright & astonish him with such admonitions & advertisements as theses; as for me I know full wel that as *Bacchus* otherwise is a wife and powerful god, so in regard of his wifedome he is surnamed *Lysius*, which is as much to say, as unfolding and undoing the knots of all difficulties; which is the cause that I have no feare at all, that if he be full of him, I shal

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bee lesse heartie and able to mainteine the combat when I come to it and am purto dispute. These and such like pleasant speeches passed to and fro in meriment as they sat at meat. Now when I saw the setting out, and provision of this supper more frugall and sparie than ordinary, I thought in my minde that to make a feast and give entertainment to wife and good men, putteth a man to no greater cost and expences, but rather easeth him of some charges: for that it abridgeth all curiostie of daintie viands, exquisite eates, costly perfumes, precious ointments, confitures and march-pains brought from forreine and farre countries, yea and fine and delicate wines, wherewith *Periander* being served daily at his ordinary, according to the magnificence of his princely estate, riches, affaires and occasions, yet at such a time he tooke a glorie among these Sages and wife men, in sobrietie, frugalitie, and slender provision; for not in other things onely he cut-off and concealed all superfluitie and needlesse furniture which was usuall in his house-keeping, but also in his wives attire and ornaments, whom hee shewed to his friends and guests nothing costly attaired, nor keeping state, but meanely fet out and adorned. Now when the tables were taken away, and that *Melissa* had given and dealt chaplets of flowers unto us round about, wee rendred thanks and said grace unto the gods, in pouring out unto them devoutly a little wine; and the minstrell-woman having sung a while after our grace, and according to our vowes, departed out of the roome.

Then *Ardalus* calling unto *Anacharsis* by name, demanded of him whether among the Scythians there were any such singing women & minstrell wenches that could play upon wind instruments? unto which demand he answered *ex tempore* and without studying for the matter; No (quoth he) nor so much as vines; and as *Ardalus* replied againe: But yet there are some gods among them, are there not? Yes iwis (quoth he) that there be, and those who understand the speech and language of men; but yet the Scythians are not of the same mind that the Greeks, who although they thinke themselves to speake more freely and elegantly than the Scythians, yet they hold opinion that the gods take more pleasure to heare the sound of bones and wood, whereof their flutes and hautboies are made than the voice of man. But my good friend (quoth *Aesope* then) what would you say, if you knew what thise pipe-makers do nowe a daies, who cast away the bones of young hind-calves and fawnes, and choose before them asses bones, saying forsooth that they make a better found? whereupon *Cleobulina* made one of her enigmes or riddles touching a Phrygian flute,

Of braying asse	Did force the care	Of mightie stag,
when he dead was,	with sound so cleare	with hornes so brag
The long shanke-bone,	upright alone,	As hard as stone.

in such sort, that it is a wonder how an asse which is otherwise a most blockish and absurd beast, of any other most remote from all sweet harmonie of musicke, should yeeld a bone so sliche, so smooth, and proper, to make thereof a most musickall instrument. Certes, (quoth *Niloxenus* then) this is the reason that the inhabitants of the city *Busiris*, reproach al us of *Nauaratis*, for that we likewise have already taken two asse-bones for the making of our pipes; and as for them, it is not lawfull to heare so much as the sound of a trumpet, because it is somewhat doth resemble the braying of an asse; and you all know that the asse is infamous and odious with the Aegyptians, because of *Typhon*. upon this every man held his peace for a while; and when *Periander* perceived that *Niloxenus* had a good minde to speake, but yet durst not begin or broach any speech; My masters (quoth he) I doe like very well of the custome of cities and head-magistrates, in that they give audience and dispatch unto all strangers, before their owne citizens; and therefore me thinks it were well that for a time both you & we forbore our speeches which are so familiar and as it were native and home-borne among us in our owne country, to give access and audience, as it were in a solemne counsell and assembly of estate, unto those questions and demands which our good friend heere hath brought out of *Aegypt*; and namely such as are moved from the king to *Bias*, and *Bias* I doubt not will confer with you about the same.

Then *Bias* seconding this motion of his: And in what place (quoth he) or with what companie would a man with rather for to hazard and trie his skill than in this, for to make answers accordingly and give solutions, if he be put into it and need require? especially, seeing that the king himselfe hath given expresse commandement, that in proposing this question he should first begin within, & afterwards go round about the rest & present the same unto you all? Heerupon *Niloxenus* delivered unto him the kings letter, desiring him to breake it open, and to read the same with an audible and loud voice before all the companie. Now the substance or tenor of the said letter ran in this forme. *Amasis* the king of the Aegyptians, unto *Bias* the wisest Sage

"Sage of all the Greekes sendeth greeting. So it is, that the king of the Aethiopians is enured in to contention and contention with me, as touching wifedome: and being in all other propotions put downe by me and found my inferior, in the end after all; he hath imposed upon me a commandement very strange, woonderfull, and hard to be performed, willing me forthwith to drinke up the whole sea. Now if I may compass the solution of this riddle and darke question, I shall gaine thereby many townes, villages & cities of his; but in case I cannot assaile the same, I must yeld unto him all my cities within the country *Elephantine*. These are therefore to request you, that after you have well considered of the premises, you sende backe unto me *Niloxenus* incontinently with the interpretation thereof. And if either your selfe or any of your citizens and country-men have occasion to use me in your affaires and occasions, be sure you shall not faile of me wherein I may stead you. Farewell.

This letter being read, *Bius* made no long stay, but after some little pause and meditation with himselfe, he rounded *Cleobulus* in the care, who fast closte unto him: And then, what is that you say (my friend of *Naxos*) will your master and lord king *Amasis* (who commandeth so great a multitude of men, and possesseth so large, so faire and plentifull a country) drinke all the sea, for to get thereby, I wot not what poore townes and villages of no importance? Then *Niloxenus* laughing at the matter: I pray you (quoth he) consider upon the point what is possible to be done, even as you will your selfe: Many then (quoth he) let him send word unto the Aethiopian king, and enioine him to stay the course of all rivers that discharge themselves into the sea, untill he have drunke up in the meane time all the water in the sea that is now at this present; for of that onely, his demand and commandement is to be understood, and not of the sea that shall be hereafter. These words were no sooner spoken, but *Niloxenus* tooke so great a contentment therein, that he could not holde, but needs he must embrace and kisse him immediately for it; yea, and all the rest commended and approved likewise his speech: but *Chilo* laughing heartily: O my friend (quoth he) of *Naxos*, I beseech you before all the sea be drie and cleane spent, saile home with all speed, and do the king your master to understand, that he shal not need to travell and busie his brames in searching how he may consume so great a quantitie of salt water, but rather how he may make his regiment and roiall rule (now brackish and unpleasent) to be sweet and potable unto his subjects; for in these seas *Bius* is a most cunning workeman and a singular master, when king *Amasis* hath well and thoroughly learned of him, he shall not have any use of that golden bace to wash his feet in, and for to containe the Egyptians in awe and obedience, but they shall serve him all willingly and love him affectionately, when they shall see him become a good prince, although hee were a thousand times more odious unto them than he seemeth now to be. Certes (quoth *Periander*) then it were worthily done of us all to contribute unto King *Amasis* such like first fruits & presents *Androgeus*, as *Homer* speaketh, that is to say, every one of us by the poll, and one after another in order; for by this means the accesarie haply and addition will arise to a greater matter, and be more worth unto him than the principall or stocke for the negotiation wherefore this voyage was undertaken, and besides, there will accrew unto ech of us also some great profit. Meet it were then (quoth *Chilo*) that *Solon* should begin the speech; not only for that he is of all our ancient, and hath the highest place of the table, but also because he beareth the greatest and most absolute office, being the man who ordeined and established the lawes of *Athens*. *Niloxenus* then turning toward me, and speaking softly in mine eare: I beleeve verily (quoth he) *Diocles*, that many things goe for currant and are beleeved, although they be untruths, and many men there be who are delighted with the false rumors and finisler reports that goe of great and wise men, both which themselves do devise, and also which they receive readily from others; as namely those be which are brought unto us as farre as into *Aegypt*, of *Chilon*, namely, that he should renounce all amitie and hospitalitie with *Solon* for maintaining this: That all lawes were mutable. A foolish and ridiculous report is this (quoth I:) for if it were so, *Chilon* should have fallen out with *Lycurgus*, and condemned him, who together with his lawes, altered and changed the whole State of the Lacedaemonians. Then *Solon*, after a little pause made, began to speake in this wise: For mine owne part, I am of this minde, that a king or soveraigne prince can finde no meanes to make himselfe more glorious, than by turning his monarchie or absolute government into a democratic or popular state, in communicating his authority soveraigne indifferently to his subjects. In the second place spake *Bius*, and said: That a prince could not do better for his owne honour, than to be the first man that submitted himselfe to the positive lawes of his countrey. After him opined *Thales*: I repute (quoth he) that prince and soveraigne ruler happie, who liveth to olde age,

age, and dieth by a naturall death. *Anacharsis* inferred thus much more in the fourth place: If he be onely wife. With that said *Cleobulus* in his turne: If he repose no confidence in any one about his person. Sixtly came *Pittachus* with his opinion, saying: If a prince could so nurture and schoole his subjects, that they should not feare him, but for his sake. And after him, in the last place, delivered *Chilo* this speech: That a prince ought to amuse his minde about no mortall and transitorie things, but meditate onely upon that which was eternall and immortall. Now when every one of these Sages had given out his mot, we requested of *Periander*, that he also would say somewhat for his part; but he with a countenance nothing merry and cheerefull, but composed to sadnesse and severitie: I will tell you (quoth he) what I thinke of all these sentences thus delivered by these my lords; that they all in a manner be enough to fright a man who is of judgement and understanding, from all soveraigne rule and government. Then *Aesop* as one who ever loved to be crosse and finding faults: It were meet therefore (quoth he) that everie one of us should deale in this point apart and severally, left in pretending to be counsellors unto princes, and make profession of friendship unto them, we become their accusers. Then *Solon* laying his hand upon his head, and smiling withall: Thinke you not (quoth he) *Aesop*, that he maketh a ruler more reasonable and a tyrant more gracious and inclined to clemencie, who perswadeth him that it is simply better, not to rule, than to rule? And who is he (quoth *Aesop* againe) that will beleeve you in this, rather than the very god himselfe who delivered unto you this sentence, by way of oracle:

I holde that citie happie alone,

Where voice is heard of Sergeant one.

Why (quoth *Solon*) Is there any man hereat at *Athens* now any more voices than of one Sergeant, and one sole magistrat, which is the Law? notwithstanding, the citie hold of a popular State, but you *Aesop* are so deeply scene in hearing and understanding the voices of crows and gaires, that you heare not wel and perfectly in the meane time your owne speech and language, for you that thinke according to the oracle of *Apollo*, that citie most happie which heareth the voice but of one, suppose notwithstanding that it is the grace of a feast, when all the guests therein meet, may reason and discourse, yea and of every matter. True it is (quoth *Aesop*) for you have not yet set downe a law, that houshold servants should not be allowed wherewith to be drunke; like as you have made one at *Athens*, forbidding servants to make love or to be anointed drie, that is, without the baine. *Solon* began to laugh at this reply of his: and *Cleodemus* the Physician inferred thereupon: In mine opinion (quoth he) it is all one to anoint (as you say) drie, and to talke freely when a man is well whited and drenched with wine, for most delectable and pleasant is both the one and the other. *Chilo* taking hold of this speech: Why then (quoth he) so much the rather it behooveth to abstaine from it. *Aesop* rejoined againe; and verily *Thales* seemed to say, that it is a meanes whereby a man shall verie quickly age and looke old. Hereat *Periander* began to take up a laughter and said: Now truly *Aesop*, we are well enough served, and are worthily punished according to our desert, in that we have suffered our selves to be carried away into other discourses and disputations, before wee have heard out all the rest of the contents in King *Amasis* letters, according as wee purposed in the beginning; and therefore good for *Niloxenus*, go on with that which followeth in your letters nitive, and make use of these personages heere assembled, whilst they bee all in place together. Now truly (quoth *Niloxenus*) in my conceit that denaund of the Aethiopian, a man may well and properly say to bee nothing else (but if I may use the wordes of *Archilochus*) a twed or bruised whip: but King *Amasis* your host, in propounding of such questions is more gentle and civil; for hee propounded unto him these demands to bee answered: What thing in the whole world is eldest or most ancient? What is the fairest? What the greatest? What most wife? What most common? Over and besides, What most profitable? What is most hurtfull? What most puissant? and What most easie? What (quoth *Periander*) did the Aethiopian prince answer to these demands, & assaile them all? Will you see (quoth *Niloxenus*) then what answers he made? and after you have heard his answers, be you iudge whether he satisfied them or no? for the king my master hath proceeded therein to sincerely, that he would not for any thing in the world, be justly thought to cavill and carpe like a scyphont at the answers of another, and yer his care and endeavour is, not to faile in reprooving that wherein one hath erred and is deceived: but I will from point to point recite unto you his answers. What is most ancient? Time (quoth he.) What most wife? Truth. What most beautiful? The light. What most common? Death. What most profitable? God. What most hurtfull? The Divell. What most mightie? Fortune.

tune. What most easie? The thing that pleasest. When these answers were read (*ô Nicharchus*) they all remained silent for a time: and then *Thales* asked of *Niloxenus*, whether King *Amasis* approved these resolutions or no: *Niloxenus* answered, that some of them he allowed; but with others of them he rested not well contented: And yet (*quoth Thales* againe) there is not one of them all but deserueth great reprehension, for they doe euerie one bewray much error and grosse ignorance; and to begin withall; How can it be held and maintained, that Time should be the eldest thing that is, considering that one part thereof is passed already; another present, and a third yet to come? for the future time which is to follow us, can not choose but by all reason be esteemed yonger than all men, or all things which are present. Again, to thinke that veritie were wisdom, in my judgement is as much as if a man should say, that the eie and the light is all one. Furthermore, if he reputed the light to be a faire thing (as no doubt it is) how happeneth it that he forgot the sunne? Moreover, as touching his answers of God and the devils, they are verie audacious and dangerous. But concerning Fortune, there is no probabilitie or likelihood of truth therein; for if she were so powerfull and puissant (as he saith) how cometh it about that the turneth and changeth so easily as the doth? Neither is death the commonest thing in the world; for common it is not to the living. But because it shall not be thought, that we can skill of naught, but reprooving and correcting others; let us conferre a little our particular opinions and sentences in this behalfe with his: and if *Niloxenus* thinke so good, I am content to offer my selfe first, to answer unto these demands before said, one after another. Now will I therefore declare unto you (*Nicharchus*) in order the interrogatories and answers, according as they were propounded and delivered. What is most ancient? God (*quoth Thales*) for he never had beginning nor nativitee. What is greatest? Place; for as the world containeth all things else, so place containeth it. What is fairest? The world. And why? because whatsoever is disposed in lively order, is a part thereof. What is wisest? Time; for it hath found all things already devised, and will finde out all inventions hereafter. What is most common? Hope; for it remaineth still with them who have nothing else. What most profitable? Vertue; in that it maketh all things commodious, according as they be used. What is most hurtfull? Vice; for it marreth all good things besides, wherefoever it is. What is most mightie? Necessitie; for that onely is invincible. What is most easie? That which agreeth to nature; for even pleasures many times we do abandon and forsake. Now when all the companie had approved and commended highly the answers of *Thales*: These be questions in deed (*quoth Cleodemus* unto *Niloxenus*) meet for kings and princes, both to propose and also to asseile: as for that barbarous king of *Actuopia*, who enjoined king *Amasis* to drinke up the sea, deserueth as short an answer as that was which *Pittacus* made to king *Alyattes*, who when he demanded somewhat of the Lesbians by his arrogant and proud letters, had no other answer returned him from *Pittacus* but this: That he should eate onions and hot bread, upon which words *Periander* inferred and said: I assure you *Cleodemus*, it hath bene the maner in old time among the ancient Greeks, to propose one unto another such questions as these. For we have heard by report, that in times past, the most skillfull and excellent Poets which were in those daies, met at the funerals and obsequies of *Amphidamus* within the citie of *Choleis*: Now had this *Amphidamus* bene a man of great honour in government of the common-weale in his country; who having put the Eretrians to much trouble in those wars which they waged against those of *Choleis*, in the quarrell of *Lisantes*, hapned to leese his life at the last in a battell. And for that the curious verses which the said poets provided and brought to be scanned of, were intricate and hard to be judged of by those who were chosen as judges of the doubtfull victorie; and besides the glorie of two renowned concurrents, *Homer* and *Hesiodus* held the judges in great perplexitie, and shame to give their sentences as touching two so famous personages, they grew to suchas these questions in the end: and propounded one unto another as *Lelesches* saith after this maner.

*N*ow helpe me *Muse* for to endie
what things have never bene,
Nor henceforth while the world endures
for ever shall be seene?

unto which demand, *Hesiodus* answered readily and extempore in this wise.

When seeds to win the prize, with found
of feet shall runne amaine,
And at the tombe of Jupiter,
their chariots breake in twaine.

For

For which cause especially it is reported he was so highly admired, that thereby he wonne the tre-feet of gold. And what difference (*quoth Cleodemus*) is there betweene these questions and the riddles put forth by *Emmetis*? which haply are no more unseemly for her to devise in sport and mirth, and when she hath (as it were) twisted them, to propose unto dames like herselfe, than for other women to delight for their pastime, to busie their heads in, and working girdles of tiffue, or knitting net-wooke coifes and cawles; but certainly that men of wisdom and understanding should make any account thereof, were very ridiculous and a mere mockerie. At which speech of his it seemed that *Emmetis* was willing enough to have replied; and said somewhat unto him againe, but that maidenly modestie staied her; for her bloud was up; and the blushed as red as skarlet all her face over: But *Asopos* taking her part as it were to revenge her quarrell: Nay were it not (*quoth he*) more ridiculous farre, not to bee able to solve such questions? and namely such a riddle as this, which she put forth unto us a little before supper:

A man I saw, with helpe of fire,
who set a peece of brasse,
Fast to a man, so as it seem'd
to him it fastred was.

Now tell me, can you with all your cunning say what this should be? No iwis (*quoth Cleodemus*) neither meane I to beate my braines about the knowledge of it: And yet there is no man (*quoth he*) knoweth this thing better, nor useth it more than you; and if you denie it, I will call to witnesse your ventoses and cupping boxes. Heereat *Cleodemus* could not chuse but laugh: for there was not a physician in those daies that used cupping and boxing so much as he, and in regard that he practised it so much, this remedie or devise in physicke was in no small request and reputation. But *Atnephilus* the Athenian a familiar friend and zealous follower of *Solon*, began to speake in this wise unto *Periander*: Sir, if I might be so bold, I thinke it good, & my desire is, that the speeches and discourses of this good company, may not bee dealt among the rich and noble persons onely who are heere in place, but parted equally and indifferently among them all, and go round like a cup of wine, as the manner is in democratic or state of a citie, governed by the people: this I speake for that we who live in a popular common-wealth, participate in nothing of all that which you have right now delivered as touching soveraigne rule of prince & king: we thinke it reason therefore that you would enter every one of you into a discourse of popular government, & deliver your several opinions upon the point, beginning first againe at *Solon*. To this motion they all agreed; whereupon *Solon* thus began to speake: As for you (*ô Atnephilus*) like as all the other inhabitants of *Athens*, you have heard heerebefore what mine opinion is concerning the government of a weale publique: and yet if it please to heare me now also, I say againe that in my judgement that citie is right well governed, and maintaineth best the popular estate and libertie, wherein those very persons who have not been wronged and oppressed, do prosecute the law upon an oppressor and wrong doer, yea and seeke to punish him, no lesse than the partie himselfe who hath sustained the injurie & outrage. After him *Biass* opined thus: That the popular government was best, in which all the inhabitants feared the law as much as a rigorous tyrant. Then *Thales* followed in this maner: That he reputed such a common-wealth best ordered which had in it neither too wealthie, nor yet over poore citizens. Next to him tooke *Anacharsis* his turne and delivered his minde in these words: That in his conceit that citie was right well governed wherein all other things being equally determined among the inhabitants, the better condition was measured by vertue, & the worse by vice. In the fifth place *Cleobulus* affirmed; That the policie of that popular city was simple best, the citizens whereof did more dread dishonor than the law. Then *Pisracus* in his course gave his opinion thus: That he accounted a State passing well governed in which wicked persons might not beare any authoritie but good men onely. Then *Chilo* when his turne came pronounced: That pollicie to excel all others when as the people gave greatest care unto the lawes, and least hearkened unto orators. After them all *Periander* in the last place gave his judgement, saying: That he reckoned that popular estate seemed to be best, which came neerest unto an aristocratie or regiment of a wife and noble Senate.

Now when this disputation was ended, I requested them to proceed farther, and to instruct us as touching æconomic or an householde, how it ought to be ordered; for that few men were called unto the government of cities and realmes, but every one of us had an house and familie of his owne to be governed: Not so (*quoth Asopos*, & therewith he laughed) if you reckon

Anacharsis

Anacharsis in the number of us; for no house hath he of his owne, and (forsooth) he glorieth therein, that none he hath, saying: That he maketh his abode in a chariot, as (men say) the sun doth, who is caried round about the world in his chaire, and one while goeth to this quarter, and another while to that quarter of the heaven: And even in this respect (quoth *Anacharsis*) the sunne onely is free, or at least-wise more at libertie, and at his owne dispose, than any other of all the gods, commanding all, and not commanded of any; and therefore he reigneth in deed, and having the reines in his owne hand, conducteth his owne chariot himselfe: but me thinks you never conceived and comprised the grandence and beautie of the sunne, how excellent and admirable his chariot is; for otherwise you would never in bound and by way of merry jest have compared it to ours: furthermore, it seemeth that you take an house to be these cloisters covered with tile, and walled with clay or earth; which is as much to say, that a tortoise is the shell, and not the living creature which is therein: and therefore I nothing wonder that you mocked *Solon* upon a time, for that he having viewed the palace of king *Croesus*, richly furnished and sumptuously adorned, deemed not by and by the owner and lord thereof to be stately and happily lodged; but desired first to see and behold the good parts that were within him, rather than the goods which were about him; and hereen it seemeth unto mee, that you have forgotten your owne tale of the fox, who being come to contest and debate with the leopard, whether of the twaine were beset with more colours and divers spots, required of the judge between them, that he would not regard and consider so much the outward painting of the skin, as the varietie of the spirit and soule within, for that he should finde the same bedight with a world of divers spots; but you looke onely to the workmanship of cutters in stone, and of masons, esteeming that onely to be the house, and not that which is domesticall and within, to wit, children, wife, friends and fervitours, unto whom (being wife, fober and of good conditions) the father of the familie, and householder, communicating and imparting that which he hath (say he were within a birds-neest or in an emmers hole) may avouch that he dwelleth in a good and blessed house. Lo what mine answer is to *Aesope*, as also for my part, what collation and dole I contribute unto *Dioetes*; now for the rest of you, let every man conferre (as reason is) to it, what he thinketh good, and utter his mind. Then *Solon*: That house (in mine opinion) is best, the goods wherein, were neither gotten by unjust and indirect meanes, nor bred any feare, suspicion and doubt for the keeping, nor yet drew repentance for the spending of them. After him *Bias* opined: That he held the familie best, the master whereof was of himselfe the same man within, as (for feare of the law) abroad. Then *Thales*: Wherein the master may live at most ease and greatest leisure. And *Cleobulus*: Wherein there be more persons that love, than feare the master. Next delivered *Pittacus* his minde, and said: That he tooke that to be the best house, wherein there was no desire of superfluities, nor misse of necessaries. After him came *Chilon* with his sentence: That an house ought as much as is possible, to resemble a citie or state governed by the absolute commandement of a king; adding moreover, that which *Lycurgus* answered sometimes unto one who advised him to establish in the citie *Sparta* the popular government: Beginne (quoth he) first thy selfe to ordaine in thine owne house a popular estate, where every one may be as great a lord and master as another. After this speech also finished, *Eumetris* and *Melchiss* went forth. Then *Periander* taking a great cup in his hand, dranke to *Chilon*, and *Chilon* likewise in order to *Bias*. Then *Aradlus* stood up, & addressing his speech unto *Aesope*: VVil not you neither (quoth he) let the cup come unto us, seeing that they there send it round about from hand to hand among them, as if it were the can of *Babyleles*, and will not impart and let it passe to others: Then (quoth *Solon*) neither is this cup (so farre as I see) any whit popular, standing as it hath done a long time before *Solon* onely. Whereat *Pittacus* calling unto *Mnesiphilus* by name: What is the reason (quoth he) that *Solon* drinketh not, but goeth against his owne Poems, wherein himselfe hath written these verses:

The sports of Venus ladie bright,
And Bacchus, now are my delight:
In musicke eke I pleasure take,

For why? these three, mens joies do make.

Then *Anacharsis* helped him out, and spake in his behalfe, saying: He doth it (*Pittacus*) for feare of you and that severe and rigorous law of yours, by which you have ordained, that whosoever by occasion of drunkennesse chanceth to commit a fault, what-ever it be, shall incurre a double penalty, and be fined twise as much as if he had done it whiles he was fober. Then *Pittacus*: Yet nevertheless (quoth he) you carie your selfe so proudly and disdainfully in mockage of this my

statute,

statute, that both the last yere nor long since, being at my brother *Lybius* his house, when you were drunke, you demanded to have the prize thereof & called for the garland & crown. And why not (quoth *Anacharsis*) considering there was propoed a reward for the victory to him that drunke most; and if I were overcharged with wine & drunk with the first, should not I challenge by right the prize & reward of victory? or els tell me what other end is there of drinking lustily, than to be drunke? *Pittacus* hereat began to laugh; & than *Aesope* told such a tale as this: The wolfe (quoth he) perceiving upon a time the shepheards to eate a mutton within their cottage, approached unto them and said: Oh what a stirre and outcrie would you have made at us if I had done that which you doe? Heereat *Chilon*: *Aesope* (quoth he) hath well revenged himselfe now (whose mouth ere-while we stopped that he had not a word to say) seeing at this present as he doth, that he had taken the answer out of *Mnesiphilus* his mouth, and not given him libertie to speake, being demanded the question why *Solon* dranke not? and like it was that he should have answered in his behalfe. Then *Mnesiphilus* rendered this reason and said: That he wist well *Solon* was of this opinion, that the proper worke of every art and facultie, as well divine as humane, was rather the effect and thing by it wrought, than that whereby it was effected; and the end thereof rather than the meanes tending thereto: for so I suppose that a weaver will say, that his worke is to make a web for a mantle, a coat or such a robe, and not to spoole, weave quilts, lay his warpe, thooft oufe, or raise and let fall the weights and stones hanging to the loome: Also that the worke of a smith is to foder iron, or to give the temper of Steele for the edge of an axe head rather than any other thing needfull to such an effect, to wit, the kindling of coles and setting them on fire, or the preparing of any stone-grit serving for the former purpose. Semblably, a carpenter or mason employed in architecture, would much more complaine and finde fault with us, if we should say, that neither a ship nor an house were their worke, but the boaring of holes in timber with an auger or the tempring of mortar. In like manner would the mules take exceeding great indignation, and not without good cause, if we should thinke that their workes were either harpes, lutes, pipes, and such instruments of musick: and not the reforming and institution of folks maners, the dulcing and appeasing of their passions who delight in song, harmonie, and musickall accord. And even so we must confesse that the worke of *Venus* is not carnall companie and medling of two bodies; nor of *Bacchus*, wine-bibbing and drum-kennesse, but rather mirth and solace, affectionate love, mutuall amitie, conversation, and familiarity one with another, which are procured unto us thereby: for these be the works indeed which *Plato* calleth divine and heavenly: and these he saith that he desired and pursued when he grew aged and was well slept in yeeres. For I assure you *Venus* is the work-mistresse of mutuall concord, solace and benevolence betweene men and women, mingling and melting (as it were) together with the bodies their soules also, by the meanes of pleasure: *Bacchus* likewise in many who before had no great familiarity together, nor any knowledge and acquaintance to speake of, by softning and moistning the hardnes of their maners, and that by the meanes of wine (like as fire worketh iron to be gentle and pliable) hath engendered a beginning of commixtion and incorporation one with another. True it is I must needs say, that when such personages are met and assembled together, as *Periander* hath hither invited, there is no need either of cup or flagon for to bring them acquainted: for the muses setting in mids before them a cup of sobriety, to wit, their conference and speech, wherein there is not onely store of pleasure and delight, but also of erudition, learning, and serious matter, doe excite, drench, enlarge and spread abroad by the meanes of discourse and talke, the amiable joy of such guests, sufficing for the most part the wine pot or flagon to stand still above the cup or goblet: a thing that *Hesiodus* forbade expressly among such as could skill better to carrouse than to discourse. And whereas we read thus in *Homer*,

For howsoever other Greeks
that weare their haire so long,
Doe drinke about their measure just
allowed them among:

Your cup I see stands ever full,
no gage to you is set,
But bartie draughts you may carrouse,
no man there is to let.

Me thinks I heare and understand heereby that our aunccients called this manner of drinking one to another by way of challenge & provocation *auxure*, according to the terme that *Homer* giveth

ff

giveth it, and so every man dranke a certaine measure in order: yea and afterwards (like as *Ajax* did) ech one divided portions of flesh to his next fellow sitting at the boord: Now when *Menophilus* had thus said: *Cherfus* the poet, whom lately *Periander* had quit of certaine imputations charged upon him, and who was newly returned into his favour at the earnest request of *Chilon*: I would gladly know (quoth he) whether *Jupiter* gage the rest of the gods with a certaine measure and stint of drinking, (for that they use to drinke one to another when they dine and sup with him) like as *Agamemnon* dealt by the princes of the Greeks when they were at his table? Then *Cleodemus*: If it be true (quoth he) friend *Cherfus* as you and other poets doe say, that certaine doves flying hardly and with great difficultie over the rocks called *Plavite*, bring unto *Jupiter* that celestiall meat named *Ambrosia*: thinke you not likewise that he had much ado to get the heavenly drinke *Nectar*, and that he had but small store thereof, whereby he could not chuse but make spare and give of it to every one according to measure? Yes verily (quoth *Cherfus*) and peradventure they had it distributed equally among them; but since we are fallen againe into a fresh discourse of house-keeping, which of you will goe on and finish the rest which remaineth to be said thereof? Then *Cleobulus* inferred this speech and said: As for wise men indeed, the law (quoth he) hath given them a precept measure; but as touching foolles, I will tell you a tale which I heard my mother once relate unto a brother of mine: The time was (quoth she) that the moone praised her mother to make her a petticoate fit & proportionable for her body: Why, how is it possible (quoth her mother) that I should knit or weave one to fit wel about thee considering that I see thee one while full, another while croissant or in the waime, & 20 pointed with tips of horns, & fosome time againe halfe round? Even so (friend *Cherfus*) a man is not able to set downe a definit & just proportion of substance & goods to mainteine an house unto a foolish or a naughtie person; for such a one hath need one while of this thing, and another while of that, according to his divers desires & variable events & occasions, much like to *Aesops* dog, who as he saith, in the winter season (thinking together, & lying round for cold wherewith he is ready to be frozen and sterved, is of mind to build himselfe an house: but in summer when he lies sleeping stretched out at length, he thinks himselfe to be very great, and supposeth it a needlesse thing to builde an house, and besides no small peece of worke to set up a frame bigge and large enough to receive his bodie. See you not likewise o *Cherfus*, that these kind of folke will bee thought nowe but small and little, and restraîne themselves into a narrow compasse, proposing forsooth a streight and laconicall manner of life; but anon all at once they will bee aloft, and if they may not have all that they see, and possesse not onely the estate of private persons, but also of kings and princes, they are undone for ever, and complaine as if they were pined and readie to die for hunger: at which words *Cherfus* held his peace. But *Cleodemus* then began and said: Howbeit, we all see (quoth he) that you my masters your selves who are sage and wise, have your goods and possessions unequally dealt among you, if a man would go about to measure and count them. True indeed my good friend (answered *Cleobulus* againe) and this is because the law (like unto a good weaver or knitter) hath given unto every one of us that which is fit, futable, and convenient for us; and even so your you selfe sit, in your direction for diet, nourishment, and purging of your patients by reason, after the pre- 40 scription (as it were) of laws, do not let them downe receipts and orders all alike, but such as are agreeable and meete for every one. Upon this speech *Ardalus* replied, saying: How then? Is there a law that commaundeth *Epimenides* here our familiar friend and *Solon*'s hoste, to forbear all other viands, and by taking onely in his mouth a little of the composition called *Alimon*, which hath vertue to put by hunger (which pleasant electuarie or confection he maketh himselfe) to continue a whole day without meate and drinke, without dinner and supper. This speech moved attention and silence in the whole companie there in place: onely *Thales* after a jocund and merrie manner answered: That *Epimenides* did well and wisely not to busie and trouble himselfe about grinding corne, baking meale, or dressing his owne meates (as *Pittacus* did): for my selfe (quoth he) whiles I was in the Isle *Lesbos*, heard a wench of a foreign country, 50 as she turned the querne about, sing thus, Grind mil, Grind; for even *Pittacus* the king of Great *Mitylene*, is a miller and grindeth. But *Solon* said; I wonder much *Ardalus*, that you never read in *Hesiodus* his Poeme, the receipt of the regiment of that mans diet: for he was the first who gave unto *Epimenides* the seeds of this nourishment, and taught him to search:

In *Mallowes* and in *Asphodels*,
which grow on everie ground;
What use and profit manifold,

for

for man here may be found.

Why thinke you (quoth *Periander*) that *Hesiodus* had any such meaning in that verse; and not rather (as he is alwaies a great praiser of sparing and frugality) that he exhorted us unto the simplest viands, as to those which were most pleasant: for surely the Mallow is good to eat, and the Asphodell steepe verie sweete in taste: as for those which the Physicians name *Alima* and *Asphodel*, that is to say, putting by hunger and thirst; I heare say and understand, that they be medicines and not meates, and that among other ingredients that go to their making, they receive honie and a certaine barbarous kinde of cheefe, besides many other feeds which are easie enough to come by: for how else should not (as we read in *Hesiodus*)

The plough became hang aloft in smoottrie yoke,

The ox and mule cease both to draw in yoke.

if need there were of so great provision? But I marvel much *Solon*, at your hoste, that having but lately celebrated a solemne feast of Purification among the Delians, he observed not how they themselves brought with great ceremonie into their temple, the ensignes and monuments of the ancient and primitive nourishment of mankind; and namely, among other things very common, and which grow of themselves without mans hand, the Mallow and the Asphodell; which two heards (it is verie probable and like) that *Hesiodus* also recommended unto us for their simplicitie & profit. Not in those regards onely (quoth *Anacharsis*) but for that they both shew one as well as the other, are commended as especiall hearts for the health of man. True 20 (quoth *Cleodemus*) and great reason you have to say: for *Hesiodus* was well scene in Physicke, as may appeare by that which he hath written so exactly and skilfully of diet, and the regimen of our feeding, of the manner of tempering wine, of the vertue and goodnesse of water, the use of bathes, bathes and women, of the time of keeping companie with them, and of the posture of infants in the wombe, and when they should be borne. But to judge aright, *Aesop* had more reason than *Epimenides* to avow himselfe the disciple of *Hesiodus*, for the talke which the hawke had with the nightingall gave unto *Aesop* the first beginning of his faire, variable, and many tongued learning of his. But willing I am to heare *Solon*; for verie like it is, that he having lived and conversed so familiarly many yeeres together with *Epimenides* at *Athenes*, asked of him oftentimes and knew full well upon what accident or occasion, and for what purpose he chose 30 and followed this strait course of life. And what need was there (quoth *Solon*) to demand that of him? for all the world knoweth, and most evident it is, that as the greatest and most sovereign good of man, is to have no need at all of nouriture; so the next unto it is to require the least nourishment that is: Not so (quoth *Cleodemus* if I may be so bold as to speake my mind: For I do not thinke that the sovereign good of man is to eat nothing, especially when the table is laide and furnished with meate; for to take away the viands set thereupon, is as much as to subvert the altar and sacrifice unto the gods, and to overthrow the amity and hospitalitie among men. And like as *Thales* saith: That if the earth were taken out of the world, there must of necessitie ensue a generall confusion of all things; even so we may say, put downe the boord, you doe as much as ruinate the whole house; for with it you abolish fire which keepeth the house; the 40 tutelard-deitie of *Vesta*; the amiable custome of drinking together out of one boll and cup; the laudable manner of feasting friends; the kind fashion of entertaining strangers, and all reciprocal hospitalitie, and mutuall usage of guests; which be the principall and most courteous conversations that can bee devised among men one with another: and to speake in summe more truly; farewell then, all the sweetnes of humane life and societie, in case there be allowed any reuerat at all, solace and passion apart from businesse and affaires, whereof the need of sustenance and the preparation thereto belonging, yeeldeth most matter, and affordeth the greatest part. Moreover, the mischiefe hereof would reach as far as to agriculture, and that were great pity, considering that if husbandrie were laid downe with the decay & ruine thereof, there would ensue againe a rude & deformed face of the whole earth, as being neglected, & not cleared from fruit, lesse trees, bushes & weeds, and overflowed with the inundation of waters & rivers running out of their chanelles and so without order, for want of good husbandrie and the diligent hand of man: over and besides, perish there shall with it, all arts and handicrafts which the table main- 50 teineth and keepeth in traine, giving unto them their foundation & matter, in such sort as they will come all to nothing, if you take it away: may more than that: What will become of religion and worship done to the gods? for surely, men will exhibit but little or none honour at all unto the Sonne, and much lesse unto the Moone, as having sought els from them but their light & heat onely: and who will ever cause an altar to be reared and furnished as it ought to be, to Ju- piter,

Ff 2

piety, for sending downe seasonable raine, or to *Ceres* the patronesse of agriculture, or to *Nep-
tune* the protectour of trees and plants? who will ever-after offer any sacrifices unto them? how
shall *Silvanus* be the authour of joy and mirth, if we have no more any need of this pleasant li-
quor of wine which he giveth? what shall we sacrifice? what shall wee powre upon the altars?
what oblations shall we offer unto the gods? and whereof shall wee present any first fruits? In
one word, this *estate* would bring with it a totall subversion and generall confusion of the best
and chiefeest things. True it is, that to follow all kinde of pleasures, and in every manner wee
brutishnesse; and even so to sitte them all, and in no wise to embrace them, were no lesse follie
and foolishnesse. The foule may well enough enjoy other pleasures and delights, which are bet-
ter and more noble; but the bodie can finde none at all more harmlesse and honest, to content
it selfe with, than to eat and drinke, whereby it is fed and nourished; a thing that there is no man
but he both knoweth and acknowledgeth; in regard whereof, men use to set and spread their ta-
bles in publicke and open places, for to eat and drinke together in the broad day-light; whereas
to take the pleasure of *Venus*, they wait for the night, and seeke all the darknesse they can, suppo-
sing it to be as beastly and shamelesse to do the one in publicke and common, as not at all to doe
the other but forbear it altogether. When *Cleodemus* herewith brake off, and ended his speech,
I followed in the same traine, and seconded his words in this wise: But you overpasse one thing
besides, namely, that by this meanes, together with our food and nourishment, we banish and
drive away all sleepe: now if there be no sleepe, there will be no dreames, & so by consequence,
we may bid farewell to a most ancient kinde of oracle and divination which we have by them. 20
Over and besides, our life will be alwaies after one fashion, and to no purpose, but in vaine shall
the soule be clad (as a man would say) within the bodie, seeing that the greatest number and the
principal parts of the said bodie were made and framed by nature for to serve as instruments of
nourishment; as for example, the tongue, the teeth, the stomacke and the liver, &c. for there is
nothing in the whole structure and composition of mans body, that either lieth still & idle, or is
ordained for any other use; in so much as whosoever hath no need of food, needeth not the body
also; which is as much to say, as that hee standeth in no need of himselfe; for every one of us
doth consist of all of bodie as soule. Thus much may serve for my part, to have spoken in the
defence of the bellie; now if *Solon* or any other have ought to say and object against it, by way
of accusation, ready we are and disposed to give him the hearing. Yes many (quoth *Solon*) un-
lesse we would be reputed of lesse judgement and understanding than the Aegyptians, who rip-
pling open the belly of a dead bodie, shew it unto the sunne, and cast away the guts and entrails
together with the paunch, into a running river; but afterwards, when they have thus rid away the
garbage, and cleansed the corps, the rest they imbaule and be careful of: for to say a truth,
these inwards, be the very pollution and iniquation of the flesh, and to speake properly, the ve-
ry hell of our bodie; for so they say, that the place of the damned is full of (I wot not what) hor-
rible rivers and winds confused together with fire and dead carcases. For no creature living, is
nourished with any food that liveth; but we (in killing those creatures which have foules, or in
destroying plants, herbs and fruits which participate likewise of life, inasmuch as we see them to
be nourished and grow) do evill, and sinne very grievously, forasmuch as whatsoever is transmu-
ted and turned into another, loseth that nature which it had before, and wholly is corrupted, for
to become nourishment to another. As for abstinance from eating of flesh, as (by report) *Or-
pheus* did in olde time, is rather a subtil shift of Sophistrie, than any perfect thinning or for-
bearing of those finnes which are committed in delicious fare and superfluous gormandize;
but the onely way to avoid enormitie in this behalfe, is the meanes to keepe a mans selfe per-
fectly pure and undefiled, according to the absolute rule of justice, is to be content with that
which is within himselfe, and to live without desire of any thing without, whatsoever: but he
that is by God framed to that nature and condition, that without the damage and hurt of ano-
ther, he can not possibly preserve his owne being and safetie; unto him he hath given a nature
which will continually move him to injustice, & to commit wrong. Were it not then (my good
friend *Diocles*) very meet and requisite to cutt off together with injustice and sinfulness, the bel-
ly, stomacke and liver, yea, and all other such parts which give unto us the appetite of nothing
in the world that is honest, but resemble partly the instruments of a cooke, and vessels of the kit-
chin, to wit, chopping knives, cawdrons, pots and kettles, and in part are like unto the utensils of
a mill, of a chimney, oven or furnace, or such tooles as serve either to digge pits, or be used in
bake-house and pastrie? for to say a truth, you may plainly see and perceive that the soule in
many men lieth hidden within the bodie, as it were in a certaine mil-house, turning round con-
tinually

tinually (as one would say) about a querne, in pursute after the necessities thereof, even as we
here, ere while perceived by experience in our owne selves, when we neither saw nor heard, nor
regarded one another; But every one of us inclining forward and stooping downe to our victu-
als served out owne need & looked to our food, but now when the tables be taken up, as you see,
having chapters of flowers on our heads, we take delight in devising together, & holding honest
discourses, we rejoyce in fellowship & good company, we passe the time away in ease & repose,
being once come to that point, that we have no more any desire or need of nourishment: If then
we could hold us so still, & continue while we live in this present state, so that we neither feared
want & poverty, nor yet knew what was covetousnes & desire of riches, should we not lead (thinke
you) a blessed and easie life, as having leisure to converse together and joy in our mutual socie-
ties? For know well this, that looking after the needles superfluities immediately ensueth upon the
appetite and desire of things necessarie. But whereas *Cleobulus* is of this opinion, that needes
there must be meat & food, to the end that their might be tables and standing cups upon them,
that men may drinke one to another, also that they might sacrifice to dame *Ceres* & her daugh-
ter *Proserpina*: another man may as well and truly say: There ought to be warres and battels, to
the end that we may have wals and fortifications for our cities, arsenals for our navy, and arma-
ries also, that for the killing of an hundred enemies, we might in thanksgiving to the gods
offer sacrifices thereupon, called *Hecatompnia*, according as they say, there is a statute impor-
ting so much among the Messenians. Or all one it were as if some other should be angrie or
offended with health, saying: I were great pitie, if because there are none sicke, any more there
should be no use of easie beds, fine linnen sheets, soft pillows and coverings, nor any need to
sacrifice unto *Aesculapius* or other gods, to divert and turne away our maladies; and to the art
of physick, with all the tooles, instruments, drugs and medicines belonging thereto, be cast aside
and neglected, without honor and regard. For what odds is there betweene the one and the other,
considering that we receive food as a medicine to cure our hunger? Besides, all they that keepe
a certaine diet, are said to cure themselves, using this remedie, not as a pleasure deligtome
and desirable, but as meanes to content and sause nature. For surely we may reckon more
paines than pleasures, that come unto a man by his feeding; or to speake more truly, the plea-
sure of eating hath but a little place, and continueth as small a while in mans bodie; but the trou-
ble and difficultie which it hath in providing and preparing, with how many (shamefull) incon-
veniences and painefull travels it pestereth us, what should I relate unto you? for I suppose, that
in regard of all these vexations, *Homer* took upon him to proove, that the gods died not, by this
argument, that they received no food:

For neither eate they bread in heaven,
nor pleasam wine to drinke:
Thus bloodlesse, since they be, we them
immortall name and thinke.

As if by these verses he would give us to understand, that our eating and drinking is not onely
the meanes of our life, but also the cause of our death: for thereupon a number of diseases take
hold of our bodies, which are gathered within the same, and proceed no lesse from fulnesse than
emptinesse, and many times we have more adoe to conceit, consume, and dissipate our fooles,
than we had to get and provide it. And much like as if the daughters of *Danua* were in doubt
what to do, and what life to lead, or how to be employed, after they were delivered and freed once
from their servile taske imposed upon them, for to fill their tunne boared full of holes; even so
doubt we (in case we were come to this passe, as to cease from stuffing and cramming this un-
satisfiable flesh of ours, which will never say Ho, with all sorts of viands that land or sea may afford)
what we should do? and al because for want of experience & knowledge what things be good &
honest, we love all our life time to seeke for to be provided of necessaries: and likewise they who
have beene slaves a long time, after they come once to be delivered from servitude, do of them-
selves and for themselves the verie same services, which they were wont to performe for their
masters, when they were bound; even so, the soule taketh now great paines and travel to feed the
bodie, but if once the might be dispatched and discharged from this yoke of bondage, no soe-
ner shall she finde her selfe free and at libertie, but she will nourish and regard herselfe, she will
have ease then, to the knowledge of the truth, and nothing shall plucke her away, or divert and
withdraw her from it. Thus much *o Xicharchus* as touching those points which were then de-
livered concerning nourishment. But before that *Solon* had fully finished his speech, *Gorgias*
the brother of *Periander* entred into the place, being newly returned from *Tanarus*, whither he

had bene sent before by occasion of (I wot not what) oracles, for to carrie thither certaine oblations unto *Zeptune*, and to doe sacrifice unto him; we all saluted him and welcomed him home; but *Periander* his brother comming toward and kissed him, causing him afterwards to sit downe by himselfe upon the bed-side, where hee made relation unto him alone of certaine newes. *Periander* gave good care unto his brother, and shewed by his countenance that he was diversly affected, and verie passionate upon that which he heard him to report; and by his visage it seemed one while that he sorrowed and grieved, another while that he was angry and offended; he made semblant for a time, as if he distrusted and would not give credit unto him, and anon againe he seemed as much to wonder and stand in admiration; in the end he laughed and said unto us: Verie gladly would I out of hand recount unto you the tidings which my brother hath told me, but hardly doe I neither will be over haiste to doe, for feare of *Thales*, whom I have heard otherwise to say: That well we might make report of newes that be probable and like to be true; but touching things impossible, we ought altogether for to hold our peace. Hereupon *Bias*: But as wife a saying (quoth he) was this of *Thales*: That as we ought not to believe our enemies in things that be credible, so we are not to discredit our friends even in those things that are incredible. For mine owne part, I thinke verily by this speech of his, that heeooke those for his enemies who were leaue and foolish, and reputed for friends such as were good and wife. I would advise you therefore (*δ Gorgias*) that either you would declare your newes here before all this companie, or rather reduce that narration which you come withall to pronounce aloud unto us, unto those new kinde of verses which are called *Dithyrambes*. Then *Gorgias* set tale on end and began to speake in this manner: After we had sacrificed for the space of three daies together, and the last day performed in a generall assembly all the night a festivall solemnitie with plaies and dances along the strand by the sea side, as the moone shone at full upon the sea, without any winde in the world stirring at all, so as there was a gentle generall calme, and every thing still and quiet; beheld we might discover a faire off a certaine motion or trouble in the sea, bending toward a promontorie or cape, and as it approached neerer thereto, raised with a little scumme, and that with a great noyse by reason of the agitation of the water and waves that it made in such fort, as that all the companie of us wondered what it might be, and ran toward the place whereunto it seemed to make way and bend the course for to arrive; but before that we could by any conjecture gesse what it was, (the swiftnesse thereof was such) we might evidently descie with our eie a number of dolphins, some swimming round about it thicke together, others directing the whole troupe toward the castest and gentlest landing place of the banke, and some there were againe that followed behinde as it were in the rearward: now in the mids of all this troupe there appeared above the water I wot not what lumpie or masse of a bodie floating aloft, which we could neither discern nor devise what it was, untill such time as the said dolphins all close together and shooting themselves into the shore, landed upon the banke a man both alive and also moving; which done they returned toward the rocke or promontorie afore said, leaping and dauncing wantonly as it should seeme for verie joy more than they did before: which the greatest part of our company (quoth *Gorgias*) seeing, were so greatly afraid, that they fled from the sea amaine all amazed; my selfe with some few others tooke better heart and approached nere, where we found that it was *Arion* the harper, who of himselfe tolde to us his name, and easie he was otherwise to be knowne, for that he had the same apparell which he was wont to weare when he plaied in publike place upon his harpe: So we tooke him up incontinently and brought him into a tent (for harme he had none in the world, save only that by reason of the swiftnesse & violent force of his cariage he was wearie and seemed ready to faint) where we heard from his mouth a strange tale, and to all men incredible, unless it were to us who saw the end and issue thereof. For this *Arion* reported unto us, that having bene of long time resolved to returne out of *Italy* and so much the rather because *Periander* had written unto him for to make haste & come away upon the first opportunity presented to him of a Corinthian carrikie that made faile first thence, he presently embarked, but no sooner were they come into the broad and open sea, and that with a gentle gale of winde, but he perceived that the mariners conspired together for to take away his life, whereof the pilot himselfe also of the same ship gave him advertisement secretly, namely, that they intended to put the thing in execution that night. *Arion* thus finding himselfe destitute of all succour, and not knowing what to doe; it came into his minde as it were by a certaine heavenly and divine inspiration (whiles hee had yet some time to live) for to adorne his bodie with those ornaments which he accustomed to put on when he was to play upon his harpe for a prize in some frequent

quent Theater; to the end that the same habit might serve him for his funerall weed now at his death; and withall to sing a dolefull song and lamentable dittie before his departure out of this life, and not to shew himselfe in this case lesse generous than the swans: being therefore thus arrayed and decked accordingly, and doing the mariners to wit before hand, that he had a wonderfull desire to chaunt a sonet or hymne unto *Apollon Pythius*, for the sake of himselfe, the ship and all those fellow passengers who were within it, he stood upright on his feet in the poope close to the ship side, and after he had founded a certaine invocation or prayer to the sea-gods, he chanted the canticle before said, and as he was in the mids of his song, the sunne went downe and seemed to settle within the sea, and with that they began to discover *Peloponnesus*. Then the mariners who could no longer stay nor tarry for the darke night, came toward for to kill him; when he saw their naked swords drawn, and beheld the foresaid Pilot how he covered his face, because he would not see so villanous a spectacle, he cast himselfe over ship-board, and leapt as farre into the sea from the ship as he could; but before that his whole bodie was under the water, the dolphins made haste, and from beneath were readie to beare him up for sinking. Full of feare and perturbation of spirit hee was at first, in so much as being astonished thereat, hee wist not what it might be; but within a while after, perceiving that he was calmed at ease, and seeing a great floc of dolphins environing gently round about him; and that they succeeded and seconded one another by turnes, for to take the charge of carrying him, as if it had bene a service imposed upon them all, and whereunto they were necessarily obliged; and seeing besides that the carrikie was a good way behind (by which he gathered that he went apace, and was carried away with great celerity): He was not (quoth *Gorgias*) so feareful of death, or desirous otherwise to live, as hee had an ambitious desire to arrive once at the haven of safety, to the end that the world might know that he stood in the grace and favour of the gods, and that hee hoped an assured belief and firme affiance in them, beholding as he did the skie full of starrs, the moone arising pure and cleere with exceeding brightnesse, and the whole sea about him smooth and calme; but that the course of these dolphins traced out a certaine way and path, so that hee thought thus within himselfe, that the divine justice had not one eie alone, and as many eies as there were starrs in the heaven, and that God beheld all about whatsoever was done both by sea and land: VVhich cogitations and thoughts of mind (quoth he) mightily strengthened and sustained my bodie, which otherwise was ready to faint and yeeld with travell and wearinesse: finally, when the dolphins were come as farre as to the great promontorie of *Tenarus*, so high and steepe, they were verie warie and careful that they ran not upon it, but turned gently at one side, and swam behind it a long the coast, as if they would have conducted a barke safe and found, to a sure bay and landing place, whereby he perceived evidently that carried he was thus by the guidance of the divine providence. After that *Arion* (said *Gorgias*) had made all this discourse unto us, I inquired of him, where he thought that the ship above said intended to arrive. At *Corinth* (quoth he) without all doubt, but it will be very late first, for it being toward evening when I leapt into the sea, I suppose that I was carried upon the dolphins backs no lesse than a course of five hundred furlonges, and no sooner was I from ship-board, but there ensued presently a great calme at sea. Moreover, *Gorgias* said: That he having learned the names awell of the ship-master as the pilot, and withall known what badge or ensigne the ship carried, made out certain pinnaces, and those manned with fouldiours, for to observe what creeks, commodious baies, and landing places there were upon the said coast; but as for *Arion*, *Gorgias* conveyed him secretly with him, for feare lest if the mariners should have had any advertisement of his deliverie and safety, they might flie away and escape: But as God would have it, every thing fell out so, as we might see (quoth *Gorgias*) the very immediat hand of the divine power; for at one and the same instant that I arrived here, I had intelligence also that the said ship was fallen into the hands of those fouldiours whom I set out; and so the mariners and passengers within it were taken all prisoners. Hereupon *Periander* commanded *Gorgias* presently to arise to apprehend them, and lay them up fast in close prison, where no person might have access unto them, or certifie them that *Arion* was alive and safe. Then *Aesop*: Mocke on now (quoth he) at my gaies and crowes that talke and tell tales, when you see that dolphins also can in this wise play their youthfull parts, and achieve such prowesses. Nay (quoth I then) we are able to report, *Aesop*, another narration like to this, which hath bene set downe in writing, and received for current and good these thousand yeeres passed and more, even from the daies of *Ius* and *Athamas*. Then *Solon* taking occasion of speech by these words: Yea, but these matters, *δ Dioetes* (quoth he) concerne the gods more neerely, and surpass our puissance; but as for that which befall

befell to *Hefiodus*, was a meere humane accident and not impertinent unto us, for I suppose you have heard the historie tolde. No I assure you (quoth I :) But woorth it is the hearing (quoth *Solon* againe.) And thus by report it was. A certaine *Milesian* with whom as it should seeme *Hefiodus* had familiar acquaintance, in so much as they lodged, eat and drunke together ordinarily in the cite of *Laeris* kept their hosts daughter secretly, and abused her body, so as in the end he was taken with the manner. Now was *Hefiodus* suspected to have bene privie to him of this villanie from the verie beginning; yea and to have kept the doore and assisted him in concealing the same, whereas indeed he was in no fault at all, nor culpable any way; howbeit, by means of false suspitions and sinister surmises of people, hee incurred much anger and was hardly thought of, neither could he avoid the unjust imputations of the world: for the brethren of the young damofell lay in ambush for him neere unto a wood about *Laeri*, set upon and slew him outright together with his servant or page *Trailus*, who tended upon him. After this murder committed, and their bodies cast into the sea, it chanced that the corps of *Trailus* being carried forth into the river *Daphnus*, rested upon a rocke environed and dashed round about with the water, and the same not far from the sea, which rocke thereupon tooke his name, and is so called at this day. But the dead bodie of *Hefiodus*, immediately from the land was received by a float or troupe of Dolphins, and by them carried as farre as to the capes *Rhian* and *Molybia*. It fortuned at the verie same time that the citizens of *Laeri*, held a solemne assembly and celebrated festivall sacrifices, called *Rhia*, which they performe even at this daie also in the verie same place with great magnificence and state: this corps being espied floating toward them, (you may wel thinke) caused all the company there to marvel not a little, who thereupon ranne all to the shore, and taking knowledge that it was the corps of *Hefiodus*, because it seemed fresh killed, they laid all other businesse apart & with all speed, sent about and made inquisition of this murder, by reason of the great renowne and name that went of *Hefiodus*: and this they followed with such diligence, that quickly they found out the murderers, whom after they were apprehended, they threw alive headlong presently into the sea, drowned them, and razed their house. Now was the corps of *Hefiodus* entered neere unto the said *Xencium*; howbeit, few strangers there be that know of this his sepulcher, for concealed of purpose it is, by reason of the Orchonenians who made search for it (by report) and were desirous by the appointment of certaine oracles to take up his reliques, and burie them in their country. If then the Dolphins be so kind and lovingly affected to the dead, much more probable it is, that they be willing and ready to helpe those who are alive, especially if they be drawn and allured by the found of the pipes, flutes or other harmonic: for who is there of us all that knoweth not how these creatures are delighted in song, following and swimming along those vessels where they heare musike, as taking great pleasure in the songs and muscicall instruments of those passengers, who do sing or play in a faire and calme season: also they are not a little pleased to see young children swimming & they joy and strive to be doulfing, badling, & diving together with them: and therefore provided it is by an unwritten law, as touching their securitie, that they should not be hurt; by vertue whereof none doe fish for them, nor doe they any harme, unless haply when they chance to be taken in any nets, they hinder the taking of other fishes, or otherwise hurt them, and then beate they are and corrected gently for it, like as little children who have done amiss and made a fault. And here I call to minde what I have heard recounted for certaintie of the inhabitants of *Lesbos*, that in times past within their country, there was a young maiden saved by a Dolphin, from perill of being drowned in the sea: but for that *Pittacum* should know this much better, it were more reason that he himselfe reported it. True it is indeed (quoth *Pittacum*) the tale is verie notorious and related by many. For there was an answer given by oracles to those founders, who first peopled *Lesbos*; that when in failing upon the sea they arrived at a rock called *Metegian*, that is to say, *Mediterranean*, they should cast into the sea for *Neptune* a bull, but for *Diane Amphirrite* and the Nymphs *Nereides* a virgin alive. Now seven principall conductors & kings there were of that company which were to inhabit there, and *Echelus* made the eight, expressly named by the oracle for the planting of a colony, and he as yet a bachelor & unmarried. Now when the other seven, who had daughters marriageable, & yet unwedded, cast lots among themselves whose daughter should be offered (as is before said) it fell out so, that the lot light upon the daughter of *Smintibus*, her therefore they arraigned with rich robes, & adorned with costly jewels of gold for that purpose, and being come to the place appointed, after they had made their prayers and oraisons accordingly, as in such a case, and were now at the verie point to throw her into the sea; a certaine young man, one of the passengers in the ship, of a gentle nature

nature and good disposition (as it appeared) whose name was *Enalus*, being enamoured of the said young damofell, entred presently into a resolution to succor her in this extremitie, although hee saw well that it was in manner unpossible; and embracing her fast about the middle, he cast himselfe and her together into the sea: and even then there ran a rumor, although without any certaine ground or author; howbeit beleived by many of the armie, that both of them were carried to land and lived alive: but afterwards (by report) the said *Enalus* was seen in the ile *Lesbos*, who made relation, that he and shee both were mounted upon dolphins backs, and so carried safe to the firme land without any danger. I could rehearse other strange narrations belonging hereto, more marvellous than these, able as well to ravish with admiration, as to affect with delectation the minds of any that shall heare them; but hard it is to averre them all for true, and to bring proofe thereof, namely: That when there arose a mightie huge billow of water about the isle like a rocke, so as no men durst approach nere unto the sea, *Enalus* only came thither and a number of Polype fishes, or poulpes followed after, and accompanied him to the temple of *Xepante*, where the biggest of them brought unto *Enalus*, a stone which he tooke and dedicated there in memoriall of this miracle; which stone we call *En* to this day. But in firme (quoth he) if a man knew well the difference betweene impossible and unpossible; and could distinguish betweene that which is contrarie to the order or course of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleiving too rashly, nor discreting a thing too easily, he might observe wel from time to time your rule *ô Chilon*, [*Nothing overmuch*] which you ordeine to be kept. After him spake *Anacharsis*, saying: That is not to be wondered at, that the goodliest and greatest matters in the world were done by the will and providence of God, considering that according to the good and wise opinion of *Thales*, there is in all the chiefe and principall parts thereof a certaine soule: for as the organ and instrument of the soule is the body; so the instrument of God is the soule: and like as the body hath many motions of the owne, but the greater part of them, and namely those which are most noble, proceed from the soule; even so the soule likewise doth worke some of her operations by her owne instinct, but in others she yeeldeth herselfe to be ordered, turned, managed and directed by God, as it pleaseth him to use her, being indeed of all instruments the most meet and handfome: for it were a very strange and absurd thing, that wind, water, clouds & raine, should be Gods instruments, by means whereof the nourishment and maintenance many creatures, and whereby he destitute and overthrowed as many; and that he should use the ministerie of no living creatures in any worke of his: Reason it is yet and probable, that seeing such creatures depend wholly upon the puissance and omnipotencie of God, that they should serve all his motions, yea and obey his wils and second his purposes, more than bowes are accommodate to the Scythians, and harpes or hautboies to the Greekes. After this speech the poet *Cherfias* made mention of many others who had bene miraculously and beyond all hope & expectation saved from death, and among the rest he gave instance of *Cypselus* the father of *Periander*, whom being but a young babe and infant new borne, certaine bloudie murderers were sent to kill, and upon the sight of him, for verie pittie turned away and forbore to commit so bloody a fact; but afterwards betinking themselves, and repenting such foolish compassion, they returned backe againe to seeke him out but could not finde him, for that his mother had hidden him within a little corne flasket or twiggen hamper, called in Greek *Cypselus*: in remembrance whereof *Cypselus* afterwards when he was a man dedicated a chappell within the temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, as beleiving how at that time hee had bene miraculously preserved, and by the hand of God kept from crying, which might have bewraied him to the murderers. Then *Pittacum* addressing his speech to *Periander* said thus: *Cherfias* hath done me a great pleasure to mention this chappell or cell; for many a time desirous I was to know of you what should be the meaning of those frogs which are scene graven round about the foot of the palme tree therein; and what they did concerne either the said God *Apollo*, or the man himselfe who built and dedicated the said house. And when *Periander* willed him to aske *Cherfias* that question, who wist well enough what it was, for that he was with *Cypselus* at the dedication thereof; *Cherfias* smiled and said: I will not expound the mysterie thereof, unless I may know first of them that be heere, what is meant by these olde fad sawes; *Nothing too much. Know thy selfe*: and that other mot (which hath caused foules to continue single and unmarried, others to forebare surest ship, and many to be distrustfull, to be mute and silent) to wit, *Give thy word and pay*: Be surety, and be sure of a shrewd turne. And what need is there quoth *Pittacum* that we should interpret and declare these sentences, considering you so greatly praise the fables that *Aesope* hath composed, which shew the substance of every one? *Aesope* answered: So faith

Cherfias

Cherfus indeed when he is disposed to jest and be merry with me: but when he speaketh in good earnest, he affirmeth that *Homer* was the first author of these sentences, saying that *Homer* knew himself well enough, who advancing forward to set upon other captains of the Greeks,

*Refused well and wisely for to fight,
With Ajax, sonne of Telamon that knight.*

He saith moreover, that *Ulysses* approved and commended this sentence, *Nothing too much*; when he admonished *Diomedes* in these tearmes:

*Sir Diomed, praise not me overmuch
Ne yet dispraise I to we no doings such.*

And as for furci-shipp, others are of opinion that he condemneth it as a leawd, naughty, and to dangerous thing in these words

*Who sureties are for men disfreit
and in calamity,
Taste oftentimes for their kind heart
much infortunity.*

But this Poet *Cherfus* here saith: That the fiend *Ate*, which is as much to say as Plague or Infortunity, was by *Jupiter* flung downe from heaven to earth, for that she was present at the caution or warrant which he interposed as touching the nativity of *Hercules*, whereby *Jupiter* was circumvented and overtaken. Then *Solon*: Seeing it is so (quoth he) I am of this minde, that we should give care and credit to the most wise Poet *Homer*, whose counsell this is:

*Since that the night comes on apace,
and hath surpris'd us,
Full meet it is her to obey,
and end our speeches thus.*

After we have therefore given thanks in pouring out wine and offering it to the Muses, *Xepstane* and *Amphitrite*, let us (if you thinke so good) end this our assembly and banquet. Thus *Nicarchus* this our merry meeting brake up, and was for that time dissolved.



INSTRUCTIONS FOR THEM THAT MANAGE AFFAIRES OF STATE.

The Summarie.

The Summarie in any publicke government, be it of prince, seignorie or people, as it is dangerous and detestable, so we are no lesse to feare anarchie, and the horrible confusion of those States where every one is a lord & master. The wise man said very well: That a people or citie destitute of government, is neere to ruine; and publicke affaires prosper well, when there be store of good counsellors. And on the other side, experience sheweth, that humane societie can not stand without magistrates, the maineiners of lawes & good order, which be the nerves or sinewes, the cords and props of our life and conversation one with another. But if there be any way in the world slipperie, it is that of the management of State affaires, by reason of the cleaviness of some, whom I may call Sage fooles, who runne by heaps after publicke offices, not suffering men of honour to enter into them, as fearing to be afterwards ranged and ordered by reason. Since then that ambition is a mortall plague in the mind and understanding of him who would advance himselfe by crooked and indirect meanes, it behooveth on the contrary side, that those who have a sincere affection to serve in publicke place, take heed that they be not discouraged, although otherwhiles they be kept under and put downe by such persons as by good right ought to serve, and not command. To holde therefore some meane in this case, betwene mounting up unto vain-glory, and falling into

into cowardise, *Plutarch* for to content and satisfy a friend of his, giveth good instructions to every man that entred into the managing of State affaires: and in the first place he requirith at his hands a good will, free from vanitie and lightnesse, void of avarice, and delivered from ambition and envie: afterwards, his advice is, that he endeavour to know those well, whom he must governe, for to acquit him well in his owne due, in case he be induc'd unto any high degree in reforming himselfe and being furnished with a good conscience, knowledge & eloquence, proper instruments for to go thorow all difficulties. This done, he teacheth a States-man to manage well his owne words, also what way he ought to take for the entrance into the conduct of his weightie affaires; what friends he is to chuse, and how he is to demean himselfe as well with them as his enemies: afterwards, he discusseth and handleth this question, to wit, Whether such a person as he whom he hath represented, ought to intermeddle and take in all offices, and resolveth that he ought to manage none but that which is of greatest importance. From this he proceedeth to speake of that discretion which is requisite for the ranging and bringing into order of slanderers and enemies; and wittball, with what manner of affaires a politician should busie and employ himselfe, and whereto his spirit and minde is to tend; wishing above all, that he should entermeine the amitie of other lords and rulers, who are able to further and advance the publicke good; and in the meane time to be well advised that he doe not goe about to save, or ruinare rather, his owne country by forren meanes. Hereupon he discourseth of those maladies wherunto common-wealthe is be subject, and holdeth this: That if there doe arise any mischefe, it ought to be repressed, kept downe and cured at home. Consequently, he sheweth unto a magistrate the manner of conversing with his colleagues or companions in office: and after he had commended those who walke singly, & generally and plainly to worke, he entred very prettily into a discourse arising from the precedents, namely, as touching policie and good government, declaring wherein it doth consist: and so toucheth in a word, the doctrine of good subjects in a state well ruled. Which done, he returneth to his former purpose, and maketh mention of certaine cases, wherein a magistrate may accommodate and frame himselfe to his owne people: also what persons he ought to use & employ for assistance in the execution of important affaires, and from what vices he is to keepe himselfe pure and cleane; how he ought to esteeme and regard true honour, standing upon two points: the one, that he do trust and rely upon himselfe; the other, that he be well beloved of the people, unto whom he ought to shew himselfe liberrall. To this above said, there is joyned a certaine discretion to be used in the largesse of magistrates to their subjects (a thing much practised in old time, and in these daies turned cleane against the haire) proposing all in one traine; the true and most expedite way how to gaine the hearts of men, to which no prince nor governour shall ever attaine unless he be such an one as our author doth describe: and representing on the other side, the ridiculous and whippie condition of ambitious persons, and other such as thirst after shamefull glorie, whose name serveth for nought els but to play with the least peties in a common-wealthe. And for a finall conclusion, he treateth of seditions and civill warres; namely, how a good magistrate ought to carry himselfe therein; what a care he should have to quench with all speed such fire; and keepe his subjects in good unitie and concord, and how he should easily come thereto, which is the very closing up of the booke, enriched with notable arguments, sentences, similitudes and examples, for those especially, who have the command of others, and yet are besides, so appeare before the throne of their soveraigne, 40 the examination, triall and searefull judgement of whom, they can not avoid.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THEM that manage affaires of State.

If there be any speech in the world, fir *Meimachus*, unto which a man may properly apply these verses of the Poet *Homer*:
Of all the Greekes there I know man,
Who blame these words or gaine say can;
But yet for sooth you say not all,
Nor come are to the finall.
certaine, it is in the case of those Philosophers, who exhort sufficiently in generall tearmes, to undertake the affaires of State and publicke government: but they teach us not how, nor give us precepts and directions thereto; who (me thinks) may wel be resembled to those, who snuffe and draw out the wicke of a lampe, but they powre no oyle into it. Seeing then that you

you have upon verie good reason deliberated and resolved to meddle in the State affaires of your countrey, and desire according to the nobilitie of your house and native countrey, from whence you are descended;

*To frame your speech with seemly grace,
And deeds performe, meetes for your place.*

and considering that you are not yet come to that maturitie of yeeres, as to have seene evidently the life of a wise man and true Philosopher in matters of government, or viewed his carriage and demeanour in State affaires; ne yet to bee a spectator of wortheie and goodly examples practised in deed and effect, and not discoursed upon in word onely; in which regards you have requested me earnestly to give unto you certain rules, precepts, and advertisement for your better knowledge & instruction, how you ought to behave your selfe in this behalfe; me thought I could not with any honestie deny your request: but my desire & wish rather is, that whatsoever I have collected to this purpose, may be answerable both to the ardent zeale of your intention, and also to the willing forwardnes of mine affection; and verily to gratifie your minde, I have accompanied these precepts with many faire and beautifull examples.

First and foremost therefore, let this be laid for a sure ground & strong foundation, That who-soever mindeth to be a States man, and to manage affaires of policie, bring with him a good intent, moved by reason and judgement, and in no wise arising upon any blind passion, or desire of vaine-glorie, or jealousie and emulation of another, or finally upon default of other occupations: for like as there be some who spend most of their time in the common-hall or market place, although they have nothing there to do, because they have no good thing at home to be employed about; even so, you shall have diverse men that thrust themselves into civill and publicke affaires, for that they have no private busines of their owne, worth tending, and so they use policie as a course of life, or rather a pastime and recreation. Others there be againe, who being by some fortune or chance arrived, or rather cast upon the management of common-weale, and having thereof enough & (as it were) their bellies full, can not with any ease withdraw and retire themselves, when they are once in, resembling those for all the world, who being embarked in some vessel take the sea, only for to be rocked & shaken therein a little for their exercise; but after they be caried by a gale of winde into the deepe, when their heads once begin to turne, and their stomacks sicke and readie to cast, they looke out backe toward the land, but for all that, forced they be to carrie still on ship-board, and to frame themselves to their present fortune.

*Their lovely joys and pleasures are then gon,
To walke upon the battes gaily dight,
With rowers seats in foist or gallion,
Whiles sea is calme and weather faire and light:
Which yeelds prospect most pleasant to their sight,
And hearts content, so cut the waves aright.*

And these are they, who as much as any, or rather most of all, discredit the thing, in that they repent and be much discontented with their choise; namely, when in stead of glorie which they promised themselves, they fall into infamie, and whereas they looked to be feared of others by the meanes of their great credit and authoritie, they bee carried into a world of affaires full of troubles and dangers. But he who commeth to the government of weale publicke, and beginneth to enter upon it by found judgement and true discourse of reason, as a most honest vocation in it selfe, and most agreeable to his estate and qualitie, will no whit be discouraged or dismayed at any of these accidents, nor ever change his resolution. For a man is not to take upon him the managment of State affaires, with intent to negotiate and trafficke there, or to make a gainefull trade and occupation thereof to himselfe, like as in times past at Athens, Socrates and Democritus, with those about them, for to go unto their golden harvest (for so by way of jest and merrie speech they called the Tribunal seat, and publicke pulpit where orations were made unto the people) no nor upon any fit of a sudden passion that commeth upon him, as Cajsus Gracchus did at Rome sometime, who at the verie time when his brothers troubles were hot, and his death fresh and new, retired for a while out of the way, and betooke himselfe to a private course of life, farre remote from the common-wealth affaires; but afterwards, being suddenly enkindled and inflamed againe with choler, upon certaine outrageous dealings and opprobrious wordes given him by some, would needes in all the haste upon a spleene, rush into the government of State, and quickly had his hands full of businesse, and his ambitious humour was soone fed and satisfied: but then when as he would with all his heart have withdra-

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wen himselfe, changed his life, and taken his repose, he could not by any meanes lay downe his authoritie and pusillane (to such greatnes it was grown) but was killed before he could bring that about. As for these who compasse and dresse themselves as plaiers for to act upon the scaffold in some great Theater, and champions to contend with other concurrents, or else aime at vaine-glorie; it can not be, but they must needes repent of that which they have done, especially when they once see that they must serve those whom they thought they were wortheie to rule, or that they can not chuse but displease them, whom they were desirous to gratifie and content. And verily this is my conceit of such, that they runne headlong upon policie and State matters, like unto those who by some misadventure, and sooner than they looked for, be fallen into a pit; for it can not otherwise be, but they be wonderously disquieted, seeing the depth thereof, and with they had never come there, but were out againe, whereas they, who considerately, and upon good deliberation goe downe into the said pit, carrie themselves soberly with quietnes and contentment of spirit, they are vexed, offended and dismayed at nothing, as who at their first entrie, put on a resolute minde, proposing unto themselves vertue and their dutie onely, and intending no other thing for to be the scope and end of all their actions.

Thus when as men have well grounded their choise in themselves, untill it be so surely settled & confirmed, that unneeth or hardly it can be altered or changed; then they ought to bend all their wits to the consideration and knowledge of the nature, of their citizens and subjects, whose charge they have undertaken, or at leastwise of that disposition, which being compounded (as it were) of them all, appeareth most and carrieth greatest sway among them. For at the verie first and all at once, to goe about a change and to order and to reforme the nature of a whole commonaltie, were an enterprize, neither easie to be effected nor safe to bee practised: as being a thing that requieth long time and great authoritie and power. But doe they must as wine doth in our bodies; which at the beginning is moistned (as it were) and overcome by the nature of him who drunke it, but afterwards by gentle warming his stomacke, and by little and little entering into his veins, it becommeth of strength to affect the drinker, and make a change and alteration in him; sensibly, a wise politician and governor, untill such time as he hath wonne by the confidence reposed in him, and the good reputation that he hath gotten, so much authority among the people, that he is not able to rule and lead them at his pleasure, will accommodate and apply himselfe to their manners and fashions such as he findeth them, and thereby conjecture and consider their humors, untill he know wherein they take pleasure, whereto they are inclined, and what it is, wherewith they will soonest be lead and carried away. As for example, the Athenians as they are given to be hasty and cholericke; so they be as soone turned to pitie and mercy; more willing to entertaine a suspicion quickly, than to have patience and at leisure to be informed, and take certaine knowledge of a thing; and as they be more enclined and readie to succour base persons and of low condition; so they love, embrace and esteeme merrie wordes and pleasant conceits, delivered in game and laughter, more than sage and serious sentences; they are best pleased when they heare themselves praised, and least offended againe with those that flout and mocke them; terrible they are and dread, to their verie tutors and magistrates, and yet courteous and milde enough, even to the pardoning of their professed enemies. The nature of the Carthaginian people is farre otherwise, bitter, fell, fierce, sterne and full of revenge; obsequious to their betters and superiours; churlish and imperious over their inferiours and underlings; in feare most base and cowardly; in anger most cruell; firme and constant in their resolution, and where they have taken a pitch; hard to be moved with any sports, pastimes, and jollitie; and in one word, rough & untractable. You should not have seene these fellows, if Cleon had requested them sitting in counsell (forasmuch as he had sacrificed unto the gods, and was minded to feast some strangers that were his friends, and come to visit him) to put off their assembly to another day; so arile laughing and clapping their hands for joy; nor, if whiles Alcibiades was a making unto them a solemne oration, a quail should have escaped from under 50 his gowne and gotten away, would they have runne after her away to catch her, and given her to him againe? nay they would have fallen all upon him; they would have killed them both in the place, as if they had contemned them and made fooles of them: considering that the banished captain Hannu, because in the campe and armie when he marched, he used a lion as a sumpter horse to carrie some of his baggage; saying, that this favoured strongly of a man that affected tyrannie. Neither do I thinke that the Thebanes could ever have contained themselves, but have opened the letters of their enemies, if they had come into their hands: like as the Athenians did, who having surprized king Philips posts and carriers would never suffer one of their let-

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ters mislike to be broke open, which had the superfection to *Queene Olympias* my wife; nor discover the love-secrets and merrie conceits passing from an husband being absent in another country, and writing to his wife. Neither doe I thinke, that the Athenians on the other side, would have endured and borne with patience the proud spirit and scornfull contempt of *Epinondas*, who would not make answer to an imputation charged against him, before the bodie of the people of *Thebes*, but arose out of the Theater where the people was assembled, and throw them all went his way, and departed into the place of publike exercises. The Lacedaemonians likewise would never have put up the insolent behaviour and mockery of *Stratocles*, who having perswaded the Athenians to sacrifice unto the gods, in token of thanksgiving for a victorie, as if they had beene conquerours, and afterwards upon the certaine newes of a defeature and overthrow received, when he saw the people highly offended and displeased with him, demanded of them what injurie he had done them, if by his meanes they had beene merrie and leasted three daies together?

As for the flatterers that belong to Princes courts, they play by their lords and masters, as those fowlers do, who catch their birds by a pipe counterfeiting their voices; for even so they, to winde and insinuate themselves into the favour of kings and princes, doe resemble them for all the world, and by this devise entrap and deceive them. But for a good governour of a State, it is not meet and convenient that he should imitate the nature and the manners of the people under his government; but to know them and to make use of those meanes to every particular person, by which he knoweth that he may best win and gaine them to him: for the ignorance and want of skill in this behalfe, namely, how to handle men according to their humours, bringeth with it all disorders, and is the cause of irregular enormities, as well in popular governments, as among minnions and favorites of princes. Now after that a ruler hath gotten authority and credit once among the people, then ought he to strive and labour, for to reforme their nature and conditions: if they be lazie; then is he by little and little to lead them gently (as it were) by hand unto that which is better: for a most painfull and difficult thing it is to change and alter a multitude all at once: and to bring this about the better, he ought first to begin with himselfe, and to amend the misdemeanours and disorders in his owne life and manners, knowing that he is to live from thence forth (as it were) in open Theater, where he may be seene and viewed on every side. Now if haply it be an hard matter for a man to free his owne mind from all sorts of vices at once, yet at least wife he is to cut-off, and put away those that bee most apparent and notorious to the eyes of the world. For you have heard (I am sure) how *Themistocles* when hee minded to enter upon the manning of State-matters, weaned himselfe from such company wherein hee did nothing but drinke, daunce, revell and make good cheere; and when he fell to sitting up late and watching at his booke, to fasting and studying hard, hee was wont to say to his familiars, that the *Trophae* of *Altiades* would not suffer him to sleepe and take his rest. *Pericles* in like case altered his fashions in the whole course and maner of his life, in his person, in his sober and grave going, in his affable and courteous speech, shewing alwaies a staid and setled countenance, holding his hand ever more under his robe, and never putting it forth, and not going abroad to any place in the citie, but onely to the tribunall and pulpit for publike orations, or els to the counsell house. For it is not an easie matter to weld and manage a multitude of people, neither are they to be caught of every one, and taken with their fasten in the catching; but a gracious and gainfull piece of worke it were, if a man may bring it thus much about, that like unto suspicious & craftie wilde beasts, they be not affrighted nor let a madding at that which they heare and see, but gently suffer themselves to be handled, and be apt to receive instruction; and therefore this would not in any wife be neglected, neither are such to have a small regard to their owne life and manners, but they ought to studie and labor as much as possibly they can, that the fame be without all touch and reproch: for that they who take in hand the government of publike affaires, are not to give account, nor to answer for that onely which they either say or doe in publike, but they are searched narrowly into, and manie a curious eye there is upon them at their boord; much listning after that which passeth in their beds; great sitting and scanning of their marriages and their behaviour in wedlocke, and in one word all that ever they doe privately, whether it be in jest or in good earnest. For what need we write of *Alcibiades*, who being a man of action and execution, as famous and renowned a captain as any one in his time, and having borne himselfe alwaies invincible and inferior to none in the managing of the publike State, yet notwithstanding ended his daies wretchedly, by meanes of his dissolute looseness and outrageous demeanour, in his private life and conversation

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at home, in so much as he bereft his owne countrey of the benefit they might have had by his other good parts and commendable qualities, even by his intemperance and sumptuous superfluitie in expence? Those of *Athens* found fault with *Cimon*, because he had a care to have good wine: and the Romans finding no other thing in *Scipio* to reprove, blamed him for that hee loved his bed too well: the ill-willers of *Pompey* the Great, having observed in him that otherwhiles he scratched his head with one finger, reproched him for it. For like as a little freckle, mole or pendant-wert in the face of man or woman is more offensive, than blacke and blew marks, than scars or maimes in all the rest of the bodie; even so, small and light faults otherwise of themselves, shew great in the lives of Princes, and those who have the government of the weale publike in their hands, and that in regard of an opinion imprinted in the minds of men touching the estate of governours and magistrates, esteeming it a great thing, and that it ought to be pure and cleere from all faults and imperfections. And therefore deserved *Julius Cæsar*, a noble Senator and great ruler in *Rome* to be highly praised, in that, when one of his workemen promised him (if he so would) to devise and contrive his house so, that whereas his neighbours overlooked him, and saw into many parts thereof, they should have no place therein exposed to their view and discoverie, and that this translating and alteration thereof should cost him but five talents: Nay (quoth he) thou shalt have ten talents, and make mine house so, that it may be seene into on every side, to the end that all the citie may both see and know how I live; for in truth he was a grave, wise, honest, and comely personage. But peradventure it is not so needfulle that a house lie so open as to be looked into on all sides: for the people have eyes to pierce and enter into the verie bottom of governours manners, of their counsels, actions, and lives, which a man would thinke to be most covert & secret, & no lesse quick-sighted are they in their private carriage, as in that which they see them doe, and heare them speake in publike; loving some with a kinde of admiration, and having others in disdainfull and contemptuous manner. What? will some one say, do not some cities otherwhiles love to be ruled by governours, whom they know to be dissolute and disordinate in their manner of life? Yes, I belevee it verie well. And so forth, we see some women when they are with childe, long many times to eat greit of stonnes, and they who are stomacke-sicke, and have a peevish appetite, desire faine fish, and such other naughty meates; but within a while after, when the fit is once past, they reject, refuse and lothe the same; even so many States and Commonalties often-times upon an insolence, wantonnesse and disordinate desire, or for default of better governours, be served with those that come first, and they care not with whom, notwithstanding they have them in contempt and detestation, but afterwards they are very well content when such speeches goe of them, as *Plato* a comical Poet in one of his Comedies inferreth to be spoken by the people themselves:

Take me by hand, take holde and that right soone,
Aggryus els I'll captaine chuse anon.

And againe in another place, he bringeth in the people calling for a bason and a feather for to provoke vomit, saying thus:

At my tribunall seat most eminent,
Herselfe to me Mantle doth present.

And a little after,

A stinking head it keeps and feedeth now,
A maladie most fowle, I do avow.

And the people of *Rome*, at what time as *Carbo* avouched a thing, and bound it by a great oath, yea, and the same with a curse and execration, if it were not so; yet for all that all with one voice sware aloud to the contrary, and protested that they would not beleve him. Also at *Lacedaemon*, when one *Demophanes*, a wicked and dissolute person, had delivered his opinion and advice, verie well fitting and behoovefull to the matter in question, the people rejected it; but the *Ephori* having chosen one of their Ancients and honourable counsellors of Estate, willed him to speake to the same point and the like effect; which was as much as if they had taken it out of one foule and filthie vessell, and put the same into another that was faire and cleane, and all to please and content the people and multitude: so effectually is for the government of an Estate, the assured perswasion of the honestie of a personage, and as forcible likewise is the contrarie. I write not thus to this end, that we should neglect the grace of eloquence and the powerfull skill of well-speaking, as if all should lie upon vertue, and nothing els, but that we are to thinke, that Rhetoricall speech and brave utterance is not the thing alone which perswadeth the people, but that it

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is a good helpe, and doth cooperate in perswasion, so that we may in some sort correct and amend that sentence of *Menander*:

*The honest life of him that speaks in place,
And not his tongue, doth credit him and grace.*

For life and language both ought to concur, unless haply one would say, That it is the pilot only that governeth the ship, and not the helme; and the rider alone turneth the horse head, and not the reins or bridle; semably, that the science of policie and government of wealepublike useth maners and not eloquence, as an helme or bridle, to manage, direct and governe a whole cite, which is (according to *Plato*) a creature (as one would say) most easie to be turned, so that it be conducted and guided, as it were, in the poope: for seeing that those great kings, the Ioumes of *Jupiter* (as *Homer* calleth them) set out and puffe up their magnificent part, with long robes of purple, with scepters in their hands, with a guard of squires and pensioners about their persons, with whom they were environed on every side, yea, and with the oracles of the gods in their favour, subjecting unto their obisance (by this outward venerable shew) the common fort, and imprinting an opinion that they are in greater state than men; and yet for all this, were desirous to learne how to speake wisely, and not carelesse and negligent to winne grace by good speech,

*And eloquence, whereby more perfect they
In warlike feats might be another day,*

not recommending themselves to *Jupiter* only the Counseller, nor to bloodie *Mars* and warlike *Minerva*, but invoking likewise the Muse *Calliope*,

*Who doth upon great kings attend,
And makes them as more reverend.*

with her perswasive grace and vertue dulcing and appeasing the violent mood and fiercenesse of the people. Seeing (I say) that mightie princes be furnished with so many helps and means; is it possible that a private person, with a simple robe and popular habit, taking upon him to weld and rule a whole cite or State, should ever be able to effect his purpose, namely, to tame and range into order an unruly multitude, unless he have eloquence to aide him in this businesse, for to perswade and bring them to the bent of his bow? for mine owne part, I thinke No. As for the masters and captaines of gallicies and other ships, they have other officers under them, as their boat swaines, to give knowledge what they would have to be done; but a good gouernour of State ought to have within himselfe the skill and knowledge of the steeres-man to sit at sterne and guide the helme, and besides that, good speech also to make known his will and pleasure, to the end that he need not at all the voice of another, nor be forced to say as *Sphierates* did when he was overcome and braved out by the eloquent words of *Aristophan*: My aduersaries plaier a ceth better than mine, but surely my play is much better than theirs: and that he have not need often-times to have in his mouth the verses of *Enripides*:

*Would God the seed and race of mortall men
Were speechlesse cleane, or could not speake words ten.*

As also of these:

*Oh God, that mens affaires and causes all
Required no words, and for no speech did call,
That orators, whose tongues do plead so hard,
Were not employed, nor in so good regard.*

For these sentences perhaps might give leave to some *Alcarnenes*, *Nesfions*, and *Ictines*, or such manner of people, who live by their handy-work, get their living by the sweat of their browes, and are past all hope to attaine unto any perfection of eloquence, to flie there-fo: as it is reported of two Architects or great Macons at *Athens* sometimes, who came in question for their skill, whether of the twaine was more sufficient to make a great fabrick and publike piece of worke; the one, who could speake very well and expresse his minde with varietie and elegancie of words, pronounced a premeditate oration as touching the frame and building thereof; which he did so well, that he moved the whole assembly therewith; the other, who was more skillfull in Architecture, & the better workman by far, but one that could not deliver his mind fo eloquently, when he came before the people, said no more but thus: My masters of *Athens*, that which this man here hath said, I will do. And verily such good fellows as these, acknowledge no other goddesse or patronesse than *Minerva* the artisan, furnamed *Ergane*, and who as *Sophocles* saith:

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*Upon the masiue anvil stone,
With weightie strokes of hammer strong,
A livelesse barre of yron, and frame
Obieant to their labours long.*

But the minister or prophet to *Minerva Polias*, that is to say, the protectresse of cities, and to *Themis* or Justice the protectresse of counsell:

*Who of mens counsels president,
Disposes, or holds them resident.*

he (I say) having but one instrument to use and occupie, which is his speech, by forming and fashioning some things to his owne mould, and others which he findeth outward and not pliable to the dessein of his worke (as if they were knurres and knots in timber, or flaws and rifts in yron) by softning, polishing and making plaine and smoothe, embelisheth in the end a whole cite. By this meanes the Common-wealth of *Pericles*, in name and outward appearance being popular, was in truth and effect a principality and regall State, governed by one man the principall person of the cite: and what was it that did the deed? surely the force and power of his eloquence: for at the same time there lived *Cimon*, a good man, *Ephialtes* also and *Themistocles*, who being one day demanded by *Archdamus* the king of the *Lacedaemonians*, whether hee or *Pericles* wrestled better: That were (quoth hee) very hard to say; for when in wrestling I beare him downe to the ground, he is by his words able to perswade the standers-by to beholders, that he is not fallen, and so goeth cleere away with it. And verily, this gift of his brought not only to him honour & glorie, but also safetie to the whole cite; which being by him ruled and perswaded, preserved and maintained full well the wealth and estate which it had of her owne, and forbore to desire the conquest of any other: whereas poore *Xerxes*, although hee had the same good meaning and intention, yet because he wanted that perswasive facultie with his smooth tongue and eloquent speech, like unto a gentle bit, when he went about to bridle & restraints the covetous desire of the people, could not compasse it, but mauger and in spite of his heart was overwaied, caried away, and haled by the very necke unto *Stieles*; such was the violence of the people. An olde fable saw it is, and a true proverbe: That it is not good holding of a wolfe by the eares; but surely of a city or State, a man must principally take hold by the eares; and not as some doe, who are not sufficiently exercised nor well scene in the feat of eloquence, search other absurd and foolish handles to catch hold by, for to win and draw the people unto them: for divers you shall have, who thinke to draw and leade the multitude by the belly, in making great feasts and banquetting them; others by the purse, in giving them largesses of silver; some by the cie, in exhibiting unto them goodly sights of plaies, games, warlike dances and combats of fencers at the utterance; which devices are not to draw and leade the people gently, but to catch them rather cunningly: for the drawing or leading of a multitude, is properly to perswade them by force of eloquence; whereas the other allurements and enticements resemble very well the baits that are laied for to take brute and wilde beasts, or the fodder that herd-men use to feed them with. Since then it is so, that the chiefe instrument of a wife and sage gouernour, is his speech, this principall care would be had, that the same be not too much painted and set out, as if he were some yong gallant that desired to shew his eloquence in a Theater and frequent assembly of a great faire or market, composing his oration as a chapter of flowers with the most beautifull, sweet and pleasant phrases or tearmes that he can chuse; neither ought the same to be so painfully studied and premeditated as that oration of *Demosthenes* was, which *Pylarchus* said (by way of reproch) that it smelled of lamp-olles; nor full of over-much sophisticall circuitousie of enthymemes and arguments too witty and subtilie; nor yet with clauses and periods exactly measured to the rule and compasse. But like as Musicians are desirous that in touching and stroke of their strings there should appeare a sweet and kinde affection, and not a rude beating; even so in the speech of a sage ruler, whether it be in giving counsell or decreeing any thing, there ought not to be scene the artificiall cunning of an Oratour, nor any curious affection; neither must it in any wise tend to his owne praise, as if he had spoken learnedly, formally, subtilly, wittily and with precise respect and distinctions: let it be full rather of naturall affection without arte, of true heart and magnanimitie, of franke and fatherly remonitance, as may become the father of his countrey, full of forecass and providence, of a good mind and understanding, carefull of the common-weale, having together with honest and comely dignitie a lovely grace that is attractive, consisting of grave tearmes, pertinent reasons, and proper sentences, and the same significant and perswasive. For in truth the oration and stile of a States-

man and governour admitteth in comparison of a lawier or advocate pleading at the barre in court, more contentious speeches, histories, fables and metaphors, which do then move and affect the multitude most, when the speaker knoweth how to use them with measure, in time and place convenient; like as he did, who said: My masters, see that you make not *Greece* one-cied: (speaking of the cite of *Athens*, when they were about to destroy it) and according as *Demades* also did, when he said, that he sat at sterne to governe, not a ship, but the shipwracke of a citie and Commonwealt: Semblably *Archilochus* in saying,

*Let not the stone of Tantalus
This isle always hang over this.*

Likewise *Pericles* when he gave advice and commanded to take away that cie-fore of the haven *Pirean*, meaning thereby the little isle *Aegina*. In the same maner *Phocion* speaking of the victorie atchieved by Generall *Leontenes*, said thus: The *stadium* of short race of this warre is good, but I feare (quoth he) the *dolichus* thereof; that is to say, the afterclaps and length thereof. In summe, a speech standing somewhat of hauntnesse, grauitie, and greatnesse, is more besitting a governour of State: and for example herewith, go no further than to the orations of *Demosthenes* penned against king *Philip*, and among other speeches, let downe by *Thucydides*, that which was delivered by the *Ephorus Sthenelidas*: also that of king *Archidamus*, in the citie *Plataeae*: likewise the oration of *Pericles* after that great pestilence at *Athens*. As for those long sermons, carying a great traine of sentences and continued periods after them, which *Theopompus*, *Ephorus* and *Anaximenes*, bring in to be pronounced by captaines unto their soldours when they are armed and stand arranged in battell-ray, a man may say of such as the Poet did:

*What fooles would speake thus many words,
So neere to edge and dint of swords.*

Over and besides; true it is that a man of government may otherwhiles give a taunt and nipping chaffie, he may cast out also a merrie jest to moove laughter, and namely, if it be to rebuke, chaffie, yea and to quippe one and take him vp for his good, after a modest maner, and norto touch him too neere and wound him in honour and credite to his disgrace, with a kinde of scurrilitie. But above all it may becomme him thus to doe when he is provoked therunto, and is driven to replice and give one for another by way of exchange: for to begin first in that sort, and to come prepared with such premeditated stuffe, is more besitting a pleasant or common jester, who would make the companie laugh, besides that, it carieth also an opinion of a malicious and spitefull minde: and such are the biting frumpes and broad jests of *Cicero* and *Cato* the elder; likewise of one *Euxithes* a familiar and disciple of *Aristotle*; for these many times began first to scosse and taunt; but when a man never doth it but by way of reply or rejoinder, the sodaine occasion giveth him pardon to be revenged, and withall such requitals carie the greater grace with them. Thus dealt *Demosthenes* by one who was deeply suspected to be a theefe: for when he would seeme to twit *Demosthenes* by his watching and sitting up all night at his booke for to endite and write: I wot well (quoth *Demosthenes*) that I trouble and hinder thee very much with keeping my candle or lampe burning all night long. Also when he answered *Demades*, who cried out aloud: *Demosthenes* would correct me (as much to say forthwith) as if according to the common proverbe, the fow should teach *Minerva*: *Minerva* (quoth he, taking that word out of his mouth) what's that you say? *Minerva* was furized not long since in adulterie. Semblably it was with no ill grace that *Xenetus* answered his country-men and fellow citizens, who cast in his teeth and upbraided him, for that being their leader and captaine he fled out of the field: With you (quoth he) my loving and deere friends, I ran away for companie. But great regard and heed would be taken, that in this kinde he overpasse not himselfe, nor go beyond the bonds of mediocritie in such ridiculous jests, for feare that either he offend and displease the hearers unseasonably, or debate and abject himselfe too grossly, by giving out such ridiculous speeches: which was the fault of one *Democrates*, who mounting one day up into the pulpit or publicke place of audience, said openly to the people there assembled; That himselfe was like unto their citie, for that he had small force, and yet was puffed up with much winde. Another time also, and namely when the great field was lost before *Charonea*, he presented himselfe to speake unto the people in this maner: I would not for any thing that the common wealth were driven to such calamitie and so hard an exigent, that you should have patience to heare me, and neede to take counsell at my hands: for as in the one he shewed himselfe a base and vile person, so in the other he played the brain-sicke foole and fencelesse asse: but for a man of

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State, neither is the one nor the other decent and agreeable. Furthermore, *Phocion* is had in admiration for his brevity of speech, inasmuch as *Polynektus* giving his judgement of him, said: *Demosthenes* indeed is the greatest Oratour, and the most famous Rhetorician, but *Phocion* beleeve me, is the best speaker; for that his pitthe speech was so couched, that in few words it contained much substance and good matter. And even *Demosthenes* himselfe, howsoever he made no reckoning of all other orators in his time, yet if *Phocion* rose up to deliver a speech after him, would say: Lo heere standeth up now the hatchet or prunning knife of my words. Well then, endeavour you as much as possibly you can; when you are to make a speech before the multitude to speake confidently and with great circumspection; directing your words so, as they may tend to safetie and securitie, and not in any case to vfe vaine and frivolous language: knowing well that *Pericles* himselfe, that great governour, was wont to make his prairer unto the gods before hee entred into his oration in publicke audience: That he might let fall no word out of his mouth impertinent to the matter which he was to handle; and yet for all this, you must be well exercised nevertheless, and practised in the knowledge how to be able to answer and replice readily; for many occasions passe in a moment; and bring with them as many sudden cases and occurrences, especially in matters of government. In which regard, *Demosthenes* was (by report) reputed inferior to many others in his time, for that otherwhiles he would withdraw himselfe and not be seene when occasion was offered, if he had not well premeditated and studied aforehand of that which he had to say. *Theophrastus* also writeth of *Alcibiades*, that being desirous to speake, not onely that which was convenient, but also in maner and forme as it was meet; many a time in the mids of his oration would make a stay, and beat a *non plus*, whiles he sought and studied for some proper termes, and laboured to couch and compose them fitting for his purpose: but he who taketh occasion to stand up for to make a speech of sudden occurrences, and respective to the occasions and times presented unto him, such a one I say of all others doth most moove and astonish a multitude, he I say is able to leade them as he list and dispose of them at his pleasure. After this maner plained *Leon* the Bizantine, who was sent upon a time from those of *Constantinople* vnto the Athenians, being at civill debate and dissent among themselves, for to make remonstrances unto them of pacification and agreement: for a very little man was he of stature, and when the people sawe him mounted up into the place of audience, everie one began to reigh, titte, and laugh at him; which he perceiving well enough: And what would you do and say then (quoth he) if you sawe my wife, whose crowne of hir head will hardly reach up so high as my knee? At which word; they tooke up a greater fit of laughter then before throughout the whole assembly: And yet (quoth he againe) as little as we both be, if we chance to be at variance and debate one with another, the whole citie of *Constantinople* is not big enough for us, nor able to holde us twaine. *Pylthes* likewise, the Orator, at what time as he spake against the honors which were decreed for king *Alexander*, when one said unto him: How now sir, dare you presume to speake of so great matters, being as you are, so younge a man? And why not (quoth he) for *Alexander* whom you make a god among you by your decrees, is yonger than my selfe.

Furthermore, over and besides a ready tongue and well exercised, he ought to bring with him a strong voice, a good breast and a long breath, to this combat of State government; which I assure you, is not lightly to be accounted of, but wherein the champion is to be provided for all sorts of matters or fight; for feare lest if it chance that his voice faile or be wearie and faint, he be overcome and supplanted by some one

*Catchpoll, Crier, and of that ranke,
Wide-mouth'd Jugler or mount-banke.*

And yet *Cato* the yonger, when he suspected that either the Senate or the people were forestalled by graces, laboring for voices and such like prevention, so as he had no hope to perswade and compass such matters as he went about, would rise up and holde them all a day long with art oration; which he did to drive away the time, that at least wife upon such a day there should be nothing done or passe against his mind. But as touching the speech of a governor, how powerful and effectfull it is, and how it ought to be prepared, we have this already sufficiently treated, especially for such an one as is able of himselfe to devise all therest, which consequently followeth hereupon.

Moreover, two avenues (as it were) or yeas there be to come unto the credit of government; the one short and compendious, yielding an honourable course to win glory and reputation; but it is not without some danger; the other longer and more base and obscure, howbeit

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alwaies safe and sure. For somewhere be, who making faile and setting their course (as a man would say) from some high rocke situate in the maine sea, have ventured at the first upon some great and worthy enterprife, which required valour and hardinesse, and so at the very beginning entred into the middes of State-affaires, supposing that the Poet *Pindarus* said true in these his verses:

*A worthy worke who will begin,
Must when he enters first to end,
Set out a gay forefront to view
Which may serve off the lustre thence.*

For certainly the multitude and common sort being satisfied and full already of those governours whom they have bene used to a long time, receive more willingly all beginners and newcomers, much like as the spectators and beholders of plaies or games have better affection a great deale to see a new champion entering first into the lists. And verily all those honours, dignities and powerfull authorities which have a sudden beginning and glorious entcase, doe ordinarily astonish and daunt all envie: for neither doth the fire (as *Ariston* saith) make a smoke which is quickly kindled, and made to burne out of a light flame; nor glorie breed envie when it is gotten at once and speedily; but such as grow up by little and little, at leisure, those be they that are caught therewith, some one way and some another. And this is the cause that before they come to flower (as it were) and grow to any credit of government, fade and become dead and withered about the publike place of audience. But whereas it falleth out according to the 20 Epigram of the courtier or runner *Ladas*,

*No sooner came the sound of whip to eare,
But he was at the end of his carriere,
And then withall, in one and selfe same vice
Hee crowned was with laurell for his price.*

that some one hath at first performed an ambassage honourably, rode in triumph gloriously, or conducted an armie valiantly, neither envious persons nor spitefull ill-willers have like power against such as against others. Thus came *Artax* into credit the very first day, for that he had defeated and overthrowen the tyrant *Nicoles*. Thus *Alcibiades* wooen the spurs, when he practised and wrought the alliance between the Mantineans and the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians. And when *Pompey* the great would have entred the citie of *Rome* in triumph, before he had shewed himselfe unto the Senate, and was withstood by *Sylla*, who meant to impeach him, he stucke not to say unto him: More men there be sir, who worship the Sun rising, than the Sun setting; which when *Sylla* heard, he gave place and yielded unto him without one word replying to the contrary. And when as the people of *Rome* chose and declared *Cornelius Scipio* Consul all on a sudden, and that against the ordinary course of law, when as himselfe stood onely to be Aedile, it was not upon some vulgar beginning and ordinary entrance into affaires of State, but for the great admiration they had of his rare and singular prowesse, in that being but a very youth, he had maintained single fight and combat hand to hand with his enemy in *Spain*, and vanquished him; yea, and within a while after, in the necke of it, had achieved many 40 worthy exploits against the Carthaginians, being but a militarie Tribune or Colonel of a thousand foot: for which brave acts and services of his, *Cato* the elder as he returned out of the campe cried out with a loud voice of him:

*Right wise and sage indeed alone is he,
That rest to him but slitting shadowes be.*

But now sir, seeing that the cities & States of *Greece* are brought to such tearmes, that they have no more armies to conduct, nor tyrants to be put downe, nor yet alliances to be treated and made, what noble and brave enterprife would you have a young gentleman performe at this beginning and entrance into government? May, there are left for him publike causes to plead, ambassages to negotiate unto the Emperour or some soveraigne potentate; which occasions 50 do ordinarily require a man of action, hardy and ardent at the first enterprife, wise and warie in the final execution. Besides, there be many good and honest customes of ancient time, either for let or grown out of kinde by negligence, which may be set on foot, renewed and reformed againe: many abuses also by ill custome are crept into cities, where they have taken deepe root, and beene settled, to the great dishonour and damage of the common-wealth: which may be redressed by his means. It falleth out many times, that a great controversie judged and decided aright; the trial likewise and proofe of faithfull trust and diligence in a poore mans cause main-
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teined and defended frankly and boldly against the oppression of some great and mightie adversarie; also a plaine and stout speech delivered in the behalfe of right and justice, against some grand Signiour who is unjust and injurious, have afforded honorable entries unto the management of State affaires. And many there be, who have put forth themselves, made their parts known, and come up, by entertaining quarrels and enmities with those personages, whose authority was odious, envied and terrible to the people: for we alwaies see that presently the puissance and power of him that is put downe and overthrowen, doth accrue unto him who had the upper hand, with greater reputation: which I speake not as if I did approve and thought good for one to oppose himselfe by way of envie unto a man of honour and good respect, and who by

10 his vertue holdeth the chiefe place of credit in his country, thereby to undermine his estate, like as *Simmius* dealt by *Pericles*, *Alcemon* by *Themistocles*, *Cleodius* by *Pompeius*, and *Mencelides* the Oratour by *Epaminondas*; for this course is neither good nor honourable, and besides, lesse gainfull and profitable: for say that the people in a sudden fit of furious choler commit some outrage and abuse upon a man of worth; afterwards, when they repent at leisure (being coole) that which they did hastily in their heat of blood, they thinke there is no readier nor juster means to excuse themselves to him, than to deface, yea, and undoe the said partie who first moved and induced them to those proceedings. And verily to set upon a wicked person, who either by his audacious and inconsiderate rashnesse, or by his fine & cautious devices hath gotten the head over a whole citie, or brought a state to his devotion, such as were in olde time *Cleon* and *Clitophon* at *Athens*; to set upon those (I say) for to bring them under, yea, and utterly to destroy them out of the way, were a notable preamble (as it were) to the Comedy for him that is mounted upon the stage of a common-wealth, and newly entred into the government thereof. I am not ignorant likewise, that some by clipping the wings, or paring the nailes (as a man would say) of an imperious Senate and lordly Seignoury, taking upon them too much, and tyrannizing by vertue of their absolute soveraigntie, which was the practise of one *Ephialtes* at *Athens*; and another in the citie *Ela*, whose name was *Phormio*, have acquired honour and reputation in their country: but I holde this to be a dangerous beginning for to be enterprised by them that would come to the managing of State-affaires. And it seemeth that *Solon* made choise of a better entrance than so, for the citie of *Athens* being divided into three parts or regions; the first 30 of those that did inhabit the hill; the second of them who dwelt upon the plaine; and the third of such as kept by the water-side; he would not seeme to side with any one of these three parts, but caried himselfe indifferent unto them all, saying & doing what he could to reconcile and reunite them together: by which means chosen he was, by the generall consent of them all, the Lord Reformer, to draw new lawes and conditions of pacification among them; and by this practise he established and confirmed the State of *Athens*. Thus you see how a man may enter into the government of the common-wealth by honourable and glorious commencements: and this may suffice for the former avenue of the twaine aforesaid unto the affaires of State.

As for the other way, which as it giveth more sure access, so it is not so expedite and short; there have bene many notable men who in old time made choise thereof, and loved it better: 40 and by name, *Aristides*, *Phocion*, *Pammenes* the Theban, *Lucullus* in *Rome*, *Cato* and *Agepsilus* at *Lacedæmon*: for like as the ivie windeth about trees stronger than it selfe, and riseth up alwaies together with them; even so each one of these before-named, being yet young novices and unknown, joining and coupling themselves with other ancient personages who were already in credit by rising leisurely under the wing and shadow of others, and growing with them, grounded themselves and tooke good root against the time that they undertooke the government of State. Thus *Chispienes* raised *Aristides*; *Chabrias* advanced *Phocion*; by *Sylla*, *Lucullus* rose; *Cato* by *Fab. Maximus*; *Epaminondas* came up by *Pammenes*; and *Agepsilus* by *Lysander*; but this man named last, upon a certaine inordinate ambition and importune jealousie did wrong unto his owne reputation, by casting and rejecting behind him a worthy personage, who guided and 50 directed him in all his actions: but all the rest wisely and honestly revered, acknowledged, yea, and aided with all their power, even to the very end, the authors of their rising and advancement; much like unto those bodies which are opposed full against the Sunne, in returning and sending backe the light that shineth upon them, doe augment and illustrate the same so much the more. Thus when evill tongued persons, who envied and maligne the glory of *Scipio*, gave out that he was but the plaier and actor onely of those worthy feats of armes which he executed; for the author thereof was *Lælius* his familiar friend: yet *Lælius* for all these speeches was never moved nor altered in his purpose, but continued still the same man to promote and fe-
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cond the glory and vertue of *Scipio*. As for *Africanus* the friend of *Pompeius*, notwithstanding he was but of bafe and low degree, yet being upon teames to be chosen Conſull, when he understood that *Pompeius* favoured others, gave over his ſute, and let fall the poſſibility that he had; ſaying withall: That it would not be ſo honourable unto him for to be promoted unto that dignitie of Conſulate, as grievous and troubleſome, to obtaine the ſame againſt the good will, and without the favour and aſſiſtance of *Pompeius*; and ſo in deſerring and putting off the matter but one yeere longer, he had not the repulſe when the time came, and therewith he kept his friend ſtill, and enjoyed his favour. And by this meanes it cometh to paſſe, that thoſe who are thus led by the hand of others, and trained to the way of preferment and glorie, in gratifying one, do gratifie many withall; and beſides, if any inconvenience chance to enſue, the leſſe odious they be and hatefull for it: which was the reaſon that *Philip* king of *Macedonie* earnestly exhorted and admoniſhed his ſonne *Alexander* that he ſhould provide himſelfe of many friends and ſervitors whilſe he might, and had leaſure, even during the reigne of another, namely, by converſing and converſing graciously with every one, and by cheerefull behavioir and affabilitie to all; or to winne their love and favour; but when he was once inveſted in the kingdome, to chuſe for his guide and conductour in the managing of State-affaires, not ſimply him who is of moſt credit and greateſt reputation, but rather the man who is ſuch an one by his deſert and vertue: for like as every tree will not admit a vine to wind about the trunk & body thereof; for ſome there be that do choke & utterly marre the growth of it even ſo in the government of cities & States, thoſe who are not truly honeſt and lovers of vertue, but ambitious and deſirous of honour and ſovereignty only, afford not unto young men the meanes and occaſions of worthy enterpriſes and noble acts, but upon envie and jealousie holde them under and put them backe as farre as they can, and thus make them to conſume and languish, as if they deſcended from them their glorie, and cut them thort of that which is their only food and nourishment. Thus did *Marius* in *Aſſike* ſit, and afterwards in *Gallia* by *Sylla*, by whoſe meanes hee had performed much good ſervice; and in the end would not uſe him at all, but caſt him off; for that in truth, hee was vexed at the heart to ſee him growe up as hee did, and to winne ſo great reputation under him, howſoever hee would have ſeemed to colour the matter, and make the ſigner in the colet of his ring which he ſealed withall, the pretence and cloake thereof. For *Sylla* being treaſurer in *Aſſike*, under *Marius* the Lord General, was ſent by him unto king *Bocchus* and brought with him *Jugurtha* priſoner; and being a young gentleman as he was, and beginning to taſte the ſweeteneſſe of glorie, he could not carrie himſelfe modeſtly in this good fortune of his, but muſt needs weare upon his finger a faire ſcale ring, wherein he cauſed to be engraven the hiſtory of this exploit, and namely how *Bocchus* delivered into his hands *Jugurtha* priſoner: hereat *Sylla* took exception, laid this to his charge, and made it a colourable occaſion of rejecting and putting him out of his place: but he joining himſelfe with *Catulus* and *Metellus*, good men both, and the adversaries of *Marius*; ſoone after chafed *Marius* and turned him out of all in a civil war, which was well neere the ruine and overthrow of the Romaine empire. *Sylla* dealt not ſo with *Pompeius*, for he evermore advanced & graced him from his very youth, he would ariſe out of his chaire, and vaile boner vnto him when hee came in place: ſemblably hee carried himſelfe toward other young gentlemen and gallants of *Rome*, imparting unto ſome the meanes of doing the exploits of captaines and commanders: yea quickning and putting others forward who were unwilling of themſelves; and in ſo doing he filled all his armies with zeale, emulation, and deſire of honor, ſtriving who ſhould doe better, and by this meanes became himſelfe ſuperior evermore, and ruled all; at length deſirous to be not the only man, but the firſt and the greateſt among many that were likewiſe great. Theſe be the men therefore with whom a young States-man ought to joine; to theſe he ought to cleave, & in them as it were to be incorporate: not as that cockatrice or Baſilisk in *Aſſops* fables, who being carried aloft on the ſhoulders of the eagle, no ſooner came neere to the ſunne beames, but ſuddenly tooke his flight, and came to the place before the eagle: and after that maner to rob them of their honour, and ſecretly to catch their glorie from them; but contrariwiſe to receive it of them with their conſent and good favour, and to give them to underſtand that they had never knowne how to rule unleſſe they had learned firſt of them to obey well, as *Plato* ſaith.

Next after this followeth the election and choiſe that they ought to make of their friends: In which point, they are not to take example either by *Themisto*cles or *Cleon*: As for *Cleon* when he knew that he was to undertake the government upon him, aſſembled all his friends together, and declared unto them that he renounced all their amitie, ſaying; That friendſhip was oftentimes

oftentimes a cauſe that diſabled men, and withered them from their right intention in affaires of State; but it had bene ſare better done of him to have exiled and chafed out of his minde all avarice and contentious humors, to have clenſed his heart from envie and malice: for the government of cities hath not need of thoſe who are friendleſſe and deſtitute of familiar companions, but of ſuch as be wife and honeſt: but when he had baniſhed and put away his friends, he entertained round about him a ſort of flatterers, who daily ſtroked and licked him, as the comical poets uſe to ſay. He became rough and ſevere to good and civil men, but in ſtead thereof he debaſed himſelfe to court, flatter, and pleaſe the multitude, doing and ſaying all things to content them, and taking rewards at every mans hand, combining and ſorting himſelfe with the woort and moſt leaſd people in the whole cite, by their meanes to make head, and ſet againſt the beſt and moſt honorable perſons. *Themisto*cles yetooke another courſe, who when one ſaid unto him; You ſhall do the part of a good ruler and magiſtrate, in caſe you make your ſelfe equall unto every one alike; answered thus; I pray God I may never ſit in ſuch a throne or ſcate, wherein my friends may not prevaille more with me, than they that are not my friends. But here in he did not well, no more than the other, thus to proſaie any part and authoritie of his government unto thoſe with whom hee had amitie, and to ſubmit the publicke affaires unto his private and particular affections: howbeit, for all this, hee answered very well unto *Simondes*, requeſting ſomewhat at his hand that was not juſt: Neither were he a good muſician or poet, (quothe he) who ſhould ſing againſt meaſures: nor the magiſtrate righteous who in favour of any perſon doth ought againſt the lawes. For in truth a ſhamefull thing it were and a great indignitie; that in a ſhip the maſter or owner thereof ſhould give order to be provided of a good pilot and ſterreman; that the pilot alſo ſhould chuſe good boateſwaines and other mariners,

Who can be helpe rule in the ſterne below.

And wiſe up ſaile above, when winde do blow.

Alſo that an architect or maſter builder, knoweth how to chuſe thoſe workemen and laborers under him, who will in no caſe hurt his worke, but ſet it forward, and take paines with him for his beſt behoofe: and a States-man or governour, who as *Pindarus* ſaith well,

Of juſtice, is the architect.

And policy ought to direct.

not know at the very firſt to chuſe friends of the ſame zeale and affection that he is himſelfe, to ſecond and aſſiſt him in his enterpriſes, and to be as it were the ſpirits to inſpire him with a deſire of well doing; but to ſuffer himſelfe to be bent and made pliable unjuſtly and violently, now to gratifie the will of one; and anon, to ſerve the turne and appetite of another: For ſuch a man ſembleth properly a carpenter or maſon, who by error, ignorance, and want of experience, with his ſquares, his plumbs, levels and rules ſo, that they make his worke to riſe crooked and out of ſquare in the end. For certainly friends be the very lively tooles, and ſenſible instruments of governours; and in caſe they doe amiſſe and worke without the right line, the rulers themſelves are not to ſlip and go awry with them for companie, but to have a carefull eie unto this, that unwitting to them they doe not erre and commit a fault. For this it was that wrought *Solon* diſhonor, and cauſed him to be reproched and accused by his owne citizens, for that having an intention to eaſe mens greivous debts, and to bring in that which at *Athen* they called *Siſachia*, as if one would ſay, an alleviation of ſome heavey burden, which was a pleaſing and pleaſurable name, importing a generall ſtriking out of all debts, and a cancelling of bonds; he imparted this deſſeigne and purpoſe of his to ſome of his friends, who did him a thred turne, and moſt unjuſtly wrought him much miſchiefe; for upon this iſeking given unto them, they made haſte to take up and borrow all the money they could, as ſarre as their credite would extend: not long after when this edict or proclamation aforeſaid concerning the annulling of all debts was come forth and brought to light; theſe friends of his were found to have purchaſed goodly houſes, and faire lands, with the monies which they had levied. Thus *Solon* was charged with the imputation of doing this wrong, together with them; when as himſelfe indeede was wronged and abuſed by them. *Ageſtamus* alſo ſhewed himſelfe in the occaſions and ſures of his friends moſt weak and feeble minded, more iwis than in any thing elſe, reſembling the horſe *Pegafus* in *Euripides*,

Who ſerunke full low and yeelded what he could,

His backe to mount, more than the rider would.

and helping his familiar friends in all their diſtreſſes more affectionally and willingly than was meet and reaſon: for whenſoever they were called into queſtion in juſtice for any tranſgreſſions, he

he would seeme to be priuie and partie with them in the same. Thus hee saved one *Phabidas*, who was accus'd to haue surpris'd secretly the castle of *Thebes* called *Ladonia*, without commission and warrant, alledging in his defence, that such enterprises ought to be executed by his owne proper motive, without attending any other commandement. Moreover, he wrought fo with his countenance and fauour, that one *Ephodrias*, who was attaint for an unlawfull and heinous act, and namely for entring by force and armes with a power into the country of *Attica*, what time as the Athenians were allied and confederate in amitie with the Lacedaemonians, elcaped judgement, and was found unguiltie; which he did, being wrought thereto and mollis'd (as it were) by the amorous praiers of his sonne. Likewise, there is a misse of his found, and goeth abroad to be scene, which he wrote unto a certaine great lord or potentate in these termes: If *Xtelas* haue not trespassed, deliver him for iustice sake; if he haue transgressed, deliver him for my sake; but howsoever it be, deliver him and let him go. But *Phosion* contrariwise would not so much as assist in judgement *Charillus* his own sonne in law, who had married his daughter, when he was called unto question and indicted for corruption & taking money of *Harpalus*, but left him and departed, saying: In all causes iust and reasonable I haue made you my allie, and wil embrace your affinitie; in other cases you shall pardon me. *Timoleon* also the Corinthian, after that he dealt what possibly he could with his brother by remonstrance, by praiers and intreaty to reclaime and dissuade him from being a ransacking that he could doe no good on him, turned the edge of his sword against him, and joyned with those that murdered him in the end: for a magistrate ought to friend a man and stand with him not onely with this gage, as farre as to the altar, that is to say, untill it come to the point of being forsworne for him, according as *Pericles* one day answered to a friend of his, but also thus faine forth onely, as not to doe for his sake any thing contrary to the lawes, against right, or prejudiciall to the common-weale: which rule being neglected and not precisely obserued, is the cause that bringeth great losse and ruine to a state; as may appeare by the example of *Phabidas* and *Sphodrias*, who being not punished according to their deserts, were not the least causes that brought upon *Sparta* the unfortunate warre and battell at *Leuttra*. True it is, that the office of a good ruler and administratour of the weale-publicke, doth not require precisely and force us to use severity and to punish every slight and small trespassse of our friends; but it permitteth us after we haue looked to the main-chance and secured the State, then as it were of a surplusage to succour our friends, to assist and helpe them in their affaires, and take part with them. Moreover, there be certaine fauours which may be done without envie and offence; as namely, to stand with a friend rather than another, for the getting of a good office; to bring into his hand some honourable commission, or an easie and kinde ambassage, as namely, to be sent unto a prince or potentate in the behalfe of a city or State, onely to salute him and doe him honour; or to give intelligence unto another city of important matters, in regard of amity, league and mutual societie; or in case there fall out some businesse of trouble, difficulty and great importance, when a magistrate hath taken upon himselfe first the principall charge thereof, he may chuse unto him for his adjunct or assistant in the commission some especiall friend, as *Diomedes* did in *Homer*:

To chuse mine owne companion,

since that you will me let,

it selfes that renowned knight,

how can I then forget?

Ulysses likewise as kindly rendreth unto him the like praise againe:

These counsers brave, concerning which

of me you doe demand,

O aged sire, arriv'd here

of late, from Thracian land

Are but her come, and there were bred:

their lord them lost in fight,

Whom valiant Diomedes slew

by force of armes out right,

And twelve friends more and doughtie knights,

as ever horse did ride,

Were with him slaine for companie,

and lay dead by his side.

This modest kinde of yeelding and submission to gratifie and pleasure friends, is no lesse honourable

nourable to the praisers than to the parties praised; whereas contrariwise, arrogancie and selfelove (as *Plato* saith) dwelleth with solitudes, which is as much to say, as it is forsaken and abandoned of all the world. Furthermore, in these honest favours and kinde courties which we may bestow upon some friends, we ought to associate other friends besides, that they may be in some sort interestred therein also; and to admonish those who receive such pleasures at our hands, for to praife and thanke them, yea, and to take themselves beholden unto them, as having bene the cause of their preferment, and those who counselled and perswaded thereto: but if peradventure they move us in any undecent, dishonest and unreasonable futes, we must flatly denie them; howbeit, not after a rude, bitter & churlish sort, but mildly and gently by way of remonstrance, and to comfort them withall, shewing unto them that such requests were not becoming their good reputation and the opinion of their vertue. And this could *Epaminondas* doe of all men in the world best, and thrust them off after the cleanliest maner; for when hee refused at the instant sute of *Pelopidas*, to deliver out of prison a certaine Tavernor, and within a while after, let the same partie goe at libertie at the request of his lemmon or harlot whom he loved, he said unto him: *Pelopidas*, such graces and favours as these, we are to grant unto our paramours and concubines, and not unto such great captaines as your selfe. But *Cato* after a more fully and boisterous sort in the like case answered unto *Catulus*, one of his inward and most familiar friends. This *Catulus* being Censour, mooved *Cato* who then was but Questour or Treasurer, that for his sake he would dismishe and set free one of his clerks of the Finances under him, against whom he had commended sute and entred proceesse in law: That were a great shame in deed (quoth he) for you, who are the Censour, that is to say, the corrector and reformer of our maners, and who ought to schoole and instruct us that be of the younger sort, thus to be put out of your course by our under officers and ministers: for he might well enough have denied to condescend unto his request in deed and effect, without such sharpe and biting words, and namely, by giving him to understand that this displeasure that he did him in refusing to doe the thing, was against his will, and that he could neither will nor chuse, being forced thereto by justice and the law.

Over and besides, a man in government hath good meane to helpe his poore friends, that they may advantage themselves and reape benefit by him from the common-wealth. Thus did *Themistocles* after the battell at *Marathon*: for seeing one of them that lay dead in the field to have hanging at his necke chaines, and collars, with other bracelets of gold about his armes, passed by, and would not seeme for his owne part to meddle with them, but turning backe to a familiar friend of his, one of his followers; Here (quoth he) off with these ornaments and take them to your selfe, for you are not yet come to be such an one as *Themistocles*. Moreover the affaires and occurrences daily incident in the world, doe present vnto a magistrate and great ruler such like occasions, whereby he may be able to benefit and enrich his friends: for all men cannot be wealthy nor like to you *O Menemachus*. Give then unto one friend a good and iust cause to plead unto and defend, which he may gaine well by and fill his purse; unto another, recommend the affaires and businesse of some great and rich personage, who hath neede of a man that knoweth how to manage and order the same better than himselfe; for another, harken out where there is a good bargain to be made, as namely, in the undertaking of some publicke worke, or helpe him to the taking of a good farme at a reasonable rent, whereby he may be a gainer. *Epaminondas* would doe more than this; for upon a time he sent one of his friends who was but poore unto a rich burgesse of *Thebes*, to demand a whole talent of money freely to be given unto him, and to say, that *Epaminondas* commanded him to deliver so much; The burgesse wondering at such a message, came unto *Epaminondas*, to know the cause why hee should part with a talent of silver unto him; many (quoth he) this is the reason; The man whom I sent is honest, but poore, and you by robbing the common-wealth are become rich. And by report of *Xenophon*, *Agessilaus* tooke no small joy & glory in this, that he had enriched his friends, whiles himselfe made no account at all of money.

But forasmuch according to the saying of *Simonides*, as all larks ought to have a cap or creft upon the head, so every government of State bringeth with it enmities, envies, and litigious jealousies; this is a point wherein a man of estate and affaires ought to be well informed and instructed. To begin therefore to treat of this argument, many there be who highly praise *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, for that whensoever they were to goe out of the territorie of *Attica*, either in embassage or to manage warres together; they had no sooner their charge and commission, but they presently laid downe all the quarrels and enmitie betweene even in the very confines and frontiers of their country, and afterwards when they were returned, tooke up and

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entreated

entertained them againe. Some also there are who be wonderfull well pleased with the practise and fashion of *Cretinas* the Magneffian. This *Cretinus* had for his concurrent an adversary in the government of State, a noble man of the fame cite named *Hermias*, who although he were not very rich, yet ambitious he was, and caried a brave and haucie minde: *Cretinus* in the time of the warre that *Atchibridates* made for the conquest of *Asia*, seeing the cite in danger, went unto the said *Hermias*, and made an offer unto him to take the charge of captaine generall for the defence of the cite, and in the meane while himselfe would go forth to retire to some other place; or otherwise, if he thought better that himselfe should take upon him the charge of the warre, then he would depart out of the cite into the countrey for the time, for feare lest if they taried both behinde and hindered one another as they were wont to doe by their ambitious minds, they should vndo the state of the cite: This motion liked *Hermias* very well, who confessing that *Cretinus* was a more expert warrior than himselfe, departed with his wife and children out of the cite: Now *Cretinus* made meanes to send him out before with a convoy, putting into his hands his owne moneys, as being more profitable to them who were without their houses and fled abroad, than to such as lay besieged within the cite, which being at the point to be lost, was by this meanes preferred beyond all hope and expectation: for if this be a noble and generous speech proceeding from a magnanimous hart, to say thus with a loud voice:

*My children well I love, but of my hart,
My native soile by force hath greater part.*

Why should not they have this speech readier in their mouths, to say unto every one? I hate this or that man, and willing I would be to doe him a displeasure; but my native countrey I love so much the more? For not to desire to be at variance and debate still with an enemie, in such causes as for which we ought to abandon and cast off our friend, were the part of a most fell, savage, and barbarous nature: yet did *Phocion* and *Cato* better in mine opinion, who entertained not any enmitie with their citizens in regard of difference and variance betwene them about bearing rule and government; but became implacable and irreconcilable onely in publicke causes, when question was of abandoning or hurting the weale publike; for otherwise in private matters, they caried themselves kindly enough, without any ranckor or malice even toward them, against whom they had contended in open place, as touching the State; for we ought not to esteeme or repute any citizen an enemie, unless such an one be bred amongst them as *Arition*, or *Nabis*, or *Catilina*, who are to be reckoned botches rather, and pestilent maladies of a cite than citizens; for all others if haply they be at a jarre or discord, a good magistrate ought to bring them into tune and good accord againe, by gently setting up and letting downe, as a skillfull Musician would doe by the strings of his instrument; and not in anger to come upon those that are delinquents, roughly and after an outrageous manner, even to their detriment and disgrace; but after a more milde and civill sort, as *Homer* speaketh in one place:

*Certes, faire friend, I would have held,
That others for your wit you had exceed.*

As also in another:

*You know, if that you list (wilt)
To tell a better tale than this.*

Yea, and when they shall either say or do that which is good and convenient, not to shew himselfe to grieve and grudge at their credit and reputation which they win thereby, nor to be sparing in ascribing them honourable words to their commendation and advantage: for in so doing, thus much will be gained, that the blame which shall be laied upon them another time when they deserve it, will be better taken, and more credit given to it: and besides, by how much more we shall exalt their vertues, so much the more we may beat downe and depresse their vices when they do amisse, by making comparison of them both, and shewing how much the one is more worthy and becomming than the other: for mine owne part, I holde it meet and good, that a man of government should give testimony in the behalfe of his adversaries in righteous & just causes; also assist and helpe them out of troubles, in case they be brought into question by some leawd sycophants, yea, and discreditt and disable the imputations charged upon them, namely, when he seeth that such matters for which they are molested, be farre from their intention and meaning. Thus *Nero*, a cruell tyrant though he was, a little before he put *Thraseas* to death, whom he hated and feared most of all men in the world, notwithstanding one laied to his charge before him that he had given a wrong dome or unjust sentence: I would (quoth he) that I could be assured that *Thraseas* loved me so well as I am sure he is a most upright and just Judge. Nei-

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ther were it amisse for the astonishing & daunting of others, who be of a naughty nature, when they doe commit any grosse faults, to make mention other-whiles of some advertisement of theirs who is of a more modest behaviour and civill carriage, by saying: Such an one (I warrant you) would never have said or done thus. Moreover, it were not impertinent to put some, who doe offend, in minde of their fathers and ancestors, that have bene good and honest, like as *Homer* did:

*A some (wilt) for Tydens left behinde,
Unlike himselfe, and much grown out of kinde.*

And *Appian Claudius* being the concurrent to *Scipio Africanus*, when they stood both for one magistracie, said unto him as he met him in the street: O *Paulus Aemilius*, how deeply wouldst thou sigh for griefe and sorow, in case thou wert advertised that one *Philonous* a Publicane or Banker and no better, accompanied and guarded thy sonne thorow the city, going downe toward the assembly of *Cornices* for to be chosen Censour? This manner of reprehension, as it admonisheth the offender, so it doth honour unto the admonisher. *Nestor* likewise in a Tragedie of *Sophocles*, answereth as politickly unto *Ajax*, when he reproched him, saying:

*I blame not you for Ajax, for your speech,
Nor ought I thought to be; your words are nothing lies.*

Seemably, *Cato* who had contended against *Pompey*, for that being combined and in league with *Julius Caesar*, he assaulted and forced the cite of *Rome*, when as afterwards they were grown to open warre one against the other, opined and gave his advice to confesse the charge and regiment of the common-weale upon *Pompeius*, saying withall: That they who could doe most mischief, were the fittest men to say the same: for thus a blame or reproofe mingled with a praise and commendation, especially, if the fame grow to no opprobrious teames, but be contained within the compasse of a franke and free remonstrance, working not a spitefull stomacke, but a remorse of conscience and repentance, seemeth kinde and dutifull; whereas despiteous reproches are never seemely and decent in the mouth of a magistrate and man of honour. Make the opprobrious termes and taunts that *Demosthenes* let lie against *Aeschines*, those also that *Aeschines* gave him; likewise the bitter trumps which *Hyperides* wrote against *Demades*; and seef *Solon* ever delivered such, or if there came the like out of the mouth of *Pericles*, of *Lycurgus* the Lacedemonian, or of *Pittacus* the Lesbian; and as for *Demosthenes*, he forbore such sharpe and cutting teames otherwise, and never used them but in pleading against some criminal causes; for his orations against *Philip* are cleere and void of all nips, flouts, and scoffes whatsoever: and in truth such manner of dealing diffameth the speaker more, than those against whom they bee spoken; they bring confusion in all affaires; they trouble assemblies both in counsell house and also in common hall; In which regard, *Phocion* yielding upon a time to one that was given to raile, brake off his oration, held his peece for a while and came downe; but after, the other with much ado held his tongue and gave over his foule language, he mounted up into the place of audience againe, and going on in his former speech which was interrupted and discontinued, said thus: Now that I have already my masters spoken sufficiently of horsemen, men of armes, and soldiours heavily armed at all peeces, it remaineth to discourse of light footemen, and targuatiars nimble appointed.

But so farre as this is an hard matter unto many, to beare with such broad language, and to conceine, and oftentimes these taunting scoffers meete with their matches, and have their mouths stopp'd, and are put to silence by some pretie replies; I would with that the same were short, pithie, and delivered in very fewe words, not shewing any heate of anger and choler, but a kinde of sweete mildenesse, after the manner of a grave laughter, yet withall somewhat tart and biting; and such ordinarily be those that are returned sily in the same kinde against them that first began: for like as those darts which are recharged upon them that flung them first, seeme to be driven with good will, and sent backe againe with great force and firme strength of him who was stroken with them; even so it seemeth that a sharpe and biting speech retorted against him who first spake it, commeth forceable and with a power of wit and understanding from the partie who received it; such was the reply of *Epaminondas* unto *Callistratus*, who reproched and upbraided the Thebanes and Argives with the parents of *Oedipus* and *Orestes*, for that the one being borne in *Thebes* slew his owne father, and the other at *Argos* killed his mother: true indeed quoth *Epaminondas*, and therefore we banished them out of our cities, but you receive them into yours. Seemable was the answer of *Antalcidas* a Lacedemonian unto an Athenian, who said unto him after a boasting and vaunting manner: We have driven you oftentimes from

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all tooles and instruments, or to worke any thing more artificially; even so, he that in matters of government doth communicate part of the management of the publike affaires with his friends, causeth by this participation all things to be better done, and with more expedition: whereas that man, who upon an unfariable desire to shew himselfe, to have credit, and to winne name and authoritie, laith all the weight of the State upon his owne shoulders, and will bee doing of euerie thing; undertaking oftentimes that charge, whereunto he is neither framed by nature, nor fitted by exercise; as *Cleon* did in leading an armie; *Philopomenes* in conducting a nauie; and *Amibull* in making orations to the people, maketh himselfe inexcusable, if happily ought fall out otherwise than well. To such an one may well be applied a verse out of *Euripides*:

*You worke not in timber, but in other matter
Being your selfe but onely a Carpenter.*

even so, you not able to deliver an eloquent speech, have undertaken an embassage; being idle and given to take your ease, you will needs have the charge of a steward and governe an house: not skilfull and readie in casting accounts, you will needs be a Treasurer or receiver, being aged and sickly, you are become a commander and generall of an armie. *Pericles* did fare better than so; for he parted the government with *Cimon*; and retaining to himselfe the whole power of ruling within the citie, he left unto *Cimon* full commission and authority to man the *Armado*, and in the meane while to make war upon the Barbarians, because he knew his owne selfe more fit for civill regiment at home, & the other more meet for warlike command abroad. In this respect *Enbalus* the Anaphlystian is highly commended, who, notwithstanding the people had a great affiance and trust in him, yea and gave him as much credit as no man more, yet could hee never be brought to deale in the forraine affaires of *Greece*, nor to take upon him the conduct of an armie; but resolving with himselfe ever frō the beginning to attend & be employed in manie matters he mightily encreased the reuerences of the citie, and enriched the State exceedingly. But *Sphierates* for exercising & practising to make declamations at home in his owne house in the presence of many others made a foote of himselfe, & was laughed to skorne for his labor: for say that he had proved no bad orator, but a most excellent speaker; yet should he have stood contented with the reputation that he had won of a good warrior, by feats of armes, and have left the schooles of Rhetoricke, for sophisters, orators, and such professors.

But so far as much as all common people are by nature malignant, especially to those who are in place of authoritie, taking pleasure to quarrell and finde fault with them; and suspecting ordinarily that many profitable acts and ordinances by them set downe, unless they be debated by factions & with some contradiction, are contrived by secret intelligence under hand, & by way of conspiracie; even this is the thing that most of all bringeth the private amities and societies of States-men and governours into an ill name and obloquie: howbeit, for all this, we are not to admit or grant unto them any true enmitie in deed or discord, as did sometimes a popular man and a governour of *Chios*, named *Onomadesmus*, who after he had in a certaine feditious tumult gotten the upper hand of his adversaries, would not banish out of the citie all those who had taken part against him: For feare lest that (quoth he) we fall out with our friends, when we have no more enemies: for surely this were meere follie. But whensoever the people shall suspect any ordinance or act proposed which is of great consequence and tending to their good, it behooveth not at such a time, that all (as it were) of one complot should deliver one and the same sentence; but that two or three opposing themselves without violence, should contradict their friend, and afterwards being convinced and outweighed by sound reasons, change their minde and range themselves to his opinion; for by this meanes they draw the people with them, namely, when they seeme themselves to be brought thereto in regard of a publike benefit and commoditie. And verily in trifling matters & of no great importance, it were not amisse to suffer our very friends in good earnest to differ and disagree from us, and to let every one take his way and follow his owne minde, to the end that when some maine points and principall matters of greatest moment shall come in question and be debated, it might not be thought that they have comploted together, and so grown to a point and accord about the best.

Moreover, we are thus to thinke: That a wife man and a politician is by nature alwaies the governour and chiefe magistrate of a citie, like as the king among the Bees: and upon this persuasion he ought to have evermore the reines in his hand, and to sway the affaires of State: howbeit he is not very often nor too hotly for to seeke after and pursue the offices and dignities which the people doe nominate and chuse by their free voices: for this office-managing, and

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desire to be alwaies in place of authoritie, is neither venerable for his person, nor yet plausible to the people; and yet must not he reject the same, in case the people call him lawfully to it, and conferre the same upon him, but to accept thereof, although peradventure they be offices somewhat inferior to the reputation that he hath already, yea, and to employ himselfe therein willingly and with good affection: for reason it is and equitie, that as we our selves have bene honoured already by places of great dignitie, so reciprocally we should grace and countenance those which be of meaner qualitie; and whensoever we shall be chosen to supreme magistracies, so wit, unto the estate of L. Governour and generall captaine in the citie of *Athens*, or the Pryanship in *Rhodes*, or Boctarchie which is here in *Boetia*, it may become us very wel in moderation to delitie to yeeld and rebate a little of the soveraigne power in our port, and with moderation to exercise the same; but contrariwise unto meaneer roomes to adde more dignitie, and shew greater countenance, to the end that we be not envied in the one or despised in the other.

Now for a man that entrench newly into any office whatsoever it be, he ought not onely to call to remembrance, and use the speeches that *Pericles* made the first time that he tooke upon him the rule of State, and was to shew himselfe in open place: namely, Looke to thy selfe *Pericles*, thou rulest free men and not bond-slaves; thou governeest Greeks and not Barbarians; may, thou art the head magistrate of the citizens of *Athens*; but also he is to reason and say thus to himselfe: Thou art a commander and yet a subject withall; thou art the ruler of a citie under Romane Proconsuls, or els the Procuratours, Lieutenants and Deputies of *Cesar*. Here are not the plaines (as he said) of *Lydia*, for to runne with the lance, nor the ancient citie *Sardis*, ne yet the puissance of the Lydians which was in times past. The robe must not be made so large, it must be worne more strait; your cie must be alwaies from the Emperours pavilion unto the tribunall seat of justice; and you are not to take so great pride, nor trust so much unto a crowne standing upon the head, seeing how horned shoes of the Romane Senators are above the same: but herein you ought to imitate the actours and plaiers in Tragedies, who adde somewhat of their owne to the roll or written part that they do play, to wit, their passionate affection, gesture, accent and countenance which is fit and agreeable to the person that they do represent; and yet withall, they forget not to have an eie and care both, to the prompters. This I say we must do, for feare lest we passe those bounds and exceed the measures of that libertie which is given us by those who have the power to command us, for I assure you, to goe beyond those precincts and limits, bringeth with it danger; I say not to be hissed from off the stage, and to be laughed out of our coats; but many there have bene

*Upon whose necks for punishment,
The edge of treachant axe and gleave
Hath fallen, to end all their torment,
And head from bodie some did reave.*

as it befell to *Pardalus* your countrey-man, with those about him, for stepping a little at one side beyond their limits. And such another also there was, who being confined into a certaine desert isle, became (as *Solon* saith)

*A Sicinitan or Pholegarian,
Who borne sometime was an Athenian.*

We laugh hartly at little children, to see how otherwhiles they goe about to put their fathers shoes upon their owne feete, or to set crownes upon their heads in sport; and governours of cities relating foolishly oftentimes unto the people, the woorthie acts of their predecessors, their noble courage and brave minds, their notable enterprises achieved, fare different and disproportioned to the present times & proceedings in their daies, and exhorting them to follow the same, set the multitude aloft: but as they doe ridiculously, so afterwards (believe me) they suffer not that which deserveth to be laughed at, unless haply they be so bafe minded, that for their baseness there is no account made of them. For many other histories there bee of ancient *Greece*, which afford examples to bee recounted unto men living in this age, for to instruct and reforme their manners; as namely, those at *Athens* which put the people in remembrance, not of the prowess of their ancestors in martiall affaires, but for example to decree of that general abolition and oblivion of all quarrels and matters past, which sometimes was concluded there, after that the citie was delivered and freed from their captivitie under the thirtie Tyrants, as also another act, by vertue whereof they condemned in a grievous fine the Poet *Phryniachus*, for that he represented in a Tragedie the winning and racing of the citie *Miletus*. Likewise, how by a publike ordinance, every man wore chaplets of flowers upon their heads, when they heard

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say that *Cassander* recedified *Thebes*: and how, when intelligence came of the cruell execution and bloody massacre committed in *Argos*, wherein the Argives caused to be put to death 1500. of their owne citizens, they caused in a solemne procession and generall assembly of the whole citie, an expiatorie sacrifice to be carried about, that it might please the gods to avert and turne away such cruell thoughts from the hearts of the Athenians; semblably, how at what time as there was a generall search made throughout the citie in everie house for those who banded with *Atreus*, they passed by one house onely of a man newly married, and would not suffer it to be touched. For in these precedents & such like, they might well enough in these daies imitate and resemble their ancient forefathers. But as for the battell of *Marathon*: the field fought neere the river *Euryedon*, and the noble fight at *Plataea*, with other such examples which doe nothing else but blow and puffe up a multitude with vanitie, they should leave such stories for the schooles of Sophisters and masters of Rhetorike.

Well, we ought not in our severall governments to have a due regard onely to mainteine our selves and our cities wisely, that our soveraignes have no occasion to complaine; but we must take order also to have one great Seignior or other, who hath most authoritie at *Rome*, and in the court of the emperour, to be our fast and speciall friend; who may serve us in steed of a rampier to backe us, and to defend all our actions and proceedings in the government of our countries: for such lords and great men of *Rome* stand ordinarily passing well affected to those affaires, which their dependants and favorites doe follow, and the fruit which may be reaped by the amitie and favour of such grand-Seigniors, it were not good and honest to convert into the advancement and enriching of our selves, and our particular private friends; but to imploy the fame as *Polybius* did sometime and *Panetius*, who by the meanes of the good grace of *Scipio* wherein they stood, did benefit and advantage their countrey exceeding much: in which number may be ranged *Arms*, for when *Cæsar Augustus* had forced the citie *Alexandria*, he entred into it, holding *Arms* by the hand, and devising with him alone of all his other friends what was to be done more: afterwards when the Alexandrians looked for no other but sackage and all extremities, and yet besought him to pardon them; I pardon you (quoth he) and receive you into my grace and favour; first in regard of the nobilitie and beautie of your city; secondly for *Alexander* the great his sake, the founder thereof; and thirdly for the love of this my friend *Arms* your citizen. May a man with any reason compare with this gracious favour, the most large and gainfull commissions of ruling and governing provinces, which many make so great suit for at the court, and that with such abject servitude and base subjection, that some of them have even waxen old in giving attendance thereabout, at other mens gates; leaving in the meane while their owne home affaires at sixe and seven? were it not well to correct and amend a little the sentence in *Euripides*, singing and saying it thus? If it bee honest and lawfull to watch and make count at the gates of another, and to be subject to the fute of some great Seignior: surely most commendable and behoovefull it were so to doe, for the love and benefit of a mans country, in all other cates to seeke and embrace amities, under just and equall conditions.

Moreover, a governour in yeelding and reducing his country unto the obedience of mightie soveraignes abroad, ought to take good heed that he bring it not into servile subjection, lest when it is once tied by the legge, he suffer it to be bound also by the necke: for some there be who reporting all things both little and great unto these potentates, make this their servitude reprochable; or to speake more truly, they deprive their country of all policie and forme of government, making it so fearefully, timorous, and fit for no authoritie and command at all; and like as they who use themselves to live so physically, that they can neither dine nor suppe, nor yet bath without their physitian, have not so much benefit of health as nature it selfe doth afford them; even so those cities and States which for every decree and resolution of their counsell, for all grace and favour, yea and for the smallest administration of publike affaires, must needs adjoigne the consent, judgement, and good liking of those Seigniors and good masters of theirs, they even compell the said great lords to be more powerfull and absolute over them than they would themselves. The causes hereof commonly be these; to wit, the avarice, jealousy, and emulation of the chiefe and principall citizens in a State; for that being desirous otherwhiles to oppresse and keepe under those who are their inferiours, they constrain them to abandon their owne cities, or else being at some debate and difference with other citizens their equals, and unwilling to take the foile one at anothers hand in their owne citie; they have recourse unto other superior lords, and so bring in forreiners who are their betters. Heereupon

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it commeth to passe, that Senate, people, Judicall courts, and all that little authoritie and power which they had is utterly lost. A good governour therefore ought to remedy this mischief, by appealing such burgeses as be private and meane citizens, by equalitie, and those who are great and mightie, by reciprocall yeelding one to another; and so by this course to keepe all affaires within the compasse of the citie, to compose all quarrels, and determine all controversies at home, curing and healing such inconveniences as secret maladies of a common-wealth, with a civill and politicke medicine; that is to say, to chuse rather for his owne part for to be vanquished and overthrowen among fellow-citizens, than to vaquish & win the victorie by forren power, & not to offer wrong unto his natural country, and let a cause to overthrow the rights and priviledges thereof; as for all others, he is to beseech them, yea and to persuade them particularly one by another, by good reasons and demonstrations, of how manie calamities peevish obstinacie is the cause; and now because they would not ech one in his turne & course frame and accommodate themselves at home to their fellow-citizens, who manie times be of one minde and linage to their neighbours and companions in charges and offices, and that with honour and good favour; they are cometo this passe, as to detect and lay open the secret diffentions and debates of their owne citie, at the gates of their advocates, and to put their causes into the hands of pragmatikall lawyers (at *Rome*) with no lesse shame and ignominie, than losse and damage.

Physicians are wont when they cannot expell and fully exclude out of the bodie inwardlie some kinde of maladies, to turne and drive the same without forth to the superficiall parts; but contrariwise, a man of government, if he be not able to keepe a citie altogether in peace & concord, but that some troubles will arise, yet at leastwise he must endeavour to containe that within the citie which is the cause thereof, and nureth the sedition, and in keeping it close to labour for to heale and remedie it to this end, that if it be possible he have no need either of physician or physicke from forren parts; for the intentions of a man of State and government ought to be these, namely, to proceed in his affaires surely, and to fite the violent and furious motions of vaine-glorie, as hath bene said already, howbeit in his resolution,

*A courage bold and full of confidence
Undaunted heart, and fearlesse be must have
Which will not quail for any consequence,
But see the end: much like to soldiers brave
In field themselves who manly do behave,
And hazard lims and life for to defend
Their countrey deere and enemies to offend.*

and not onely to oppose himselfe against enemies, but also to be armed against perilous troubles and dangerous tumults, that he may be readie to resist and make head: for he ought not in any case himselfe to moove tempests and raife commotions, no nor when he seeth boisterous stormes comming, forsake and leave his countrey in time of need. He must not (I say) drive his citie under his charge upon apparent danger, but so soone as ever it once begin to be troffled, and to float in jeopardie, than is it his part to come to succor, by casting out from himselfe (as it were) a sacred Anchor, that is to say, to use his boldnesse and libertie of speech, considering that now the maine point of all lieth a bleeding, even the safetie of his countrey. Such were the dangers that hapned unto *Pergamus* in *Neroes* time, and of late daies to the Rhodians, during the Empire of *Domitian*, as also before unto the Theffalians, while *Augustus* was Emperour, by occasion that they had burned *Petræus* quick. In these and such like occurrences, a man of State and government, especially if he be wortheie of that name:

*Never shall you see
Sleepie for to bee.*

nor drawing his foote backe for feare, no nor to blame and lay the fault of others, ne yet to make shift for one, and put himselfe out of the medley of danger, but either going in embassage, or embarked in some ship at sea; or else readie to speake first, and to say not onely thus

We've Apollo, have this murder don

From these our coasts, avert this plague anon.

but although himselfe be not culpable at all with the multitude, yet will he put his person into danger for them. For surely this is an act right honest, and besides the honestie in it selfe, it hapneth divers times, that the vertue and noble courage of such a man hath bene so highly admired, that it hath daunted the anger conceived against a whole multitude, and dispatched all the fiercene

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fiere nesse and furie of a bitter menace : like as it befell unto a King of *Persia* in regard of *Bulus* and *Sperthus* two gentlemen of *Sparta* : and as it was scene in *Pompey* to his host and friend *Sthenon* : for when he was fully determined to chastise the Mamertines sharply, and to proceede against them in all rigor, for that they had rebelled, the said *Sthenon* slept unto him, and thus frankly spake : That he should do neither well nor justly, in case he did to death a number of innocents, for one man who alone was faultie ; for it is I my selfe (quoth he) who caused the whole citie to revolt and take armes, inducing my friends for love, and forcing mine enemies for feare. These words of his went to neere unto the heart of *Pompey*, that he pardoned the citie, and most courteously entreated *Sthenon* ; fembably, the host of *Sylla*, having shewed the like valour and vertue, although it were not to the like person, died a noble death : for when *Sylla* had wonne the citie *Præneste* by assault, he meant to put all the inhabitants thereof to the sword, excepting onely one host of his, whom in regard of old hospitalitie he spared and pardoned : but this host & friend said flatly unto him, that he would never remaine alive to see that bloody maffacre, nor hold his life by the murder of his country ; and so cast himselfe into the troupe of his fellow-citizens in the heate of execution, and was killed with them. Well, pray unto the gods we ought to preserve and keepe us that we fall not into such calamities and troublefome times ; to hope also and looke for better daies.

Moreover, we are to esteeme of everie publike magistracie, and of him who exerciseth it, as of a great and sacred thing, and in that regard to honour the same above all. Now the honour which is due unto authoritie, is the mutual accord and love of those who are set in place to exercise the same together : and verily this honor is much more worth, than either all those crownes and diademes which they beare upon their heads, or their stately mantles and robes of purple, wherewith they be attired. Howbeit, they that laid the first ground and beginning of amitie ; their service in warres, when they were fellow-souldiors, or the passing of their youthfull yeeres together ; and contrariwise, take this a cause now of enmitie, that they either are joined captaines in commission for the conduct of an armie, or have the charge of the Common-weale together, it can not be avoided, but that they must incur one of these three mischiefs. For either if they esteem their fellows and companions in government to be their equals, they begin themselves first to grow unto tearmes of diffention ; or if they take them to be their betters, they fall to be envious ; or else in case they hold them to be inferior unto them in good parts, they despise, & contemne them. Whereas they should indeed make court unto the greater, honor and adore their equals, and advance their inferiors, and in one word to love and embrace all, as having an amitie and love engendred among themselves, not because they have eaten at one table, drinke of the same cup, or met together at one feast, but by a certaine common band and publike obligation, as having in some sort a certaine fatherly benevolence, contracted and growen upon the common affection unto their country. Certes, one reason why *Scipio* was not so well thought of at *Rome* was this ; that having invited all his friends to a solemne feast at the dedication of his temple to *Hercules*, he left out *Mummius* his colleague or fellow in office : for say that otherwise they tooke not one another for so good friends ; yet so it is that at such a time and upon such occasions, they ought to have honored and made much one of the other, by reason of their common magistracie. If then *Scipio*, a noble personage otherwise, and a man of wonderfull regard, incurred the imputation and note of insolence and presumption, because he forgot or omitted to finish a demonstration and token of humanitie : how can it be, that he who goeth about to impair the dignitie and credit of his companions in government, or diffideth and disgraceth him in those actions, especially which proceed from honour and bountie, or upon an arrogant humour of his owne, will seeme to do all, and attribute the whole to himselfe alone, how can such an one (I say) be reputed, either modest or reasonable ? I remember my selfe, that when I was but of young yeeres, I was sent with another, in embassage to the Proconsul ; and for that my companion said about (I wot not what behind) I went alone and did that which we had in commission to do together : after my returne, when I was to give an account unto the State, and to report the effect of my charge & message back againe ; my father arose, and taking me apart, willed me in no wise to speak in the singular number, & say, I departed or went, but We departed ; Item, not I said, or (quoth I) but We said ; & in the whole recitall of the rest to joine always my companion, as if he had beene associat & at one hand with me in that which I did alone. And verily this is not onely decent, convenient, and civil, but that which more is, it taketh from glorie that which is offensive, to wit envie, which is the cause that great captaines attribute and ascribe their noble acts to fortune and their good angell, as did *Timoleon*, even he who overthrowed the

the Tyrannies established in *Sicilie* ; who founded and erected a temple to Good-Fortune. *Pylhon* also when he was highly praised and commended at *Athens* for having slaine king *Corys* with his owne hand ; It was God (quoth he) who for to doe the deed used my hand. And *Theopompus* king of the Lacedemonians, when one said unto him that *Sparta* was saved and stood upright, for that their kings know how to rule well ; Nay rather (quoth he) because the people know how to obey well : and to say a truth, both these depend one upon the other ; howbeit, most men are of this opinion, and so they give out ; that the better part of policie or knowledge belonging to civill government lieth in this, to fit men, and frame them meete to be well ruled and commanded ; for in every citie there is alwaies a greater number of subjects than rulers, and each one in his turne (especially in a popular state) is governour but a while, and for it, afterwards continueth governed all the rest of his life, in such sort, that it is a most honest and profitable apprenticeship (as it were) to learne for to obey those who have authoritie to command, although haply they have meaner parts otherwise, and be of lesse credite and power than our selves : for a meer absurditie it were, that (wheras a principall or excellent actour in a Tragedie, such as *Theodorus* was or *Potius*, for hire waiteth oftentimes upon another mercenarie plaier who hath not above three words in his part to say, and speaketh unto him in all humilitie and reverence, because peradventure he hath the roiall band of a diademe about his head, and a scepter in his hand) in the true and unfained actions of our life, and in case of policie and government, a rich and mightie person should despise and set light by a magistrate for that he is a simple man otherwise, and peradventure poore and of meane estate, yea and proceed to wrong, violate and impair the publike dignitie wherein he is placed, yea and to offer violence thereby unto the authoritie of a State ; whereas he ought rather with his owne credite and puissance, helpe out the defect and weakenesse of such a man, and by his greatness, countenance, his authoritie : for thus in the citie of *Lacedemon*, the kings were wont to rise up out of their thrones before the *Ephors*, and whosoever els was summoned & called by them, came not an ordinary foot-pace, or faire and softly, but running in great haste, in token of obedience, and to shew unto other citizens how obedient they were, taking a great joy and glorie in this, that they honour their magistrates, not as some vaine-glorious and ungracious fols, void of all civillite and manners, wanting judgement and discretion, who to shew forth their exceeding power upon which they stand much and pride themselves, will not let to offer abuse unto the judges and wardens of the publike games, combats, and paltimes, or to give reprochfull termes to those that leade the dance, or set out the plaies in the *Bacchanale* feast, yea and mocke captaines, and laugh at the presidents & wardens of the publike exercises for youth, who have not the wit to know ; That to give honour is oftentimes more honorable than to be honored : for surely to an honourable person who beareth a great sway, & carrieth a mightie port with him in a citie, it is a greater ornament & grace to accompany a magistrate, and as it were to guard and squire him, than if the said magistrate should put him before or seeme to waite upon him in his traine ; and to say a truth, as this were the way to worke him displeasure and procure him envie from the hearts of as many as see it ; so the other would win him true glorie which proceedeth of love and benevolence : And verily when such a man is scene otherwise in the magistrats house, when he saluteth or greeteth him first, and either giveth him the upper-hand, or the middle place as they walke together, he addeeth an ornament to the dignitie of the citie, and loseth thereby none of his owne. Moreover, it is a popular thing, and that which gaineth the hearts of the multitude, if such a person can beare patiently the hard tearmes of a magistrats whiles he is in place, and endure his choleticke fits ; for then he may with *Diomedes* in *Homer* say thus to himselfe :

How ever now I little do say,
It will be mine honor another day.

Or as one said of *Demoisthenes* ; Well, he is not now *Demoisthenes* onely, but he is a law-giver, he is a president of the sacred plaies and solemne games, and a crowne he hath upon his head, &c. and therefore it is good to put up all now, and to deferre vengeance untill another time ; for either we shall come upon him when he is out of his office, or at leastwise wee shall gaine thus much by delay, that choler will be well cooled and allayed by that time.

Moreover, in any government of magistracie whatsoever, a good subject ought to strive (as it were) a vie with the rulers, especially if they be persons of good sort and gracious behaviour, in diligence, care, and fore-cast for the benefit of the State ; namely, in going to them, to give notice and intelligence of whatsoever is meet to be done, in putting into their hands for to be executed that which he hath with mature deliberation rightly resolved upon, in giving meanes

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unto them for to win themselves honour, and that by the benefit of the common-weale: But if such persons they be, as either for feare & false heart, or upon a froward peeve thineesse & disposition give no care to such motions, and are not willing to put that in execution which is presented unto them; then it is his part himselfe in person to go and declare the same in publicke place to the body of the people, and in no wife to neglect, disanull, or passe with connivence any thing that concerneth the weale-publicke, and never to pretend any colourable excuse, by saying, it appertained unto none other but the head magistrate, thus to deale curiously and be busied occupied in meddling with the affaires of States; for a general law there is which giveth alwaies the first and principall place of rule in a common-wealth unto him who dealeth justly, practiseth righteousness, and knoweth what is expedient and profitable, as we may see by the example of *Xenophon*, who in one place writeth thus of himselfe: There was in the armie (quoth he) one named *Xenophon*, who was neither Lord Generall, nor Lieutenant; but for skill and knowledge of that which was to be done, and for resolution to enterprize and execute the same, put himselfe forward and gave charge unto others, wherein he so behaved himselfe that he saved the Greeks. And the most glorious feat of armes that ever *Philopomen* achieved was this, that when hee heard newes how king *Agis* had surprized the citie of *Messene*, and that the generall of the Achaeans would not go with aide and rescue, but drew backe for feare; he with a troupe of the most forward and resolute gallants, without warrant or commission from the State, delivered the said citie from out of the hands of *Agis*: which I write not as if I allowed innovations or such newe enterprizes and extraordinary attempts upon every small and light occasion, but 20 only either in time of need and extremity, as *Philopomen* did then, or for honest occasions, as *Epanimachus*, who continued in his Boeotarchie fower moneths longer than was ordinary by the lawes of the country, during which time he put on armes, and entred into *Laconia*, reedified *Messene*, and peopled it, to the end that if afterwards there should ensue any complaint or imputation, we may answer with credit, and either alledge for excuse, necessity, or set against it the perill to which we exposed our selves, the bravefesse of the exploit, and the service so well performed, to make amends and recompence.

There is reported a sentence of *Jafon* who long since was the Tyrant or Monarch of *Sietras*, which he had often in his mouth, and alwaies repeated so often as hee did violence or outrages to any of his subjects, that they cannot choose but commit unjustice in final matters, who would 30 do justice in great causes; as if a man would say, that necessarie it is for him to offer wrong in details who mindeth to do right in the gresse. But as touching this sentence, a man may soone perceive at the first sight, that it is a speech meet for him that intendeth to make himselfe an absolute lord, and to usurpe tyrannie. Yet is this rule more civill and politike, that a governour to gratifie the peole, is to passe by small matters, and to winke at them, that hee may in greater things stand against them, and stay them from breaking out to farre. For he that in everie thing will be peering and looking too narrowly without any yeelding or relaxation, but is alwaies severe rigorous and inexorable, doth by his example traine and accustom the people likewise to be quarrellsome and contentious with him, yea and to be readie upon all occasions to take offence and discontentment:

*But softly for to strike the saile
Or slacke the helme doth much availe
With violence when billowes great
Arise and on the ship do beat.*

and even so a governour ought in some things to yeeld, and not to bee so precise and straight laced himselfe, but to port as it were and take his pastimes graciously with his people, as namely to celebrate festivall sacrifices, beholden solemne plaies, games, and combats, and to fit in the theaters with them, partly in making semblant as though he neither saw nor heard many things, like as we are wont to doe by the faults at home of our little children; to the end that the authority of reproving them roundly, and admonishing them frankly, like unto the vertue of a medicine not dull and enervate with much use, but remaining still in full vigor and strength, may be more effectuall, carie the greater credite, touch the quicke indeed, and sting in matters of greater consequence. *Alexander* the great, when he heard that his sister had become too familiarly acquainted with a lustie yong gentleman and a beautifull, was nothing displeased therewith, but said; We must give her also a little leave to enjoy somewhat the pleasure and prerogative of a prince; which was neither well done of him to allow such things in her, nor yet with good respect of his owne honour and dignitie; for we ought not to thinke this the fruition, but 40

the ruine and dishonour rather of a princely State. And therefore a wife governour will not permit as much as possibly lieth in him, that the bodie of the people shall doe injurie to any particular inhabitants, as namely in confiscation of other mens goods, or in distribution and parting among themselves the money of the common stocke; but to resist such courses with all his power, and with remonstrances, perswasions, threats, and menaces withstand the inordinat desires of a multitude: contrarie to the practise of *Cleon* and his followers at *Athens*, who feeding and fostering such foolish appetites and corrupt humors of the people, caused many drone bees (as *Plato* saith) to breed in the city, who did no other good but sting and pricke one or other. But if the people at any time take occasion by solemnizing some festivall day, according to the custome of the country, or by the honour of some god or goddesse, to set out any goodly shew, play, or statelie spectacle, or to distribute some small dole, or to exhibit a pleasant gratitie, honest courtiesie, or publicke magnificence; lawfull it is and reasonable, that they should in such cases enjoy in some sort the fruit both of their libertie, and also of their wealth and prosperitie. For in the governments of *Pericles* and *Demetrius Phalerens*, there be many examples extant of the like nature; as for *Cimon* he beautified the market place of *Athens* with towes of palme trees, planted directly, and ranged by him, with pleasant walkes and faire allies. And *Cato* seeing about the time of *Cassius* conspiracie, that the commons of *Rome* were in a commotion and hurlyburly by the faction of *Julius Caesar*, and grown in manner to these termes, for to bring in a change and alteration of the whole State; perfwaded the Senate 20 to ordeine, that there should be some petty dole of money given among the poore commoners; which coming in so good and fit a time, appeased the tumult, and repressed the fedition and infection that was like to grow. For like as a learned and expert physician, after hee hath taken away a great quantitie of corrupt blood from his patient, giveth him anon some little nourishment that is good and wholesome; even so a discreet and well advised ruler of a popular State, when he hath put the people by some great matter which tended to their shame and losse, will againe by some light gratitie and pleasure which he is content to graunt, cheere and comfort them; yea and allay their moode when they be readie to whine and complaine. And otherwhiles, good policie it is, of purpose to withdraw them from some foolerie, unto which without all sense and reason their minde and affection standeth, to draw and lead them unto other 30 things that be good and profitable; like as *Demades* his practise was, at what time as he had the receipt of all the revenues of the citie under his hands; for when the people of *Athens* were folly bent to send forth certeyne gallies, for to succour those who had taken armes and rebelled against *Alexander* the great, and to that effect commaunded him to disburse money for the charges, hee made this speech unto them; My masters, there is money ready for you, for I have provided so, that I purpose to deale among you at this feast of *Bacchanalles*, that everie one of you may have halfe a Mue of silver now if you list to employ the same money to the setting out of a fleet, you may doe what pleaseth you with your owne use it, or abuse it at your pleasure, it is all one to mee: by this cunning device, having turned them from the rigging and manning of the armado which they purposed to set out, and all for feare 40 they should lose the benefit of the foresaid dole or largesse which hee promised and pretended, he staied them from offending king *Alexander*, that he had no cause to finde himselfe greewed with them. Many such fies and humors are the people given unto, both hurtfull and dammageable unto them; which it were impossible to breake them of, going directly to workes but a man must go about with them, & by turnings & windings compasse them to his mind like as *Phoenix* did upon a time when the Athenians would have had him in a haste to make a road & invade the country of *Boeotia*; for he caused incontinently preclamation to be made by sound of trumpet; That all citizens from foureene yeeres of age upward unto thre score, should shew themselves in armes and follow him; upon which proclamation, when there arose a great noise and stirre among the elder sort, who began to mutine, for that he would force them at those yeeres 50 to the warres: What a strange matter firs is this (quoth he) I my selfe am foure score yeeres of age, and you shall have me with you for your captain. By this means a politicke governour may put by and breake the ranke of many unseasonable and needlesse embassages; namely, by joining many of them in commission together, and those whom he seeth to be unfit altogether for such voiajes; thus may he stay the enterprises of going in hand with many great buildings unnecessary and to no purpose, in commanding them at such times to contribute money thereto out of their owne purses; also hinder the proceffe of many uncivill and unbecomly suites, namely, by assigning one and the same time for apparance in court, and for to be employed in sollici-
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ring causes abroad in forren parts: & for to bring these things about, he must draw and associate unto him those principall authors who have drawne out in writing any such bills to be proposed, or have incited the people and put those matters in their heads; and to them he shall intimate those crosse courses abovesaid; for either if they start backe and keepe out of the way, they shall see themselves to breake that which they proposed; or if they accept thereof and be present, they shall be sure to take part of the trouble and paines that is imposed upon them. Now when there shall be question of any exploit to be done of great consequence, and tending much to the good of the State, which requireth no small travell, industrie, and diligence; then have a speciall regard and endeavour, I advise you, to chuse those friends of yours who are of most sufficiencie, and of greatest authoritie, and those among the rest which are of the mildest and best nature; for such you may be sure will crosse you least, and assist you most: so long as they have wit at will, and be withall voide of jealousie and contention. And herein it behooveth a man to know wel his owne nature, and finding that whereunto he is lesse apt than an other, to chuse for his adjuncts those rather who he perceiveth to be better able to go through with the businesse in hand, than such as otherwise be like unto himselfe; for so *Dionedes* being deputed to go in espiall for to view the campe of the enemies, chose for his companion the wariest & best advised person of all the Greeks, & let passe the most valiant fouldiours. By this meanes all actions shall be counterpoised best, & lesse jealousie and emulation will grow betwene them who are desirous to have their good parts & valour seeme indifferent in vertues & qualities. If you have a cause to plead, or be to go in embassages, chuse for your companion & assistant (if you find your selfe not meet to speak) some man that is eloquent, like as *Pelopidas* in the like case chose *Epaninondas*. If you thinke your selfe unmeet to entereine the common people with courttesie & affability, and of too high and loftie a minde for to debate your selfe and make court unto them, as *Callicratides* the captaine of the Lacedemonians was, take one unto you who is gracious, and can skill to court it and give entertainment. If your bodie be weak or feeble, and not able to endure much paines, have one with you who hath a stronger bodie, and who can away with travell, as *Nicias* did *Lamachus*. For this is the reason that *Geryones* was so woonderfull, because that having many legs, many armes, and many eyes, yet hee with all them was ruled and governed by one soule. But wise governors if they accord and agree well, may conferre and lay together not onely their bodies and goods, but also all their fortunes, their credits and their vertues, and make use of them all in one affaire, in such fort that they shall compasse and execute fully whatsoever they enterprife, much better than any other whatsoever: and not as the Argonauts did, who after they had left *Hercules*, were constrained to have recourse unto the charmes, forceries and enchantments of women for to save themselves, and to steale away the golden fleece.

Certaine temples there be, into which whosoever did enter, must leave without doores all the gold that they had about them; and as for iron they might not presume to goe withall into any one whatsoever. Considering therefore that the tribunall and judicall seat of justice is the temple of *Jupiter*, tummed the Counsellor and Patron of cities, of *Themis* also and *Dice*, that is to say, equitie and justice; before ever thou set foote to mount up into it, presently rid and cleere thy soule of all avarice and covetousnesse of monie, as if it were iron, and a very maladic full of rust, and throw it farre from thee into the merchants hall, into the shops of tradesmen, occupiers, banquiers and usurers:

As for thy selfe, ste from such pelfe.

Thun it I say as far off as you can, & make this reckoning, that whosoever enricheth himselfe by the managing of the common-weale, is a church-robber, committing sacrilege in the highest degree, robbing temples, stealing out of the sepulchers of the dead, picking the coffers of his friends: making himselfe rich by treachery, treason, & false-wines: thinke him to be an untrusty and faithlesse counsellor, a perjured judge, a corrupt magistrate, and full of briberies; in one word polluted and defiled with all wickednesse, and not cleere of any sinne whatsoever that may be committed; and therefore I shall not neede to speake more of this point.

As for ambition, although it carrie with it a fairer shewe than avarice, yet nevertheless it bringeth after it a traine of wishchiefs and plagues, no lesse dangerous and pernicious unto the government of a common-wealth: for accompanied it is ordinarily with audacious rashnesse more than it; inasmuch as it useth not to breed in base mindes, or in natures feeble and idle, but principally in valiant, active, and vigorous spirits; and the voice of the people, who by their praises lift it up many times and drive it forward, maketh the violence thereof more hard to be restrained, managed, and ruled. Like as therefore *Plato* writeth, that we ought to accustom yong boies

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even from their verie infancie to have this sentence resounding in their eares: That it is not lawfull for them neither to carrie gold about their bodies as an outward ornament, nor so much as to have it in their purses, for that they have other golde as a proper cosen of their owne, and the same incorporate in their hearts: giving us to understand by these enigmaticall and covert speeches (as I take it) the vertue derived from their ancestors, by descent, and continuation of their race; even so wee may in some sort cure and remedie this desire of glorie, by making remonstrance unto ambitious spirits, that they have in themselves gold, that cannot corrupt, bee wasted or contaminated by envie, no nor by *Admum* himselfe the reproover of the gods, to wit Honour, the which we alwaies encrease and augment; the more we discourse; consider, meditate, and thinke upon those things which have beene performed & accomplished by us in the government of the common-weale: and therefore they have no need of those other honours, which are either cast in moldes by founders, or cut and graven in brasse by mans hand, considering that all such glorie cometh from without forth, and is rather in others than in them, for whom they were made. For the statue of a trumpeter which *Polyetus* made, as also that other of an halbarder are commended in regard of the maker, and not of those whom they do represent, and for whose sake they were made. Certes, *Cato* at what time as the citie of *Rome* began to be well replenished with images and statues, would not suffer any one to be made for himselfe saying: That he had rather men would aske, why there was no image set up for him, than why it was? For surely such things bring envie, and the common people thinke themselves indebted stil & beholden unto those, upon whom they have not bestowed such vanities: and contrariwise, such as receive them at their hands are odious & troublesome unto them, as if they had fought to have the publike affaires of the State in their hands, in hope to receive such a reward and salarie from them againe. Like as therefore he that hath failed without danger along the gulfe *Syrta*, if afterwards hee chaunce to be cast away and drowned in the mouth of the haven, hath done no such doughty deed, nor performed any speciall matter of praise in his voyage and navigation; even so, hee that hath escaped the common Treasurie, and done well enough and saved himselfe, from the publike revenewes, customes, and commodities of the State; that is to say, hath not defiled his hands, either with robbing the citie-money, or dealt underhand with the farmers and undertakers of the cities hands, revenues, &c. and then shall suffer himselfe to be overtaken and surprisid with a desire to be a president and sit high, or to be the head man and chiefe in counsell of a citie, is runne in deed upon an high rocke that reacheth up a loft, but drenched hee is over the eares, and as like to sinke as the rest, neverthelesse. In best case hee is therefore, who neither seeketh nor desireth any of these honours, but rejecteth and refuseth them altogether. Howbeit, if peradventure it bee no easie matter to put backe a grace and favour, or some token of love, that the people otherwhiles desire to shew unto them who are entred into combat, as it were in the field of government, not in a game and maisterie for a silver prize, or for rich presents, but in the game in deed which is holy and sacred, yea and woorthie to be crowned, it may suffice and content a man to have some honourable inscription or title, in a table, some publike act or decree, some branch of lawrell or the olive: like as *Epymenides* who received one branch of the sacred olive, growing in the castle of *Athens*, because hee had cleanned and purified the citie; and *Anaxagoras* refusing all other honours which the people would have ordained for him, demanded onely, that upon the day of his death the children might have leave to play, and not go to schoole all that day long. The seven gallant Gentlemen of *Persia*, who killed the Tyrants, called *Magi*, were honoured onely with this privilege, that both they and their posteritie might weare the Persian pointed Cap or *Turbant, bending forward on their heads: for this was the signall which they were agreed upon among themselves when they went to execute the said enterprise. Likewise the honor which *Pithem* received, did shew how modestly & civilly: for when his citizens had permitted & granted unto him to have and enjoy of those lands which hee had conquered from the enemy, as much as he would himselfe; he stood contented with so much, & no more as lay within one sling or shot of the javelin which hee launced himselfe. And *Coles* the Roman tooke so much ground onely as hee in his owne person could eare with a plow in one day, being as he was a lame and maimed man. For a civil honour ought not to be in the nature of a salarie for a vertuous act performed, but a token rather and a memoriall that the remembrance thereof might continue long, as theirs did whom erewhiles we named: whereas in those three hundred statues of *Demetrius Phalerem*, there gathered not so much as rust, canker, or any ordure or filth whatsoever, but were all of them ere himselfe died, pulled downe and broken.

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And

*Tina.

And as for the images of *Demades*, melted they were everie one, and of the mettall were made pipstons and basins for close stooles: yea and many such honours have beene defaced, as being displeasing and odious to the world, not in regard onely of the wickednesse of the receiver, but also of the greatnesse and richnesse of the thing given and received: and therefore the goodliest and surest safeguard of honour, that it may endure and last longest, is, the least costlinesse and price bestowed thereupon: for such as bee excessive massie and immeasureable in greatnesse, may bee well compared unto huge colosses or statues not well ballasted and counterpoised, nor proportionably made, which soone fall downe to the ground of themselves. And here in this place I call Honors, these exterior things which the common people (so far forth as befecemeth them, according to the saying of *Empedocles*) so call. Howbeit I also affirme as well as others, that a wise governor & man of State ought not to despise true honor which consisteth in the benevolence & good affection of those who have in remembrance the services and benefites that they have received: neither ought he altogether to contemne glorie, as one who forbare to please his neighbours among who he liveth, as *Democritus* would have him: for neither ought horse-keepers or esquierries of the stable, reject the affection of their horses lovingly making toward them; nor hunters the fawning of their hounds & spaniels; but rather seeke to win & keepe the same, for that it is both a profitable, and also a pleasant thing, to be able for to imprint in those creatures who are familiar, & do live & converse with us such an affectio to us as *Lysimachus* his dog shewed toward his masters; & which the poet *Homer* reporteth that *Achilles* horses shewed to *Patroclus*. For mine own part I am of this mind, that Bees would be better entreated & escape better, in case they would make much of those, & suffer them gedly to come toward them, who notify them and have the care and charge of them, rather than to sting and provoke them to anger as they do; whereas now, men are driven to punish them and chase them away with smooke: also to broke and tame their frampold and unruly horses with hard bits and bridles, yea and curst dogs which are given to run away, they are faine to lead perforce in collars, or tie up and hamper with clogs. But verily there is nothing in the world that maketh one man willingly obsevant and subject to another, more than the affiance that he hath in him for the love which he beareth, and the opinion conceived of his goodnesse, honestie and justice; which is the reason that *Demosthenes* said verie well: That free cities have no better meanes to keepe and preserve themselves from tyrants, than to distrust them; for that part of the soule whereby we beleeve, is it, which is most easie to be taken captive. Like as therefore the gift of prophesie which *Cassandra* had, stood her country-men and fellow-citizens in no deed, because they would never give credit or beleefe unto her: for thus she speaketh of her selfe,

*God would not have my voice propheticall
When I foretell of things, to take effect,
Nor do my country any good at all:
Or why? alwaies they do my words reject,
In their distrust and woes, they would correct
Their folly past, then am I wise and sage:
Before it come they say I do but rage.*

even so, on the other side, the trust and confidence that the citizens reposed in *Archytas*, the good will and benevolence which they bare unto *Batrus*, served them in right good stead: for that they used and followed their counsell, by reason of the good opinion which they conceived of them.

This is then the first and principall good which lieth in the reputation of Statef-men, and those who are in government, namely, the trust and confidence which is in them; for it maketh an overture, and openeth the doore to the enterprise and execution of all good actions. The second, is the love and affection of the people, which to good governours is to them a buckler and armor of defence against envious and wicked persons:

*Much like unto a mother kind
who keeps away the flies
From tender babe whilst sweetly it
asleepe in cradell lies.*

putting backe envie that might arise against them; and in regard of might and credit, making equall a man meanly borne & of base parentage, with those who are nobly defended, the poore with the rich, & the private person with the magistrates: and to be briefe, when vertue & verity are joined together with this popular benevolence, it is as mightie as a strong and speedy gale of

a forewind at the poore, and driveth men forward to the managing and effecting of all publique affaires whatsoever. Consider now and see what contrarie effects the disposition of peoples hearts, doth produce and bring forth by these examples following. For even they of *Itale*, when they had in their hands the wife and children of *Dennis* the Tyrant, after they had villanously abused, and shamefully forced their bodies, did them to death, and when they had burnt them to ashes, threw and scattered the same out of a ship into the sea. Whereas one *Memander* who reigned graciously over the *Bactrians*, in the end, when he had lost his life in the warres was honorably enterr'd: for the cities under his obeisance joined altogether, and by a common accord solemnized his funerals and obsequies with great mourning and lamentation; but as touching the place where his reliques should be bestowed, they grew into a great strife and contention one with another, which at the last with much ado was pacified upon this condition and composition, that his ashes should be parted and divided equally among them all, and that every citie should have one sepulcher and monument of him by it selfe. Again, the *Aggrigentines* after they were delivered from the Tyrant *Phalaris*, enacted an ordinance: That from thence forth, it should not be lawful for any person whatsoever to weare a robe of blew colour, for that the Guard & Pensioners attending about the said Tyrant, had blew cassoques for their liveries. But the *Perfians* tooke such a love to their Prince *Cyrus*, that because he was haake-nosed, they ever after and even to this day, affect those who have such noses, and take them to be best favoured. And verily of all loves, this is the most divine, holy and pure, which cities and

States do beare unto a man for his vertue: as for other honors so falsely called, and bearing no true ensignes in deed to testifie love, which the people bestow upon them, who have builded theaters and shew-places, given them largesses, congratians and other doles, or exhibited combats of Sword-fencers at the sharpe: these wrong entitled honors do resemble the glosing flatteries of harlots and strumpets, who smile upon their lovers, so long onely as they give them any thing or gratifie them in any pleasure; and such a glosie as this lasteth not long, but after a day or two passeth away and is gone.

He whofoever he was, that said first: That he who began to give money by way of largesse unto the people, taught the verie high way to overthrow a popular state, knew verie well, that the people lose their authoritie, when they make themselves subject and inferior by taking such gifts: and even they also who are the givers must know this much: That they overthrow themselves in buying their reputation so costly & at so high a price: & by that means they make the multitude more laughtie and arrogant, because thereby the people do presume, that it is in their power to give or take away so great a thing. I write not this, as though I would have a man of estate in his lawfull expences and allowable liberalities, to shew himselfe too neere and mechanicall, especially when his State will beare and maintaine the same: for that, in truth, the people carrie a greater hatred to a rich man, who will not part with any of his goods among them, than a poore man who robbeth the common chest: for they suppose the one to proceed from pride and contempt of them, and the other from meere need and necessitie. I would wish therefore that first and principally these largesses should come by way of gratuite and for nothing, for that in such a sort, they make the authors thereof better esteemed and admired, and besides they binde and oblige the receivers so much the more. Secondly, I would that they were done upon a good, honest, and laudable occasion, as namely for the honour of some god; a thing that draweth on the people more and more to devotion and religion, because withall, it imprinteth in the hearts of the people a vehement opinion and strong apprehension that the majestie of the gods, must needs be a great and venerable thing, when they see those who honor them, and whom they repute for so worthie and noble personages, so affectionate unto them, as for their service and worship to be at such cost and spend so liberally. Like as therefore *Plato* forbid young men who went to the Musick schoole, that they should not learne either the *Lydian* & *Phrygian* harmony; for that the one stirred up in our hearts all lamentable, dolefull, and dumpish affections, the other increased the inclination to pleasure, riot, and voluptuous sensuality; even so, as touching these largesses and publike expences, banish and chase out of your citie as much as you can, those which provoke in our hearts beastly, barbarous, and bloody affections, or such as feed loosenesse and scurrilie: or if you be not able to rid them out cleane, yet do your endeavour at least wise to hold off and contest against the people, to your uttermost power, who call upon you for such spectacles; & order the matter so alwaies, that the subject matter of your dispense may be honest and chaste, the end and intention good and necessarie, or at least wise that the pleasure and mirth be without wrong and hurt to any person. But if peradventure

ture your State be but meane, and that the center & circumference of your goods containe and comprehend no more than to serve and supply necessities, know well this: that it argueth neither a base mind nor an illiberal & ungentlemanlike heart to be knowne of your poverty, and so to give place unto other, who have wherewith to defray such ambitious expences & liberalities, and in by endebting & engaging your selfe in the usurers books, to be a spectacle both to be pitied & laughed at, for such publike miniftries: forasmuch as they whoeuer they be that do, cannot go to worke so secretly, but it will be thought and knowne how they enterprize above their abilitie, be driven to trouble and make bolde with their friends in borrowing of them, or els to flatter and court usurers to take up money at interest, in such sort as that they shall win no honour and credit, but rather shame and contempt by such expences; in which regard, good it 10 were in these cases to set alwaies before your eyes the examples of *Lamachus* and *Phocion*. For *Phocion* one day when the Athenians at a folemne sacrifice called instantly upon him to contribute some money toward the charges: I would be ashamed (quoth he) to give you any thing, and in the meane while not be able to keepe my credit, and paie that I owe to this man heere, and withall he pointed unto *Callicles* the usurer unto whom he was then indebted. As for *Lamachus* in his accounts of charges whiles he was lord generall of an armie under the Athenians in any expedition, put in alwaies, Thus much for a paire of shoes or pantfoes for himselfe; Item, so much for a garment. The Theffians ordered and allowed unto *Hermion* who refused to be their captaine generally, because he was poore, a flagon or little tunlet of wine monthly, and a measure or bushell and halfe of meale every fower daies: whereby you see it is 20 shame for a man to confesse his povertie; neither have poore men lesse meanes to winne credit and authoritie in the government of cities, than they who lay out and spend much in making feasts or exhibiting publike shewes and spectacles, for to gaine the good will and favour of the people: provided alwaies, that by their vertue they have gotten reputation and libertie to speake their mindes frankly and freely unto them. And therefore a good governour ought wisely to master and rule himselfe in these cases; he must not (I say) enter into the plaine and champion ground on foote for to encounter with horsemen; nor being poore, to be seene in the race and shew-place for to set out games, or upon the scaffold & theater to represent plaies, or in great hals full set with tables to make feasts, and all to contend with rich men about glorie and magnificence; but he is to studie how to manage the people by vertue, by gentleness, by 30 wit and understanding joyned alwaies with wise words, wherein there is not onely honestie and a venerable port, but also a kinde of grace more amiable, attractive, and desirable,

*Than Ceresus coine of silver and gold,
Or all the money that can be told.*

For to a good man it is not necessarie to have a surly, coy, and presumptuous looke; neither is it required that a wife and sober person should carie a steme and rigorous countenance,

*Who as he walks along the streets,
In citie or in towne,
Dorh cast a shawe and hideous eye,
And on his neighbours frowne.*

But contrariwise, a good man is fitt and forme soft affable and lightsome of language, of easie access, and ready to be spoken withall whoeuer comes, having his house open alwaies, (as it were) an haven or harbour of refuge, to as many as have occasion to use him. Neither is this debonairie and care of his, seene onely in the businesse and affaires of such as employ him, but also in this; that he will as well rejoyce with them who have had any fortunate and happie success; as console & grieve with those unto whom there is befallen any calamitie or misfortune; never will he be knowne to be troublesome, and looke for double diligence of a number of servants and verlets to waite upon him to the baines or stoupes; nor to keepe a stir for taking up and keeping of places for him and his traine at the theaters where plaies and pastimes are to be seene, ne yet desire to be conspicuous and of great make above others in any outward signes of excessive delights and sumptuous superfluities; but then himselfe to be equally like and suitable to others in apparell, in his fare and furniture at the table, in the education and nouriture of his children, in the keeping of his wife for her state and array, and in one word, be willing to carrie and demean himselfe in all things, as an ordinary and plaine citizen, bearing no greater port and fere than others of the common multitude; moreover, at hand to give advice and counsell friendly to every man in his affaires, ready to entertaine, defend, & follow their causes as an advocate, freely and without taking fee or any consideration whatsoever; to reconcile man and 40 wife

wife when they be at ods, to make love-daies and peace betweene friends, not spending one little peece of the day for a shew at the tribunall seat, or in the hall of audience for the commonwealth, and then afterwards all the day & the rest of his life, drawing unto himselfe all dealings, all negotiations and affaires from everie side for his owne particular behoofe and profit, like unto the north-east winde *Caeus*, which evermore gathereth the clouds unto it; but continually bending his minde and occupying his head in carefull studie for the weale publike, and in effect making it appeere unto the world, that the life of a State-man and a governor, is not as the common sort thinke it, easie and idle, but a continuall action and publike function: by which fashions and fensible courses that he taketh, he gaineth and winneth unto him the hearts of the 10 people, who in the end come to know, that all the flattering devices and enticements of others be nothing else but false baits and bastard allurements, in comparison of his prudence and careful diligence. The flatterers about *Demetrius* vouchsafed not to call any other princes and potentates of his time, Kings, but would have *Selenus* to be named the Commander of the elephants; *Lysimachus* the keeper of the treasure; *Ptolomeu* the admittall of the sea; and *Agathocles* the governour of the islands. But the people although peradventure at the first they reject a good wife and sage person among them; yet in the end after they have seene his truth, and known his disposition and kinde nature, they will repnte him onely to bee popular, politike, and worthie to be a magistrate indeed, and as for the rest, they will both repute and call one, the warden and setter out of the plaies; another the great feaster; and a third, the president of 20 games, combats, and publike exercises. Moreover, like as at the feasts and banquetts that *Callius* or *Alcibiades* were at the cost to make, none but *Socrates* was heard to speake, and all mens eyes were cast upon *Socrates*; even so in cities and States governed aright, well may *Symonias* deale largesses; *Lucas* make feasts, and *Niceratus* defray the charges of plaies, but *Egaminondas*, *Aristides*, *Lysander*, and such as they, are those which beare the magistracie, they governe at home, they command and conduct armies abroad. VVhich being well and duly considered, there is no cause why you should be discouraged or dismayed at the reputation and credit that they win among the people, who have for them builded theaters, and erected shew-places, founded halles of great receipt, and purchased for them common places of sepulture, for to burie their dead: all which glorie lasteth but a while, neither hath it any great matter, or venerable substance in it, 30 but vanisheth away like smoke, and is gone even as soone as either the plaies in such theaters, or games in shew-places are done and ended.

They that have skill and experience of keeping and feeding bees, doe hold opinion and saie, that those hives wherein the bees yeeld the biggest found, make most humming and greatest stir within, like best, are most found, healthfull, and yeeld most store of honie: but he upon whom God hath laid the charge and care of the reasonable swarme (as I may say) and civill societie of men, will judge the happinesse and blessed state thereof most of all by the quietnesse and peace therein, and in all other things he will approve the ordinances and statutes of *Solon*, endeavoring to follow and observe the same to his full power; but doubt hee will and marvel what hee should meane by this, when he writeth, that he who in a civill sedition would not range himselfe 40 to a side, and take part with one or other faction, was to be noted with infamie: for in a natural bodie that is sicke, the beginning of change toward the recoverie of health, cometh not from the diseased parts, but rather, when the temperature of the sound and healthie numbers is so puissant, that it chafeth and expelleth that which in the rest of the bodie was unkind & contrary to nature; even so in a citie or State where the people are up in a tumult & sedition, so it be not dangerous and mortall, but such as is like to be appeased and ended, there had need to be a farr greater part of those who are found and not infected, for to remaine and cohabit still: for to it there cometh and hath recourse that which is natural and familiar, from the wife and discreet within, and the same enteth into the other infected part and cureth it: but such cities as be in an universall uprore and hurly-burly, utterly perished and come to confusion, if they have not 50 some conflict from without, and a chastisement which may force them to be wife and agree among themselves. Neither is my meaning, that I would have you a politike person and State-man in such a sedition and civill discord to sit still, infensible and without any passion or feeling of the publike calamitie, to sing and chaunt your owne repose and tranquillitie of blessed and happie life, and whiles others be together by the eares, rejoyce at their follie; for at such a time especially you are to put on the buskin of *Theramenes*, which served as well the one legge as the other; then are you to parley and common with both parties, without joining your selfe to one more than to the other; by which meanes, neither you shall be thought an adver-
sarie,

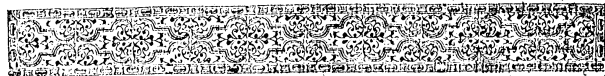
rie, because you are not ready to offend either part, but indifferent to both, in aiding as well the one as the other, and envie shall you incur none, as bearing part in their miserie, in case you seeme to have a fellow-feeling and compassion equally with them all: but the best way were to provide and foresee, that they never breake out to tearmes of open sedition; and this you are to thinke for to be the principall point, and the height of all policie and civill government; for evident it is, and you may easily see, that (of those greatest blessings which cities can desire, to wit, peace, libertie, and freedom, plenty and fertilitie, multitude of people, and unitie and concord) as touching peace, cities have no great need in these daies of wise governors, for to procure or maintaine the same, for that all wars both against the Greekes and also the Barbarians are chased away and gone out of sight; as for libertie, the people hath as much as it pleaseth their foveraignes and princes to give them, and peradventure if they had more it would be woofe for them; for the fertility of the earth, and the abundance of all fuits, the kind disposition and temperature of all seasons of the yeere,

*That mothers due time their babes
into the world may beare,
Resembling in all points their fures,
to wit, their fathers deare.*

and that children so borne may live and be live-like, every good and wise man, wil crave at Gods hands in the behalfe of his owne fellow citizens. Now there remaineth for a States-man and politike governour, of all those works proposed one onely, and that is nothing inferior to the rest of the blessings above-named, to wit, the unitie and concord of citizens that alwaies dwell together, and the banishing out of a cite of all quarrels, all jarres and malice, as the manner is in composing the differences and debates of friends; namely, by dealing first with those parties which seeme to be most offended, and to have taken the greatest wrong, in seeming to be injured as well as they, and to have no lesse cause of displeasure and discontent than they afterwards by little and little to seeke for to pacifie and appease them, by declaring and giving them to understand, that they who can be content to strike faile a little, do ordinarily go beyond those who thinke to gaine all by force; surmount them I say not onely in mildenesse and good nature, but also in courage and magnanimitie, who in yielding and giving place a little in small matters, are masters in the end and conquerors in the best and greatest; which done, his parts to make remonitance both particularly to every one, and generally to them all, declaring unto them the feeble and weak estate of *Greece*, and that it is very expedient for men of sound and good judgment to enjoy the fruit and benefit which they may have in this weakenesse and imbecillitie of theirs, living in peace and concord one with another as they doe; considering that fortune hath not left them in the midit any prize to winne or to strive for. For what glorie, what authoritie, what power or preeminence will remaine unto them that haply should have the better hand in the end, & be masters over their adversaries, but a proconsill with one commandement of his will be able to overthrow it, and transport it unto the other side, as often and whensoever it pleaseth him; but say that it should continue still, yet is it not worth all this labour and travell about it. But like as scare-fires many times begin not at stately temples and publicke edifices, but they may come by some candle in a private and little house, which was neglected or not well looked unto, and so fell downe and tooke hold thereof, or haply straw or rushes and such like stuffe might catch fire and suddenly flame, and so thereupon might ensue much losse, and a publike wasting of many faire buildings; even so it is not alwaies by means of contention and variance about affaires of State, that seditions in cities be kindled, but many times braules and riots arising upon particular causes, and so proceeding to a publike tumult and quarrell, have beene the overthrow and utter subversion of a whole cite. In regard whereof, it pertaineth unto a politicke man, as much as any one thing els, to foresee and prevent, or else to remedy the same, to see (I say) that such dissensions do not arise at all, or if they be on foot to keep them down from growing further and taking head, or at leastwise that they touch not the State, but rest still among whom it began: considering this with himselfe & giving others to understand, that private debates are in the end causes of publike, and small of great, when they be neglected at first, and no convenient remedies used at the verie beginning. Likens by report the greatest civill dissension that ever hapned in the cite of *Delphos*, arose by the means of one *Crates*, whose daughter *Orgilus* the sonne of *Phylus* was at the point to wed: now it hapned by mere chance that the cup, out of which they were to make an essay or effusion of wine in the honour of the gods first, and then afterwards to drinke one to another, according to the nuptiall ceremonies of

of that place, broke into peeces of it selfe, which *Orgilus* taking to be an evill presage, forsooke his espoused bride, and went away with his father, without finishing the complements of marriage. Some few daies after, when they were sacrificing to the gods, *Crates* conveyed covertly or underhand a certaine vessel of gold, one of those which were sacred and dedicated to the temple, unto them, and so made no more ado, but caused *Orgilus* and his brother, as manifest church-robbers, to be pitched downe headlong from the top of the rocke at *Delphos*, without any judgement or forme and processe of law: yea and more than that, killed some of their kinsfolke and friends, notwithstanding they entreated hard, and pleaded the libertie and immunitie of *Minervas* temple (surnamed *Provident*, into which they were fled and there tooke sanctuary. And thus after divers such murders committed, the *Delphians* in the end put *Crates* to death, and those his complices, who were the authors of this sedition, and of the money and goods of these excommunicate persons (for so they were called) seized upon by way of confiscation, they built those chapples which stand beneath the cite. At *Syracuse* also, of two young men who were verie familiarly acquainted together, the one being to travell abroad out of his country, left in the custodie of the other a concubine that he had, to keepe untill his returne home againe; but he in the absence of his friend abused her bodie: but when his companion upon his returne home knew thereof, he wrought so, that for to erie quitance with him he lay with his wife and made him cuckold: this matter came to hearing at the counsell table of the cite, and one of the ancient Senatours mooved the rest, that both twaine should be banished out of the cite, before there arose further mischief, and left the cite by occasion of their deadly feud should be filled with parts taking of both sides, and so be in danger of utter destruction; which when he could not perswade and bring to passe, the people grew into an open sedition, and after many miserable calamities, ruinated and overthrew a most excellent State & government. You have heard I am sure of domestical examples, and namely the enmitie of *Paralus* and *Tyrhenus*, who were within a verie little of overthrow: owing the cite of *Sardis*, and upon small and private causes, had brought the same into civill war and open rebellion by their factions and particular quarrels. And therefore a man of government ought alwaies to be watchfull and vigilant, and not to neglect, no more than in a bodie naturall the beginnings of maladies, all little heart-burnings and offences that quickly passe from one to another, but to stay their course, and remedy the same with all convenient speed. For by a heedfull eie and careful prevention, as *Cato* saith, that which was at first great, becommeth small, and that which was small cometh to nothing. Now to induce and perswade other men so to doe, there is not a more artificiall device, nor a better meanes, than for a man of government to shew himselfe exorable, inclined to pardon, & easie to be reconciled in like cases; in principal matters of weight & greatest importance resolute and constant without any rankor or malice, and in none at all seeme to be felle-willed, peevish, contentious, cholericke, or subject to any other passion which may breed a sharpnesse and bitterness in necessarie controversies, and doubtfull cases which can not be avoided. For in those combats at buffets which champions performe for pleasure in manner of foiles; the manner is to binde about their fists certaine round muffles like bals, to the end that when they come to coping and to let drive one at another, they might take no harme, considering the knocks and thumps that they give are so soft, and can not put them to any paine to speake of; even so in the lutes, processe and trials of law which passe betwene citizens of the same cite, the best way is to argue and plead by laying downe their allegations and reasons, simply and purely, and not to sharpen or envenime their matters like darts and arrows, with poisoned taunts, railing tearmes, opprobrious speeches and spitefull threats, and so to make deepe wounds, and the same festured with venom, whereby the controversies may grow incurable, and augment still in such sort, that in the end they touch the State. He that can so cary himselfe in his owne affaires, as to avoid these foresaid mischiefs and dangers, shall be able to compass others in the like, and make them willing to be ruled by reason: so that afterwards, when once the particular occasions of priuie grudges be taken away, the quarrels and discords which touch a common-wealth, are sooner pacified and composed, neither doe they ever bring any inconveniences hard to be cured or remedied.

WHETHER



WHETHER AN AGED MAN OUGHT TO MANAGE PUBLICKE AFFAIRES.

The Summarie.

The title of this discourse discovereth sufficiently the intention of the Author: but, for that they who manage affaires of State, and namely men in yeeres, fall oftentimes into one of these two extremities as touching their dutie, namely, that they be either too slacke and remisse, or else more stiffe and severe than they ought: these precepts of Plutarch, a man well conversed in high places and offices, and who (as we may gather by his words) was well stricken in age when he wrote this Treatise, ought to be diligently read, considered and practised by men of authority. And albeit this booke containeth some advertisements in that behalfe, which sort not wholly with the order of government put in practise in these our daies: yet so it is, that the fundamentall reasons are so well laid, that any politician or States-man building thereupon, may assure himselfe that he shall rise & edifie some good piece of worke. Now he beginneth with the refutation of one common objection of certain men, who enjoin & command elder folke to sit still and remaine quiet, and be prooveth the contrarie, namely, that then it is meet that they should put themselves forth more than ever before, but he addeth this correction and caveat withall, that they have bene a long time abedie bridle (as it were) to the world, and beaven in publike affairs, to the end that they be not taxed and noted for their slender carriage or light vanitie, nor proove the cause of some great mischiefe, meddling as they do in that which they had not wel comprehended before. After this he propoeth and laith abroad the examples of men well qualified, who have given good proofe of their sustentation in old age: whereupon he inferreth, that those be the persons indeede unto whom government doth appertaine, and that to go about for to make such idle now in their latter daies, were as absurd and as much injurie offered unto them, as to confide a prudent Prince and wise King to some house in the countrey: and this he enforceeth and verifieth by eloquent comparisons, and by the example of Pompeius. Which done he setteth downe the causes which ought to put forward, and move a man well slept in yeeres to the government of a common-weale, consuing those who are of the contrarie opinion, and proving that elderly persons are more fit therefore than younger, because of the experience and authority that age doth afford them, as also in regard of many other reasons: then he returneth the objection upon them, and sheweth that young folke are unmeet for publike charges, unless they have bene the disciples of the aged, or be directed and guided by them: he refuteth those also who esteeme that such a vocation resemblith some particular trafficke or negotiation: and when he hath so done, he taketh in hand againe his principall point, detecting and laying open the folly of those who would bereave old men of all administration of publike matters: and then he exhorteth them to take heart and shunne idleness (which he doth disprove wonderfully) and setteth before their eyes their dutie, which he also considereth in particular: then he advieth them not to take so much upon them; not to accept any charge unworthie, or not beleeving that gravitie which time and age hath given them, but to occupie and use themselves with that which is honorable and of great consequences, to endeavour and strive for to serve their countrey, and above all in matters of importance; to use good discretion as well in the refusal as the acceptance of dignities and offices, carrying themselves with such dexterity among young men that they may induce & set them into the way of vertue. And for a conclusion, he teacheth all persons who deale in State affaires what religion they should put on and carry thither, that they have an assured testimonie in themselves, that they be affectionate servitors of the common-weale.

WHETHER

WHETHER AN AGED MAN ought to manage publike affaires.



E are not ignorant & Euphanes that you are wont highly to praise the poet *Pindarus*, and how you have oftentimes in your mouth these words of his, as being in your conceit well placed and pithily spoken to the point,

*When games of price and combats once are set,
Who shrinketh back and doth pretend some let,
In darknesse hides and deepe obscuritie
His fame of vertue and activitie.*

But forasmuch as men ordinarily alledge many causes and pretences, for to colour and cover their sloth & want of courage to undertake the businesse and affaires of State, & among others, as the very last, and as one would say, that which is of the sacred line & race, they tender unto us old age, & suppose they have found now one sufficient argument to dull or turne backe the edge, and to coole the heat of seeking honor thereby, in bearing us in hand & saying: That there is a certain convenient & meet end limited, not only to the revolution of yeeres, proper for combats and games of proove, but also for publike affaires and dealings in State. I thought it would not be impertinent nor besides the purpose, if I should send and communicate unto you a discourse which sometimes I made privately for mine owne use, as touching the government of common-weale managed by men of yeeres; to the end that neither of us twaine should abandon that long pilgrimage in this world which we have continued in travelling together, even to this present day, nor reject that civill life of ours, which hitherto we have led in lwaying of the common-weale, no more than a man would cast off an old companion of his owne age, or change an ancient familiar friend, for another with whom he hath had no acquaintance, & who hath not time sufficient to converse & be made familiar with him. But let us in Gods name remaine firme & constant in that course of life which we have chosen from the beginning, & make the end of life & of well living all one and the same, if we will not (for that small while which we have to live) discredit, & diffame that longer time which we have already led, as if it had bin spent foolishly and in vaine, without any good & laudable intention. For tyrannicall dominio, is not a faire monument to be entered in, as one said sometime to *Demetrius* the tyrant: for unto him this monarchicall & absolute soveriegnie gotten & held by so unjust & wicked means, the longer that it had continued before it failed, the greater & more perfect calamitie it would have brought; according as *Diogenes* afterwards seeing the said *Dionysius* his son become a poore privat man, & deposed from the princely & tyrannicall dignity which he had: O *Dionysius* (quoth he) how unworthy art thou of this estate, & how unfitting is it for thee! for thou oughtest not to live here in liberty, & without any feare or doubt of any thing with us, but remaine there still as thy father did, immured up & confined (as it were) within a fortresse all thy life time, untill extreme old age came. But in truth, a popular government which is just and lawfull, wherein a man hath bene conversant and shewed himselfe alwaies no lesse profitable to the common-weale, in obeying than in commanding, is a faire sepulcher for him, to be buried honorably therein, and to bestow in his death the glorie of his life: for this is the last thing (as *Simonides* said) that descendeth and goeth under the earth; unless we speake of them whose honour, bountie and vertue dieth first, and in whom the zeale of performing their dutie doth faile and cease before that the covetous desire of things necessarie to this life giveth over: as if the divine parts of our soule, & those which direct our actions were more fraile, & died sooner than the sensual & corporal; which neither were honestie to say, nor good to beleeve, no more than to give credit unto those who affirme that in getting and gaining only, we are never weary: but rather we are to bring that saying of *Tucydides* to a better purpose, & not to beleeve him who was of minde that not ambition alone and desire of glorie, aged in a man but also (and that much rather) facility or willingness to live & converse with company, & civility or affection to policy & managing of publike affaires; a thing that doth perleve & continue alwaies to the very end, even in ants and bees: for never was it known that a bee with age became a drone; as some there be who would have those who all their life time were employed in the State, after the vigor & strength of their age is past to sit still & keepe the house, doing nothing els but eat & feed

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as if they were mued up, suffering their active vertue, through ease and idleness to be quenched & marred, even like as iron is eaten and consumed with rust & canker, for want of occupying. For *Cato* said verie wisely: That since old age had of it self miseries ynough of the one, they ought not to adde moreover therunto the shame that proceedeth from vice, for to mend the matter. Now among many vices that be, there is not one that more shameth and defameth an old man than restiveness, sloth, delicacie and voluptuoufnesse: namely when he is fene to come downe from the hall and courts of justice, or out of the counsell chamber and such public places, for to goe and keepe himselfe close in a corner of his house like a woman, or to retire into some farme in the country to oversee onely his mowers, reapers, and harvest-folke, of whom it may be well said, as we read in *Sophocles*:

*What is become of wise Oedipus,
In riddles a-reading who was so famous?*

For to begin to meddle in affaires of State in olde age, and not before (as it is reported that one *Epimenides* laied him downe to sleepe when he was very yong, and wakened an olde man fittie yeeares after) and ere he have shaken off and laied aside so long repose and rest that hath stucke to close unto him by use and custome, to goe and put himselfe all at once upon a sudden into such travels and laborious negotiations, being nothing trained nor inured therein, not framed nor exercised thereto in any measure, without converting at all beforehand with men experienced in matters of Estate, nor having practised worldly affaires, might peradventure give good occasion to one that were disposed to reproveo and finde fault, for to say that which the 20 propheteffe *Pythias* answered once to one who consulted with the oracle of *Apollo* about the like case:

*For government and rule of citie state,
Who ever thou be, thou comest too late:
An houre this is undecent and past date,
Thou for to knocke at Court or Pallace gate,*

like an unmanely guest, who cometh to a feast; or a rude traveller, who seeketh for lodging when it is darke night; for even so thou wouldest removeo not to a place, nor to a region, but to a life where of thou hast no proofe and triall. As for this sentence and verse of *Simonides*,

The city can instruct a man,

true it is, if it be meant of them who have sufficient time to be taught and to learne any science which is not gotten but hardly and with much ado after great studie, long travell, continuall exercise and practise; provided also, that it meet with a nature painfull and laborious, patient and able to undergo all adversities of fortune. These reasons a man may seeme very well and to the purpose to alledge against those who begin when they be well stricken in yeeares to deale in publick affaires of the State. And yet wee see the contrary, how men of great wisdom and judgement divert children and yong men from the government of common-weale, who also have the testimonie of the lawes on their side, by ordinance whereof, at *Athens* the publicke Crier or Beadle calleth and summoneth to the pulpit or place of audience, not such as yong *Alcibiades* or *Pythias*, for to stand up first and speake before the assembly of the people, but those that be 40 above fittie yeeares of age; and such they exhorte both to make orations, and also to deliver their minds, and counsell what is most expedient to be done.*

And *Cato* being accused when he was fourefore yeeares olde and upward, in pleading of his own cause, thus answered for himselfe: It is an harder matter my masters (quoth he) for a man to render an account of his life, and to justifie the same before other men, than those with whom he hath lived. And no man there is, but he will confesse that the acts which *Cæsar Augustus* achieved a little before his death in defeating *Antonius*, were much more toill and profitable to the weale-publicke, than any others that ever hee performed all his life-time before: and himselfe in restraining and reforming secretly by good customes and ordinances, the dissolute riots of yong men, and namely, when they mutined, said no more but this unto them: Listen 50 yong men, and heare an olde man speake, whom olde men gave care unto when he was but yong. The government also of *Pericles* was at the height and of greatest power and authoritie in his olde age, at what time as he perswaded the Athenians to enter upon the Peloponnesiacke warre: but when they would needs in all haste and out of season, set forward with their power to encounter with threefoure thousand men all armed and well appointed, who forraied and wasted their territorie, he withstood them and hindered their designed enterprise, and that in manner by holding sure the amount of the people out of their hands, and (as one would say) by keeping

* There is a defect or fault in the Greek text in this place.

ping the gates of the citie fast locked and sealed up. But as touching that which *Xenophon* hath written of *Agefilus*, it is worthy to be delivered word for word, as he setteth it downe in these tearmes: VVhat youth (quoth he) was ever so gallant, but his age surpassed it? what man was there ever in the flower and very best of all his time, more dread and terrible to his enemies, than *Agefilus* was in the very latter end of his daies? whose death at any time was more joyfull to enemies than that of *Agefilus*, although he was very olde when he died? what was he that emboldened allies and confederates, making them assured and confident, if *Agefilus* did not, notwithstanding he was now at the very pits brinke, and had in manner one foot already in his grave? what yong man was ever more misfed among his friends, and lamented more bitterly 20 when he was dead, than *Agefilus*, how olde so ever he was when he departed this life? The long time that these noble personages lived, was no impediment unto them in achieving such noble and honourable services; but we in these daies play the delicate wantons in government of cities, where there is neither tyrannie to suppress, nor warre to conduct, nor siege to be raised; and being secured from troubles of warre, we sit fill with one hand in another, being troubled onely with civil debates among citizens, and some emulations, which for the most part are voided and brought to an end by vertue of the lawes and justice onely with words. VVee forbear (I say) and draw backe from dealing in these publick affaires for feare, confessing our selves herein to be more cowardly and false-hearted (I will not say) than the ancient captains and gouvournors of the people in olde time, but even worse than Poets, Sophisters and Plaiers in 30 Tragedies and Comedies of those daies. If it be true, as it is, that *Simonides* in his olde age won the prize for enditing ditties and setting songs in quires and dances, according to the epigram made of him, which testifieth no lesse in the last verses thereof, running in this maner:

*Fourscore yeeares olde was Simonides
The Poet, and sonne of Trecoprepes,
Whom for his carols and musickall vaine,
The prize he won and honour did gaine.*

It is reported also of *Sophocles*, that when he was accused judicially for dotage by his owne children, who laied to his charge that he was become a childe againe, unfitting for governing his house, and had need therefore of a guardian; being convened before the judges, he rehearsed 30 in open court the entrance of the *chorus*, belonging to the Tragedie of his, entituled *Oedipus in Colono*, which beginneth in this wise:

*Welcome stranger at thy entrie,
To villages best of this countrie,
Renowned for good steeds in fight,
The tribe of faire Colonus high;
Where nightingale doth oft resort,
Her dolefull moanes for to report:
Amid Greene bowers in which she doth haunt,
Her sundrie notes and laies to chaunt,
With voice so shrill as in no ground,
Elsewhere her songs for nought rebound, &c.*

And for that this canticle or sonet wonderfully pleased the judges and the rest of the company, they all arose from the bench, went out of the Court, and accompanied him home to his house with great acclamations for joy, and clapping of hands in his honour, as they would have done in their departure from the Theater where the Tragedie had bene lively acted indeed. Also it is confessed for certaine, that an epigram also was made of *Sophocles*, to this effect:

*When Sophocles this sonnet wrote,
To grace and honour Herodote,
His daies of life by just account,
To fiftie five yeeares did amount.*

50 *Philemon* and *Alexis*, both comick Poets, chanced to be arrested and surprised with death even as they plaied their Comedie upon the stage for the prize, and were about to be crowned with garlands for the victorie. As for *Pausan* [or *Pohu*] the actour of Tragedies, *Erastophenes* and *Philochorus* do report, That when he was threefoure yeeares olde and ten, he acted eight Tragedies within the space of foure daies, a little before his death. Is it not then a right great shame, that olde men who have made profession eijther to speake unto the people from the tribunnall seat, or to sit upon the bench for to minister justice, should shew lesse generositie and

magnanimitie than those who play their parts upon a scaffold or stage? and namely, in giving over those sacred games and combats indeed, to cast off the person of a politician and man of honour, and to put on another (I wot not what) in stead thereof: for I assure you, to lay downe the roiall dignitie of a king, for to take up the personage of an husbandman, were very bafe and mechanicall: and considering that *Demosthenes* said how the sacred galley *Paralus* was unworthily and shamefully misused, when it was put and employed to bring home for *Medias*, wood and timber, flates and tiles, fed mutons or such like fatlings: if a man of honour and estate should at any time give up and resigne his dignitie of superintendencie over the publicke feasts of *Naotarchie*, or government over *Naotia*, of presidenthip in that great counsell or assenblie of estates called *Amphyctiones*, and then afterwards be seene occupied in measuring and selling 10 of estates called *Amphyctiones*, and then afterwards be seene occupied in measuring and selling meale, or the refuse & cakes either of grapes and olives after they be pressed, or to weigh fleeces of wool, or to make merchandise of their felles; were not this as much altogether, as (according to the olde proverbe) to put on the age of an olde horse without constraint of any person? Moreover, to go to any bafe and vile occupation or handicraft, or to traffike in merchandise, after one hath borne office of government in the common-weale, were all one as to turne a gentlewoman well defended, or a sober matron, out of all her faire and decent apparell, for to give her an apron onely and a single petticoat to cover her shame, and so to set her for to keepe in some taverne or victuallling house; for even so, all the dignitie, majestic and continuance of vertue politike is quite lost, when it is debased to any such vile ministeries and trades, smelling onely of lucre and gaine. But in case (which is the onely point remaining behinde) they call 20 to this a sweet and healthfull life, and the true enjoying and use of goods, to be given over to delicacies and pleasures, and doe invite and exhort a politician or man of State, in aging therein, and spending his olde yeeres so, to waste and consume by little and little to nothing: I wot not well unto which of these two pictures, dishonest and shamefull both twaine, this life of his were better to be likened; whether to that of the mariners, who would solemnize the feast of *Venus* all their life time, being not yet arrived with their ship into the haven or harbour, but leaving it still under saile in the open sea; or to the painted table of *Hercules*, whom some painters merily and in sport, but not seemely and with reverence, depaint how he was in the roiall Palace and Court of the Lydian queene *Omphale*, in a yellow coat like a wench, making winde with a fanne, and setting his minde with other Lydian danfols and waiting-maids, to broid his haire and 30 tricke up himselfe: even so we depoyling a man of estate of his lions skin, that is to say, of his magnanimous courage and a minde to be alwaies profiting the common-wealth, and setting him to take his ease at the table, will make him good cheere continually, and delight his eares with pleasant songs, with sound of flutes and other muscally instruments; being nothing at all ashamed to heare that speech which sometime *Pompeius Magnus* gave unto *Lucullus*, who (after his warres and conquests of armies, giving over all regiment of State, wholly was addicted to banes and Rouphees, to feasting, to wantonnesse and company with women in the day time, to all dissolute life and superfluous delights, even so much, as to build sumptuous edifices, befecoming rather men of youonger yeeres) reproved *Pompeius* for his ambition and desire of government above that which became his age; for *Pompeius* answered unto him, and said: It is more 40 unreasonablen for an aged man to live loosely and in superfluitie, than to governe and beare rule. Againe, the same *Pompeius* being one day fallen sicke, when his Physician had prescribed him a blacke-bird for to eat, which was at that time out of season, and could not be had in the market for any money, and one made answer that *Lucullus* had good store of them, for he kept and fed them in mure all the yeere long; hee would neither send to him for one, nor receive any from him, saying withall: What? unless *Lucullus* be a belly-god and glutton, can not *Pompeius* tell how to recover and live? For say that nature seeketh by all meanes possible to take her pleasure and delight, yet surely the disableth the bodie of old folke, and denieth it the fruition of all pleasures, unless it be in some few necessities of this life;

For why? not *Venus* onely is
Offended with old folke saynt.

as *Euryides* the Poet saith, but also their appetite to eate and drinke is for the most part dull and overthrown with mofse, and as one would say toothlesse, in such sort as they do but mumble, touch their victuals a little aloft, and hardly and with much ado enter and pierce inwardly into the same. In which regard they ought to be furnished and provided of pleasures of the mind, not such as are bafe, illiberrall, and vile as *Simonides* saide unto those who reproched him for his avarice: for being bereft of all other fleshy and corporall pleasures by reason of his 45 yeeres,

yeeres, he entertained one still which fed and maintained his old age, and that was the delight which he tooke in getting money & gathering good: but the life politike of those who manage affaires, hath many pleasures, and those right great and honest, in which onely or principally it should seeme that the gods themselves take joy and contentment; and these be they that proceed from beneficence, or doing good unto many, and the glorie of some worthy and noble act. For if the painter *Nicias* pleased his owne mind so well in his workmanship, and was so affectionate to the operation of his art, that oftentimes he forgot himselfe, and would aske his servants whether he had washed, and whether he had dined: or no: If *Archimedes* also was so bent & intensive unto the table before him, in which he drew his figures geometrical, that his 10 servants were faine to plucke him from it by force, for to wash and annoint him, and yet in the meane time that they were annointing of him, he would be drawing and describing of new figures upon his owne bodie: If *Camus* likewise the plaier of the fluit (a man whom you know well enough) was wont to say: That men wist not how much more mirth he made unto himselfe in his playing, than he did unto those that heard him sound; and that they that came to heare his musicke, ought rather to receive a reward of him, than bestow any money upon him. Do we not conceive and imagine in our selves, what great pleasures vertues do yeld unto those who effect any commendable action tending to the good of their countrey, & turning to the profic of the common-weale? they tickle not, they itch not, neither do they after a stroking manner give contentment, as do these sweete motions, and gentle prickles of the flesh; for such bring 20 with them a certaine impatient itch, an unconstant tickling mingled with a furious heat and inflammation; but those pleasures which come from notable and praise-worthy deeds, such as they be, wherof the ordinarie workman and author is he, who governeth a common-weale aight, and as it appertaineth unto him for to doe, lift up and raise the soule to a greatnesse and haughtinesse of courage accompanied with joy, not with gilded plumes (as *Euripides* saith) but with celestiall wings (as *Plato* was wont to say) And that the truth hereof may the better appeare; call to remembrance your selfe, that which oftentimes you have heard concerning *Epinomides*, who being asked upon a time what was the greatest pleasure that ever he felt in all his life? answered thus: Marie even this (quoth he) that it was my fortune to win the field at the battell of *Leuctres*, my father and mother both being yet living. And *Sylla*, the first time that he came to *Rome* after he had cleered *Italy* from civil and domesticall warres, could not sleepe one winke, nor lay his cies together a whole night, for exceeding great joy and contentment wherewith his spirit was ravished, as if it had bene with a mightie and violent wind: and thus much he wrote of himselfe in his owne Commentaries. I can therefore hold well with *Xenophon* in that hee saith: That there is no sound or speech more delectable to a mans eare, than the hearing of his owne praises; and even so it must bee confessed: That there is no spectacle no fight, no report and memoriall, no cogitation, nor thought in the world, that bringeth so great pleasure & delectation to the mind, as doth the contemplation and beholding of those good and laudable deeds, which a man hath performed whiles he was employed in the administration of State and in bearing offices, as being conspicuous, eminent, and publicke places to be 40 seene as farre off. True it is moreover, that the amiable grace and favour thereby gotten, accompanying alwaies vertuous acts and bearing witness thereto; the commendation also of the people who thrive a vie and contend who can give out greatest praise and speake most good (the verie guide which leadeth the way of just and due benevolence) doth adde a glorie and lustre (as it were) unto the joy proceeding from vertue, for to polish and beautifie the same. Neither ought a man by negligence to suffer for to fade and wither in old age, the glorie of his good deeds, like unto a coronet or garland of greene leaves which was wont at some games of prizes but evermore to bring forth some fresh and new demerites, to stir up and awaken (as a man would say) the grace of the old deeds precedent, and thereby to make the same both greater, and also more permanent and durable. For like as the carpenters and shipwrights who had the 50 charge to maintaine the ship called the *Gallion* of *Delos* evermore made supply of new pieces of timber, as anie of the olde began to decay, keeping it in continuall reparation by putting in one ribbe and plank for another, and so preserved it alwaies entire and whole, as it was the verie first daie when it was built; even so a man is to doe by his reputation and credit. And no harder matter is it for to maintaine glorie once up and on foote, than to keepe a fire continually flaming which is once kindled, by putting chifstones fresh sewell under (bee it never so little) for to feede the same: but if they bee once out and thoroughly quenched indeede, then it is no small matter to set either the one or the other a burning againe.

again. And like as *Lampas* the rich merchant, and shipmaster, being demanded how he got his goods: Marie (quoth he) my greatest wealth I gained soone and with ease, but my smaller estate with exceeding much paine and slowly; even so it is no easie matter at the beginning to acquire reputation, or to win credit and authoritie in the managing of civill affaires, but to augment it after the foundation is laid, or to preserve and uphold the same, when it is once come to greatness, is not so hard, for every little thing, & the smallest meanes will do it. And so we see that a friend when he is once had, requireth not many great pleasures & offices of kindeesse & friendship for to be kept and continued a friend still, but petite tokens & small signes of courttesie, passing continually from time to time betweene, are sufficient to preserve mutual love and amity. Seemingly, the good will and affection of the people, their trust & confidence which they have conceived towards a man, although he be not able evermore to give largesses among them; although he doe not alwaies defend and mainteine their causes, nor sit continually in place of magistracie and office, yet nevertheless it holdeth still, if he doe but shew himselfe onely to carie a good heart unto them, & not to cease for to take paines & care for the common good, nor refuse any service in that behalfe: for even the very expeditions and voiaiges in warre, have not alwaies battailes aranged, nor fields fought and bloudie skirmishes, ne yet besieging and beleaguering of cities; but they afford betwene whiles, festivall sacrifices, parties & entertaines, some leisure also and time of rest, to follow games, sports, and pastimes. How then commeth it, that an old man should be afraid to meddle in State affaires, as if it were a charge insupportable, full of infinite and innumerable travels, without any comfort and consolation at all? considering that there be allowed at times, varietie of plaies and games, goodly fights and shewes, solemne processions, and stately pompes, publike doles and largesses, daunces, musike and feasts, and ever anon the honorable service and worship of one god or other, which are able to unknit the frownes and unbend the browses, to dispatch and dissipate the cloudy cares and austeritie of the judges in court hall, and of senators also in counsell chamber, yielding unto them much more pleasure & contentment in proportion to their travels and paines belonging to their place. As for the greatest mischief which is most to be feared in such administrations of the common-wealth, to wit, envy, it feleth & taketh least hold upon old age of any other; for like as *Hercules* was wont to say: That dogs do baie & bark at those whom they know not; even so envie assaileth him who beginneth to governe, just at the dore as it were, and the entrie of the tribunall and throne of estate, seeking to impeach his access and passage thither; but after it is accustomed and acquainted once with the glorie of a man, and when it hath bene nourished and fed therewith, it is not so troublesome and churlish, but becommeth more kinde and gentle; and this is the reason that some have likened envie unto a smoke, which at the first when the fire beginneth to kindle, ariseth grosse and thicke, but after that it burneth light and cleere, vanisheth away and is gone. In all other preeminences and superiorities, men are wont ordinarily to debate and quarrell, namely, about vertue, nobilitie of blood and honour, as being of opinion, that the more they yeeld unto others, the more they doe abridge from themselves; but the prerogative or precedence of time, which properly is called *Presbeion*, as if a man would say: the Honor of age, or Time-right, is void of all jealousy and emulation, and there is no man but will willingly yeeld it to his companion; neither is there any kinde of honour whereunto so well forth this qualitie, namely to grace him more who giveth the honour, than the party who is honoured, as to the prerogative which is given to old men. Moreover, all men doe not hope nor expect to have credit one time or other by their riches, by their eloquence or wisdom; whereas you shall not see so much as one of those that rule in common-wealth, to despise of comming one day to that authoritie and reverence which old age bringeth men unto. He therefore who after he hath wrestled long against envie, retirith in the end from the administration of the common-wealth, at what time as it is well appealed and at the point to be extinguished or laid along, should doe like unto that pilot who in a tempest having winde and waves contrarie, spreadeth saile and roweth in great danger, but afterwards when the weather is faire, and a gentle gale of forewinde serveth, doth goe about to strike saile and ride at anchor in the pleasant sunne-shine; he should I say in so doing, abandon together with his publike affaires, the societie, fellowship, alliance and intelligences which he had with his good friends; for the more time that he had, the more friends by good reason he ought to have gotten, for to stand with him and take his part, whom he neither cannot all at once leade forth with him like as a matter of carols his whole quire of singing men; nor meete it is and reason that he should leave and forsake them all: but as it is not an easie peece of worke to stocke up by the roote olde trees, no more

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is it a thing soone done to extirpe a long government in the common-wealth, as having manie great rootes, and those entrelaced & enwrapped one within another, by reason of fundrie and weightie affaires, the which no doubt must needs worke more trouble and vexation to those that retire and depart from it, than to those that tarry still by it; and say there remained yet behind for old men some reliques of envie, emulation, and contention, which grew in the time of their government; it were farre better to extinguish and quench the same by power and authoritie, than to turne both side and backe unto them, all naked and disarmed: for envious persons and evil willers never doe assaile them so much with despite, who make head againe and stand their ground, as they doe by contempt those who yeeld backe and retire: and to this accordeth well that which in times past that great *Epaminondas* said unto the Thebans. For when the Arcadians had made offer unto them, yea and requested them to enter in their cities, during the winter season, and there to lodge and abide under covert; he would not permit them so to doe, nor to accept of their courttesie: For now (quoth he) all while that they behold you exercising and wrestling in your armour, they have you in great admiration, as valiant and hardy men; but if they should see you once by the fire side punning and stamping beanes, they would take you to be no better than themselves; even so I would make my application; and inferre hereupon; that it is a venerable and goodly sight to behold a grave and ancient personage speaking to the people, dispatching affaires of State, and generally to be honored of every man; but he who all the day long stirres not out of his warme bed, or if he be up, sitteth still in some corner of a gallerie, prating and talking vainly, or else reaching, hawking, spitting, or wiping his nose that drops for cold; such an one I say, is exposed to contempt. *Homer* verily himselfe hath taught us this lesson, if we will make and give good eare to that which he hath written. For old *Neitor* being at the warre before *Troie*, was had in honour and reputation; whereas contrariwise *Pelemus* and *Laertes* who tarried behinde at home were set little by and despised. For the habitude of wisdom doth not continue the same, nor is any thing like it selfe, in those who give themselves to ease, and doe not practise the same; but through idleness and negligence it diminisheth, and is dissolved by little and little, as having need alwaies of some exercise of the cogitation and thought which may waken the spirit, cleere the discourse of reason, and lighten the operative part of the minde to the dealing in affaires,

30 *Like as both iron and brass be bright and cleere,
All while mans hand the same doth use and weare:
Where as the house wherein none dwells at all,
In tract of time must needs decay and fall.*

Neither is the infirmite and feebleness of the bodie so great an hinderance unto the government of State, in those who above the strength of their age seeme either to mount into the tribunall, or to the bench, or to the generals pavilion and place of audience within the campe, as otherwise their yeeres bring good with them, to wit, considerate circumspection & staied wisdom: as also not to be troubled or driven to a non plus in the managing of any busines, or to commit an absurditie & error, partly for want of experience, in part upon vaine-glorie, & so to draw the multitude therewith and doe mischief to the common-wealth all at once; like unto a sea tossed with windes; but to treat and negotiat gently, mildly, and with a cooled judgement, with those who come unto them for advice, or have any affaires or to doe with them. And hereupon it is, that cities after they have suiteined some great shake or adverse calamitie, or when they have bene affrighted, desire straight waies to be ruled by ancient men, and those well experienced; in which cases they have many times drawn perforce an old man out of his house in the country, for to governe them, who thought or desired nothing lesse; they have compelled him to lay his hand upon the helme, for to set all straight and upright againe in securitie, rejecting in the meane while greene headed generals of armies, eloquent orators also, who knew well enough how to speake aloud, and to pronounce long clauses and periods with one breath, and never fetching their winde; yea and beleve me brave warriors and woorthie captaines indeede, who had bene able and sufficient to have affronted their enemies, and fought valiantly in the field. Like as upon a time at *Athens*, the orators there shewing before *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, who were farre slept in yeeres, one named *Chares* the sonne of *Thesochares*, who was a lustie young man, in the flower of his age, and mightie of bodie, stripped out of his apparell, desired that, hee who was to be captaine generall of the Athenians, were such an one as he for yeeres and for person: God forbid (quoth *Timotheus*) but rather I could with the generals varlet to be such an one, who is to carie after him his bed and the furniture thereto belonging. As

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for the commander and leader of an armie, he ought to be a man that knoweth how to see into the State, both before and behinde; and who will not suffer his counsels and resolutions for the weale publike, to be troubled and disorderd by any passion whatsoever: for *Sophocles* when he was now become aged: I am well appaid (quoth he) that I am now escaped from wanton love and the delights of *Venus*; as being delivered from the subjection of a furious lord and raging master. But in the administration of the common-wealth, a man is not to avoid and shie one sort of matters, to wit, the love of boies and wenches, but many others which be more outrageous than it, and namely emulation and a contentious spirit, desire of vaine-glory, and a longing to be alwaies and in every thing the first and the greatest; a vice that engendreth most of any other, envie, jealousies, conspiracies, and factions; of which old age doth let slacke some, and dull their edge, others it cooleth and extinguisht cleane, neither diminisheth and impairerth it the inclination and affection to well doing so much, as it represseth and cutteth off the passions which are too violent and over-hot, to the end that it may applie unto the care and studie about affaires, the discourse of reason, sober, staied, and well settled: howbeit in very truth, and in the judgement of the readers, let this speech of the poet

*Lie still poore wretch, and keepe thy bed
Stirre not from thence, and live no dreed.*

be alleged and spoken for to dissuade and distrust him, who would with his grised beard and graie head begin now to be young and plaie the youth, as also to taxe and reprove an old grand-fire, who after long repose in his house, out of which he hath not stirred, no more than 20 in the time of a languishing disease, will needs start up now on a sudden, and all once bestirre his old bones to be a captaine forsooth in all haste, to leade an armie, or els to take upon him the charge of governing a citie. But he that would call away and reclaine one, who hath beene trained and employed all the daies of his life in politicke affaires, and thoroughly beaten to the world, and the administration of the common-weale, not suffering him to runne forward in that course of life untill he have attained the goale, nor untill he have gained the prize of his victory, but will seeme to turne him out of his long journey for to take another way; he (I say) is altogether senselesse and unreasonable, and nothing resembleth the man we speake of. Like as he who to divert an old man being set out like a youth, with a chaplet of fresh flowers on his head, perfumed with sweet odors, and already to be married, would alludge those verses which in a Tra- 30 gædie were sometime said unto *Philœtetes*,

*What maiden young, what fresh and lustie bride
Will marry thee, so lie close by thy side?
Alas poore man for pittie, at this age
Thus for to venture upon marriage?*

were nothing absurd nor out of the way, and beside the purpose; for even old folke themselves when they are disposed to be merrie, have manie such jests as these passe current among them:

*I marrie old, how faire I am bested?
Well wot I, for my neighbour I doved.*

But he that would perswade a man already married, to leave his wife with whom he hath lived so 40 long in wedlocke, and dwelt together in one house without quarrels and complaints, supposing that because he is now grown in yeeres with her, he should forsake her, and live either a single life apart by himselfe, or else keepe a leman or concubine in stead of his lawfull wedded wife, in my conceit were a verie absurd sort in the highest degree; even so, it standeth to good reason, for to deale with an old man who having one foot already in his grave, or with one *Clidon* who had beene an husbandman all his life time; or with one *Lampoon* the merchant venturer, who hath done nothing all his daies, but used shipping & trafficke beyond sea; or with some of these *Philosophers* out of *Epicurus* his orchard, who love a life to fit still and doe nothing, to admonish and dissuade them from approaching unto the publike affaires of the people, and to counsell them to hold them still to their former accustomed course of life, farre from troubles and busie 50 dealings in common-weale: marie, he that tooke such an one as *Phocion*, *Cato* or *Pericles* by the hand, and said: My friend of *Athens* or *Rome*, whoever you are, now that you be arrived to withered olde age, make a divorce with the common weale, quit from this day forward all publike administration, all cares and affaires, a well of counsell as of warre; abandon both the tribunall seat in the citie and also the pratorie or pavilion of State in the campe, retire your selfe into an house in the countrey, and live the rest of your life there with one maid-servant to attend upon you; follow your husbandrie, or els employ your selfe in your private householde, to take ac- counts

counts and reckonings of your receivers and factours; surely he should perswade him to unjust things, and exact of a State-man and politician that which neither pleaseth nor yet befitteth him. How then? will some man say unto me, never heard we the olde fouldiour, how he speaketh thus in the Comedie?

*My hoarie haies from warre are set me free,
That from henceforth enroll'd I shall not be.*

Yes forsooth good sir, it is very true; for requisite it is, and fit, that the squire and servitors of 10 *Mars* should be in the flower and full strength of their age, as those who make profession of warre and the painfull services belonging thereto, whose gray haies, although the head place and morion do hide and cover, yet inwardly their limmes are heave and decayed by yeeres, and 20 their strength is not to their good will, nor their hand answerable to their heart. But of the ministers of *Jupiter* surnamed Counsellor, Orator, and Patron of cities, we require not the works of feet nor of hands, but of counsel, forecast & eloquence; and yet not such eloquence I meane, as shall make a stirre, or raise a noise, out-cry and shour among the people, but that which is full of ripe understanding, of considerate wisdom, and of good directions and plots well and surely laied. In which persons, the white head and gray beard (which some laugh and make good game at) the crow-foot about the eies, the furrowes in the forehead, the rivels and wrinkles in the face besides appearing, beare witness of long experience, and adde unto them a reputation and authority, which helpe much to perswade and to draw the minds of the hearers 30 unto their will and purpose. For to speake truly, youth is made (as it were) to follow and obey, but age to guide and command: and that citie or State is preserved, wherein the sage counsels of the elders and the marshall prowesse of the younger, beare sway together. And for this cause highly and wonderfully are these verses following praised in *Homer*, and namely in the first place:

*Then to begin, a goodly sort
Of ancient captaines bold
Assembled be in Nestors ship,
A counsell there to hold.*

upon the same reason also, that counsel of the wisest and principall men assistant unto the kings 30 of *Lacedæmon*, for the better government of the State, the oracle of *Apollo pythius* first called *Ursus*, afterwards directly and plainly tearmed *regius*. i. Old men; and even at this very day, the counsell of Estate in *Rome* is named a Senate, that is to say, an assembly of ancient persons. And like as the law and custome, time out of minde, hath allowed unto Kings and Princes the diademe, that is to say, a roiall band or frontlet, the crowne also to stand upon their heads, as honourable mores & ensignes of their regall dignitie and soveraigne 40 authority; even so hath nature given unto olde men the white head and hoarie beard as honourable tokens of their right to command, and of their preeminence above others. And for mine owne part, I verily thinke that this nowne in Greeke, *geras*, which signifieth aprise or reward of honour, as also the verbe *gerascein*, which is as much to say, as to honour, continue still 50 in use, as respective to the honour due unto olde men (who in Greeke are called *gerontes*) not for that they bathe in hot waters, or sleepe in softer beds; but because in cities well and wisely governed, they be ranged with kings for their prudence, the proper and perfect goodnesse whereof, as of some tree which yeeldeth winter fruit which is not ripe before the latter end of the yeere, nature bringeth forth late and hardly in olde age; and therefore there was not one of those marshall and brave couragious captaines of the Greeks, who found fault with that great king of kings *Agamemnon* for making such a prayer as this unto the gods:

*That of the Grecian host which stood
Of many woors his men,
Such counsellers as Nestor was,
They would vouchsafe him ten.*

50 but they all agreed with him, and by their silence confessed, That not onely in policie and civil government, but also in warre, olde age carrieth a mightie great stroke: for according as the ancient proverb beareth witnesse:

*One head that knows full wisely for reed,
On goosen hands, and maketh better speed.*

One advice likewise, and sentence grounded upon reason, and delivered with perswasive grace, effecteth the greatest and bravest exploits in a whole State. Well, say that olde age hath many difficulties

difficulties and difcommodities attending upon it, yet is not the same therefore to be rejected: for the absolute rule of a king, being the greatest and most perfect estate of all governments in the world, hath exceeding many cares, travels and troubles; inasmuch, as it is written of king *Seleucus*, that he would often-times say, if the people wist how laborious and painfull it were to reade and write onely so many letters as he did, they would not deigne to take up his diademe, if they found it thrown in their very way as they goe. And *Philip* being at the point to pitch his campe in a faire ground, when he was advertised that the place would not afford forage for his labouring beasts: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a life is this of ours, that we must live (forfooth) and care to serve the necessitie of our asses? Why, then belike it were high time to perswade a king when he is aged, for to lay downe his diademe, to cast off his robes of purple, to clad himselfe in simple array, to take a crooked staffe in hand, and so to go and live in the countrey, for feare lest if he with his gray haire raigned still, he should seeme to do many superfluous and impertinent things, and to direct matters out of season? Now if it were unseemely and a meere indignitie, to deale with *Agessilus*, with *Numa* and *Darius*, all kings and monarchs, after this sort; unmet likewise it is, that we should remove and displace *Solon* out of the counsell of *Areopagus*, or depose *Cato* from his place in the Romane Senate, because of their olde age. Why should we then goe about to perswade such an one as *Pericles*, to give over and resigne his government in a popular State? For over & besides, there were no sence at all, that if one have leapt and mounted into the tribunall seat or chaire of estate in his young yeeres, and afterwards discharged upon the people & common-wealth those his violent passions of ambition and other furious fits, when ripe age is now come, which is wont to bring with it discretion and much wisdom gathered by experience, to abandon and put away (as it were) his lawfull wife, the government which hee hath so long time abused. The foxe in *Aesops* fables would not suffer the urchin to take off the riques that were fetted upon her bodie: For if (quoth she) thou take away these that be already full, there will come other hungry ones in their place; and even so, if a State rejected evermore from administration of the common-wealth those governours that begin once to be olde, it must needs be quickly full of a sort of young rulers, that be hungry and thirstie both after glory, but altogether void of politike wit and reason to governe: for how can it otherwise be? and where should they get knowledge, if they have not bene disciples to learne, nor spectators to follow and imitate some ancient magistrate that manageth state affairs? The Cards at sea which shew the feat of sailing and ruling ships, can not make good sea-men or skillfull pilots, if they have not bene themselves many times at the stearne in the poepe, to see the manner of it, and the conflicts against the waves, the winds, the blacke stormes and darke tempests,

*What time in great perplexitie,
The mariner doth wish to see
Castor and Pollux, twins fall bright,
Presaging safetie with their light.*

How then possibly can a young man governe and direct a citie well, perswade the people aright, & deliver wise counsel in the Senate, having but read one little booke treating of pollicy, or haply written an exercise or declamation in the Schoole *Lycum* touching that argument? unlesse besides, he have stood close unto the reines, or hard by the helme many a time, & by marking both citie rulers and martiall capitaines, how they have but bene put to their trial, and according to the sundry experiences and accidents of fortunes, enclining now to the one side and then to the other, after many dangers and great affaires, have gotten sufficient knowledge and instruction before hand? I can not see how it can be: but if there were no other thing at all besides; yet surely an ancient man is to manage still the affaires of State, and it were but to traine and teach the younger, that be to come up after him: for like as they who teach children musick, or to reade, do themselves *Sol fa*, & sing the note, they finger & strike the key or string, they reade & spell the letters before them, & all to shew how they should do; even so the ancient politician doth frame and direct a young man, not onely by reading unto him, by discoursing and advertising him without forth; but also in the very managing and administration of affaires, fashioning, forming and casting him (as it were) lively in a mold, as well by operation and example, as by words and precepts. For he that is schooled and exercised herein, not in the schooles of the Sophisters that can speake in number & measure, as in the wrestling hall where the body is annointed with a composition of oyle & waxe together, against exercises performed without any danger at all: but (as it were) at the verie publike games indeed, in the view of the whole

whole world, such as the Olympicks and Pythicks were: he (I say) followeth the traicts and foot-steps of his master and teacher, as saith *Simonides*:

*As sailinge soale, that keeper just pace,
And runnes with dominie evrie place.*

This said *Aristides* under *Calsibenes*, *Cimon* under *Aristides*, *Phocion* under *Chabrias*, *Cato* under *Fabius Maximus*, *Pompeius* under *Sylla*, and *Polybius* under *Philopemen*. For all these personages when they were young, drew neere and joined themselves with others that were ancient, and having taken robe close by them, grew up together with them in their actions and administrations, whereby they got experience and were inured to the managing of the State with honour and reputation. *Aeschines* the Academicke Philosopher, when certaine envious sophisters of his time charged him and said: That he made a semblance and shew, that he had bene the disciple and hearer of *Cambyses*, whereas he never was. I say unto you (quoth he) that I heard the man, when as his speech abandoning the bruit applause and tumultuous noise of the people, by reason of his old age was shut up close and howled (as it were) for to do good more familiarly in private conference. And even so it is with the government of an aged person, when as not onely his words, but also his deeds be farre remote from affected pompe in outward shewes, and all vaine glorie. Much like as is reported of the blacke Stoike, called *Ibis*, who by that time that she is become old, hath exhaled and breathed forth all that strong and stinking savour which she had, and beginneth to yeld a sweet and aromatical smell; even so, there is no counsell nor opinion in old men, vaine, turbulent, or inconstant, but all grave, quiet, and settled. And therefore in any wife (as I said before) if it were but for young mens sake onely and no more; elder persons are to wield the affaires of State: to the end that as *Plato* speaking of wine mingled with water, said that it was to make the furious god wife, by chastising him with another that was sober and temperate: the staid wisdom of old age tempered with youth, swelling and boiling before the people, and transported with the greedy desire of honour, and with ambition, might cut off that which is furious, raging and over violent.

But over and besides all that hath bene said before, they who thinke, that to be employed in the managing of publike affaires, is all one as to saile for trafficke, or to go forth to warte in some expedition, are much deceived: for both navigation & also war, men undertake for a certaine end, and no sooner have they attained thereto but they cease: but the managing of State affaires is not a commission or office pretending or intending any profit and commoditie for the scope that it shooteth at; but it is the life and profession of a living creature, which is gentle, tame, civil, and sociable, borne to live so long as it pleaseth nature, civilly, honestly, and for the publike good of humane societie. This is the reason, that of a man it should be said, that he still is occupied in such affaires of common-weale, and not that he hath bene so employed: like as to be true, and not to have bene true; to be just and not to have bene just; to love his countrey and citizens, and not to have loved them, is his dutie and profession. For even nature her selfe directeth us hereto, and singeth this lesson in our eares (I speake to those who are not altogether corrupted and marred with sloth and idleness)

*Thy father thee, a man hath once begat:
To profit men alwaies, in this or that.*

Againe:

*Let us not cease nor any end finde
To do all good unto mankind.*

As touching them who pretend and alledge for excuse, feeblenesse or impotencie, they do accuse sicknesse & the maimed indispotion of the bodie rather than age. For you shall see many young men sicke & feeble, and as many old folke lusty & strong; so we are not to remove aged persons simply from the administration of the common-weale, but the impotent onely and insufficient; nor to call unto that vocation young men, but such as be able to undergo the charge: for *Aridus* was young enough, and *Antigonus* in yeeres; and yet this man as olde as he was, went within a litle of conquering all *Asias*; but the other had never but the bare name onely of a King, like as in a dumbe shew upon a stage, making a countenance onely with a guard of partizans and halberds about him, without speaking one word; and so he was a ridiculous pageant and laughing stocke among his nobles and peeres, who were alwaies his rulers, and led him as they list. And even as he who would perswade *Prodicus* the Sophister, or *Phileras* the poet (young men both, howbeit leane, feeble, sickly, and for the most part of their time bed-ridden) for to meddle with government of State, were a very foole and senselesse asse; so hee were no whit better.

better, who should debate such old men as *Phœon*, as *Masaniſſa* the African, or *Cato* the Roman, from exercising publike magistracie in citie, or taking the charge of a Lord Generall in the field: for *Phœon* one day when the Athenians all in the haste, would needs have gone forth to warre at an unseasonable time, commanded by proclamation that as many as were not above threecore yeeres of age, should arme and follow him now when they were offended and wroth hereat: Why? my masters (quoth he) what cause have you to complaine? I will go with you my selfe and be your captaine, who carie already above fourcore yeeres on my backe. And of *Masaniſſa*, *Polybius* writeth in his storie, that he died when he was fourcore and ten yeeres old, and left behind him at his death a sonne of his owne bodie begotten, but a fewer yeeres old: also that a little before his dying day, he overthrow the Carthaginians in a raised battell; and the morrow after was seene eating favourly at his verie tent doore a peece of browne bread: and when some marvelled at him why he so did, he answered thus out of the Poet *Sophocles*:

*For iron and brasse, be bright and cleare
All while mans hand the same doth weare,
But the house wherein none dwells at all
In time must needs decay and fall.*

and even as much may be said, of the lustre, glosse and resplendent light of the minde; by which we discourse, we remember, conceive and understand. And therefore it is generally held and said, that kings become much better in wars and militarie expeditions, than they be all the whiles they sit still quietly at home. In such sort, that it is reported of King *Attalus*, the brother of *Eumenes*, how being enervate by long peace and rest, *Philopemen* one of his favourites led him up and downe as he list by the nose, and indeed being fed as fat as a beast, he might do with him what he would; so as the Romans were wont to aske by way of mockerie ever and anon, as any failed out of *Aſia*, whether the king were in grace and favour with *Philopemen*, and might do any thing with him? There could not easily be found many Romane captaines more sufficient warriors in all kinde of service than was *Lucullus*, so long as he was in action, and maintained his wit and understanding entire; but after that he gave himselfe over once to an idle life, and fat mused up (as it were) like an house-bird at home, and meddled no more in the affaires of the common-wealth, he became very dull, blockish and benumbed, much like to sea-fungues after a long calme, when the salt water doth not dash and drench them; so that afterwards he committed his olde age to be dieted, cured and ordered unto one of his affranchised bond-slaves, named *Callisthenes*, by whom it was thought he was medicined with amorous drinke, and bewitched with other charmes and forceries, untill such time as his brother *Marcus* displaced this servitor from about him, and would needs have the government and disposition of his person the rest of his life, which was not very long. But *Darius* the father of *Xerxes* was wont to say: That in perillous times and dangerous troubles, he became the better and much wiser than himselfe. *Alexander* King of *Seythia* said, that he thought himselfe no better than his horse-keeper, when he was wilde. *Dionysius* the elder being demanded upon a time, whether he were at leisure and had nought to do? God defend (quoth he) that ever it should be so with me: for a bow (as they say) if it be over-bent will breake, but the mind if it be over-slacke. For the verie musicians themselves, if they discontinue overlong the hearing of their accords; the Geometricians likewise, to proove & resolve their conclusions, the Arithmeticians also to exercise continually their accounts and reckonings, together with the verie actions do impair by long time and age the habitudes that they had gotten before in their severall arts, albeit they be not so much practised as speculative sciences: but the politike habitude, which is Prudence, Discretion, Sage, advice, and justice, and besides all these, Experience which can skill in all occurrences how to make choise of opportunities and the verie point of occasions, as also a sufficiencie to be able with good words to persuade that which is meet; this habitude (I say) and knowledge can not be preserved & maintained, but by speaking often in publike place, by doing affaires, by discoursing and by judgement: and a hard case (it were) if by discontinuing and leaving off these goodly exercises, it should neglect and suffer to void out of the mind so many faire and laudable vertues: for verie like it is, that in so doing all humanitie, sociable courtie, and gratitude in time, for want of use and practise would decay and fade away, which in deed should never cease nor have an end. Now if you had *Tithonus* for your father, who indeed was immortal, howbeit by reason of extreme age standing in need continually of great helpe and carefull attendance, would you avoide all good meanes? would you denie or be weary of doing him

him dutifull service, namely, to wait upon him, to speake unto him, to find talke with him, and to succour him everie way, under a colour and pretense that you had ministered unto him long enough? I trow you would not. Our country then, resembling our father, or our mother rather according to the tearme *Mater*, which the Cardians give it, which is more aged, and hath many more rights over us, and straighter obligations of us, than hath either father or mother, how durable and long lived so ever it be, yet notwithstanding subject it is to age, and is not sufficient of it selfe, but hath alwaies need of some carefulle aid and good regard over it, and requirerh much succour and vigilance; the (I say) plucketh unto her a man of honour and policie, the takes full hold and will not let him go,

*She catcheth him by skirt of robe behind,
And holds him fast, lest that he from her wind.*

you know well that there be many *Pythiades*, that is to say, five yeeres terames gone over my head, since I began first to minister as Priest unto *Apollo Pythius*: but yet (I suppose) you would not say thus unto me: *Plutarch*, you have sacrificed enough now; you have gone in procession often enough, already, or you have lead a sufficient number of dances in the honour and worship of your god; now you are grown in yeeres and become aged; it were time now, that you laid off the coronet which you weare on your head in token of your priesthood, and give over the oracle by reason of your old age. Neither would I have you thinke that it is lawfull for you, notwithstanding you be faire steep in yeeres, to relinquish and resigne your holy service of *Jupiter* the tutor and patron of cities, the president of civill assemblies and counsels; you (I say) who are the soveraigne high priest, and the great prophet of the sacred ceremonies of religion politike wherein you thus long time have bene entred and professed.

But laying aside if you thinke good, these arguments that may distract and pull an old man from the administration of the State; let us discourse philosophically, and consider a little upon this point: namely, that we doe not impose upon old age any enterprise and travel, which is either too greivous or unbecoming, considering that in the universall government of the common-wealth, there be many parts besitting well enough and agreeable to that age whereunto both you and I at this present be arrived. For like as if of dutie we were commanded to continue singing all our life long, we are not bound after that we be grown to great age for to reach unto the highest, lowdest, and most shrill notes, considering that there be in musick many divers tunes and different intensions of the voice, which the musicians call harmonies; but reason would that we make choise of that which is easiest for our yeeres, and most futable to our nature and disposition; even so since that to speake and manage affaires is to men more naturall during their whole life, than singing to swannes even unto their houre of death, we must not abandon that affection of saying and doing, as if we should sing away an harpe too high fer, but we ought to let the same downe by little and little, taking in hand those charges and offices which be lesse painfull, more moderate, and better according with the strength and manners of old folke: for even our verie bodies, we that are aged doe not suffer to rest still without all exercise, and allow them no motion at all, because we can no more handle the spade to dig the ground, nor weld the plummetts of leade in the exercise of dauncing, nor pitch the barre, sing the hammer, cast the coit, or throw a stone farre from us, or fight and skirmish in our armour, or handle sword and buckler as we could have done in those daies; yet we can abide to sing and hang at a rope for to stretch our limmes, we can away with shaking of our bodies moderately in a pendant ship, coach, or easie horse-litter; we like well enough of walking gently, and devising one with another upon the way, and mainteining pleasant discourses, wakening and reviving our vitall spirits, and blowing as it were the coles to kindle our naturall heat: and therefore let us not suffer our selves to grow over colde, nor thife and starke as if we were frozen and congealed through our sloth and idleness; neither on the other side overcharge our selves with all offices, nor be readie to lay our hand to all ministeries and functions, nor enforce our old age so convinced of impotencie to come at length to these or such like words,

*Altho good right hand, how gladly you'dst thou take
The lance to couch, and pike in skirmish shake:
But now alas, this forward will to fight,
Thy feebleness doth checke, and worke thee sight.*

For neither is the man himselfe, who is able enough and in the floure of his yeres, commended, if he should undergo and lay upon his shoulders all the affaires of the common-wealth, and not suffer any man else with him to take some part (like as the Stoicks affirme that *Jupiter* is content

to do) but engaging himselfe in all things, and meddling in every matter, either upon an unsatiable desire of glorie, or for envie that he beareth to those, who in some measure would have their part of honour and authoritie in the common-weale. But unto an ancient person I assure you, (although you should caule him of infamie in this behalfe) yet it were a painfull ambition, and a most laborious desire of rule to be present personally at all elections of magistrats; yea and a miserable curiositie to wait and attend every houre of judgement in court, and all meetings and assemblies in counsell; also an intolerable humour of vaine-glorie to stand at receit and catch every occasion of embassage, or know every verdict of our grand-jurie, or undertake the patronage of all publike causes whatsoever; and say that all this might be performed with the favour and love of every man, yet greivous it is, and above the ordinarie strength of that age. 10 But what will you say if they meet with the cleane contrarie? for to young men they be odious, because they let nothing passe their owne hands, but intercept from them all occasion and meanes of action, not giving them leave to arise and put themselves forth; as for their equals, this covetous desire of theirs to hold the highest place in all things, and to have the sole authoritie every where, is no lesse hated of them, & accounted infamous, than either avarice or loose life, and voluptuousnesse in other old folke. And therefore like as (by report) king *Alexander* the great, nor willing to overcharge his horse *Bucephalus* when he grew in age, used to mount other coursers before the fight began, for to ride up and downe to review his arme and all the quarters and regiments thereof, but after he had ranged it in array, & set his squadrons and companies in ordinance of battell, and given the signall, he would alight and get upon his backe againe as he was wont, and presently march directly affront his enemies, give the charge, and hazard the fortune of the field: even so a politike man of State, if he be wise and of sound judgement, will favour his strength a little, when he feeleth himselfe aged, as he holdeth the reins in his owne hand, he will forbear to deale in those charges which are not altogether so necessary, and suffer younger men to manage matters of lesse importance; but in weightie affaires of great consequence, he will lay to both his owne hands in good earnest, contrary unto the practise of the champions in publike games and combats of prise, who carefully looke unto their bodies without touching at all any necessary works, and all to employ and use them in needlesse, unprofitable, and superfluous feats: butwe contrariwise letting passe by the petie and slight charges, are to reserve our selves whole and entire unto those that be serious and of mo- 30 ment intended: for a young man as *Homer* saith, all things becom indifferently & alike, all the world smilth on him, every body loveth him; if he enterprize small matters, and many in number, they say he is a good common-wealthe man, he is popular, he is laborious; if he undertake great works and honorable actions, he hath the name of generous, noble & magnanimous yea, and divers occurrences there be, wherein rashnesse is lesse and a contentious humour of emulation have a kinde of grace, and become gaily well such as be fresh and gallant youtthes; but for a man of yeeres, who during the administration of the common-weale, undertaketh these and such like ministeries and commissions; namely, the letting to ferme the customes & revenues of the citie, the charge of mainteining an haven, or keeping of the marker place and common hall in order and reparation; over and besides, the embassies and voiajes in forren parts to princes 40 and potentates, or the riding in poste thither, to treat about no matter of necessitie nor weighty affaires of any importance, but only to salute them or make court unto them, or to performe some offices of courtesie and courtesie: In my conceit, and be it spoken unto you my good friend, he is to be pitied for it, and his case is rather lamentable than commendable. To others haply it may seeme an odious trouble & a burdenfome matter for him so to be employd; for surely this is not an age wherein a man should be encumbered with any offices, but such as wherein there is dignitie, grandee & reputation, such as that is, which your selfe at this time do execute in *Athenes*, to wit, the presidence of the counsell or senate called *Ariopagus*, and verily of that kinde also is that dignitie of being one of that honorable counsell and assemble of the States, called *Amphyctiones*, which your cuntry hath conferred upon you by patent to hold all your life 50 time, the labour belonging whereto is pleasant, the paines easie, and the travell tolerable. Howbeit I would not have an ancient person to range and hunt after these offices, nor to accept them, as demanding the same, but to receive them by way of refusal, so as he may seeme to take them *volens volens*, not as meannes for to be himselfe in honor, but as one that meant by his acceptance to grace and honour them. For it is no shame as *Tiberius Caesar* was wont to say, for men above three-score yeres of age to reach forth their hand to a physician for to have their pulse felt; but rather to stretch out their hands to the people, in praying them to give their

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voices or suffrages with them at the election of magistrats; for this is a very vile and base thing: as contrariwise there is in this a certaine venerable majestie, and a dignitie right honorable; that when the cuntry hath elected one to be a magistrate, when they call upon him and give attendance at his doore, hee should then come downe unto them out of his house, with a kinde of reciprocall honour of his part, a cheerefull countenance and courteous behaviour to the people againe, to salute, embrace, wel-come, and accept this their present, woorthy indeed and becoming honourable old age. Semblable also in some sort an ancient man ought to use his speech in the congregation and assemble of the people, not running ever and anon and leaping up into the pulpit or place of audience to make an oration unto the people; nor readie alwaies like as a cocke croweth againe when he heareth others, to counterchaunt (as it were) to all those that make any speech, nor in fasting upon them, and striving to take hold and vantage of their words, to unbidle the reverence that young men beare toward him, nor to breed in them by that meannes matter to exercise and accuse themselves in disobedience and unwillingnesse to heare him: but he must otherwise seeme to passe by, and make semblance as though hee saw and heard nothing, and give them leave a little to brave it, to sing out, and cast up the head like a wanton young horse, neither to be present, among or to search curiously into every thing that is done or saide, especially when the daunger is not great, nor a matter touching the safetie of common weale, nor any honour and reputation; for there in such cases he ought not to stay until he be called, but to put forth himselfe and to runne even above the ordinarie strength of his age, or else if he be not able, to yeeld his bodie to be led by hand and sustained up by folkes armes, yea and to be carried in a chaire; as the historie doth report of *Appianus Claudius*, who having heard that the Senate of *Rome* after a great foughten field which king *Pyrrhus* had won of the Romans, inclined to accept of articles and capitulations tending to a composition and to peace, could not endure that indignitie, nor containe himselfe, (blinde though he were of both his eyes) but would needs be carried through the common place even to the senat house; and being entred in upon his feet, he stood in the mids of them all and saide: My matters, hitherto I have beene grieved for the losse of mine eye-sight, in that I could not see; but now I wish that I had lost the use also of mine eares, and that I might not heare the shamefull counsels & coun- 30 ses that you take, besides the lewd exploits that you performe: then partly by reprooving them sharply, and in part by his effectual reasons and remonstrations exciting them, he wrought so, that perswaded they were presently to resume armes for to fight with *Pyrrhus*, for theaignorie and empire of *Italy*. And *Solon* at what time as the flatterers of *Pisistratus* wherewith he abused the people of *Athenes*, were openly detected and discovered, and that it appeared once that he aimed at nothing else but to usurpe tyrannie over them; and when no man durst make head against him and impeach or crosse his designs, himselfe alone bringing forth aloud out of his house, and laying the same in the street before his very doores; cried with a loud voice unto the citizens for to aide him; which when *Pisistratus* heard, hee sent unto him for to demand & know upon what assurance that he had, he durst be so bold as thus to do? Mary (quoth 40 he) I presume upon mine old age. Such occurrences as these so necessarie, doe rekindle and set on fire againe old men, who were in manner extinct and cleane dead before, provided, that there remained in them any speake or breath at all: but in other finisler occasions, an ancient personage shall do well and wisely to excuse himselfe otherwise, and refuse base or vile ministeries, wherein greater toils and paines groweth unto them that be employed therein, than profit and commoditie doth accrue unto the parties for whose sake they be undertaken. It falleth out also sometimes, that if he stay until he be called and sought unto, until he be desired, & that they send to seeke for him at his house, he shall win more credit and authoritie among his citizens by coming among them in the end at their request: and say that he be present in place, he shall be silent himselfe for the most part & suffer younger men to speake, as being the judge of civill 50 contention and emulation among them, provided alwaies that the same exceed not a certaine meane; for then hee shall reprove them mildly, after a kind & loving sort cut off all opinionative debates, all head-strong opinions, all opprobrious scarnes and heat of choler. Now the advices and opinions delivered of any matter in question, his part is to comfort and encourage him that cometh short of the point, not reprooving and blaming him at all, but rather reaching him how to do better against another time, yea and to praise him boldly, who hath done well, and suffer his owne selfe willingly to take the woofe and be overcome, giving the place to some many times, and not disdaune to be overmatched and perswaded by reason: to the

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end that they may take the better heart and be more bold, and ready to helpe out and supplie others in their defects, and that with good words and faire language, like as that old *Xenophon* did in *Homer*:

*Of all the Greeks there is no man,
Who blame these words or gaine say can:
But yet for sooth you say not all,*

X or come are to the finall.

For why? you seeme but young by your visage,

And well my sonne you may be for your age.

Moreover, this were more civilly done, not to reprove and checke them openly nor in publicke place, although it be without any great biting and nipping, which is enough to abate and cast downe the courage of young men; but rather apart and privately, especially such as be well framed and disposed by nature to government of State another day; instructing and leading them gently into the right way, setting before their eyes some excellent sayings, examples and inventions tending to policie, and inciting them alwaies to good and honest enterprises, heartening and emboldning them by that meanes, that they may shew a lively and lightsome spirit, and even at the beginning, making the people cast a liking and love unto them, and be more gentle and tractable afterwards: like as it is the manner of those, who when they teach young men to sit and ride on horse, bring them first one that is gentle and easie to be mounted upon; now if peradventure one of them at his first entrance do faile and catch a fall, he must not let him lie along, and so breake the heart of a youth for ever, but lift him up and set him on his feet againe, yea, and give him comfortable and gracious words. Thus did *Aristides* in times past by *Cimon*, and *Menesthibus* by *Themistocles*, whom the people at the first could not abide and brooke, as having but a bad name in the citie for their audaciousness and loose life; and yet these good men (hood their friends, brought them into credit, and mightily encouraged them. It is reported also even of *Demosthenes* himselfe, that the first time he came to the barre, he suffered a disgrace, and was rejected by the people, which he tooke to heart & was wondrously dismaid, until such time as an ancient and fatherly citizen, one who had sometime heard *Pericles* making orations to the people, tooke him by the hand & said unto him: That he resembled *Pericles* for all the world in speech and gesture, and that he did himselfe great wrong upon such an occasion to be faint-hearted and cast downe. Scemably, *Euripides* after the same manner emboldned *Timotheus* the Musician, who at his first coming upon the stage was hissed out by the people, as one that by his novelties which he brought up, seemed to violate and breake the lawes of Musicke; but he willed him to be of good cheere for all that, saying: It would not be long after, but he should be able to draw and leade the whole Theater after him as he would, and have the people at his devotion. To be briefe, like as the terme of time limited and appointed for the vestall virgins or nunnies votaries at *Rome*, was divided into three parts: The first, to learne that which pertained to their religion; the second, to practise; and the third, to teach the younger. And likewise, as in the citie of *Ephesus* every one of those maidens vowed to the service of *Diana*, was at the beginning called *Meliere*, which is as much to say, as a Novice to be a priestresse hereafter; then *Hiere*, that is to say, a full priestresse in deed; and last of all, *Priere*, which signifieth one that had power to imitate and proffesse others in the same orders; even so, he that is a perfect politician and States-man, at the first is but a learner and a questionist (as it were) to doe his acts, and so to commence in that profession; but in the end, he teacheth others, he is a regent over novices, and sheweth them the secrets of policie. For to be a president and overseer of others that trie masteries or combats, is not to be a fencer or champion himselfe; but he that instructeth and traineth a young man to publike affaires and matters of State, framing and fitting him for his countrey another day, in shewing him how

To fit him his words with comely grace,

And deeds performe meet for his place.

is a good and profitable member of the common-wealth, not in a small and base kinde of service, but in a ministrerie of great consequence; and to which especially and principally, *Lycorgus* having given himselfe and aimed at, accustomed young men even from their infancie to obey and doe reverence to every elder, no lesse than to a ruler and law-giver. For in what regard els, and to what other purpose said *Lysander*? That there was no place in the world, where it was so honourable for to be old, as in *Lacedemon*. Was it because it was permitted and lawfull there for elder persons more than for any other, to till the ground, to put out money to usurie, to play

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at dice, being set together, and to keepe good fellowship, drinke merrily as they are close at their game, and playing hard at hazzard? I suppose neither you nor any man els will so say. But it was because all such, being after a sort in place of rulers, of fatherly governours and tutors over youth, have not a vigilant eye over the publicke affaires onely, but a particular regard also alwaies to every action of young men, enquiring and learning not slightly, and as it were passing by their whole demeanour, namely, how they exercise their bodies in publicke place; how they play and disport themselves; what their diet is, and how they converse and live together, shewing themselves dread and terrible to those that do ill, but venerable and desirous to the good; for in trueth young folke alwaies observe & looke after them, and to such they make account; for that ancient persons do labour for to make them better, & augment the generosity of their mind, without all envie. For this passion, as it becometh no time of mans age, howsoever in young men it be entituled with a number of faire and honest names, to wit, emulation, zeale, and desire of honour; so in olde men it is altogether unreasonable, absurd, rude, savage, unmanly and base. And therefore a man of yeeres, who is a politician, must be very farre off from this humour of envie, and not like unto old runt-trees or doddles, which repining as it were at others, doe manifestly hinder and take away the spring and growth of young poles and plants which come up under them, or grow neere about them: but contrariwise, he ought to admit and receive them kindly, yea, and to offer himselfe lovingly unto those that make toward him and be glad to sort and converse with him; such he ought to enforme, to direct, to daide and leade by the hand, yea, and to cherish and nourish them, not onely with good instructions, sage counsels and wise admonitions, but also in yielding unto them the place and meanes to exercise some functions of government, whereby there may grow unto them some honour and glorie, in preferring them to those charges and commissions which be not hurtfull to the State, but pleasing and acceptable to the common people. As for others, which at the first entrie be untoward and shew some resistance, be difficult, dangerous and hard to be achieved (like unto some medicines and potions which presently doe gnaw and wring the bellie, or make the stomachicke) and whereof the honour and profit ensueth long after; it is not good to put such into young mens hands, nor to helpe them to such hard bargaines, nor yet to expose them raw as they be and unacquainted, to the mutinous exclamations and obloquies of the rude multitude, which is hard to be pleased; but rather he himselfe is to undergoe the displeasure and ill-will of the people for the weale publicke; for this will cause the younger sort to be more affectionate unto him, and better willing a great deale to enterprize all other services. But over and besides all that hath bene delivered already, this would be well remembered, that to administer and governe the common-wealth, lieth not onely in bearing an office, or going in ambassage, or in crying with a loud voice to an assembly, or in the pulpit or tribunall for publicke orations, to fare as if he were mad and out of his wits, in vehement preaching to the multitude, or in penning number of decrees, acts and edicts, wherein the common sort suppose that all policie and government doth consist, like as they imagine also; that to be a Philosopher, is nothing els, but to discourse and dispute in the schooles at certaine times of philosophical points aloft in a chaire, and reade lecture at their houres out of their books, and in the meanwhile be ignorant of that civill administration and philosophie which is continually scene in works and daily actions. For this were all one, according to *Dicarchus*, as if one should say, that they only walked, who fetched many turnes up and downe in galleries, and not they, who went into the countrey on foot, or visited their friends. But we must thinke, that to governe a common-wealth, is very like unto the profession of Philosophy: for *Socrates* was not to be thought a Philosopher onely, when he caused stooles and formes for to be made readie to sit upon, against a conference, or when he sat him downe himselfe in a chaire, or when he observed precisely the houres of lecture, of disputation, or of walking in the schooles, which were appointed for his disciples and familiar followers; but also otherwhiles, when he was at his game and play, as it fell out, when he dranke and eat, when he was in warfare or in the campe with some, bargaining, buying and selling with others; and finally, when he was in prison, and even then, when as he drunke that cup of hemlocke for his poison; having taught and proved plainly before, that mans life at all times, in all parts, in every occasion and accident, and generally in all affaires admitteth the use of Philosophie. And even so, we are to make account of civill government; namely, to thinke that stooles or leud persons doe not administer the common-weale, either when they be Generals of armies, or L.L. Chancellors, or when they seeme to leade the people after them with their eloquent tongue; but rather rather tumult and sedition among them, or

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flatter and insinuate into their favour, or declare for ostentation, or els execute some charge and office, and do that which they do compelled by force. Whereas contrariwise, a good and true politician in deed, who affecteth his citizens, loveth his countrey, hath a care and heedfull regard of the weale-publique, although he never be clad in his rich coat of armes, nor have the roiall mantle of estate upon him, yet he is daily and hourly employed in the administration of publicke affaires, inciting and exhorting to action those that are sufficient, instructing such as be unskillfull and wanting, assisting as many as come to him for counsell, reclaiming them who are ill given and about to practise mischief, confirming and encouraging those who be well minded, and shewing evidently in effect, and not for forme and fashion, that he is amused and wholly bent upon the good of the State: not because there is to grow thereby any interest to him or his, or in regard that he is called by name to go first into the Theater, or to be the principal and first man in the assemblie of counsell, or otherwise by way of recreation, as if he came thither to see plaies & games, or to heare some pleasant musick when he is there; but contrariwise, when he cannot be present personally, yet to be there in spirit and advice; and after he hath intelligence of the proceedings there, to approve some things well done, and to shew himselfe displeased in other things. For neither *Aristides* the Athenian, nor *Cato* the Roman, were in place many times of chiefe government, yet they ceased not for all that, during their whole life, to be in action for the good and service of their countries. And *Epaminondas* achieved (I must needs say) many noble acts and valiant exploits, whiles he was capitaine general for *Bætiæ*; howbeit, one act there is reported of his, when he was neither general nor in any office at all, which he exploited in *Thebes*, not inferiour to any one of his other worthy deeds: for at what time as the capitaines of *Thebes* had engaged a battalion or regiment so farre into a difficult place and a ground of much disadvantage, whereby the enemies charged sore upon them so violently, that they were in great affright, and ready to be defeated, he being in the forefront among the footmen heavily armed, was called backe, and at his first comming appealed all the trouble & affright of the army, and put them in assured hope with his very presence: afterwards he set in order and arranged in battel-ray, that Squadron which had broken their ranks and were in confusion, delivered them easily out of this streight and difficult passage, and made head againe upon the enemies, who hereupon were so daunted, that they changed their minds and retired. Also when *Agis* the king of the Lacedæmonians led his armie in ordinance of battell ready to fight with his enemies in *Arædia*, there was one ancient Spartane cried aloud unto him, and said: My lord, you thinke to remedie one mischief by another: (giving him thereby to understand, that his meaning was by this present and unseasonable forwardnesse of his, in giving battell unto the enemy, for to save and cure (as it were) his former speedy retreat and departure from the sieg before the citie *Argos*, according as *Thucydides* reporteth in his storie) which when *Agis* heard, he gave credit unto the man, retired presently, but afterwards he had the victorie. This *Agis* caused his chaire of estate to be set every day before his palace gate, and many times the *Ephori* would rise from their Consistorie, and repaire unto him thither, for to aske his advice, and consult with him about the affaires of greatest importance; for he seemed to be a man of great reach, and is renowned in the histories for a most wise and sage prince. And therefore upon a time, after that the strength of his bodie was utterly decayed, in such sort as for the most part of the day he kept his bed and stirred not forth; when the *Ephori* sent unto him and requested that he would give them meeting in the common hall of the citie, he arose out of his bed, and strained himselfe to walke thither; but when he was gone a pretty way with much paine and difficultie, he chanced to meet with certaine little boies in the street, and demanded of them, whether they knew any thing more powerfull than the necessitie to obey their master; and when they answered No, he made this account, that his impotencie ought to be the end and limit of his obedience, and so returned backe immediately to his owne house. For surely, ones good will ought not to shrink before his power; but when might faileth, the good will would not be forced further. Certes, it is reported that *Scipio* both in war abroad & also in civil affaires at home, used the counsell of *Cato* *Lælius*, in so much as some there were, who gave out and said, that of all those noble exploits *Scipio* was the actor, but *Lælius* the author. And *Cicero* himselfe confesseth, that in the bravest & most honourable counsels which he exploited during his consullship, by the means whereof he saved his countrey, he consulted with *Publius Nigidius* the Philosopher. So that we may conclude, that in many kinds of government and publicke functions, there is nothing that impeacheth and hindereth old men, but that they may well enough shew their service to the common-wealth, if not in the best simply, yet in good

good words, sage counsell, libertie and authoritie of franke speech and careful regard, according as the Poets say: for they be not our feet, nor our hands, nor yet our whole bodie and the strength thereof, which are the members and goods onely of the common-weale; but first and principally the soule and the beauties thereof, to wit, justice, temperance and prudence; which if they come slowly and late to their perfection, it were absurd and to no purpose, that men should enjoy house, land and all other goods and heritages, and should not themselves procure some profit and commoditie to their common countrey, by reason of their long time which bereaveth them not so much of strength able for to execute outward ministeries, as it addeth sufficiency of those faculties which are requirte for rule and command. Lo, what the reason was that they portrayed those *Hermes*, that is to say, the statues of *Mercurie*, in yeeres, without either hands or feet; howbeit, having their naturall parts plump and stiffe; giving us thereby covertly to understand, that we have least need of olde mens labour and corporall travell, to that their words be active, and their speeches full of feed and fruitfull, as it is meet and convenient.



THE APOPTHEGMES OR NOTABLE SAYINGS OF KINGS, PRINCES AND GREAT CAPTAINS.

The Summarie.

If speech be the signe and lively picture of the minde, as it is indeed, a man may judge by these *Apophthegmes* or notable sayings, and collected heere together, how excellent in feats of armes, in polittike government, or otherwise particularly these personages were, who are heere represented unto us; like as some speciall acts entered among their sayings doe also shew. Two sorts of people there be who abuse the fruit that good men might draw out of the consideration & reading of these discourses. The one be certaine glorious persons, who upon a vaine desire of outward shew, and to be seene, and for no other intent, following *Acleps* crop, trim themselves with the plumes and feathers of others: these have gotten together a heape and store-house as it were of wise sayings from ancient times in old time, whereby they might be conspicuous, and seeme to be of some valour and reputation among those who have not wit enough to see into them, and know what they are. The other are hypocrites, who having a lothsome stinke and bitter gall in the heart, pretend sweetnesse and honey at the end of their rooing, and all to seduce their neighbours, or rather to deceive their owne selves, for that they have never any regard of their owne dutie.

But heere in this discourse there is to be seene nothing affected, nothing borrowed from others, nor farr set, but there is represented unto us a certaine open, simple & admirable nature in this diversitie of grave, pleasant & learned speeches, wherein sweetnesse is mingled with profit, for to fit all persons, and to be aptly applied unto their maners and behaviour, of what calling and degree soever they be in the world. Item, heerein are represented acts proceeding from great wit, depererach, and high conceit, of valour, of equitie, modestie, good disposition, and singular carriage in the whole course and management of mans life: the which are propoed and manifested unto us to this end, that the wisdom and bonnie of the almighty might somuch the better appeere, in that he hath vouchsafed such ornaments to publicke States, for to maintain and uphold mans life amid those confusions which were brought into the world by occasion of sin. Moreover, this first collection may well be divided into five principall parts, whereof The first containeth the notable sayings & deeds of the kings of Persia, and other strange nations. The second of the governors and potentates of Sicillie. The third of the Macedonian kings, and namely of *Alexander* the great and his successors. The fourth of the great

lords and captaines of Greece, to wit, Athenians, Lacedemonians, and Thebans. The first and last of the ancient captaines and consuls, together with the two first emperours of Rome.

As touching the profit that all sort of persons may gather hereout, it is inestimable, by reason of the goodly instructions that these acts and words so sententious, and for their brevity so easie be remembered doe afford: the substance whereof is to reclaim us from vice, and to bring us into the way of vertue; the which we ought so much the more to love and esteeme, in this great light that is presented to us in these last daies, when as we doe see that those persons who were overwhelmed in such ignorance of the soveraigne good in deed, have never thelesse, done so well and spoken to the pur purpose amid that darknesse and at random. I doe not denie but there be some tastes favouring of ambition and other passions, as extravagant as it, sowed here and there among these gatherings: but an to esse matter it will be to discern them, yea and to make use of them also, as well as of the rest referring all to their right usage; namely, to be furnished with such speeches without vaine ostentation for the good of our neighbour, and to follow that which is herein commendable in divers sorts, and all to frame and fashion us more and more to every good duty. I have entred in the margin some part of the artificiall framing of such sentences, not generally throughout; for words there be that many times have divers senses; but endeavoured I have to set the words in a certaine course and traine, that wee may be able to fownd the matter to the verie bottom, and in this collection to apply that fitly to his own use, and pur purpose which he findeth meet for his owne instruction.

THE APOPHTHEGMES OR notable sayings of Kings, Princes, and great Captaines.



ARTAXERXES King of Persia (O most mighty Emperour Caesar Trajanus) esteemed it an act of no lesse magnanimity and royall bountie to take in good worth, and to receive with gracious countenance, small presents, than to give great rewards: and therefore upon a time as he passed by the way in progresse, when a poore and simple man who gat his living by the sweat of his browes, and his hand-labour, having nothing else to give, offered him water which he had laden out of the running river with both his hands, he courteously accepted it with a lightsome and smiling countenance, measuring the grace of the gift, not according to the valour and worth of the thing, but the good will of the giver. And to the like purpose *Lyseus* ordained in the cite of *Sparta*, sacrifices of the least cost that might be: To the end (quoth he) that the citizens might have means at all times and in every place to honour the gods readily and at ease, with such things as they had at hand. And therefore since (that most gracious Prince with the like minde and intention) I tender unto your Highnesse these small presents and tokens, even the most common silt fruits (as I may so say) gathered from philosophie; I beseech you to receive together with my good affection the profit and use of these worthy and memorable sayings which I have collected for your sake: for that they may serve you in good stead, to know the nature, disposition and manners of great personages who lived in times past, considering that oftentimes they appeere better and are discovered more clearly by their words than by their deeds. True it is that in another worke I have compiled the lives of the most noble and famous personages, as well for feats of armes, as for counsell, to wit, Captaines, Law-givers, Kings and Emperours, that ever were among the Romans and the Greeks: but in the greater parts of their acts, Fortune is intermingled among and hath her place; whereas in the speeches and sentences which they have delivered, and the answers by them made at the verie time of their acts, their passions, their accidents and occurrences of Fortune, man may perceive most purely (as it were) in so many mirrors, what their thoughts were, and how the hearts of every one stood affected. And verily one *Siramenes* a gentleman of *Persia*, when some marvelled at him that his enterprises sped no better, and had no more fortunate successe, considering that his speeches were so wise, answered unto them in this manner: Because (quoth he) I am my selfe master of my words, but of my actions, Fortune, and the King together. Now in that other volume of Lives aforesaid, the excellent sayings of those renowned persons be joined with the narration of their deeds written

at

at large, so that they require a man of great leasure, and one that will take pleasure in reading and hearing the same: but as for this booke, wherein their words are gathered and comprehended together by themselves, as the verie scanillons (as I may so say) and seeds extracted a part from their lives, and yet testifying of the same, the reading thereof, in my conceit, will not hinder the rest of your affaires, nor take up any time due thereto, considering that in few wordes you shall there see the nature of manie memorable persons lively described and depicted.

The Persians love them most who are haue nofed, and esteeme them to be best favoured; and why? because *Cyrus*, one of their Kings whom they affected most, had a nose of that fashion, on, This noble King *Cyrus* was wont to say: That they who would not do good unto themselves, were constrained to benefit others. It was a speech of his also: That it appertained to none by right for to command and rule, unless they were better than those whom they ruled. Againe, when the Persians were minded to chaige their countrey, being hard, rough, and hilly, themselves, and to inhabit another that was milde, plaine and champaigne, he would not permit them to do so, saying: That like as the seeds of plants; so the lives of men became futable to the places, and regions, where the one were sowed, and the other lived.

Darius the father of *Xerxes* in praise of himselfe, used to say: That in battels and perils of warre he became evermore wiser. And one yere having taxed and set downe certaine payments and subsidies which he would have to be levied of his subjects, he sent for the principall men of every Province under his dominions, and demanded of them, if those tributes which he imposed, were any thing grievous unto the people or no? and when they answered, that they were the same but indifferently; he gave order that none should be charged but with the one halfe of the foresaid exactions. One day when he had opened a pome-granate, which was (in truth) a very faire & goodly great apple; one of those who were about him asked him: What thing it was whereof he desired to have as many, as were kernels in the said pome-granate? *Mary* (quoth he) of such men as *Zopyrus*. Now this *Zopyrus* was a brave man of warre and a faithfull friend, who having himselfe whipped his owne body and mangled it with many stripes, and besides cut-off his owne nose and cropt his owne eares; by this device and stratageme to beguile and overwrought the Babylonians, that they committed unto him the government of their citie, which afterwards he betrayed and delivered into the hands of *Darius*: whereupon many a time afterwards he gave out & said: That he would choofe rather to have *Zopyrus* whole and found of all his limmes, than winne a hundred such cities as *Babylon*. *Queene Semiramis* having caused her owne sepulchre to be made, gave order that this inscription should be engraven upon it. *What king soever hath needs of money, let him demolish this monument, and hee shall finde within it treasure as much as hee desireth.* Now this *Darius* having opened the said sepulchre, could meet neither with silver nor gold there; but in stead thereof he light upon other letters written to this effect: *If thou haddest not bene a wicked man and of insatiable avarice, thou wouldst never have stirred and disquieted the graves and monuments of the dead.*

Armenes brother of *Xerxes* the sonne of *Darius*, making claime to the kingdome of *Persia* against his brother, came downe out of the province *Bactriana*, where he had kept his refuge; and unto him his brother sent before, certaine presents to meet him upon the way, willing the messengers who should tender them unto him to deliver these words withall: That his brother *Xerxes* honoureth thee for this time with these presents; but he assureth thee that if he be once declared and proclaimed king, thou shalt be the greatest man in the whole realme next under him. And in very truth when as *Xerxes* was adjudged to be king, *Armenes* was the first who did homage unto him, and put the royall diademe about his head; and semblably the king his brother made him the second person in honour and authoritie, and next unto him in the realme. This prince *Xerxes* before named, taking great displeasure and indignation against the Babylonians, for that they were revolted and did rebel; after he had subdued them againe, and brought them under his obedience, forbade them expressly to beare armes any more; but he commanded them to daunce, to sing, to play upon the flute and hauboies, to keepe harlots, to haunt taverns, and to wear their garments loose, sitting full, and spreading large. When there were brought him certaine dried figges out of the countrey of *Attica* to be sold, he said: That he would not eate any of them until he had conquered the land which bare them. Having surprisid and apprehended certaine spies of the Greeke nation within his campe, hee did them no hurt or displeasure at all; but after he had caused them to see in what securitie his armie and campe stood, he permitted them to retorne and goe their waies in peace.

ARTAXERXES

* A traitor
veture.

* If befetment
not a prince to
be fupier
in all things.
* Ignominie
and shame is a
great punifh-
ment.

* Little danger
is it for a
prince to lofe
his owne pri-
vate treafure,
than to loofe
the lawes and
honor the State.
* The hope of
greatnelle ma-
keth men to
fpake and
promife won-
ders of them-
felves.

* An affable
prince eafily
winneeth the
hearts of his
fubjects.

* A good will
& ready mind
ought to be
confidered,
and great men
are not to di-
fpeife inferior
perfon.

* It is not pof-
fible to neceffite
and appeate
that giveth
tafte unto vi-
and.

* The nature
of great per-
fons is to love
faunt to be
flattered than
rebuked.

* The milera-
ble and uncer-
taine fate of
thofe who de-
pend upon
times.

* Military di-
cipline repel-
leth villanous
devotions &
backbitings.

* Kings of A-
gypt and other
counties.

* Good kings
effeme more
of juftice than
their owne
authoritie.

ARTAXERXES the fonne of *Xerxes*, hee who was fumm'd LONG-MAN'D, becaufe hee had one hand longer than the other, ufed to fay: That it was a more princely ^{and} royaill propertie to put to than to take away: he was the firft that gave thofe leave who hunted with him to ftrike a wilde beaft: firft, if they could and were fo difpofed; he it was alfo who ordeined for thofe his nobles and lords who had offended and broken their allegiance this punifhment: that (whereas before time the manner was to fcouge their bodies) now they fhould be ftripped indeed out of their apparell, and their clothes be beaten and whipped for them; and whereas before they were wont to have the haire of their heads plucked up by the rootes, now their tur- bants or copped caps onely which they wore fhould be taken from them, and fo to ftand bare-headed for a time. A chamberlaine hee had, named *Satibarzanes*, who fued unto him for a thing which was neither juft nor reafonable to be granted; and being advertifed that he followed this fute in the behaile and favour of another, who had promifed him 30000. Perfian crownes, called *Dariques*, he commanded his treafurer to bring him thirtie thoufand *Dariks*, and when he gave them unto the faid chamberlaine: ^P Heere (quoth he) *Satibarzanes*, take this money at my hand, for the departure from fo much treafure will not make me poorer, but if I granted thy requeft I fhould be more unjuft.

CYRUS the younger, for to moove and follicit the Lacedemonians to enter into a league and make alliance with him, faid of himfelfe: ¹ That he had an heart more weightie and fubftantiall than his brother king *Artaxerxes*; that hee drunke more ftrong wine pure without wa- ter, & bare it better than he: as for him when he rode a hunting, he could hardly hold himfelfe upon his horfe-backe, and in time of danger could not well fit upon his very throne; and to draw them on, for to fend unto him auxilliary fouldiers; he promifed to as many as came on foote for to beflow horfes upon them, and to thofe who had horfes, for to mount them upon chariots, to thofe who were poffeffed of lands and tenements, he promifed to give villages; and them who had villages of their owne, he would make lords of cities; and as for gold and filver they fhould have it at his hands by weight and meafure, and not by tale and number.

ARTAXERXES the brother of this younger *Cyrus*, and who for his fingular memorie was fumm'd *Mnemon*, not onely gave free acceffe and audience to all futers and thofe who had any thing to doe with him, but ² that (which is more) commanded his lawfull wedded wife to take away the rich hangings and curtaines that covered his chariot, to the end ³ that whofoever would, might have the full fight both of him and his, and fpeake with them up- on the way. When a poore peafant of the countrey prefented unto him a faire apple or coltard of exceeding bignefle, he received it with a cheerefull countenance and faid: ⁴ By *Atithra*, i. the funne that fhineth, (and that was the Perfians oth) this man (I fuppofe verily) if he might be put in truft, were able to make a great cite of a fmall. upon a time when he was put to flight and all his baggage ranfacked, and provifion loft, in fuch as for want of other viands, he was faine to eate a few drie figges and barley bread: ⁵ Oh what a deale of pleafure have I miffed heretofore, and never fo much as once tafed.

PARYSATIS the mother of *Cyrus* the younger, and *Artaxerxes*, ufed commonly to fay: That whofoever would fpeake freely and make remonftrances unto a king, ⁶ ought to ufe filken words, that is to fay, the fweeteft and moft pleafant that could be found.

ORONTES fonne in lawe to king *Artaxerxes*, by marriage with his daughter, being upon the kings wrathfull difpleafure condemned, and deprived of his eftate, faid: That the ⁷ minions of kings and princes, resembeld very properly the fingers of thofe that counted by Arithmetick; for like as they make a finger fometime to ftand for one, and another while for ten thousand; even fo thofe who be about princes at one time can doe all at once, and another time againe as little or rather juft nothing.

MEMNON a certaine great captaine, who under *Darius*, warred againft *Alexander* the great, when one of his mercenarie fouldiers came into his prefence and fpake all the villanous and op- probrious words that he could devife, in moft reviling manner againft king *Alexander*; fmoote him on the head with his lance and faid; ⁸ Sirrha, I pay thee thy wages for to fight againft *Alexander* and not to revile and mifcall him.

The kings of *EGYPT* according to an ancient law and ordinance of that countrey, cau- ded the judges to be fworne when they were entalled in their offices; ⁹ that, howfoever the king commanded them to doe unjuftice, yet they fhould not doe it for all their commande- ment.

During the time of the Trojan warre, there was a king of *Thrace* named *Polytus*, unto whom

whom as well the Greeks as the Trojans fent embaffadors to have aide from him: ¹ unto whom hee answered, that his advice was: That *Pari* fhould render and deliver *Helena*, and that in ftead of hir alone, they fhould have of him two faire ladies.

THESE the father of *Sitakes* ufed to fay: That whenfoever hee was at reft and made no warres, he thought himfelfe to differ nothing at all from his horfe-keepers and efquieries of the ftale.

COTYS unto one who had prefented him with a libard, gave a lion for it. This prince be- ing by nature hafte and angrie, and readie to punifh his houfhold fervants extremely, if they did amiffe and faulted in their fervice: when a friend of his in whole houfe hee lodged, had beftow- ed a prefent upon him of many earthen veffels exceeding fine, thin, and eafie to be burft, but fingularly well and artfully made, with divers prints emboffed and wrought upon them moft daintily, he gave againe unto this hoaft of his, other rich gifts of great prize, ² but all the faid earthen plate he brake everie piece into flivers prefently, for feare left upon fudden fits of choler he fhould chaftice his fervitours too fore whenfoever it happened that they brake any of them.

IDATHYRSUS a King of the Tartarians, againft whom king *Darius* lead his armie, perfwaded with the Lords & Potentates of the Pceonians, to break downe that bridge which *Darius* had caufed to be made over the river *Danew* for to paffe into their countrey, to the end that by fo doing they might be delivered from all fervitude; which when they would not doe in regard of their fealtie unto *Darius* which they refolved to obferve and keepe, ³ he called them, kind and good flaves, who had not the mind and heart to be delivered and fet free from bondage.

ATEAS a King of the Scythians wrote thus unto *Philip* King of *Macedonie*: Thou ruleft over the Macedonians who can skill onely to fight and conquer men: but I command the Scythians who know how to vanquifh both hunger and thirft. And as he was rubbing and cur- rying his horfe with his owne hands, hee asked the embaffadors of king *Philip* whether their Lord and mafter did fo at home? having in a certaine skirmifh taken prifoner *Spemias* that ex- cellent minfter, he commanded him to play on the flute before him: now when all that were prefent wondered at his fingular muficke, he fwore a great oath that hee tooke more pleafure to heare an horfe neigh, than him play.

SCILURUS leaving fourcore children all males behinde him; when he was at the point of death, caufed a bundle of javelins or sheafe of darts to be brought unto him, and to everie one of his children one after another prefented it, commanding them to do their beft for to breake it: now when each of them had put his ftrengh to it in vaine and could not doe the deed, himfelfe tooke every dart or javelin apart one by one, and fo burft them with facility; ⁴ re- minding them by this fimilitude, that in holding jointly together they fhould continue ftrong and invincible; but if they were divided and entred into quarrels one againft another, they fhould find themfelves feeble and eafie to be overcome.

GELON the Tyrant, after hee had defeated the Carthaginians neere to the cite *Thyma*, when hee made peace with them, capitulated among other articles of treaty: That they fhould no more facifice any infants to *Saturne*. He lead the Syracufans oftentimes into the fields, as well for to care the ground, fow, and plant, as to warfare, to the end that their lands being tilled, fhould be of more value, and they themfelves for want of worke and travell might not grow worfe and worfe. Upon a time hee exacted certaine fumm'es of money of the citizens, and when they began to mutine about the payment of it, hee faid unto them, that his intent was to repay it: ⁵ A good backe againe; and fo in truth after the warre was ended ⁶ he fatisfied everie pennie thereof. At a certaine feaft there was an harpe brought and given to all the guefts one after another as they fat at the table, for to play thereupon and fing unto it according to the cuftome of the place: now when everie one befides had taken it in hand, as it came round about, and had framed themfelves to play and fing in their turne, hee alone commanded ⁷ that his horfe fhould rogate, than hee was brought unto him, and then hee mounted and vaulted upon him eafily, and with him- benefite.

HIERO who was the Tyrant or Sovereigne ruler of *Syracufe* next after *Gelon*, commonly beforesaid: That thofe who fpake unto him their minds frankly and freely, troubled and importuned him never a whit; but whofoever revealed any fpeech of his that hee had delivered unto them in fecret, did wrong not to him onely, ⁸ but to thofe alfo unto whom they uttered the fame: for that ordinarily we hate both the reporters, as alfo the hearers of that which we would not have to be knowne. There was one who upon a time reproched him for his ftinking breath, whereupon hee

* The folly of
the Greeks
and Trojans
wifely repro-
ved.

* Warriors
effeme no-
thing but their
ames and au-
thoritie of
command.

* A prince
ought to a-
void all occa-
fions of wrath.

* Thofe that
choofe to be
flaves rather
than free, de-
ferve to be
mocked.

* Sober and
temperate
people be in-
vincible.

* Customes co-
vert the
flame of do-
ing vile and
bale offices.

* Unite is in-
vincible.

* The Ty-
rants op-

* Sicillie.

* War ought
to maintaine
husbandry
and banifh
idlenefle.

* A good
prince will not
oppreffe his
fubjects, but
benefite them.

* Some what
of his owne
preference, than
undo them.

* Warlike
fens preferred
before peace.

* The recrea-
tions.

* Princes are
to embrace
frank fpeech.

* Princes
are not to
be revealed.

* Simplicity
and modestie
befcometh
women.

* Lascivious
poets are to
be chastised.

* The turning
of an office.
Ambition
buildeth ex-
iles in the air.

* A final mat-
ter doth con-
firm an am-
bitious per-
son in his re-
solution.

* The highest
flares are con-
verted into
by adulteries,
rapes, and
such like out-
rages.

* Niggardie &
spurning be-
cometh not prin-
ces, who have
need of true
friends and
servitors.

* (When sub-
jects have no
more to selve,
tyrants suffer
them to be
quiet.

* The lawes of
nature are, or
ought to be
inviolable.
* Tyrants ap-
prove of mur-
der and disor-
ders, so it
serve to main-
taine their
efficacy.

* Tyrants
puffe now what
they give or
take, for they
may uphold
their usurped
power.
* Idleness is
detestable.

he chid his wife, because she had never told him of that infirmity: but she answered the matter thus and said: "I had thought that all mens breath had so fented. *Xenophanes* a Colophonian borne, complained once unto him of his poverie saying: That his fate was to meane that he was not able to maintaine and find two household servitors under him: why (quoth he) *Homer* whom you reproove and find such fault withall, dead as he is, nourisheth more than ten thousand. He set a round fine upon *Epicharmus* the comical Poets head, for that in the presence of his wife, he had spoken certain unseemly and dishonest words.

Dionysius the elder, when as he with other orators were to make orations unto the people, cast lots for certaine letters, to know in what order they should speake, and the letter which fell to him was M: one that stood by said: This letter *Dionysius* standeth for *μακροθυμια*, which signifieth as much as: Thou shalt prate and talke like a foole; Nay rather (quoth hee) it importeth *μακροθυμια*, I shall be a Monarch and verily he had no sooner made his speech, but the people of *Syracusa* chose him for the Captain General. Now when at the beginning of his Tyranny or dominion the Syracusians in an insurrection, held him besieged within his castle, his friends perswaded with him that voluntarily, he would resigne up and give over this violent and lordly rule over the people, unless he minded to be taken captive, & to die afterwards an ignominious & shameful death: but he seeing by chance a biefe knocked down by a butcher, & observing, that at the first blow the beast fell presently sturke dead: "Now surely (quoth he) were it not a great displeasure, for the feare of death which is so quickly done and dispatched, I should forgoe so goodly and so great a feignorie? Being advertised that his owne sonne, unto whom hee was to leave his dominion, had forced and abused a certaine burgesses wife of that citie, he demanded of him in great choler and said: What art thou ever seene me do like unto it? The young man answered: Sir, may it please you to consider, that you never had a tyrant to your father: "No more (quoth he) againe redily unto him, shalt thou ever have a sonne to be tyrant after thee, if you mend not better the manners, and give not over such lewd confutes. Another time being gone to visit his sonne at his house, and seeing there faire cupboards of plate richly furnished with many cups and boles both of golde and silver, he said aloud unto him: There is no jot in thee of an absolute lord or prince, "who of so great a quantitie of silver and golden peeces which thou hast received of me, hast not yet made one sure friend to thy selfe. He required of the Syracusians upon a time a certaine summe of money, 30

whereat they murmured & complained, befeeling him to spare them, & hold them excused, saying moreover that they had it not: whereupon he exacted of them as much more againe, and so proceeded unto a third levie, and this he practised twice or thrise one after another: now when he had continued thus laying more taxes til upon them, he might understand and heare, that they made no more reckoning of him any longer, but laughed and scoffed at him openly as they walked up and downe in the market place then he gave commendment to his officers and receivers to presse them no further with new impositions: "For it is a signe (quoth he) that now they have nothing indeed, when they make no more account of us. His mother being now farthest in yeeres and past the ordinarie time of marriage, would neverthelesse in all the haste be wedded to a certaine proper and well-favoured young man; whereupon *Dionysius* came 40

her and said: "Well may it be in our power mother, to violate the lawes of the citie *Syracusa*, but to breake the lawes of nature we may not. Whereas all other malefactors & transgressors he used to punish with severitie and rigor, he would evermore "spare and pardon these night-walkers, & who used to rife folke and strip them out of their apparel whom they light upon in the streets; which he did to this end; that the Syracusians by this meane should give over feasting, resorting one to another, and keeping companie by night-time. There was once a stranger who promised unto him with a loud voice, that he would teach him apart and in secret how he might come before hand to the knowledge of those who meant to conspire or plot and practise against him: *Dionysius* was very earnest with the man, and desired him to tell him how; the other comming toward him spake softly and said: Give me one talent of silver, to the end that 50

it may appeere unto those of *Syracusa*, that you have learned of me the marks and signes whereby to discover those who shall hereafter conspire against you; the which he did indeed, and gave him so much money, making semblance unto the people that he was sufficiently taught and instructed by him in the meane of detecting traitours; but withall, he commended the fellow highly for his subtil device that he had invented to draw money so cleanly from him. Another asked him one day, if he were not otherwhiles at leisure and idle? "God forbid (quoth he) that ever it should befall unto me. Being given to understand that two young men of the citie

citie drinking together, had given out in their cups many vilanous and opprobrious flanders against him, and his tyrannicall rule, he invited them both to suppe with him, and during that the one of them when the wine had a little fumed up in his head, began to booke (spoke and doe foolishly, and contrariwise that the other held his owne and drunke wilyly: he perceived and let goe the one, who "seemed by nature given to drunkenesse and infolencie, as if he had spoken ill of him when he was cup-shotten; but the other he put to death, as one who was maliciously bent unto him in his heart; and his verie enimie of deliberate purpose. Some of his familiar friends reprooved him, for that he honoured and advanced a naughtie person; and one who was generally hated of the Syracusians; but he answered unto them: "I would it were glorie 10

to that passe, that there were in all *Syracusa* any one more odious than my selfe. Upon a time he sent presents to certaine embassadors of *Corinth* who were come unto him; but they refused the same by reason of a law of theirs which expressely forbade all embassadors to receive gifts from any prince or potentate whatsoever; hereat he was mal-content and much offended, saying unto them: That they did very ill to take away the onely good thing that is in tyrannies, namely, to give rewards, and so to teach men, that even "to receive a benefit from tyrants, is a thing to be feared. Being advertised that one of the inhabitants of *Syracusa* had hidden certaine treasure within his house under the ground, he commaunded him to bring the said treasure forth before him, which the man did in part, but not all; for he deteined and reserved to himselfe some small portion, with which he went and removed into another citie, where he 20

bought himselfe a peece of land with it; which *Dionysius* understood, he sent for him, and gave him againe all his golde and silver afore said: "For now (quoth he) thou knowest what to doe with thy riches, and makest not that to be dead and unprofitable, which is given for the use and benefit of man. Thus much of *Dionysius* the younger.

His sonne who was called *Dionysius* the younger, was to say: That he kept and maintained many learned men, not because he did esteeme them so much, but for that he desired to be esteemed for their sake. Among which clerks, one *Polyseus* a Logician being in hot dispute with him said: "Now sit I have caught you and hold you convinced: Yea mary (quoth he) againe, in words onely; but I convince and overcome thee in deede; for thou leavest away thy house and all that thou hast, at come to serve me in my court. After he was depoted from his royall dignitie and banished, when one derhaunded of him and said: Now what good hath *Polyseus* done you and all his philosophie? Mary (quoth he) "this benefited I have thereby; that I have with patience this change & alteration of my fortune. There was one asked him: How it came about that his father being but a meane private person and poore, could attaine unto the rule and feignorie of *Syracusa*; and he himselte unto whom his father had left it, wholly gossiped to his hands, being the sonne of so mightie a tyrant, should be turned out of his state and lose all? "Because (quoth he) my father came then to manage the affaires of the common weale, when 30

as the popular government was hated, and I succeeded him at such a time when tyrannie was envied. At another time, to another thus demanded the same question he answered thus: My father might well leave unto me the inheritance of his tyrannie, but not of his fortune.

Acathones had bene the founte of a key-power, and being made lord of *Sicilia*, and declared king thereof; his maner was to be served at the table with earthen vessels among other rich plate of golde, which he would use to (speak unto) young men, and say: Here, what purrs and cups I made at first, pointing unto those of earth and clay; but now I am a maker of thees (showing the other of golde) through mine understanstanding, as well and valiancy. As he lay at the siege before a certaine citie, certaine of the inhabitants there were, who from the wall in opprobrious and taunting wile cried unto him: "Ho (for potter) where will you have to pay your soldiers wages? who seeming not to be moved therewith at all, smiled and mildly answered: Mary out of the pillage of this citie, when I have once won it. And in very truth, after he had forced it by assault, and was master of it, he sold all the inhabitants whom he took prisoner in 50

port-fale as slaves, and said moreover unto them: "I feyer from henceforth I take you buying or your tongues and railing againe at me, I will tell you matters of you. When the flanders of *Juba* came unto him with open mouth, complaining: That his mariners or men at leeward rodes into their island, and had taken from them a certaine bootie of fat muttons; he answered them in this wile: And why then did your king before-time enter into *Sicilia*, and purposely drive away our sheepe, but also (which was worse) put out the eyes of the shepheard himselfe, and departed when he had so done?

Dion, who deprieved *Dionysius* of his tyrannicall dignitie, and drave him out of hiskingdome,

* Malicious
by nature
more to be
detested than
those who
use to be
upon some
infirmitie.

* Tyrants
would gladly
be shew'd
and covered
under the fla-
mour of those
who are worst
than them-
selves.

* Gifts of ty-
rants be dan-
gerous and
serenious.

* Those that
know how to
use their trea-
sures are to be
commended.

* Coveting
philosophies
are formed to
be ignorant
foes.

* Philophies
suffice not
men in adver-
sities.

* (By what
meane great
flares are con-
verted into
darknesse.)

* A Wise
desireth and
a fortune.

* The
greatness of
man's danger
may be
discovered
by the
smallness
of his
strength.

* A
man's
strength
is not
to be
tried
in
adver-
sities.

* Scorn
and
mocke are
uncom-
fortable
things
to be
dealt
with
enemies
that be
wily.

come, being tolde that *Calippus* (in whom he reposed more trust and confidence than in any other friend or host of his) laied wait for to take away his life, had never the heart to charge him therewith, nor would abide to call him in question for it, saying: That it were better for him to die than to live in such paine, as to stand in feare, and so beware not onely of his enemies, but also of his friends.

Maccedonian Kings. *Archeolus* king of *Macedonie*, as he sat one day at the table drinking, a certaine familiar friend of his, one that knew little good maners, requested him to bestow upon him a golden cup which was upon the boord: but the king gave order to one of his servitors to give it freely unto the Poet *Euripides*; the other man marvelled thereat; but *Archeolus*: Never thinke it so strange (quoth he) for thou deservest to aske and goe without; but he is worthy to have, although he craved not. When his barber (a prating and talkative fellow, comming to trim him) would needs know in what maner he should cut his haire: *Marie* (saith he) by holding thy peace, and saying never a word. And as *Euripides* upon a time sitting at a banquet, was scene openly of all the companie to embrace and kisse faire *Agathon*, when as now hee was past the prime of his youth, and ready to have a beard: Never marvel at the man (quoth he to his friends about him) for they that be faire, keepe their beaume full, even after autumne and the latter season of the yeere: When *Timotheus* the harper; who hoped that the king would have bestowed a good reward upon him, received farre lesse from him than he expected, and shewing himselfe discontented therewith, sung to his harpe a piece of a dittie, giving in these words:

Silver bred within the earth.

Thou praisest as a thing much worth.

making signe with his head, that he meant the king: He came upon him againe presently in this wise:

And then would it faine that silver have,

I fee full well, and doe it crave.

As he went along the street upon a time, one chanced to dash and cast water upon him; whereupon those that were about him, said: That he should doe very well to punish him that did it: And why? for (quoth he) for hee hath not wet and dashed me with water, but him whom hee tooke me for.

Philip king of *Macedonie*, and father of *Alexander* the great (as *Theophrastus* beareth witness) was the worthiest prince of all the *Maccedonian* kings before him, not onely for majestie and prosperitie of fortune, but also in regard of his good carriage and moderation: hee esteemed to repute the Athenians very happie in this especially, that they could finde the meanes every yeere to chuse tenne brave captaines in their citie; for he in many yeeres could meet but with one, and that was *Parmenon*. When tidings came unto him of many worthy exploits and prosperous, achieved all together in one and the same day, he cried out: O fortune, worke me but some small displeasure, I beseech thee; for these to many and blessed good turnes: After that he had vanquished the Greeks, some gave him counsell to plant strong garrisons in their cities for more suretie, to curbe and bridle them; but he answered: I had rather be called a long time a debonaire and gracious prince, than a little while a soveraigne lord. And when his familiar friends perswaded him to drive out of his court, a lewd and foule-mouth'd fellow, who did nothing but abuse his tongue in flandering and backbiting him: No (quoth he) in any wise. For feare hee goe into many other places, and there raise against me: There was one *Smicethus* who often times accused *Nicanor* unto him (saying, that hee ceased not continually to speake ill of him; inasmuch as some of his familiars were of advice, that he should convent him peremptorily, and chastise him severely according to his defects: What (quoth he) *Nicanor*! why! he is of himselfe one of the best men in all *Macedonie*; looke rather, if there be not some fault in us, that should make him to breake out into these rearmes? and in truth, when the matter was diligently searched into; & namely, from whence this discontentment of *Nicanor* arose, it was found that he was not regarded by him; but suffered to fall into extreame povertie, so as he had not meanes to live and supply his very necessities: whereupon he commanded incontinently, that there should be caried unto him a good gift and present from him: after this, when the said *Smicethus* made report unto the king, that *Nicanor* spake all the good that might be of him, and highly extolled him in every place: Lo (quoth *Philip* then) how it lieth much in our owne power that men speake well or ill of us. He was wont likewise to say, that he tooke himselfe much beholden and bound unto the Athenian orators; for that by whetting their tongues and giving out opprobrious words against him, they were the meanes to make him

a better man both in word and deed: For I straine my selfe (quoth he) and do my best every day as well in my sayings as doings to proove them liars. He dismissed and set at large with out paying of any ransom all the Athenians who had bene taken prisoners in the battell before *Cheronea*; but they required over and above to have their bedding, apparell, and other baggage, and besides made grievous complaints of the *Maccedonians*; which when *Philip* heard, hee tooke up a great laughter and said to those about him: How say you, doth it not seeme in your conceits that the Athenians thinke, they have but lost unto us a game at the Cockall-game? It fortuned that in a certaine battell his cannell bone was broken which knitteth the two shoulders together in the forepart, and is called in the Greeke tongue *maia*, that is, the Key; now when the chirurgian who had him in cure, demanded every day some money for his fees; *Philip* said unto him pleasantly: Take what you will, and be your owne carver; for you have the key in your owne hands and may goe to the money at your pleasure. There were in his court two brethren, one named *Heceeros*, that is, one of the twaine; and the other *Amphoterus*, that is, both twaine; he seeing *Heceeros* to be an industrious, wife and considerat man: and contrariwise *Amphoterus* to be an idle rechelesse foole: I perceive (quoth hee) that *Heceeros* is become *Amphoterus*, that is, being but one, he may goe for two: and *Amphoterus* is proved to be *Ondeteros*, that is, neither one nor other, and indeed goe for nothing. Semblably he used to say: That those who advised him to use the Athenians hardly, & to carrie an heave hand against them, were men of a bad and absurd judgement and of no discretion, thus for to perswade a prince, who did and suffered all for glorie, to destroy the theater of his glorie, such as the citie of *Athenes* was, in regard of the learning therein professed. Sitting upon a time as judge betweene two wicked and naughty persons, he awarded, that the one should flie out of *Macedon*, and the other follow after him in chase as fast as he could runne. He was minded one day to pitch his campe, and lodge in a very faire and pleasant ground, but hearing that there was no forage neere at hand for his beasts, he was forced to remove and dislodge, saying: What a life is this of ours, since we are forced to live according as our very affaires will give us leave, and not otherwise? Being very desirous to force and win a certaine castle, before which he meant to lie in siege, he sent certaine avanturiers to view the place how it was seated: these who were sent, brought word backe unto him, that there was unto it as difficult access as all sides, as possibly there could be none more, inasmuch as they said it was impregnable: then he demanded of them if it were so unaccessible as that a little ass laden with golde might not approach and come unto the walles. *Lasshenes* the Olyethian & those of his crew, who assisted *Philip* in surprising the citie *Olynthus*, complained unto him and said: That there were some of his minions about his person who called them traitours: Be content (quoth *Philip*) you must beare with the *Maccedonians*, for they are men by nature rude, plaine and rustically, they use to call a spade a spade. He was wont to give counsell unto *Alexander* his sonne, that he should speake graciously and courteously unto the *Maccedonians*, to win the good will of the people betimes, and so to make himselfe strong, namely, whiles he might be affable and gracious: That is to say, during the reigne of another: as if he would give him thus much to understand: That when he was once a king, he ought to carrie the gravitie and majestie of a lord, and do justice uprightly. He advised him also to endeavour for to purchase the love and amity of those who were of credit and authoritie in great townes and cities, even the bad as well as the good, that he might afterwards use the one and abuse the other. *Philo* a Theban gentleman had done him many pleasures during the time that he remained as hostage within the citie of *Thebes*; for he was lodged in his house: neither would the said *Philo* ever at any time afterwards receive gifts or presents from him; whereupon *Philip* tooke occasion to say thus unto him: Take not from me this title in my title, of *Invisible*, in suffering my selfe thus to be vanquished and overcome by you, in courtisie and liberallitie. He had in one battell taken a mightie number of prisoners, and was himselfe in person to see them solde in port-sale, sitting in a chaire, with his clothes turned or thrust up higher than was seemely & decent: now one of the prisoners among the rest, when he should be sold cried unto him with a loud voice: Good my lord, I beseech you pardon me, & let me not be sold in any case, for I am friend of yours, & so was I your fathers before you: Why good fellow (quoth *Philip*) whence grew this great friendship between us? and how is it come about? Sir (quoth the prisoner againe) I would gladly tell it you close in your eare: then *Philip* commanded that he should be brought unto him; being come neere unto his person, he spake softly unto him, and rounded him in the eare: Sir, I pray you let downe your mantle a little lower before, for sitting thus as you do, you shew that which were more meet to be unseen: here-

The stande-
rous calumni-
ations of our
enemies,
should serve
to make us
better.

Ill counsell-
ers they are,
to princes de-
vourers of ho-
nor, who per-
suade them to
deniall
& pull downe
the places
where lesse-
ning is pro-
vided.

Gold & fil-
lars they are,
dring forth
otherwhise
unexpugna-
ble.
Traitors
deserve to be
called by their
right names.

* A wife prince will not suffer a small contrivance to be unrewarded.

at *Philp* spake aloud unto his officers: ' Let him goe (quoth he) at libertie, for in truth he is one of our good friends, and wisheth us well, but I wist not so much before, or had forgotten it. A friend and host of his had invited him to his house upon a time to supper, and thither hee went, but by the way he met with divers of his acquaintance, whom he drew with him along to the place, whereto he perceived well that his forelaide host was exceedingly troubled, and could not tell how to doe, because he was not sufficiently provided for to entertaine so many guests: *Philp* (I say) being ware hereof, sent secretly unto every one of them as they sat at the boord, and caused them to be tolde in their eare that they should keepe their stomachs and reserve one corner in it for a dainty tart or marchpaine; who thinking that he meant in good earnest, did so, and looking for the said tart, made spare and did forbear to eat of many other dishes before to them: by which meanes he pleased all parts, and so there was sufficient. When he heard of the death of *Hipparchus* an Eubæan borne, it appeared well that he tooke it heavily; and to one about him, who said that the man had lived long enough, and died in a good time: Yea *marie* (quoth he) in regard of himselfe, but for me he died too soone; for dead he is before he hath received at my hands any condigne recompense for the love which he bare unto me. Being advertized that his sonne *Alexander* was mal-content, and complained of him for having children by many wives, he said unto him: Seeing that you shall have after my death many occurrents and competitors for the kingdom, endeavour you to be a good and honest man every way, to the end that you may attaine to the crowne not so much by me in right of inheritance, as by your selfe for your owne worthinesse. He admonished him to give eare unto *Aristotle*, and to studie Philosophie under him: And why so? Because (quoth hee) you may forbear to doe many things which I have done, and for the which I doe now repent. Hee had bestowed the dignitie of a judge upon one who was recommended unto him by *Anipater*, but after hee had once that hee used to colour or die his beard and haire of his head, hee displaced him, saying: He that will be false unto his owne haire, is not worthe to be trusted in weightie affaires. There was one *Machetas* pleaded his cause before him when he was verie sleepey, in such sort that for default of well conceiving and understanding the matter, hee condemned him wrongfully: whereupon *Machetas* cried aloud; I appeale: *Philp* mooved hereat and taking great indignation, demanded presently of him unto whom he would appeale? even unto your selfe (quoth he) my good Lord, when you are thoroughly awake, and will give better attention unto my cause: *Philp* touched with these words, arose up on his feet, and comming better to himselfe, knew verie well that he had done *Machetas* manifest injurie by giving sentence against him: howbeit, he would not, nor reverse the judgement once passed; *marie* he was content to pay out of his own purse, as much as the costs & damages came to of the suit in which he was cauit. *Harpalus* had a kinsman and friend named *Crates*, attaint and convict of great crimes, who beought King *Philp* that the man might make payment of the fine and penaltie; but in no wise that the fentence of condemnation should be pronounced against him, for avoiding of shame and discredit belonging thereto; but *Philp* answered againe: It were better for himselfe to beare the dishonour for his owne fault and trespass, than that I should runne into obloquie and ill name for him. His familiar friends were highly offended and angrie, that the Peloponnesians who had received so many benefits at his hands, hisled so at him, as they did at their festiviall Olympian games: What would they do then (quoth he) if we should offer to do them any displeasure? Lying in the camp upon a time, he slept one morning longer than his accustomed manner was; and being awakened in the end, he gat up and said: I might sleepe well enough in securitie, so long as *Anipater* is awake. Another time when he slept in the day time, in so much as the Greekes who thronged about his pavilion doores, and gave long attendance, were displeased and complained of him for it; *Parmenio* spake unto them in his behalfe saying: Marvel not my masters if he now take his rest; for many times when you are fast a sleepe, he lieth broad awake. A certain minstrell or musitian had plaied before him on a time as he fate at supper, & the King would seeme to correct him in some points, yea & begin to reason & enter into sad disputation with him about the stroke and true fingering of certaine instruments: Now God forbid (quoth he) o King, that you should come to so low an ebbe and hard fortune, as to be more skilfull in these matters than I am. He was fallen out upon a time with his wife *Olympias*, and his son *Alexander*, during which jarre & difference, *Demetrius* a noble man of *Corinth* came to visite him: and *Philp* asked him in what tearmes the Greekes stood one with another? You do verie well indeed o *Philp* (quoth *Demetrius*) to take care of the union and concord of the Greekes, when those persons which touch you nearest, and whom you ought to hold most deere

can

can agree no better with you. These words of his wrought so with him, that he began to thinke better of the matter, appeased his wrath, and was reconciled unto them. A poore old woman, there was who beought him to heare her cause and bee her judge; and shee importuned him so long, that at length he answered her thort and said: He had no leisure nor could he be while to intend it: whereupon the old woman cried out aloud unto him: Why? then fir be no longer a King; at which speech of hers he being touched to the quicke and astonied; gave eare not only to her, but to other suiters also at their first comming.

Alexander [the Great] being yet a child, was nothing well pleased and glad, when he heard the report that went of his father how he wooed and conquered all, wherefore he came: but said unto those noble mens children who were his play-fere and brought up with him, My father I see well will leave me nothing to do, nor to winne: What need you care for that? said they againe, considering that it is for you that he maketh these conquests: What will it do me good (quoth he) to have much, and do nothing for it? He was wonderfully nimble and deliver of bodie, but in footmanhip especially he excelled; in so much as his father was in hand with him one time to runne a course in the race, for the prize in the Olympick games, I could be verie well content and willing (quoth *Alexander*) so to do, in case I might have Kings to be my concurrents, and to run with me. One evening when it was verie late, there was brought unto him a young wench for to be his bedfellow: & when he demanded of her the cause why she came so late? she answered, that shee tarried untill her husband was in bed: whereupon he chid and rebuked the pages & groomes of his chamber saying: I went within a verie little of committing adultery, and all by your meanes. When he sacrificed on a time to the gods, hee spared for no sweet perfumes & odors, but would run oftentimes to the frankensence, & take whole handfulls thereof to cast into the fire; which his governour and schoole-master *Leonides* being present, marked well enough and reprooved him for it, saying: When you have conquered that province which yeeldeth this incense, then you may burne as much as you will of it. And therefore afterwards when he had made conquest of *Arabia*, he wrote unto *Anipater* a letter to this effect: I send unto you 500. quintals or talents weight of frankensence and of casia: to the end that you may no more hereafter be a niggard in offering sweete odors unto the gods: for I do you understand that now we are Lords of that province which bringeth forth these aromaticall spices. The day before that he fought the famous field before *Granicum*, he willed the Macedonians to make good cheere and bee merrie at supper over-night; yea and to spend all the provision of victuals which they had; for that the next morrow they should fight at their enemies charges. One named *Perrillus* a friend of his, asked money of him for to give with his daughters in marriage: and he caused to be delivered unto him fiftie talents; but the other said that ten only would content him; whereupon *Alexander* replied againe & said: If so much be enough for thee to receive, yet it is not enough for me to give. He commanded likewise his treasurers to give unto *Anaxarchus* the philosopher whatsoever he demanded: his treasurers brought him word that he craved an excessive summe, to wit, 100. talents; unto whom he answered thus: The man doth verie well, knowing as he doth that he hath such a friend of me, as both can and will bestow so much upon him. In the citie of *Mileus* he beheld many goodly great statues of worthe champions, who in old time had woen their prizes at the solemne games, as well Olympick as Pythicke. But where were these stout champions (quoth hee) to the Mileians when the Barbarians besieged, assaulted and woen your citie? The Queene of *Caris*, named *Ada*, was evermore sending unto him manie dainty eates, and exquisite marchpanes & junksers curiously wrought by most excellent cooks, confectioners, & workmen in pastry, which the did of a brave mind, & to shew her magnificence: But *Alexander* sent word againe unto hir, that he had far better cooks & paste-makers more singular then shee had any, to wit, for to dress his dinner, early rising in a morning, & travelling in the night before day light, & to prepare his supper, a spare dinner. When his army stood arranged & ready to give *Darius* battel, his captaine came unto him to know his pleasure, and what he had else to command them? Nothing (quoth he) but to shave the Macedonians beards; and when *Parmenio* among the rest marvelled at this commandment, Why? (quoth *Alexander*) knowest not thou that in the conflict and medley, there is no better hold than by the beard to catch an enemy fast. When *Darius* made offer unto him of ten thousand talents, and besides to part all *Asia* equally with him, in so much as *Parmenio* said: Sir I would accept of this offer if I were *Alexander*: And so would I too (quoth *Alexander*) if I were *Parmenio*; but unto *Darius* hee made this answer: That neither the earth could abide two such sinners, nor *Asia* endure two kings: when he was at the verie point to strike that last battel with him,

Mm 2

him,

* Princes ought to do justice as well to poore as to the rich.

* A great hore & high minde will not be hidden.

* Rare cominency in princes.

* If that is able may be liberall as it pleaseth him.

* Great perfonages are not to be fierce in small matters.

* Lordship loves not fellowship. Am. 1

him, which was to trie the fortune of the maine chance, & which was to trie the issue, and decide all, nere unto the village *Arbels*, and to fight against the Persians, being ten hundred thousand men strong, and well armed, there came unto him certeine of his minions with tales and accusations of his fouldiours; for that they were heard in their tents to whisper and conspire together, yea, and to give out, that they would bring no part of the pillage into the kings pavillion, but keepe all for themselves: *Alexander* heereat laughed a good and said unto them: I heare of no harme; these are verie good tidings that you report unto me; for surely they be the speeches of resolute men, who are determined to win the day, and not to runne away. Many of the fouldiours themselves resorted unto him and said: Sir be of good cheere and feare not the exceeding number of our enemies, for they will never be able to abide so much as the sent or taking smell of our arme-pits. But as he was setting his armie in order of battel, he perceived one fouldiour above the rest busie in mending the loup of his jaeulin or dart, by which he was to sling it from him; him he castied presently and chafed from among the other bands, as being a naughtie fouldiour, and not worthy to have place in any companie, who would be frobishing and trimming his weapons at the very instant when there was more need to use them. One time as he was reading certeine letters missive from his mother *Olympias*, containing divers fecretes, and namely many imputations wherewith she charged *Antipater* & *Hephastian* his familiar friend drew neer and joined with him to reade the said letters, as his accustomed manner was to doe; *Alexander* debarred him not: but after that *Hephastian* had perused the letter and read it out to the very end: he tooke the signet from his owne finger and set it close to his lips. Being in the temple of god *Humman*, he was entituled and tiled by the high priest of that place, *Jupiter* sonne: whereto he answered: This is no marvell nor strange thing, for *Jupiter* by nature is the father of all, but he adopteth and avoweth those particularly for his sonnes indeed, who are the best and most valiant men. In a certeine skirmish he chanced to be shot into the legge with an arrow, and no sooner was he hurt, but there came quickly running and flocking about him a number of those who in flatterie were wont to call him Go!: unto whom with a smiling countenance he said as he shewed unto them his wound bleeding; Behold this is very bloud indeed, as yee may plainly see,

And not that humour, say all what you will,
Which from the gods most blessed doth distill.

When some there were who much praised unto him the plainenesse and homely simplicitie of *Antipater*, saying that he lived an austere and hard life, without all superfluities and delicious pleasures whatsoever: Well (quoth he) *Antipater* weares in outward shew his apparell with a plaine white wel or guard, but he is within all purple (I warrant you) and as red as scarlet. A certeine friend of his feasted him upon a time at his house in the mids of winter, when the weather was extreame cold, and brought into the dining roome a little fire pan, with a small deale of fire (god wot) in it, which when *Alexander* saw: Either bring (quoth he) good store of wood, or els some frankincense. *Antipatrides* caused to be brought into the place where he was feasted a proper faire young wench who could both plaie and sing exceeding well, inasmuch as *Alexander* at the first sight, seemed to cast a fancie and affection toward her, but before he set his minde fully upon her, he asked *Antipatrides* whether he was not himselfe in love with her, and when he confessed that he was: Thou cursed vilaine that thou art (quoth he) away with her, and that quickly out of my sight I advise thee. Another time *Cassander* forced him even against his will to kisse a young baggage or Calamite named *Pythion*, upon whom *Ennus* the excellent musician was enamoured; and *Alexander* perceiving that *Ennus* was offended thereat, rose up in great anger, and flew upon *Cassander*, crying out and saying, what: Shall none love where they list for us and our pride. As he discharged his campe of those who were sicke, impotent, and maimed, and sent them backe to the sea for to be conveyed & conducted home to their owne houses, word came unto him that one named *Antigenes* caused himselfe to be written in the bill or roule of the diseased and impotent persons, whereas he was neither the one, nor the other; whereupon he sent for the said *Antigenes* to come before him; the fouldiour was no sooner charged herewith, but he confessed at the first that he feigned himselfe sicke, and was not, which he did by reason of the love that he bare unto a young woman named *Telipappa*, who was about to returne toward the sea-side: then *Alexander* demanded of him, to whom he would have him to speake, for to cause her to staie behind; but when he heard that the was no mans slave, but a woman of free condition: Why then (quoth he unto him) let us assay by all good and gentle meanes to winne her, that she may be content to tarie with us this, for to deteine perforce

* A wife chaste
will beate
with his follo-
wers, so they be
resolute.

* Hee that
thinks not of
his dutie, but
at the verie
punishement
of necessity, is
worthy to be
reproved.

* Secretive
is commend-
able in free
minde.

* Infirmities
of the body
beware that
men are mor-
tall.

* A man is not
to be judged
by his exteri-
our habit and
shew.

* The rare
commence of
Alexander, a
mighty inno-
uence.

* This action
of *Cassander*
discovereth
the uncharit-
ableness of the
Greekes in
those dates.

* A comman-
der ought to
beare out his
followers no
further than in
honest and
just causes.

force a free borne woman, I will never yeeld nor gradu. After a battel which hee had woon against king *Darius*, when divers Greeks were come into his hands and his prisoners, who had served his enemy and received pay; as many as were Athenians he commaunded to be kept in irons, for that having good meanes to live and be maintained in the state wherein they lived, yet they would needs take wages of Barbarians; the Theffalians likewise hee so served, because they having a rich soile and fertile countrey of their owne, would not stay at home to till and husband it, but chuse rather to serve a barbarous nation; but as for the *Thebans* he commaunded that they should be set free, and have libertie to go whither they would, and why? because (quoth he) we have left them neither citie to inhabit, nor ground to occupie and labour in.

Having taken prisoner a certeine Indian, who had the name of an excellent archer, and was no lesse indeed, for that he would never faile but shoot an arrow within the compasse of a little hoope or small ring, he commaunded him to shoot in his presence, that he might see a proofe of his skill; the Indian refused so to doe; wherewith *Alexander* in great indignation gave order presently, that he should be put to death: but as he was going to execution, he said unto those who had the leading of him: That he had not for many daies past practised nor exercised his hand, and in that regard he was afraid that he should faile, and therefore denied to shoot: which when the king understood, he wondered at the man, charged expressly that he should be let go, yea, and sent unto him a reward, for that he had shewed herein his magnanimitie, and chose rather to suffer death, than to be disgraced and found unworthy of the fame that went of him. *Taxiles*, one of the Indian kings, met *Alexander* upon the way as hee marched, and praised him that they might not warre one against another: But let us grow (quoth he) to this composition: If I should be your inferior unto mee, receive favours and good turnes at my hand; but if you be greater than my selfe, I will take the like of you. To this motion of his, *Alexander* made answere thus: Be it so (quoth he); yet we must fight first, even about this point, to know whether of us be the superiour, and able to doe more good to the other: Being advertised of a certeine fort situate upon a rocke in *India*, called *Arne*, and namely, that it was impregnable in itselfe, howbeit, the captaine who had the keeping of it, was but a coward: Why then (quoth he) the place is easie to be woon. Another who held a castle which was likewise thought inexpugnable, rendered up the same unto him, and yeilded both his owne person and the peece also into his hands. Then presented

Alexander put him againe into that fort, and willed him to holde it as hee did before: hee laied unto it also more lands, which he bestowed likewise freely upon him, saying withall: This man hath done well and wisely, to repose more trust in the vertue of a prince, than in a place of strength. After the winning of the strong holde *Arne* aforesaid, one of his flattering favourites and minions came unto him, saying, that hee had surmounted *Hercules* in glorious deeds: unto whom he answered: You may say your pleasure, and so forth; but for mine owne part, I doe not esteeme all mine acts with my whole empire and dominion, to be compared unto one word or saying of *Hercules*. Having intelligence that some of his familiar friends used to play at dice not moderately for sport and pastime, but excessively, even to the utter undoing of themselves; hee set a good round fine upon their heads. Of all those that came about him and neerest unto his person, he honoured *Craterus* most, but he affected *Hephastian* best: For *Craterus* (quoth he) loveth the king, and *Hephastian* loveth *Alexander*; meaning that *Craterus* a wife and valiant man, loved the greatnesse of his lord and master, but *Hephastian*, a good and kinde companion, embraced rather the person of his prince. He sent upon a time fittie talents as a gift unto the Philosopher *Xenocrates*, who refused the same, and would take nothing at all; saying: That hee had no need thereof. This was reported unto *Alexander*, who demanded againe: What had *Xenocrates* never a friend to bestow that money upon, if he stood himselfe in no need thereof? I assure you, for mine owne part, all the chievance and revenues of king *Darius* hardly served my turne for to deale among my friends. *Porus*, one of the kings of *India*, was taken prisoner by him in a battel; and afterwards *Alexander* came unto him, and said: How would you have me to entreat you? Mary (quoth *Porus*) roially: and being asked the second time: If he would nothing els: No (quoth he) for in this one word, Roially, is comprised all. *Alexander* admiring at the wit as the valour of the man, not onely gave unto him his kingdome againe, but also adjoined thereto more lands and territories. Word was brought unto him one day, that there was a certeine fellow at a feast, who did nothing els but miscall and revile him; he made answere againe: That it was a roiall and kindly act, patiently to suffer blame for well doing. When he lay at the point of death, looking upon his familiar friends about him, he said: I fee well that my Epitaph and funerals will be very great; meaning, the troubles that would ensue upon the death

* Mercenarie
fouldiours
king pay in the
warres where-
in they have
nothing to do,
are to be
hardly in-
treated.

* Honour is
more deere
than life, to
men of hu-
manitie; &
such thought
to be of good
princes.

* A strong
shoulder by
a coward, is
pregnable.

of lo mighty a prince. After he was departed this life, *Demades* an oratour of *Athens* seeing the armie of the Macedonians left without an head that should rule and command it, said: That in his conceit it resembled the giant *Polyphemus* or *Cyclops*, after that *Ulysses* had put out that only eye which he had.

PTOLEMEUS the sonne of *Lagus* [king of *Aegypt*] both supped and also tooke his bed for the most part in his friends houses; and if at any time he had them to supper, he used their furniture: for he would send unto them to borrow their vessel, their boords, carpets and table-clothes, for that he had never about him any more than was sufficient for the service of his owne person: and he was wont to say: That to enrich others, seemed more regall than to enrich himselfe.

The succours
of Alexander.

An example
of martiall
justice.

Against cu-
riosity.

The neces-
sity of fine
to be re-
mou-
ved.

Hee that
meareth ill,
hatcheth
the
light.

ANTIGONUS levied great summes of money of his subjects, and exacted the same with no less rigour; by occasion whereof, one said unto him: King *Alexander* the great never did so by us: And no marvell (quoth he againe) for he had the reaping of *Asia*, whereas I doe but come after & glean, or rather rake the stubble. He espied upon a time within his campe certain common fouldiours playing at the ball and bowling, having their coslers on their backs, and their morions upon their heads, he tooke a great pleasure therein, and called for their captaines, intending for to praise them for it: but when he understood that they were in a tipling-house or taverna drinking, he cashiered them and discharged them of their companies, giving their places unto the foresaid fouldiours. Being grown aged, he began to shew himselfe more mild and gracious to every one, than he was wont to be, yea, and carried himselfe with greater courtesie and humanitie in all matters, whereof all men wondered, and desired to know the cause; unto whom he answered thus: Heretofore (quoth he) I fought to make my selfe great, and had need of might and puissance; but now that I have attained thereto, I stand more in need of glorie and benevolence. A sonne of his, named *Philip*, asked of him one day in the presence and hearing of many: When shall we breake up the campe and dilodge? unto whom he answered: Why? art thou afraid that thou alone shalt not heare the trumpet found the removee? The selfe same sonne had (being a very youthfull gentleman) one time procured, that hee should have his lodging within an ancient widows house, who had three faire maidens to her daughters: the king his father being told thereof, sent for the marshall or chiefe harbenger for providing of lodgings, and said unto him: Will you not remove my sonne out of that straight lodging? He lay sicke a long time of a lingering discaise; and afterwards, when he was recovered, and well againe: We have gotten no harme (quoth he) by this long sickness, for this hath taught me not to be proud, by putting me in mind that I am but mortall, *Hermodotus* the poet in certaine poems which he wrote called him the sonne of the Sunne: but he to checke that speech of his: He that useth (quoth he) to emptie my clothe stooles, knoweth as well as I that it is nothing so. There was one who in his presence said: That all things were honest and just with kings; True indeed (quoth he) it is so with kings of barbarous nations, but unto us, that is onely honest and just, which is so by nature and in it selfe. *Marcius* his brother had a cause or controvercie that came before him, and he desired instantly that it might be pleaded, debated, and judged privately within his house: Nay mary (quoth he) but it shall be heard and tried in the open face of the court, and in the sight of the whole world, if we meane to doe no man wrong. He was once in winter time driven to encampe in a place destitute of all commodities necessarie for the life of man; by occasion whereof, certaine fouldiours not knowing that he was so nigh unto them, spake very badly of him, and reviled him; but he opening the cloth or curtaine of his pavilion with his walking staffe: If you goe not farther off (quoth he) to raile upon me, I will make you to repent it. It was supposed that *Aristodemus* one of his familiars, was the sonne of a Cooke or Clarke of a kitchen, in regard whereof, when he dealt with thieking to cut off some expences of his ordinarie, and not to be so free of gift: Thy words (quoth he) *Aristodemus* smell strongly of a cooks apron. The Athenians had enfranchized and endued with the Bourgeoisie of their citie a slave of his, supposing him to be a free man, and all to doe him honour; but he said unto them: I would not that any one Athenian should be scourged by me. A certaine young man there was, one of *Anaximenus* the Rhetoricians scholars, who pronounced by heart before him an oration composed long before with great premeditation; after he had made an end, the king asked him a question, as being desirous to learne somewhat of him; the young man who knew not what answer to make, stood still and had not a word to say, whereupon the king: What failest thou (quoth he) is there nothing in thee, but all in those writing tables there? Another Rhetorician like unto the same, made an oration

oration before him, and when he came to these words: The snowy spring hath caused the grasse in the fields to be very short: he could no longer hold but brake off his speech and say: What sirra can you make no end, but speake unto me as you would doe to the ignorant multitude? *Thrasylus* the Cynick Philosopher craved one day that he would give him a fingle drachme: A drachme (quoth) *Antigonus* that is not a gift for asking to give: Why then (quoth the Philosopher) bestow upon me a whole talent of silver: Neither is that (quoth the king) a reward for a dogge or Cynick to receive. When he sent *Demetrius* his sonne into *Greece* with a puissant armada, and a great power of men for to deliver the Greeks from servitude, he made a reason thereof and said: That his glorie would from *Greece* shine out into all continents and habitable parts of the earth, no lesse than a burning light from some high watch-tower. The Poet *Antagoras* being in his campe upon a time, was feeding of a conger, and himselfe with his owne hand stirred the kettle or pan wherein it boiled; *Antigonus* behinde his backe, seeing him so to doe: What *Antigonus* dost thou thinke that *Homer* thy master when he described the noble acts of king *Agamemnon*, was amused upon feeding a conger? *Antagoras* returned this upon him againe, saying: And thinke you fir that king *Agamemnon* when he achieved those worthy exploits which *Homer* did describe, "busied himselfe thus, and went up and downe his campe peering and spying whether any one were feeding of a conger?" He dreamt one night that he saw *Astibridates* reaping come that bare golden eares, whereupon he resolved to put the said *Astibridates* to death; but he did communicate this desseigne of his unto *Demetrius* his sonne, forcing him to sweare that he would keepe counsell and say nothing: howbeit *Demetrius* drawing *Astibridates* apart, and training him along the sea side with him, as hee walked upon the shore wrote with the end of his javelin within the sand these words: *Ete Astibridates. Mubri dures* conceiving presently what his meaning was, fled incontinently over sea, into the realme of *Pontus*, where afterwards hee signified all the daies of his life.

DEMETRIUS whilst hee laid siege unto the citie of *Rhodes*, found in one of the villages or suburbs neere that citie, the table of the famous painter *Protogenes*, wherein he painted *Lalylus*. The Rhodians sent unto him an herald of armes, & befought him to spare that excellent picture, & not to deface it: who returned this answer unto them: That he would sooner destroy the portraits & images of his own father, than that picture. After hee had copounded with the Rhodians & was grown to agreement, he left behind him unto them that mightie fabrick of batterie called *Helepolis*, that is as much to say, as an engin to force cities, which he did, to testifie unto posteritie the grandence of his works, & the valour of his courage. When the Athenians rebelled against him, hee woon by assault their city, which before was much distressed for default of corne: but being master of the towne, he caused immediately the whole bodie of the citie to be assembled before him, unto whom he declared that he bestowed upon them freely and in gift a great quantitie of graine: but in this speech of his unto the people, he chaunced to commit an incongruities in grammar; then presently one of the citizens who was fer there by to heare him, rose up with an audible & loud voice, pronounced that word aright, which he should have don: For the correction of this one solecisme (quoth he then) I give unto you over and above my former gift, 5000. medimnes more of corne.

ANTIGONUS, the second of that name, when *Demetrius* his father being taken prisoner, had sent him word by one of his trusty and familiar friends, that whatsoever he wrote unto him, he should take no heed thereof, and neither give credit thereto, nor doe any thing that was contained in his letters, if haply he should be forced to it by *Seleucus* who held him prisoner, and in no wise to render any cities which he then was seized of, into his hands, any thing in his letters to the contrary notwithstanding; but hee contrariwise wrote unto *Seleucus* to this effect: That he would yeeld unto him all the lords under his obseivance, yea, and deliver his owne person as hostage for securitie, upon condition that he would dismiss his father in safetie. At the verie point when he was ready to give battel at sea, unto the lieutenants and captaines of *Ptolemaeus*, the pilot of his owne gally came unto him and said: That their enemies had a greater number of ships by farre then they: But being heere in proper person (quoth he) * as I am, for how many ships doest thou reckon me. As he retired upon a time before his enemies who advanced forward to charge upon him, he said: That he fled not, but pursued and followed after the utilitie and vantage which was behinde him. When a certaine young man who had to his father a valiant warrior, but otherwise himselfe was taken for no great good soldiour, made care next sute and befought him that he might have his fathers pay: Know you (quoth he) good young man, that my manner is to give wages and liberrall gifts to such as are themselves valiant, and

* Needlesse
to trouble
himselfe
in trifling mat-
ters becom-
meth not a
prince.
* Great po-
tentates can
not abide to
much as to
dresse of a
ny equall un-
to them.

* Notable pi-
etie and kin-
dnesse of a
sonne to his
father.

* The pre-
sence of a
wise captain
availeth more
than a num-
ber of sol-
diours.

* Verue enobles a man and not parricide.

* The death of learned men is a great losse to princes.

* One pleasure hath a traine of many sorowes.

* The secrets of princes ought not to be searched into.

* Occasions of euill are to be avoided.

* A kinde of haue.

* Variance becometh brechures ought not to amitt the law of nature.

* Extraordinarie amitie of brethren.

and not to those who are but the fomes of valiant men. When *Zeno* the *Citician*, whom of all other philosophers he esteemed best, was departed this life; he said: That the theater of his noble acts was taken away, as the onely man whom for his owne glories sake he desired to be the spectator and approver of his deeds above any other.

LYSIMACHUS being surprized in the countrey of *Thracia* by king *Dromichetes*, within a certeine straight, where for very extreme thirst he was driven to yeeld himselfe and all his armie to the mercy of his enemie; after he had drunke, being now a prisoner: *o God* (quoth he) for how little pleasure am I become a slave, who ere-whiles was a king? As he devised and talked upon a time with *Philippides* the comicall poet, a friend and familiar of his, he said unto him: What wouldst thou haue me to impart unto thee of all that mine is? Even what it shall please you sir, (answered the poet,) for it be none of your secrets.

ANTIPATER having heard the newes of *Parmenio*, how *Alexander* the king had put him to death, woondered thereat and said: If *Parmenio* laide wait to take away the life of *Alexander*, whom may a prince trust? if not, what should a man doe? Of *Demades* the oratour being now grown in yecres, he was wont to say: That he was like unto a sacrifice burnt and consumed upon the altar; for that he had nothing left but the belly and the tooing.

ANTIGONUS the third, wrote unto all the cities and states under his obseiance to this effect: That if peradventure he should command them by his letters to doe any thing contrary to the lawes, they should not obey his commandment; but take such letters dispatched, as if he wrote he wist not what, or felt without his privitie and knowledge. Seeing one day a religious votary or priestesse of *Diana*, exceeding faire and beautifull, he presently dislodged and departed from *Ephesus* for feare lest he might be overtaken with wanton love, and so forced to commit against his will some unlawfull and ungodly act.

ANTIOCHUS furnished *Hierax*, that is, a Sacre, warred upon his brother *Selenus*, even for the title of the crowne, and to trie who should be king; and yet after that *Selenus* was vanquished in a battell by the Galatians, and supposed to be himselfe hewed in peeces in the heat of execution, (for that he was not to be found nor scene): *Antiochus* laid off his roial robes of purple, and put on blacke: but within a while after when tidings came that his brother was alive and safe, he sacrificed unto the gods in token of thanksgiving for this good tidings; and commanded all the cities under his dominion to keepe holiday, and wear chaplets of flowers upon their headst for joy.

EUMENES hapned to be entrapped in an ambush which king *Perseus* had laid for him, whereupon there ran a rumor incontinently, that he was dead; in such sort, that upon the newes thereof, being reported in the citie of *Pargamus*, *Artalus* his brother forthwith tooke the roiall frontall called a diademe, and did it about his owne head, yea and more than so, espoused his brothers wife, and reigned as king in his stead: but not long after, having more certeine intelligence that *Eumenes* was living in safetie, and upon his returne home, he went forth to meet him upon the way, with other of the squires & guard of the kings bodie, bearing himselfe a partizan or javelin in his hand, as he was wont to doe before: and *Eumenes* for his part saluted and embraced him very amiable, howbeit rounding him in his care and saying thus:

*Make haste no more my wife to wed,
Before you know that I am dead.*

and never after unto his dying day, either did or said ought unto him that might argue suspicion of distrust; but when he died he recommended unto his said brother both his wife and also the kingdom. And he againe for his part in recompence of that kindeffe, would never nourish and bring up any of his owne children for to inherit the kingdom, although hee had many by her, but during his life made over the realme unto his brother *Eumenes* sonne, so soone as he was come to full age and able to governe.

PYRRHUS king of the *Epirotes*, had many sons; who being yet very children, asked of their father upon a time, unto which of them he would leave the crowne after his deccesse: Mary unto 50 him (quoth he) who shall have the sharpest sword. He was daunted the question one daie, which was in his opinion the better ministrall of the twaine to plaie upon the flure, *Pytho* or *Cephalus*? *Pytho* (quoth he) the general is the best captain. Having defeated the Romans in two battels, but with great losse of his best leaders and most trustie friends and servants. One such another victorie over the Romaines as these were (quoth he) will undoo us for ever. When he tooke sea and was embarked for to depart out of *Sicilie*, because he was past hope ever to win and keepe it, he turned backe to his friends behind and said: Oh what a goodly wrestling place have

* A man is to judge of that wherein he hath skill.

* A decree victory which collecteth the life of the best soldiers.

have wee left for the Romaines and the Carthaginians, to skuffe in and cope together! His soldiers furnished him the Aegle, unto whom he would say: And why not! considering that your armes and weapons are the verie flight wings, and by which I mount up toward heaven? Being let to understand that certaine yong men as they fate drinking together at a table, gave out vile and opprobrious speeches against him, hee commanded them all to bee converted: before him the next morrow: when they were all come into his presence, hee demanded of the foremost of them, whether it was true that they had such unseemly talke of him, or no? True it is my liege Lord (quoth he) but we had said a great deale more than we did, if the wine would have held out longer.

ANTIOCHUS [the Great] he who made two expeditions against the Parthians, having in a certaine chase or pursuit after his game as he was a hunting, engaged himselfe so farre in the wild Forrest that he had lost himselfe, and the companie of all his friends and servants, was driven to take up his lodging for one night in a cottage of a certaine poore peasant, unto whom he was altogether unknown: whereas he fate at supper he mooved some talke as touching the king, to know what was the common voice and opinion of the people concerning him: and they gave out: That the King was held to be a good prince in many respects, onely in this hee came short of his kingly duties, that he would not himselfe in person take paines to manage the affaires of State, but referre most matters to his minions and courtiers who were men of no worth, and so passed them over in great negligence; so much given he was unto his hunting.

To these reports he answered not a word for the present; but the next morrow by breake of day, when his guard and pensioners were come to this cottage where he had beene lodged; hee discovered himselfe and would be known, by putting on his royall habit of purple, and setting the regall frontall or diademe to his head; and then he used this speech unto them: From the verie first day that I entertained you into my service, I never heard untill yesternight so much as one true word and report that went of me. During the time that he lay in siege before the citie of *Hierusalem*, the Jewes requested a truce and forsaie for armes for a sevennight space, that they might without trouble solemnise their great feast: which he not only granted, but also provided a great number of buls with guilt heifers, and a mightie quantitie of sweet odors and aromatically spices for incense, the which he conducted himselfe in person with a goodly pompe and procession to the verie gate of the citie, and delivered them for a sacrifice into the hands of their priests, and returned againe unto his campe. The Jewes wondering at his bountie,

presently after the said feast was ended, yielded themselves to his devotion.

THEMISTOCLES in his youthfull daies did nothing but follow drunkenesse and whooredome; but after that *Miltiades* the captain General of the Athenians had vanquished the Barbarians upon the plaine of *Marathon*, he was never known to commit any riot or disorder. And when some marvelled to see in him so great a change he said: That the Triophee or monument of *Miltiades* his victorie, would not give him leave to sleepe or take repose. The question was put unto him upon a time, whether he would choose rather to be *Achilles* or *Homer*? Tell me first (quoth he) unto the partie that mooved the question, whether thy selfe hadst leiser be the champion who won the prize in the Olympicke games, or the crier who with sound of trumpet proclaimeth the victors? When King *Xerxes* arrived in Greece, with so puissant an armada: *Themistocles* fearing lest *Epidides* the orator, who was in great account with the people for his eloquence, but otherwise a coward in the field, and noted for avarice, should so farre prevail as by their voices to be chosen general in this warre for *Athens*, and so hazard the losse of the citie and State: he so wrought with money, that hee was put besides that honor and had the repulse. *Adimantus* the general of the Athenian armie, had not the heart to joine battell at sea; and *Themistocles* did what he could to moove the Greeks thereunto, inasmuch as the other said unto him in open counsell: *o Themistocles*, they who arise before their turne, commeth to enter into combat in the publicke games, are evermore wont to be whipped for it: True (quoth *Themistocles*) and even so, they that tarric last and lagge behind, are never crowned. *Eurybiades* there lift up the balton or staffe that he had in his hand, offering to strike him: Strike hardly *Eurybiades* (quoth he) if thou wilt, so thou heare me. But when he could not perswade *Eurybiades* the General to give battell within the chanell or straights of *Salamis*; he sent secretly and under hand unto the king of the Barbarians, exhorting him in any wise not to be afraid of the Greeks, nor to let them escape, for that they were minded to flee: unto which intelligence of his, the king giving care, bad them battell, in which he had the overthrow, for that he fought in a long and narrow arme of the sea, which was greatly for the Greeks advantage:

* Valiant men lift up their princes aloft.

* Wine is a dangerous counsellor.

* Princes herein be more unfortunate than others.

* Libertie, and kindeffe offendeth avaritich more than fine force Athenian.

* Of what power emulation is.

* To do well is better than to say well.

* Spare for no cost to preserve thy country.

* All meanes are to be attempted of the country.

advantage whereupon he sent a courier again unto the king, and willed him to flie in all haste to the straights of *Hellefont*, for that the Greekes were fully minded to breake the bridge which he had made for passage over that arme of the sea. Thus in saving the Greekes he made semblat that he did all for his safety. An inhabitant of the little isle *Seriphos* said upon a time unto him by way of scorne and reproch, that he was so famous, not for himselfe, but in regard of the cite of *Athenes*, whereof he was a citizen: Thou faiest even true indeed (quoth) *Themistocles* to him; for neither I list were a Seriphian, nor thou if thou wert an Athenian could ever be renowned. *Antiphates* that faire boy, at the first disdaind and avoided *Themistocles*, being enamoured upon him; but afterwards when he perceived that he grew to great credit and reputation, he came to seeke him out, he flattered and fawned upon him; unto whom *Themistocles* said: 9 My good youth, we have now more wit and are become wiser both of us I trow, although it be late first, *Simonides* the poet requested him to give judgement of his fide in an unlawfull & unjust cause; unto whom he made this answer: Neither were you *Simonides* a good poet or musician; in case you sing against the rules of Measures: nor I a good magistrate if I should judge against the lawes. He was wont to say unto a sonne that he had, who could make his mother doe what him list, and whom she made a wanton; that hee was the mightiest person of all the Greekes: For why? (quoth he) the Athenians command all *Greece* besides; I command the Athenians; thy mother me; and thou thy mother. Two sisters there were who wooed his daughter by way of marriage, and made means unto him for his good will; but hee preferred the more honest man before the richer; for he said: Give me a man that wanteth goods, rather then goods that want a man. He was to sell a piece of land that he had, and gave order to the crier who proclaimed the sale, to put in this and crye: That it had besides good neighbours nere unto it. When the Athenians being full of him, tooke pleasure to raise flanders and contumelious reproches of him, he said unto them: Why are you weary of receiving so many good turnes and services of the same persons. He was wont to say unto them: That he was like unto these great and broad plane-trees, under the boughes whereof men are wont to runne and shroud themselves, when they are overtaken with a shewe of raine or a tempest; but if the weather be faire, they use to crop and fling the branches thereof, yea and revile it. He said unto the Eretrians in mockage, that they resembled the sword-fishes; for howsoever they had blades and weapons enough; yet hearts they had none. Being banished out of *Athenes* first, and afterwards out of all *Greece*; he retired himselfe to the great king of *Persia*, where having audience given him to speak, he said: That a mans speech might verie well be likened unto clothes of tapestrie, wrought with imagerie and storie-wooke, for both the one and the other if they be displaid and unfolded at length, discover plainly and openly the figures drawn within; but if they be folded or rolled up, all the portraictures be hidden, and to no purpose: he requested therefore the tearme of a certaine time, in which space hee might learne the *Persian* language, to the end that from thence forward he might be able to declare and deliver his owne minde unto the king by himselfe; & not by a truch-man or interpreter. The king most honorably had bestowed upon him many rich presents; whereupon he quickly became exceeding welthy, in so much as he would say unto his servitors about him: 10 My sonnes, we had been utterly undone for ever, if we had not bene undone.

MYRONIDES a captaine generall of the Atienians, put himselfe into the field, purposing to make warre upon the *Barotians*, having given commendement to those of *Athenes* for to follow him with their armies: but at the very point when they were ready to joine battell, certaine Centinels came and brought him word that their men were not yett all come: Tuth (quoth he) all those that are minded to fight are come already, and so leading those onely who were forward and resolute to serve, he encountered his enemies and woon the honor of the day.

ARISTIDES surnamed the *Just*, came to bear office & alwaies managed the affaires of policy and State by himselfe, who of set purpose avoided all banding, siding, & parts-taking of friends, as being of opinion that authority & credit gotten so, by the juggling practises and packing of friends, did incite and move men in place of government to many bad courses and unjust proceedings. When the Athenians were assembled together in the generall counsell, and hotly set to proceed unto that banishment which they called *Ostracisme*: there was a certaine rude and rustick peasant, one that knew never a letter of the booke, and could neither write nor reade, came with a shell in his hand (as the manner was) unto *Aristides*, and desired him to write within it the name of *Aristides*: Why (quoth he) knowest thou *Aristides*? Nay in good feath (quoth the clownish fo, I ken him not, but ich am greeved to heare him called *Just*: *Aristides* answered

* Better late than never to learne wisdom.

* A good neighbour is a great treasure.

* An ill will doeth that bloweth nothing to good. And adversitie turneth to the good of foine.

* He that entrencheth into publicke government by unlawfull and indirect means is like to do more hurt than good.

answered him never a word, but wrote his owne name within the shell, and gave it him againe. Being an enemy unto *Themistocles*, and sent by the State together with him in embassage under one commission: when they were gone as farre on their way, as to the uttermost confines of *Attica*: Now (quoth he) to *Themistocles*, are you content that even hereupon the verie limits of our country we lay downe and leave all our enmitie; * and when we have performed our embassage and returned hither, we will take it up againe, if you thinke so good? After he had set downe a certaine taxe to be levied out of all *Greece*, and imposed upon everie cite what they should pay he * returned home poorer than he went, by how much the charges came to by the way in his journey. *Aeschylus* the poet had before time written these verses in a certaine Tragicall as touching *Amphiarus*:

He seeketh not to seeme the verie best,
But for to be the best in word and deed,
He sowed hath within his woorth by best
In furrow deepe all good and vertuous seed,
Which yeeld both lease and fruit in season due,
I meane sage counsell joined with honor true.

which wen they were rehearsed and pronounced in the open theater, all the assistance and audience, cast their eyes upon *Aristides*.

PERICLES whensoever he was chosen captaine generall, so often as he put on his rich coat of armes, was wont to say unto himselfe: *Pericles* take heed and looke well about thee; thou goest forth now to command men of free condition, and those Greekes; yea, and that which is more, Atheniens. A friend of his requested him, for his sake to beare false witness, where he was to bind the same alle with an oath: You shall pardon me (quoth *Pericles*) I am your friend indeed; but so far onely as the Altar that is to say, saving my conscience, and that I doe not offend the gods. He perswaded the Atheniens to take away the isle *Aegina*, which was a verie cie-fore that troubled their port or haven *Piræum*. Lying at the point of death and ready to yeeld up the ghost, he was heard to say these last words: That he repud himselfe happy, in that by his means there was never any one Athenian ware blacke or morning weeds.

ALCIBIADES being yet a young boy, chaunced in wrestling to give another the vantage, to take such sure hold of him that he could not well shift from him and make the party leave his hold, in so much as he made no more adoe, but for his teeth in his hand that held him: whereat the other cried: This is foule play *Alcibiades*; bittest thou indeed as women do? No faid be, but rather as lions doe. Having a most beautiful and faire dog everie way, which cost him seven hundred * drachmes, he cut off his taile quoth: To the end (quoth he) that the Athenians may have matter to talke of me for my curtailed dog, and not otherwise busie themselves to search curiously into my doings any further. He entered upon a time into a Grammar-school, and called unto the schoole-master for the *Iliads* of *Homer*: Who said unto him that he had none of *Homer*'s works; with that he gave him a boxe of the care, and so passed by him and went his way. One day he knocked at *Pericles* his dore, and when answer was made him that he was not at leasure to be spoken with, for that he studied and was amused how to render up his accounts to the Athenians of their money: And were it not better for him (quoth he) to occupie his wits and cast about, not to yeeld them any account at all? Being called out of *Sicily* by the Athenians, and cited peremptorily to appeere and make his answer judicially in a criminall matter, as much as his life was worth, he hid himselfe and kept out of the way, saying: That he was a simple foole that would seeke to quit himselfe of a capitall crime, if he could otherwise avoid the triall. And when one said unto him, what, and will you not trust your owne country, and put your selfe upon them, to be judged by them: No (quoth he) nor my owne mother, for least care be the aware she should upon an error cast in blacke beane for a white, & chance to saie guiltie, for unguiltie. Being advertised that himselfe together with his complices and adherents were condemned by the Athenians to die: Let us shew our selves (quoth he) unto them that we be yett alive; and so he sided and banded with the Lacedæmonians, and raised that war against the Athenians, which was called the *Dececlie* warre.

LAMACHUS, rebuked and checked a certaine captaine of footemen, for some fault committed in his charge; and when the other said for himselfe: That he would doe no more so; he replied againe: Yea, but you must not * fault twice in warre.

IPHICRATES, became despised, for that he was taken to be a shoee-makers or curriers son: but the first reputation that he wonne for valour and prowesse, was upon this, that when he was himselfe

* He must re-nounce and lay downe particular and private quarrels, who would be in the traine of doing good to the common-weale.
* Good magistrates will not be enriched by the publicke weale.

* How faire fourth friend-ship may extend.

* Minz.

* Errors committed in war be irreparable.

himselfe wounded in fight, he seized upon his enemies body, & brought him perforce armed as he was alive, out of his galley into his owne. Being encamped in the land of his friends and confederates, yet nevertheless he fortified his campe with a deepe trench and high rampar round about verie carefully; and when one said unto him, what needs all this? and whom are wee to feare? The worst speech (quoth he) that can come out of a captaines mouth is this: Had I wist, or I never looked for such a thing. As he was putting his armie in array, for to give battell unto the Barbarians, he said that he feared nothing at all, but that they should not take knowledge of *Iphierates*, whose verie name and presence was enough to affright all their enemies. Being accused of a capitall crime, he said unto the Syecphant who had enformed and drawn a bill of enditement against him: Canst thou tell what thou dost good fellow? when the citie is environed with warre on everie side, thou perswadest the people to consult about me, and not to take counsell with me. *Harmodius* (who was defended from the race of that ancient and noble *Harmodius*) reproached him one day for his meane parentage, as being come from an house of base degree: The noblenesse (quoth he) of my line beginneth in me, but thine endeth in thee. An orator making a solemn speech in the assembly of the people, grew to these tearmes with him before them all: And what are you sir, if we may be so bold as to know, that you beare your selfe so bigge, and thinke to well of your selfe, are you a man at armes, are you an archer, a pike man, or a footman or what are you? I am not indeed (quoth he) any of these; but he I am, who knows how to command and direct all these?

TIMOTHEUS had the name to be a fortunate captaine, rather than otherwise a speciall warrior; and some who envied his good estate, shewed him a picture, wherein certaine citiees were entrapped, and of them selves fallen into the compass of net and toyle, whiles hee lay asleepe; whereupon he said unto them: Consider now, if I can catch and take such citiees lying asleepe, what shall I be able to doe when I am awake? When one of these venturous and too forward captaines, shewed upon a glorious braverie unto the Athenians, what a wound had he received upon his bodie: But I (quoth he) my selfe was a greatly abashed and affamed one day, being your captaine generall before the citie of *Samos*, that a shot discharged from the walles, light but nere unto me. When the orator is highly praised and recommended captaine *Chares*, saying: Lo what a brave man is here to make the generall of the Athenians, shewing his goodly personage. *Tymotheus* answered againe with a loud voice: Never say Generall, but rather a good stout goosome to carrie the staffe of a captaines bedding after him.

CHARIAS was wont to say, that they were the best captaines who had most intelligences of their enemies defeignes & proceedings. Being accused together with *Iphierates* of treason, he gave not over for all that, to frequent the publicke place of exercises, and to take his dinner at his accustomed howers: and when *Iphierates* rebuked him for being so rechelesse, standing in such danger as he did; hee answered him in this manner: In case the Athenians proceede against us otherwise than well, they shall put you to death, all soule and fasting, but me full and faire cleane washed, anointed, and having well dined. This was his ordinarie speech: That an armie of flags and hindes having a lion for their leader, was better than an armie of lions led by altag.

HEGESIPPUS surnamed *Crobylus*, solicited and incited the Athenians to take armes against King *Philip*: and when one spake unto him aloud from out of the assembly: What Sir, will you that we draw upon us war: Yea verily (quoth he) and bring in among us blacke mourning robes, solenne and publicke obsequies, yea and funerall orations too, if we desire to live free still, and not to be servile and subject to the Athenians.

PHYTHEAS being but yet verie young, presented himselfe one day in open place to crosse and contradict the publicke decrees which had passed by the peoples voices, in the honour of King *Alexander*; what saith one unto him: Dare you presume, so young as you are to speake of these to weightie matters? And why not (quoth he) seeing that *Alexander* whom you will needs make a god by your suffrages, is younger than my selfe?

PHOCION the Athenian was a man of so staied and constant behaviour, that he was never fene of any person, either to laugh or weepe. Upon a time in a great assembly of the citie, one said unto him: You are verie sad and pensive *Phocion*, it seemeth you are in a deepe studie. Guesse againe (quoth he) and guesse not so; for I am indeed studying and devising with my selfe how I may cut off somewhat of that which I have to speake unto the Athenians. The Athenians understood by an oracle that they had one man among them in the citie, who was thwart & contrary to the opinion & advice of all others: Now when they caused diligent search & en-

* It is no com- mendable part in a captaine to expose himselfe wholly unto so great hazard.

* Love of li- bertye causeth men doubt and careth not for danger.

quire

quire to be made for this fellow, and cried out upon him in great furie whosoever he was; *Phocion* stood up, and with a loud voice: I am the very man (quoth he) seeke no further; for I am he alone, who am nothing at all pleased with whatsoever the people either doth or saith. One day, when he had delivered his advice in a frequent assembly of the people, he pleased the whole audience very well, and seeing that they all with one accord approved his speech, he was abashed thereat, and turning toward his friends: What? (quoth hee) have I let fall and escaped some words that are not good, and otherwife than I meant? The Athenians were minded upon a time to solemnize a great and festivall sacrifice; and for the better furnishing of this solemnitie, they demanded of every man a contribution of money toward it: all others gave liberally, only *Phocion* after he had bene called upon by name sundry times to do the like, in the end said thus unto them: I would be abashed to give any thing (I trow) unto you, and not be able to pay him there, pointing with his finger to an usurer unto whom he was indebted. When *Demades* said unto him: The Athenians will one of these daies kill thee, if they fall once into their furious fits: True indeed (quoth he) they will kill me in their mad mood, but thee they will put to death when they be come againe into their right wits. *Aristogiton* the Syecphant or false promotor, being condemned to death for troubling men with wrongfull imputations, and at the point to be executed within the prison, sent unto *Phocion*, requesting him to come and speake with him; but *Phocion*s friends would not let him goe to talke with such a leaud and wicked wretch: Why (quoth he unto them) in what place may honest men more willingly and better speake with *Aristogiton*? When the Athenians were highly offended and angrie with the Bizantines, for that they would not receive into their citie captaine *Chares*, whom they had sent with a power for to aid them against King *Philip*, *Phocion* came among them, and said: That they were not to be displeased with their confederates for being mistrustfull, but rather with such captaines as they mistrusted: upon which remonstrance of his, hee was immediately himselfe chosen captaine; who being admitted and well trusted by the Bizantines, defended them so valiantly against King *Philip*, that he forced him to raise his siege, and retire from thence without effect. King *Alexander* the great sent unto him a present of one hundred talents; but he demanded of the messengers that brought it, why the king their master sent unto him alone, considering there were so many Athenians besides himselfe; they answered: It was because he esteemed him to be the only honest and virtuous man among them all: Why then (quoth he) could not hee let me both to captaine and also to be a good man still? *Alexander* upon a time demanded of the Athenians certaine galls; whereupon the people called unto *Phocion* by name, for to give his advice, and to counsell them what was best to be done in this case: then he stood up and said: My counsell unto you is this; That you make meanes either to be your selves the stronger in armes, or els at the least wile friended by them who are mightier than you. When a brute was blazed abroad, without any certaine author, that king *Alexander* the Great was deceased, the orators at *Athen*s mounted the pulpits by-and-by, and strave avie who could perswade the people most, even in all haste to put themselves in armes and rebell; but *Phocion* was of a contrary munde to them all; and his opinion was; That they should stay and rest quiet, until more assured newes came of his death: For (saith he) if he be dead to day, he will be so to morrow, yea and afterwards also. When *Leophanes* had set the citie all upon warre, feeding the peoples hearts with great hopes of recovering their freedome and the sovereignty of all Greece, *Phocion* compared these projects of theirs unto the *Cypres* trees: For they (quoth hee) be faire, freight and tall, but not a whit of fruit do they beare: howbeit, when the Athenians at the first sped well in fundrie batells and wan the field, whereupon the citie made sacrifices unto the gods for the good newes thereof, some would come unto him, and say: How now *Phocion*, are you not pleased herewith? and would you with all undone againe? I am contented very well (quoth he) that it hath so fallen out, but yet I repent never a whit of my former counsell. The Macedonians, immediately after this, made rodes into the countrey of *Attica*, and beganne to overrun, harrie and spoile all the sea coasts: for remedie whereof, he caused all the lustie men of the citie, who were of age to beare armes, to enter into the field; and when many of them came running unto him, some calling upon him to seize such an hill, others as instant with him to put his men in battell-ray in such a place: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a number of captaines doe I see, and how few good fouldiers? howbeit, he gave the enemies battell, wan the victorie, and slew *Neiceion* the captaine generall of the Macedonians in the place. Not long after, the Athenians being vanquished in warre, were constrained to receive a garrison from *Antipater*, and *Atemilus* captaine of the said garrison sent unto him in free gift certaine money; wherewith he

* Wife men and fooles hardly fort together.

* Poverty is no shame to a virtuous man.

* In warre we must lay to be stronged, or friended by the strongest. To make haste in matters of great consequence, and wisdome there is no losse by delay, is dangerous. Frivolous orations be like to fruitlesse trees.

* A wife man will not repent of his good counsell, although the issue and event be not answerable thereto.

N n being

being offended, said: That neither *Alexander* was better than *Alexander*, nor the cause for good, for which he should take any gift at his hand at this present, considering that he refused the like from *Alexander*. Moreover, *Antipater* was wont to say: That he had two friends at *Athens*, the one of whom, to wit, *Phocion*, he could never persuade to take any thing; and the other, who was *Demades*, he could not satisfie whatsoever he gave him. When *Antipater* was in hand with him to do a thing which was not just: You cannot (quoth he) *Antipater*, have me to be your friend and a flatterer to. After the death of *Antipater*, when the Athenians had recovered their libertie and free state or popular government, concluded it was and pronounced in a generall assembly and counsell of the people, that *Phocion* together with his friends and associates, must suffer death: as for the rest, they went weeping and lamenting as they were led to execution, but *Phocion* marched gravely, and gave not a word: now as he was going upon the way, one of his enemies met him and spert upon his face; whereupon he turned backe to the magistrates, and said: Is there no man here to repress the insolencie and villanie of this wretched varlet? one of them who were to suffer with him, tooke on and tormented himselfe exceedingly: What (quoth he to him) *Phocion*, doth it not thee good that thou goest to take thy death with *Phocion*? And when the deadly crew was presented to him to drinke his last draught of hemlocke, he was asked the question, whether he had any more to say or no: then addressing his speech unto his sonne: I charge thee (quoth he) and beseech thee, not to cary any rancor and malice in thy heart to the Athenians for my death.

Pisistratus, a tyrant of the Athenians, being advertised that some of his friends having revolted and conspired against him, had seized upon the fort called *Phyle*, went towards them, carying himselfe about at his backe a fardell of his bedding, and the furniture thereto belonging: whereupon they demanded of him what he would? I come (quoth he) with an intent either to persuade you to returne with me, or else with a resolution to tarie here with you my selfe; and therefore have I brought my baggage with me. He was advertised that his mother loved a young man, who secretly kept her and used to lie with her; howbeit in great feare, and refusing her company many times; whereupon he invited the man to supper, and after supper, he asked him how he did, and how he liked his entertainment? Gaily well (quoth he: Thou shalt (quoth *Pisistratus*) finde no worke every day for thou content and please my mother. *Thrasibulus* call a good liking and fancie to his daughter; and as he met her one time upon the way, bestowed a kisse upon her; whereat her mother was offended, so as the exasperated her husband against him for it: but he mildly answered her in this wise: Why woman, if we set our selves against them that love us and grow to malice them, what shall we do to those who hate us? and so he gave the maiden in marriage to *Thrasibulus*. Certaine lustie yoonkers after they had taken their cups well, went in a maske and plaid the foolles through the citie, and chancing to meeete with his wife, abused her both in worde and deed very unbecomely and dishonestly; but the morrow after they came weeping before *Pisistratus*, acknowledging their fault, and craving pardon; who made them this answer: As for you, endeavour to be more wife and sober from hence forth: But I assure you, my wife yesterday went no whither abroad, nor stirred out of her dores. When he was about to marrie a second wife; the children whom he had by the former, demanded of him, whether he were in any respect discontented with them, that he should in despite of them espouse another: No, (quoth he) that is the least of my thought; but cleane contrary it is, because I like and love you so well, I would willingly have more children to resemble you.

Demetrius, sumamed *Phalerus*, counselled king *Ptolomeus* to buy and reade those books which treated of pollicie and government of kingdomes and feigneries; for that which courtiers and minions durst not say unto their princes, was written within those books.

Lycurgus, who did for downe and establish the lawes of the Lacedaemonians, accustomed his citizens to wear their haire long: For that (saith he) side haire, maketh those who are faire, seeme more faire and amiable; but those who were foule more hideous and terrible. In the reformation of the Lacedaemonian State, some one there was who perswaded him to erect the popular government called Democracy, wherein everie one in his course hath as much authority as another: unto whom hee answered: Begin thou first to set up this government in thine owne house. He ordeined that in building of houses there should be used nothing but the fawe & the axe: For that (quoth he) it were a shame to bring into houses so simple builded, any plate of silver and gold, rich hangings, carpets and furniture of beds, or costly and sumptuous tables. He forbad his citizens to fight at buffets, or to enter combat in that generall exercise

* True friendship & flattery will not flatter well together.

* It is an honour to die with good men.

* A speech unbecomingly *Pisistratus*.

* A wife man will love the honour and credit of his wife rather than his my.

Of Lacedaemonians.

of hand, foot, teeth and all together, called *Pancretium*, to the end that they should not accustom themselves so much as in sport and game to faint, give over, or yeeld themselves overcome. Likewise he debarrd them from encountering often with their very enemies; for feare they should make them more warlike and better soldiers: Whereupon afterwards when king *Agessilus* was brought out of the battell very grievously wounded; one *Antalcidas* laid unto him: You have met with a faire reward at the Thebans hand, and no lesse than you well deserve, for schooling and teaching them to fight whether they will or no.

Charillus the king, being asked the question why *Lycurgus* made so few lawes? answered thus: That they who used few words, had no need of many lawes. One of those slaves to whom they call Elotes, had behaved himselfe somewhat too insolently and knavishly against him: Now I sweare by the two twins (quoth he) *Cassior* and *Pollux*, were I nor angrie, I would doe thee to death out of hand. unto one who demanded the reason why the Lacedaemonians were long haire: It is (quoth he) because of all trimming and ornaments of the bodie, it costeth least.

Telechus king of *Lacedaemon* answered unto a brother of his, who complained unto him of the citizens of *Sparta*, saying: They use me more uncivilly and uncurteously, than they doe you: It is for nothing else (quoth he) but because you know not how to endure and put up any wrongs.

Theopompus, being in a certaine citie, was shewed by one of the inhabitants the wals, and demanded whether he thought them not to be faire and high: Faire, (quoth he) no in verie truth, kept though they be by none but women.

Archidamus during the time of the Peloponnesian warre, when as the allies and confederates of *Lacedaemon* requested him to set them downe a certaine tax and rate which they were to contribute toward the charges thereof, answered them in this manner: Warre knoweth not how to be gaged and feed within the teddar.

Brasidas chaunced to finde a mouse among certaine dried figs, which bit him so, as he was glad to let her goe; and thereupon said to those about him: See, how there is nothing so little, but it is able to make shift and save the owne life, if it have but the heart to defend it selfe against those who assaile it. In a certaine skirmish his hap was to be hurt with the head of a partizane, or javelin, which went through his shield; and when he had drawne it out of his wound, with the very staffe and steile of it, he flew his enemy: now when one asked him how it came to passe that he was thus wounded? Forsooth because my shield deceived and betrayed me. His fortune was afterwards to die in the countrey of *Thrace*, whither he had bene sent to deliver and set free the Greeks who inhabited those marches: and the embassadours who were sent from the said parts to *Lacedaemon*, went to visit his mother: who at the first asked them whether *Brasidas* her sonne died valiantly and like a man? the embassadours highly praised him, in so much as they said: That there would never be his like againe: Oh, you are mightily deceived (quoth she): true it is that *Brasidas* was a brave and valiant man, but *Lacedaemon* hath many farre better men than he by farre.

King *Agis* was wont to say, that the Lacedaemonians used not to aske how many their enemies were, but in what place they were. At *Antantus* he was forbidden to strike a battell, because the enemies were many in number to one: It must needs be (quoth he) that whosoever would rule and command many, should likewise fight with many. Unto them who greatly commended the Eliens for observing such good order and formality at the Olympe games: What great marvell is it (quoth he) if the Eliens in foure yeeres space use justice one day: but when they continued still in their praise and commendations: What wonder is it (quoth he) if the Eliens use a good thing well, to wit justice. A naughtie fellow there was and a troublesome, who importuned him exceeding much, by asking him oftentimes, who was the best man of all the Spartans? Mary even he (quoth he) that is most unlike to thee. To another who questioned with him and would needs know how many the Lacedaemonians were in number: Enough (quoth he) to drive out all leud and wicked persons: And when another asked him the same question, he answered: Thou wouldest say they were a great number if thou sawest them fight.

Lyxander would not accept of the rich and sumptuous robes, which *Dionysius* the Tyrant sent unto his daughters, saying: I am afraid that these garments will make them looke the fouler. Some there were who reprooved and blamed him, for that he exploited the most part of his acts by craft and subtiltie, as if it were an unworthy thing for one who vaunted

himselfe to be of the race of *Hercules*: unto whom he answered: That where the lions skin would not serve, it were good to fow thereto a little piece of a foxes case. There was some difference and debate betweene the Argives and Lacedæmonians about their confines; and it seemed that the Argives alleaged better reasons, and brought forth more pregnant evidences for the land in question; but he drawing out his sword: They (quoth he) who are the better men at handling this, are those who plead the better for the bonds of their territorie. The Lacedæmonians found much difficultie in assaulting the walles of *Corinth*; and when he sawe them draw backe and go unwillingly about that service, he chanced to espie at the very same time an hare to start from within the trench and towne ditch; whereupon he tooke occasion thus to say: why make you doubt to give the assault unto the walles of those men, who are so idle as to flye hares to sleepe within the verie precinct of their walles? There was a certaine Megarian, who in the generall assembly of all the States of *Greece*, spake unto him his minde freely and boldly; unto whom he answered thus: Thy words have need of a citie, that is to say, that *Megara*, whereof he was a citizen, was notable to make good and maintaine his words.

* Brave words without means to effect matters, are words naught.

A *GESILAS* used to say: That the inhabitants of *Asia*, (to speake of free men) were but bad, & namely so long as they enjoyed liberties; marie they be passing good slaves (quoth he). These *Asians* had a custome to call the King of *Persia* the Great King: And why (quoth *Agessilaus*) is he a greater king than I, if he be not more just and temperat? Being demanded his opinion as touching Fortitude & Justice, whether of them was the better vertue: We have no need or use (quoth he) of Fortitude if we were all just. Being enforced to breake up his campe, and dislodge one night in great haste out of his enemies cuntry, and seeing a boy whom hee loved well, weeping and all blubbered with teares, for that he was left behind, & could not follow by reason of weaknes: It is (quoth he) an hard matter to be pitifull and wife both at once. *Meneceates* the physician who would entitle himselfe with the name of *Jupiter*, wrote a letter unto him with this superscription; *Meneceates Jupiter* unto King *Agessilaus* long life, &c. unto whom hee returned this answer: King *Agessilaus* unto *Meneceates* better health: meaning in deed that he was braine-sicke. The Lacedæmonians having defeated those of *Athens* with their allies and confederates neere unto the citie of *Corinth*: when he heard what a number of enemies lay dead in the field: O unhappie and unfortunate *Greece* (quoth he) that hath destroyed so many men of her owne, as had beene able to have subdued all the Barbarians in the world. Having received an answer from the oracle of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, according to his minde; the great Lords controllers, called *Ephori*, willed him also to consulte with the oracle of *Apollo* as touching the same: when he was therefore at *Delfos*, he demanded of the said god, whether he were not of the same minde as his father was? When he refused for the deliverance of a friend of his who was taken prisoner, and in the hands of *Idrieus* a prince of *Caria*, he wrote unto him about it in this manner: If *Nicias* have not trespassed, deliver him for Justice sake; if he have transgressed, deliver him for my sake; but howsoever it be, in any wise deliver him. He was requelled one day to heare a man sing, who could marvellous lively and naturally counterfeit the voice of a nightingale: I have heard (quoth he) the nightingale her selfe many a time. After the overthrow at the battell of *Leuctres*, the lawe ordained that as many as saved themselves by their good footmanship, should be noted with infamy: but the *Ephori* fore-seeing that in so doing the citie would be dispeopled and empty, were willing to abrogat & disdain this ignominie, and for this purpose declared *Agessilaus* for law-giver: who going into the market place, and mounting up into the pulpit, ordained that from the next morrow forward, the lawes should remaine in their ancient force and vertue. Sent he was upon a time to aide the King of *Argy*, where he together with the King was besieged by the enemies who were many more in number than they, & had begun to cast a great trech about their camp, & so beleaguered them that they could not escape: Now when the king commaunded him to make a fallie upon them, and to keepe them battell: I will not (quoth he) empeach our enemies, but that they may (as I see them go about it) willingly fight with us so many to so many: and finding that their trench wanted but a little of both ends meeting and joining together; in that verie distance and space betweene, he set his souldiers in battell array, and so comming to encounter on even hand he defeated his enemies. When he died, he charged his friends to make no image nor statue of him: For if I have (quoth he) done any thing in my life worthy of remembrance, that will be a sufficient monument and memoriall for me after my death: if not, all the statues and images in the world shall never be able to perpetuate my memorie.

* Vertue immortalizeth a man and not works in stone, wood or brass.

ARCHIDAMVS

ARCHIDAMVS the first time that ever he saw the shot discharged out of an engin or battering peece which had beene newly brought out of *Sisilie*, cried out aloud: P O *Hercules*! the invincible prowesse and valour of man I see well is now gone for ever.

The invention of warlike engins burieth valor.

When *Demades* mocking at the Lacedæmonian courtlisses, said merrily; That they were so little and short, as that the jurglers and plaiers at legger-dame, were able to swallow them downe whole as they be. A G I S the younger answered verie fely and said: Yet as short as they be, the Lacedæmonians can reach their enemies verie well with them. The *Ephori* charged him upon a time to deliver vp his souldiers into the hands of a traitour: I will beware I towne (quoth he) to commit another mans souldiers to him who betrayed his owne.

C L E O M E N E S when one promised to give him certaine cocks of the game, so courageous, that they would with fighting die in the place and never give over: Give me not (quoth he) those that will die themselves, but such rather as in fight will make others to die.

P A E D A R E T V S missing the place to be chosen one of the great counsell consisting of three hundred, returned from the assembly very jocond merrie and smiling: I am well apayed (quoth he) that in the citie of *Sparta* there be found three hundred better men and more sufficient than my selfe.

D A M O N I D A S being by the master of the Revels set in the last place of the dance: Well fare thy heart (quoth he) thou hast devised a good meanes to make this place honourable.

N I C O S T R A T V S captaine of the Argives, being solicited by *Archidamus* to take a good round summe of money for to deliver up unto him by treason, a place whereof he had the keeping, with a promise also, that he should espouse and wed what damosell he would himselfe choose in all *Sparta*, excepting those of the blood-royall, made him this answer: You are not (quoth he) of the race of *Hercules*; for that *Hercules* went thorow the world, punishing and putting to death in all places, malefactors and wicked persons: but you go about to make those naught and lewd who are good and honest.

* E P D A M O N I D A S seeing in the great Schoole Academic, *Xenocrates* an auncient man among other young scholars, students in Philosophie, and understanding that he sought for vertue: And when will he use vertue (quoth he) if he have not yet found it? Another time hearing a philosopher to mainteine this paradox: That a learned Sage was onely a good captaine: Brave words (quoth he) and a marvelous position; but the best is, he that holdeth it, never in his life heard the found of a trumpet in the campe.

* Or Eudemus rather.

A N T I O C H U S, one of those controllers in *Sparta*, named *Ephori*, being advertized that king *Philip* had given unto the Messenians their territorie: But hath hee withall (quoth he) given them the meanes to vanquish in battell when they shall be put to it, for to defend the same?

It becomes not a clerk to speake of armes.

A N T A L C I D A S answered unto an Athenian who termed the Lacedæmonians ignorant persons: Indeed (quoth he) it may well be so, for we are the only men who have learned of you novell. Another Athenian contested with him and said; we have driven you manie a time from the river *Cephissus*, which is in *Africa*: but he replied againe and said: And we never yet chased you from the river *Eurotas* which is neere *Lacedemon*. There was a certaine *Rhetorician* would needs rehearse an oration which he had made concerning the praise of *Hercules*: Why (quoth he) was there ever any man that blamed or despised him?

So long as E P A M I N O N D A S was captaine general of the Thebans, there was never seene in his campe any of these sudden foolish frights, without any certaine cause, which they call *Panique Terrours*. He was wont to say, that no death was so honourable as to die in the warres: Also that a man of armes or warriour ought to keepe his bodie not exercised after the manner of champions, for to be faire and full; but rather hardened with travel, and made lanke as becometh good souldiers. He loved therefore to fight with those enemies who were corpulent and such souldiers as he found in his owne bands grosse & fat, he would be sure to calsse & displace them, if it were for nothing else: For he was wont to say of them, that three or foure bucklers would hardly cover their grand-panch, which bare out so bigge that they could not see for it their privy parts. Moreover, so strict and precise he was in his living, and hated so much all excessie & superfluitie, that one time above the rest being bidded to supper by one of his neighbors, when he saw in the house great provition of viands, cates, junquets, comfutures and sweet perfumes, he said unto him: I had thought you made a sacrifice, and not an expense of superfluitie, and so went his way & would not stay supper. When the head cooke or clerke of the kitchen gave up his account unto him and other his companions in government, of any ordinarie charges for certaine daies; he misliked nothing in his bill but the great quantitie of oyle that

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was

was spent: and when his colleagues wondered that he should fare so at that; he said unto them: That it was not the cost and expence that hee stood upon, but onely this, that so much oyle should goe down mens throats. The city of *Thebes* upon a time made a great publike feast, and besides, privately they were all in their bankets, inviting one another, and meeting in companies to make merrie together: he contrariwise all this while, without being either appointed with oile and sweete perfumes, or clad in his best clothes, all pensive and sad, walked alone thorough the citie; and when one of his familiar friends who met him, wondered thereat, and would needs know why he went so alone and out of order and formalitie: Mary (quoth he) that you all might in securitie follow your drinking and good chere, and not bee troubled with thinking of any other cares. He had caused a meane man and of base condition to be put in prison for some light trespass that he had committed, and *Pelopidas* requested him for to set him at large, but he denied him flatly; howbeit afterwards a woman whom he loved, intreated him, and at her sute he granted his libertie, saying: That in such pettie favours and cutesies as these it became him to gratifie concubines and harlots; but not generals and great warriors. When the Lacedemonians came with a puissant power to make cruell war upon the Thebans, there were brought oracles unto the Thebans from sundrie parts, some promising the victory, others menacing an overthrow: he went up therefore into the tribunall seat and commanded, that the oracles of victorie should be set upon the right hand, and those of discomfure on the left: when they were thus disposed and bellowed, he stood up, and in this wise spake unto the Thebans: If you will be directed by your captaines, shew obedience unto them, and withall, put on a resolution and good heart to encounter your enemies; these heere, (thewing the good oracles on the right hand) be yours; but if for want of courage you cast doubts and start backe for feare of perils, those there, (pointing to the bad oracles on the left hand) are for you. Afterwards as he led the armie into the field, for to meet with the Lacedemonians, it began to thunder: wherat they that were neerest unto him asked, what he thought this might presage and signifie: Surely (quoth he) it betokeneth thus much; That God hath astonishd our enemies, and put their braines out of temper, who having fitt commodious places neere unto them for to encampe in, have pitched here where they are. Of all the honorable and happie fortunes that ever befell unto him, he said; This was most fit to his hearts joy and contentment; that he had defeated the Lacedemonians in the battell at *Leutres*, whiles his owne father that begar him, and mother who bare him were both alive. Being a man who otherwise all his lifetime used to be seene abroad, fine, neat, & wel anointed, with a cheerefull and merrie countenance also; the morrow after the said battell, he came forth into the publike place, all foule, sollied, heavy and pensive; wherupon, his friends by and by were in hand with him to know, whether any sinister accident was come unto him: None (quoth he,) but I perceived yesterday that for the joy of my victorie, my heart was lifted up more than it ought, and therefore to day I doe abate and correct that which was the day before too excessive and out of order: knowing full well that the Spartans used to cover and hide as much as they could such misfortunes, and being desirous to make them see and acknowledge the great losse and overthrow which they had sustained, hee would not in any wise permit them to gather their dead all together, and pile them up in one entire heape; but to every citie he gave leave one after another to enterre them; by which it appeered, that there were more of the Lacedemonians slaine by a thousand. *Jafon* a prince and monarch of *Thessalia*, being allied and confederate with the Thebans, came one day into the citie of *Tales*, and sent unto *Epaminondas* a present of two thousand pieces of gold, knowing that indeed he was exceeding poore: this gold would not he receive at his hands; but the first time after that he saw *Jafon*, he came unto him and said: You begun twise to offer me injury; and in the meane while he borrowed of a certaine burgesse of the citie five drames of silver, for to defray the charges of a journey or expedition which he intended; and therewith entred in armies and invaded *Peloponnesus*. After this, when the great king of *Perfis* sent him thirtie thousand pieces of gold called *Dariques*, he was displeased highly with *Diomedes*, and sharply checked him, asking him if he had undertaken so great a voiage, thinking to bribe and corrupt *Epaminondas*; and with that commanded him to deliver this message backe unto the king his master; That so farr forth as he intended and procured good unto the Thebans, hee should make reckoning of him to be his friend without any pennie cost; but if he wrought or practised any losse or displeasure unto them, he would be his enemy. When the Argives were entred into league and amitie with the Thebans, those of *Athens* sent their ambassadours into *Arcadie*, to assay if they could draw the Arcadians to side with them:

So

So these ambassadours began to charge and accuse unto them, aswell the Argives as the Thebans, in so much, as *Callistratus* the orator, who was their speaker, upbraided both cities, and hit them in the teeth with *Orestes* and *Oedipus*: then *Epaminondas* who sat in this assembly of councill, rose up and said: We confesse indeed (my masters) that in times past there was in our citie one parricide who killed his owne father, like as another in *Argos* who murdered his owne mother; but when we had chafed and banished them for committing these facts, the Athenians received them both. And when the Spartans had charged the Thebans with many great and grievous imputations: Why my masters of *Sparta* (quoth *Epaminondas*) these Thebans, if they have done nothing els, yet thus much they have effected, that you have forgotten your manner of short speech and using few words. The Athenians had contracted alliance and amitie with *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheries* in *Thessalia*, a mortall enemy of the Thebans, and who promised to the Athenians for to serve them flesh in the market at halfe an *obolus* a pound weight; And wee (quoth *Epaminondas*) will furnish the Athenians with wood enough for nothing, to roast and seethe the said flesh; for if they begin busily to intermeddle more than we like of, we will fell and cut downe all the trees growing in that country. Knowing well enough that the Boeotians were loth for idleness, he determined and advised to keepe them continually in exercise of armes: now when the time approached for the election of governors, and that they were minded to chuse him their *Boeotarches*, that is to say, the ruler of *Boeotia*: he well advised my masters (quoth he) what ye do, whiles it lieth in your hands; for if you elect me your captaine generally, make this reckoning, that to warre you shall. He was wont to call the country of *Beotia*, because it lieth plaine and open, the stage and scaffold of warre, saying that it was impossible for the inhabitants to keepe and hold it, so long as they had not one hand within their shield and the other on their sword. *Chabrias* the captaine of the Athenians having put to foile and defeated some few Thebans about *Corinth* (who for heat of fight had run disbanded and out of aray) made a bravado: for which exploit, as if he had won some great field, he caused a trophæe to be erected in memorie of this victorie: whereas *Epaminondas* scoffed and said: That hee should not have set up a trophæum there, but rather an *hecatæum*, that is to say, the statue of *Proserpina*, for that in times past it was an ordinary thing to set up the image of *Proserpina* in manner of a crosse, at the first carefour or meeting of crosse waies which was founde neere unto the gate of a citie. When one brought him word that the Athenians had sent an armie into *Peloponnesus* bravely set out and appointed with new armour: Now surely (quoth he) *Antigenides* will weepe and sigh when he knoweth once that *Tellis* hath gotten him new flutes and pipes to play upon: now this *Tellis* was a bad minstrell, and *Antigenides* an excellent musician. He perceived upon a time that his equire or shield-bearer had received a good piece of money for the ranfome of a prisoner, which was in his hands; wherupon he said unto him: Give me my shield, but goe thou thy waies and buy thee a taverne or victualling house, wherein thou maist leade the rest of thy life, for I see well, that thou wilt no more expose thy selfe to the dangers of warre as before-time, since thou art now become one of these rich and happie men of the world. He was once demanded the question, whom he reputed to be the best captaine, himselfe, *Chabrias*, or *Iphicrates*, his answer was: It is hard to judge, so long as we all be alive. At his returne out of the country of *Laconia*, hee was judicially accused for a capitall crime, together with other captaines joined in commision with him, for holding their charge longer by foure moneths than the lawes allowed: as for his companions and colleagues above-said, hee willed them to derive all the fault from themselves, and lay it upon him, as if he had forced them so to doe; but in his owne defence he pleaded thus: Albeit I can not deliver better words than I have performed deeds, yet if I be compelled (as I see I am) to say somewhat for my selfe before the judges, I request thus much at their handes, that if they be determined to put me to death, they would command to be engraven upon the square column or pillar of my sepulchre, my condemnation and the cause thereof, to the end that all the Greekes might know how *Epaminondas* was condemned to die; for that hee had forced the Thebans against their willes to waste and burne the country of *Laconia*, which in five hundred yeeres before had never bene forsooke nor spoiled; also that hee had reseeded the citie of *Messene* two hundred and thirtie yeeres after it had bene destroyed and left desert by the Lacedemonians: Item, that hee had reunited, incorporated and brought into one league all the States and cities of *Arcadie*; and last of all, that hee had recovered and restored unto the Greekes their libertie: for all these acts have bene achieved by us in this voiage: the judges when they heard this speech of his, rose from the bench, and went out of the court laughing heartily; neither would they so much as receive the voices or verdicts

* Excessive joy in profane rate ought to be abated.

* The end crowned mens works.

* A good conscience is a brassen wall.

dicts to be given up against him. After the last battell that ever he fought, wherein he was wounded to death; being brought into his tent, he called first for *Diophantus*, and after him for *Istidius*, but when he heard that they were both slain, hee advised the Thebans to compound and grow to an agreement with their enemies, as if they had not one captaine more that knew how to lead them to the warres; and in truth, the event did verifie his words, and bare witness with him that he knew his citizens best of a man.

PELOPIDAS joint captaine with *Epinomondus* in the charge of *Naotia*, when his friends found fault with his neglect in one thing right necessary, to wit, the gathering of a masse of money together: Money indeed (quoth he) is necessary, but for such an one as this *Neicomides* here, shewing a poore cripple, maimed, lame and impotent in hand and foot. When he departed from *7 hebes* upon a time to a battell, his wife praised him to have a regard unto his owne safetie: This is (quoth he) an advertisement fit for others; as for a captaine who hath the place of command, he is to be put in minde for to save those under his charge, and not himselfe. To one of his souldiers, who said unto him: We are fallen among our enemies: And why (quoth he) are we fallen among them more than they among us. Moreover, being treacherously held prisoner, and kept in yrons during a tyme, against the law of armes, by *Alexander* tyrant of the Pheareans, he grew to heat and gave him some hard words, calling him perjured traitour: whereupon the tyrant asked him if he made for great haste to die: Yea (quoth he) to the end that the Thebans may be more provoked against thee, and that so much the sooner thou maist be punished for thy dilloialtie. *Thebe* the tyrants wife came to visit him in prison, and seeing him, said that shee marvelled how hee could be so joyous, being as hee was, a prisoner and bound with chaines: Yea, but I rather wonder at you, that being as you are, at libertie and not bound, you can endure such a wicked wretch as *Alexander*. When *Epinomondus* had delivered him out of prison, he said that he tooke himselfe much beholden to *Alexander*: For now (quoth he) by his means I have made a triall of my selfe and my resolution, more than ever before, and namely, how my heart is setled not against the feare of warre onely but also of death.

MANIUS CURTIUS, when one of his souldiers complained, that of the lands conquered from the enemies, he had given to every souldier very little, but had incorporated in the common weale the greatest part of the said demaunces: I would it were Gods will (quoth he) that there were not a Romane who thought that land but little, which is sufficient to nourish and mainteine one man. The Samnites, after that hee had vanquished them in a battell, sent unto him as a present, a good summe of gold: him they found sitting by the fire side, tending the pot, wherein hee boiled certaine rape-roots: and when the Samnite embassadors tendered unto him the said present, he made them this answer: That hee who could content himselfe with such a supper, had no need at all of gold: also that he thought it more honorable to command them who had the gold, than to have gold himselfe.

C. FABRICIUS hearing of the overthrow that King *Pyrhus* had given the Romanes, *said: That *Pyrhus* had overcome *Levinus* & not the Epirotes vanquished the Romanes. Being sent unto *Pyrhus* to treat for the deliverance of certaine Romanes taken prisoners, the king offered him a great summe of gold, but he would not receive it: the next morrow *Pyrhus* commanded that the greatest Elephant which he had, should be brought and set just behind *Fabricius* without his knowledge, and that suddenly he should be forced to bray, which was done accordingly: whereat *Fabricius* turning him about, and looking behind him, began to smile and say: Neither thy gold yesterday, nor this beatt thy Elephant to day, hath once asstonied me. *Pyrhus* thought to have perswaded him to take his part and to stay with him, with promise that he should have all the authoritie in managing of the affaires next unto himselfe; but he answered him in this sort: This would not be good and expedient for you: and why? when the Epirotes shall know us both well, they will rather have me than you to be their king. When *Fabricius* was created Consull of Rome, King *Pyrhus* his physician wrote unto him a letter, wherein he made promise unto him for to kill the king his master with poison if he would. *Fabricius* sent the verie same letter incontinently unto King *Pyrhus*, willing him to see by that, how his judgement served not him well to discern and to make choise of his enemies and his friends. When this ambush was discovered and directed thus unto *Pyrhus*, which was laid for his life, he caused the said physician to be apprehended, and sent backe those Romanes whom he had prisoners, unto *Fabricius* without any ransom paid: howbeit *Fabricius* would not receive them from him as in free gift; for he returned likewise as many of his men who remained prisoners with him: which he did, for that he would not be thought to

* They that are not able to mainteine warre, must live for peace.

Romans.

* Some read this: said unto *Levinus*, that *Pyrhus*, and not the Epirotes had overcome the Romanes.

take any thing at his hands by way of a reward or recompense for disclosing the foresaid treason: for hee did it not so much to gratifie King *Pyrhus* and do him a pleasure, as for feare it should be thought that the Romanes practised his death by treacherie, whom they could not vanquish by vertue.

FABRIUS MAXIMUS not willing to fight a set battell with *Annibal*, but by tract of time to spend his armie; which by that means grew to a great default of victuals and money: went alwaies as though hee dogged and followed him, keeping the rough places and hilly grounds, coasting him otherwhites, but evermore having him in his eie: for which manner of service many mocked him and called him the Pædagogus of *Annibal*: but hee nothing at all regarding such words, persifted still continually in his deiseignes & counsels particular to himselfe, saying thus to his friends: That he who could not abide a scoffe, but feared frumps and reviling words, was a greater coward than he who fled before his enemy. When his colleague or brother in office *Minutius*, had discomfited certaine of his enemies, in such sort, as there was no talk of him any more, but every man gave out of *Minutius*, that hee indeed was a man worthy of Rome: he said: That he feared more the prosperitie than the adversitie of *Minutius*: and within a while after, when *Minutius* was fallen into the danger of an ambush that *Annibal* had set for him, so as he and all his men had like to have left their bodies dead behind them, *Fabius* came speedily to his rescue, and not onely delivered him out of this perill, but also slew a number of his enemies; whereupon *Annibal* said then unto his familiars about him: Did not I foretell you many times, seeing as I did this cloud louring upon the tops of the mountaines, how it would one time or other powre downe a good shewre upon our heads? After the overthrow at *Canna*, when he was chosen consull of Rome together with *Claudius Marcellus* a valiant and courageous man, who desired nothing more than ever to be fighting with *Annibal*; he was of a contrary minde, and hoped, that if he were not fought with, his army within a while by delays onely and holding off, would of it selfe come to nothing; so as *Annibal* would oftentimes say: That he feared more *Fabius* that fought not, than he did *Marcellus* who was ever fighting. It was tolde him that he had in his campe a Lucane, who was wont to steale out by night, forth of the campe, for the love of a woman whom he used to visit, but otherwise he heard say, that the man was a right good souldier and wonderfull hardie in armes; whereupon he gave commandment that the woman upon whom this souldier was so enamoured, should be secretly and without the mans knowledge attached and brought unto him: now when she was come, he sent for the souldier aforesaid: I am advertised (quoth he) that thou against the lawes of military discipline, usest many times to lie out of the campe; and I understand likewise full well, that setting that fault aside, thou art a souldier good enough: well, in regard of thy good services, I am content to pardon all that is past, but from henceforth thou shalt abide and tarie with me, for I have a good pawne and suretie within that thou shalt not start; and with that he caused the woman to come forth and appeare, and so he gave her into his hands to be his wedded wife. *Annibal* held all the citie of *Tarentum* with a strong garrison, saving onely the cattle, but *Marcellus* by awile and subtil stratageme, trained him as farr as he could from thence, and then returning with all expedition, was master of the whole rowne, and sacked it: in the execution of which service his scribe or chancellour asked him what should be done with the fæced images of the gods among the rest of the pillage: Mary let us leave (quoth he) unto the Tarentines their gods, being thus angered as they are with them. When *M. Livius*, who had the keeping of the cattle, wanted and boasted that by his means the citie was woone, all the rest who heard him, laughed and mocked him; but *Fabius* answered: Thou saiest truely indeed, for if thou hadst not lost it once, I had never recovered it againe. After he was sleept farr in yeeres, his sonne was chosen consull, and as he was giving audience in open place and dispatching certaine publicke affaires in the presence of many, *Fabius* his father being mounted on horsebacke, came toward him; but the sonne sent one of his lictors or hushers before, to command him to alight from his horse: whereat all the rest there present were abashed, and thought it a great shame and unseemly sight; but the olde man dismounting quickly from his horse, came toward his sonne as fast as his yeeres would give him leave, embraced him and said: Thou hast well done my sonne, to know whom thou dost governe, and to shew that thou art not ignorant what the greatestt is of that charge which thou hast undertaken.

SCIPIO the elder, whensoever he was at any leisure and repose either from military affaires or politike government, employed all that time in his private study at his booke; whereupon he was wont to say: That when he was alone, he had most companies; and when hee was at least

sure

* Or named
Bathria, as
some reade,
Eslia a town
in Spaine.

sure, he had greatest businesse. After hee had woonne by assault the city of *New Carthage* in *Spaine*, some of his souldiers brought a most beautifull damosell taken prisoner, and her they offered unto him: I would receive her willingly (quoth he) if I were a private person, but being as I am, a captaine generall, I will none of her. Lying at siege before a certaine citie* situated in a low place, and over which might be seene the temple of *Venus*, he gave order unto them that by vertue of writs were to make appearance in court, that they should come and plead before him within the said temple, where they should have audience the third day after; which hee made good, for before that day hee had forced the citie. When one demanded of him being in *Sicilie*, ready to embarke and passe over to *Africke*, upon what confidence hee presumed so much to crosse the seas with his armada against *Carthage*: See you not here (quoth he) 300. men how they disport and exercise them selves armed all in militarie feats of armes, along an high tower situate upon the sea side? I tell you, there is not one of all this number, but if I bidde him, will runne up to the top of this tower, and call himselfe downe from thence with the head forward. Being passed over sea, and soone after master of the field; when hee had burnt the caupes of his enemies, the Carthaginians sent immediately unto him an embassage to treat of peace; in which treatie it was concluded, that they should quit all their vessels at sea, abandon their elephants, and besides pay a good grosse summe of money: But so soone as *Annibal* was retired out of *Italy* into *Africke*, they repented themselves of these capitulations and conditions, for the trust which they had in the forces and person of *Annibal*: whereof *Scipio* being advertised, said unto them: That although they would performe the articles of the foresaid agreement, yet the accord should not stand for good, unlesse over and above they paid 5000. talents, because they had sent for *Annibal* to come over. Now after that the Carthaginians had beene vanquished by him in open battell, they sent new embassadors for to treat of peace againe; but hee commanded them presently to depart, for that he would never give them audience, unlesse they brought backe unto him lord *Terentius*, a knight of *Rome*, and a man of worth and honor, who by the fortune of warre was taken prisoner, and fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians: now when they had brought *Terentius*, he caused him to sit close by his side in the counsell, and then gave he audience to the foresaide embassadors, and granted them peace. Afterwards when he entred *Rome* in triumph for this victorie; the said *Terentius* followed hard after his triumphant chariot, wearing a cap of libertie on his head, like an enfranchised slave, and avowing that he held his freedome by him: and when *Scipio* was dead, unto all those who accompanied his corps when it was caried forth to sepulture, *Terentius* allowed to drinke a certaine kinde of mede, made of wine and hony; and for all other complements belonging to an honorable funerall, he tooke order with great diligence; but this was performed afterwards. Moreover, when king *Antiochus* saw that the Romanes were passed over into *Asie*, with a puissant armie to make warre upon him, he sent his embassadors to *Scipio*, for to enter into a treatie of peace: unto whom he answered: This you should have done before, and not at this present, now that your king and master hath already received the bit of the bridle in his mouth, and the saddle with the rider upon his backe. The Senat had granted out a commission unto him that he should take forth certaine money out of the publick chest and chamber of the citie; but when the treasurers would not suffer him that day to open the treasury, for to be furnished from thence; he said: He would be so bold as open it himselfe; Which (quoth he) I may well doe, considering that by my meanes it was kept fast shut and locked first, for the great quantitie of gold and silver which I have caused to be brought into it. *Perillus* and *Quintus*, two Tribunes of the commons, accused him before the people, and laid many grievous matters to his charge; but he in stead of pleading his owne cause, and justifying himselfe, said thus: My masters of *Rome*, upon such a day as this, I defeated in battell the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, and therefore will I goe my selfe directly from hence with a chaplet of flowers upon my head, up into the Capitoll to sacrifice and give those unto *Jupiter* for my victorie; meane while, whosoever will give his voice either for or against 50 me, let him doe as he thinketh good: and having thus said, he went out of the court, and all the people followed after him, leaving his accusers to plead there their fill to the bare wals.

I. *QUINTUS*, immediately upon his coming to the management of State affaires, grew to such reputation and renoume, that before he had beene Aedile, Praetour, or Tribune of the common-weale, he was chosen Consull of *Rome*, who being sent as captaine and lieutenant generall for the people of *Rome*, to warre against *Philip* king of *Macedonia*, was counsellled and perswaded to a parle and personal conference first with him: *Philip* for the better securitie of

his

his owne person, demanded of him hostages: Because (quoth he) the Romanes have heere many captaines besides you, but the Macedonians have none but my selfe: No marvel indeed (quoth *Quintus*) that you are heere by your selfe alone, for you have done to death all your kinsfolke and friends. After that he had vanquished in battell king *Philip*, he caused proclamation to be made in the solemnities of the Isthmian games; That he restored all the Greeks to their ancient liberties and full freedome, to live from that day forward according to their owne lawes: and thereupon, the Greeks caused all the Romanes to be sought out throughout all *Greece*, who had beene sold thither for slaves during the warres with *Annibal*, and having redeemed & bought them againe out of their masters hands for 500. drams a poll, they presented them unto him as a free gift: these followed him in his triumph, with caps upon their heads, as the custome was of such slaves as were newly enfranchised & ended with liberty. The Achaeans were minded and fully purposed to enterprize the conquest of the isle *Zacynthus*: But he admonished them not to goe forth of *Peloponnesus*, unlesse they would put themselves into evident danger, like unto the *Trois*, when they stretch forth their heads out of their shells. When the brute was blowne over all *Greece* that king *Antiochus* came with a mightie power, inasmuch as all men wondered & were affraid to heare what numbers there were of souldiers and fighting men, and what diversitie of armors they brought with them; he made such a speech as this in the generall counsell of the Achaeans: It was my chance (quoth he) upon a time to be lodged in the house of an old host and friends of mine within the citie of *Chalcis*, and as I sat with him at 20 supper, I marvelled how possible he could come by so many sorts of venison which I saw served up to the boord before me; at last mine host answered that all was but swines flesh, and the same altered by sundry kinds of sauces and varietie of dressing: Semblably (quoth he) be you not dismayed and troubled at this great armie of king *Antiochus* whom you heare named, his men at armes and horsemen armed at all pieces, his light horse, his petronels and archers on horsebacke, and his footemen, for all these be no more but poore Syrians, men borne to servitude and slavery, and no better, differing one from another onely in diversitie of harness and weapons. *Philopemon* was at that time captaine generall of the Achaeans, who had a number sufficient both of horse and foot, but he wanted money for their pay: whereat *Quintus* merrily scoffing; *Philopemon* (quoth he) hath hands and feet enough, but he wants a bellie; which 30 jest was indeed the more pleasant, for that *Philopemons* body was in truth naturally so shapen and made so flat, as if he had no belly at all.

C. *DOMITIUS*, he whom *Scipio* the great left in his place, next after his brother *L. Scipio* in the warre against king *Antiochus*; when he had viewed the armie of his enemies standing in battell array, the Roman captaines who were about him, counselled him with all expedition to give them battell, but hee answered them thus: That they had not day enough to massacre and hew in peeces so many millions of men; to spoile also and make pillage of their rents and baggage, and then to returne when all was done into the campe for to refresh and looke to themselves; so the morrow after he charged upon them and slue fiftie thousand enemies.

40 P. *LICINIUS*, a Consull of *Rome*, in one battell of horsemen was vanquished by king *Perseus*, and lost about two thousand and eight hundred men, partly slaine, and partly taken prisoners in the field: after which victorie, *Perseus* sent unto the said Consull embassadors to treat of peace and attonement; in which treatie the condition which the vanquished proposed to the Conquerour was: That he should submit himselfe wholly and his whole estate, unto the Romanes for to doe with them according to their will and discretion.

P. *AVLUS AEMILIUS* making sure for his second Consulship, was rejected and tooke repulse: but afterwards when it was seene that the warre against King *Perseus* was drawn out in length, and like to hold long, through the ignorance, sloth and idleness of those captaines which were sent with the armie: the Romanes chose him consull for the second time; but he 50 said unto the I con you no thank at all now, for that you have not elected me for to gratifie my selfe (because I fought for no office at this time) but in regard that your selves stand in need of a captaine. Being returned from the common-place into his owne house, hee found a little daughter that he had, named *Tertia*, weeping and all blubbered with teares: What is the matter (quoth he) that my pretie gile crieth and weepeth thus: with that the child: O father (quoth she) our *Perseus* is dead: (now a little puppie the had of that name.) In good houre be it spoken my sweet daughter (quoth he) take it for a good offe and presage of happie fortune. When he was arrived and come into the campe, hee found much bibble-babble there, and 60 vaunting

* Captaines
are to direct,
Souldiers to
obey and exe-
cute.

vaunting braverie on everie hand of those fouldiors, who would busily intermeddle in the affaires properly pertaining to the captaine, and in more matters than concerned them: hee willed * them to be quiet and still, not to be dealing in such things, but onely to looke well to their swordes, whether they were sharpe edged and wel pointed: As for the rest (quoth he) I will provide therefore. Those that kept the night sentinels, he commanded neither to beare lance nor weare sword, to the end that knowing they had no meanes to fight, in case they should be surprisid by the enemy, they should be the more vigilant and carefull to withstand sleepe. After that he had passed over the mountains in *Macedonie*, and was newly entred into the campe, hee found his enemies readie ranged in battell-array before him: whereupon *Scipio Nasica* advised him to charge out of hand: If I were (quoth he) as yong as you, I should be of the same mind that you are; but now long experience forbiddeth me to advance forward, all wea-
ry as I am, upon any journey against mine enemies, being set strongly in ordinance of battell. After he had fully defeated *Perseus* in making feasts to his allies & confederates, for joy of victorie, he said: That it belonged to one and the same skill and experience, to know how to rounge a terrible battell against enemies, and to set out an acceptable feast for friends. *Perseus* being his prisoner, made earnest sute & humble supplication unto him, that he might not be lead in his triumph: That lies (quoth he) in your owne power. *Perseus*: by which words he gave him good leave to make himselfe away. Among the treasures of this king, there was found an infinit masse of gold and silver, whereof he touched not one jot for his owne proper use; onely to *Tubero* his sonne-in-law, who had married his daughter, in honor of his vertue he gave one
silver boull, weighing five * lyres: where (by the way) this is to be noted, that (by report) this was the first piece of silver plate that ever came into the house of the *Aemilii*. Of foure children-males that he had, two of the eldest he had given away before from himselfe to be adopted into other noble families of *Rome*, and of the two yongest which remained behinde in his owne house and name; the one (being fouretee yeeres of age) died five daies before his triumph; the other (twelve yeeres old) changed his life five daies after: whereat the people sorrowed, and tooke it verie heavily, bewailing & pitying his desolate estate; but hee himselfe went into the common place to comfort them, saying: That now from hence forth, he thought to be out of all feare and danger in the behalfe of the common-wealth, hoping that no infortunite would befall unto it: for that himselfe for them all, bare the heave load of the envie attending upon to great prosperities which he had achieved for the weale publike, in that fortune had derived and all despite upon his familie alone.

† Great pro-
fperitie is to
be suspected:
to abate our
pride, there-
fore God
dash it by it
with some
crosses.

* No man
chastisheth wit-
ten men much
as themselves.

Cato the elder, in a solenne speech before the people of *Rome*, reprooving sharply their intemperance, riot and superfluous delicacies: I know full well (quoth he) that it is an hard matter to speake unto the belly which hath no cares. He said also, that hee wondered how such a citie could long stand, where in a fish was sold dearer than an ox. Also inveighing against the over-much libertie and power which generally was given to women: All other men (quoth hee) doe rule their wives, wee rule all men, and our wives rule us. It was a speech likewise of his: That hee had rather receive no favour and grace when hee had done any good service, than not be punished when he had committed a fault. I pardon moreover (quoth he) all those, who upon error or ignorance have trespassed, * but I except my selfe. Further-
more, in soliciting and mooving the magistrats to chastise those who offended the lawes, hee plainly said: That whosoever had rule and authoritie sufficient to repress malefactors, if they did not execute the same, were themselves the authors and commaunders of evil. He delivered these words moreover: That yong men who blushed when they were reprovved, pleased him better than those that looked pale: and that he could not abide that souldier, who in his way as he walked, waggeth his hands; in fight stireth his feet; and when hee sleepeth snoreth louder than hee holloweth as hee encountreth his enemy. Item, that he was a bad ruler, who knew not how to rule himselfe. He was of opinion, that everie one ought to have more reverence of himselfe, than of any other person whatsoever; for no man was ever from himselfe. Perceiving that many there were who made free that their statues might be erected: I had rather (quoth he) that men should aske another daie, why there was no image set up for *Cato*, than why he had any. He counselled them who had power to do what they would, to spare and make much thereof, to the end that their libertie might last with them for ever. They who deprive vertue * of honour, take away vertue (quoth he) from youth. He was of advice that no man ought to entreat a magistrate or judge in good and just causes to maintain them, nor free unto them in bad and unright, as matters to passe by or wink at them. His saying was: That
injustice

* Honour at-
tends upon
vertue, and is
the reward
thereof.

injustice and wrong doing, if it brought no perill to him that committed it; yet it was dangerous to all others. He admonished old folke not to adde unto their age the foulness of vice: for that they had deformities enough besides. His opinion was, that anger and fury differed in nothing, but that the one endured longer than the other. He was wont to say that they were not lightly envied, who knew how to use their fortune wisely and with moderation: For that (quoth he) it is not our person that is envied, but that which is about us. Also they who are earnest in ridiculous matters, make themselves laughing stocks in serious affaires. Over and besides, this was one of his sage sawes: That faire and commendable actions ought to meet with faire and laudable words to set them forth, to the end that they never be without the glory to them belonging. He reprehended the citizens of *Rome*, for giving alwaies their voices to one & the same person, at the elections of their magistrats: For it should seeme (quoth he) in so doing, that either you do not much esteeme the honour of magistracies, or els that in your judgement you have not men sufficient enough & worthy to beare them. He made semblant upon a time, that he had in great admiration the strength of one who sold and made away his lands that lay along by the sea-coast, as being a man more mightie and puissant than the verie sea: For (quoth he) that which the sea undermineth, earth & wasteth by little & little this good fellow hath swallowed & devoured all at once. When he stood to be chosen Censor, & saw that other of his competitors & concurrents trudged up & downe, glaving, glofing and flattering to the people for to insinuate themselves into their good favour & grace: he contrariwise went crying out: That the State & people had need of a rigorous & hard hearted physicion, both to dismember & cut off some part, and also to give them a strong purgation: and therefore they were not to chiose one who was most gracious, but him that was most sever; thus whiles he made these remonstrances, hee was himselfe chosen before all the rest. In teaching yong men for to fight valiantly and with resolution, hee said: That a word often-times frighted the enemy more than the sword, the tongue also more than the hand, and caused him to take his heeles and runne away. Whiles hee warred in *Spain* against those who inhabit along the river *Batth*, hee was in great danger, by reason of a great multitude of enemies who were in armes against him; neither could he be provided of aids upon a sudden, but from the *Celtibetians*, who for to succour him demanded two hundred talents: now the other *Romane* captaines would not yeeld that hee should make promise unto those barbarous nations of this money for their hire and sallarie; but *Cato* said: They were much deceived and out of the way; for if we winne (quoth he) we shall be able to pay them, not of our owne, but of our enemies goods; if we lose the day, there will be none left either to be paid or to call for pay. Having woon more townes in *Spain*, than he had bene daies there (according as he said himselfe) he reserved of all that spoile and pillage for his owne use, no more than hee did eat and drinke; but hee divided and dealt to every one of his souldiers a pound weight of silver, saying: That it were better that many should returne home out of warre with silver in their purses, than a few with golde; for that rulers and captaines ought not to grow rich themselves by their provinces and places of government in any thing but in honour and glorie. In that expedition or voiage of his, hee had with him in his traine five of his owne servitors; of whom, one there was who bought three prisoners taken in warre; but when he knew that his master had intelligence thereof, before that ever he came in his sight hee hung and strangled himselfe. *Scipio* surmised *Africanus*, praised him to favour the causes of the banished and fugitive *Acheans*, and to be good unto them, namely, that they might be recalled and restored againe to their owne country; but he made semblance as though hee tooke no great heed and regard to such affaires; and when hee saw that the matter was followed hotly in the Senate, and that there grew much speech and debate about it, hee stood up and said: Here is a great stirre indeed; and as though hee had nothing els to do, we sit here & spend all the long day disputing about these old gray-beard Greeks, and all forsooth, to know whether they shall be caried forth to their buriall by our porters and confere-
50 bears here, or by those there. *Posthumus Albinus* wrote certaine histories in Greeke, in the Preface and Proeme whereof, hee praised the readers and hearers to pardon him, if he had committed any folocisme or incongruities in that language; but *Cato* by way of a mocke, scoffed at him, and said: That hee deserved indeed to be pardoned for writing false histories, in case that by the ordinance and commandement of the high commission of the Amphyctiones, who were the chiefe Estates of all *Greece*, hee had bene compelled against his will, to enterprife and goe in hand with the said histories.

Scipio the yonger, in foure and fiftie yeeres (for so long hee lived) neither bought nor
O o
solde,

* Selfe doe,
selfe have.

folde, nor yet built: and it is for certaine reported, that in so great an house and substance as his might seeme to be, there was never found but three and thirtie pound weight of silver plate, and two of golde, notwithstanding the city of *Great Carthage* was in his hand, and he had enriched his souldiers more than ever any captaine did before him. Observing well the precept which *Polybius* gave, he hardly & without much ado would not returne out of the marketplace, before he had assaied to make in some fort one new friend and familiar or other, of those whom he met withall. Being but yet young, he was of such reputation for his valour and wisdom, that *Cato* the elder being demanded his opinion as touching others that were in the campe before *Carthage*, among whom he was one, delivered this commendation of him:

*Right wife and sage indeed alone is he,
I beest to him but flitting shadowes bee.*

whereupon after his returne to *Rome* from the campe, they that remained behinde, called for him againe, not so much by way of gratification and to do him a pleasure, but because they hoped by his meanes more speedily and with greater facilitie to win *Carthage*: now when he was entred to the very walles, and yet the Carthaginians fought from the castle, *Polybius* gave counsell to scatter in the sea betwene (which was not very deepe betwene his campe and the said castle) certaine colthropes of yron, or els planks beset with naile points, to overcast and spread the shallow shelves with sticking upon them, for feare lest that the enemies passing that arme or firth of the sea, might come to assaile their rampars; but he said: It was a meere mockery, considering that they had already gained the walles, and were within the citie of their enemies, to make meanes not to fight with them. Finding the citie full of statues and painted tables which were brought out of *Sicilie*, he made proclamation, that the Sicilians from all their cities should come for to owne and cary away whatsoever had bene theirs; but of all the pillage he would not allow any one, either slave or newly affianched of his owne traine, to seize upon, nor so much as buy ought, notwithstanding that there was driving and carying away otherwise on all hands. The greatest and most familiar friend that he had, *Laelius*, sued to be consull of *Rome*; him he favoured and set forward his sute in all that hee could: by which occasion hee demanded of one *Pompeius*, who was thought to make labour for the fauce dignitie, whether it were true that hee was a competitor or no? now it was supposed that this *Pompeius* was a minstrels sonne that used to play on the flute; who made answer againe, that he stood not for the consullship; and that which was more, hee promised to assist *Laelius*, and to get all the voices that hee could for him: thus while they beleaved his words, and expected his helping hand, they were deceived in the end; for they were given to understand for certaine, that this *Pompeius* was in the common hall labouring hard for himselfe, going about unto every citizen one after another, requesting their voices in his owne behalfe; whereat, when all others tooke stomacke and were offended, *Scipio* laughed apace, and said: We are even well enough served for our great follie, thus to stay and wait all this while upon a fluter and piper, as if we had bene to pray and invoke not men, but the gods. *Appius Claudius* was in election and concurrence against him for the office of censurship, saying in a braverie: That he used to salute all the Romans by name and by surname upon his owne knowledge of them, without the helpe of a prompter, whereas *Scipio* scarce knew one of them all: Thou saiest truth (quoth *Scipio*) for I have alwaies bene carefull not to know many, but rather not to be unknown of any. He gave counsell unto the Romane citizens, at what time as they warred against the Celeribians, for to send both him and his competitor together into the campe, in qualitie either of lieutenants or of colonels over a thousand foot, to the end that they might have the testimony of other captaines and expert warriors indeed, whether of them twaine performed his service and devoir better. Being created censor, he deprived a young gallant of his horse, for that being given excessively to feast and make good cheer, whiles the citie of *Carthage* was besieged, he had caused a certaine marchpaine to be made by palfrey-works in forme of a citie, and called it *Carthage*, and when he had done, set it upon the board to be spoiled and sacked (forsooth) by his companions; and when this youth would needs know of him why he was thus disgraced and degraded, as to lose his horse of service, which was allowed him from the State: Because (quoth he) you will needs rife and pill *Carthage* before me. During the time that he was censor, he seeing one day *C. Licinius* as he passed by: Now surely I knew this man (quoth he) for a perjured person, but for that there is none to accuse him, I will not be both his judge and a witness also to give evidence against him. Being sent by the Senate a third commissioner with other *Triumvirs*, according as *Cicero* maketh thus:

Mens

*Mens manners to observe and oversee,
Where they doe well and where they faultie bee.*

to visit also and looke into the States of cities, nations, and kings: When he was arrived at *Alexandria*, and disembarked, as he came first to land, he went hooded as it were with his robe cast over his head; but the *Alexandrians* running from all parts of the citie to see him, requested him to discover his head, that his face might be the better seene; and he had no sooner uncovered his visage, but they all cried out with great acclamations, applauding and clapping their hands in signe of joy. And when the king himselfe of *Alexandria* freined and strived with great paine, so grosse (so idle, and delicate he was otherwise) to keepe pace with him and the other commissioners, as they walked, *Scipio* rounded *Panetius* softly in the eare and said: The *Alexandrians* have reaped already the frute, and enjoied the benefit of my voyage, for that by our meanes they have seene their king to walke and go afoot. There accompanied him in this voyage a friend of his and a Philosopher named *Panetius*, and five servitors besides to wait upon him, and when one of these five hapned to die in this journey, he would not buy another in a forcine country for to supply his place, but sent for one to *Rome*, to serve in his turne. It seemed to the people of *Rome* that the Numantines were invincible and inexpugnable, for that they had vanquished and defeated so many captaines and leaders of the Romans: whereupon they chose this *Scipio* Consull the second time for to manage this warre; now when many a little young gallant made meanes and prepared to follow him in this service, the Senat empeached them, alleging colourably, that *Italy* thereby should be left destitute of men for the defence of the country, what need soever should be: so they would not suffer him to take that money out of the treasure which was preft and ready for him, but assigned and ordered certaine monies from the Publicanes and fermers of the cities customes and revenues to furnish him, whose daies of payment were not yet come: As for money (quoth *Scipio*) I stand not in such need thereof; that I should stay therefore, for out of mine owne and my friends purses I shall have sufficient to defray my charges, but I complaine rather that I may not be allowed to levie & leade forth my souldiers such as I would, and be willing to serve, considering that it is a dangerous warre which we are to wage; for it be in regard of our enemies valour, that our people have so often bene beaten and foiled by them, then we shall finde it a hot peece of service and a hard, to encounter such; but if it be long of our owne mens cowardize, no lesse difficult will it be, because we are to fight with the slender helpe of such. When he was newly arrived at the campe, he found there great disorder, much loosenesse, superstition, and wastfull superfluitie in all things; so he banished presently all diviners, prophets, and tellers of fortune; he rid out of the way all sacrificing priests, all bauds likewise that kept brothel-houses he chased forth: and he gave streight charge that every man should send away all manner of vessels and utensils, save onely a pot or kettle to seeth his meat in, a spit to roast, and a drinking juggle of earth, & as for silver plate, he allowed no man more in all than weighed two pounds: he put downe all baines and stoupes, but if any were disposed to be annoiued, he gave order that every man should take paine to rubbe himselfe; for he said that beasts who had no hands of their owne, needed another for to rub and currie them: he ordeined that his souldiers should take their dinner standing, and eate their meat not hot and without fire, but at supper, they might sit downe who that list, and feed upon bread or single grewell and plaine pottage, together with one simple dish of flesh either boiled or rost: as for himselfe he wore a cassocke or souldiers coat all blacke, buttoned close or buckled before, saying: That he mourned for the shame of his armie. He met with certaine garrons and labouring beasts belonging to one *Acemnius*, a collonel of a thousand men, carying drinking cups and other plate enriched with precious stones, and wrought curiously by the hands of *Thericles*; whereupon he said unto him: Thou hast made thy selfe unfit to serve me and thy country for these thirtie daies, being such an one as thou art, and surely being given to these superfluities, thou art disabled for doing thy selfe good all the daies of thy life. Another there was, who shewed him what a trim shield or target he had, finely made and richly adorned; Here is a faire & goodly shield indeed (quoth he) my young man, but I tell thee, a Romane souldier ought to trust his right hand better than his left. There was one who carying upon his shoulder a bunch of pales, or burden of stakes for to pitch in the rampar, complained that he was over-laden: Thou art but well enough served (quoth he,) in that thou reposest more confidence in these stakes than in thy sword. Seeing his enemies the Numantines how they grew rash, desperate, and foolishly bent, he would not in that fit charge upon them and give battell, but held off still, saying: That with tract of time he would buy the

It is good to lie off and temporize, when enemies are desperate.

O o 2

surety

surety and securitie of his affaires: For a good captaine (quoth he) ought to doe like a wife physician, who will never proceed to the cutting or dismembering of a part, but upon extremitie, namely, when all other means of physick doe faile: howbeit when he espied a good occasion, and fit opportunity, he assaulted the Numantines, and overthrowed them: which when the old beaten soldiers or elders of the Numantines saw, they rebuked and railed upon their owne men thus defeated, asking them, why they ran away and suffered themselves to be beaten by those who had foiled them so often before? but one of the Numantines answered; Because the sheep be the verie fame that they were in times past; many they have changed their shepherd. After he had forced the citie of *Numance* by assault, and entered now the second time with triumph into *Rome*, he fell into some variance and debate with *C. Gracchus*, in the behalfe of the 10
and certaine allies or confederates: whereupon the common-people taking a spleene and displeasure against him, made such clamours at him upon the *Rostra*, when he was purposed to speake and give remonstrances unto them, that thereupon he raised this speech: There was never yet any outcries and alarmes of whole camps, nor shouts of armed men ready to give battell, that could astonish and daunt me; no more shall the rude crye of a confused multitude trouble me, who know assuredly that *Italy* is not their mother, but their stepdame. And when *Gracchus* with his comforts and adherents cried out aloud: Kill the tyrant there, kill him! Great reason (quoth he) have they to take away my life, who warre against their owne countrie; for they know that so long as *Scipio* is on foot, *Rome* cannot fall, nor *Scipio* stand when *Rome* is laid 10
along.

* Enemies
ought not to
be immortall.

C. CECILIUS METELLUS, devising and casting about how to make sure his approaches and avenues for to assault a strong fort, when a Centurion came unto him and saide: With the losse but of ten men you may be master of the piece: Wilt thou then (quoth he) be one of those tenne? And when another who was a colonnell and a young man, demanded of him what service he intended to do? If I will (quoth he) that my waistcoat or shirt were privie to my minde, I would put it off presently and cast it into the fire. He was a great enemy to *Scipio*, so long as *Scipio* lived; but when he was once dead he * tooke it very heavily, and commanded his 30
owne sonnes to goe under the beare, and carrie him upon their owne shoulders to buriall, saying withall: That he gave the gods heartie thanks that *Scipio* was borne at *Rome* and in no place else.

* An example
of singular ju-
stice.

C. MARTUS being risen from a base degree by birth unto the government of State, and all by the meanes of armes, sued for the greater Aedileship, called *Curule*; but perceiving that he could not compass it, made sure the verie fame day for the lesse: and notwithstanding that he went besides both the one and the other, yet he said: That he doubted not one day to be the greatest man of all the Romanes. Being troubled with the swelling of the veines, called *Vari-ces*, in both his legges: he suffered the chirurgeon to cut those of the one legge, without being bound or tied for the matter, enduring the operation of his hand, and never gave one groane, or so much as bent his browes all the while; but when the chirurgeon would have gone to the other legge; *Nay* staie there (quoth he) for the cure of such a maladie as this, is not worth the greivous paines that belongeth thereto. He had a nephew or sisters sonne named *Lusius*, who 40
in the time that his uncle was second time Consul, would have forced and abused a youth in the prime of his yeeres, named *Trebonius*, who began but then, under his charge to beare armes: this young springall made no more adoe but slew him outright; and when many there were who charged and accused him for this murder, he denied not the fact, but confessed plainly that he had killed his captaine, and withall declared the cause publicly: *Marius* himselfe being advertised hereof, caused to be brought unto him a coronet, such as usually was given un-
to those who had performed in warre some wortheie exploit, and * with his owne hand fer it 50
upon the head of this youth *Trebonius*. Being encamped very neere to the campe of the *Ten-tones*, in a plot of ground where there was but little water; when his soldiers complained that they were lost for water, and ready to die for very thirst, he shewed them a river not far off, run-
ning along the enemies campe: Yonder (quoth he) there is water enough for to be bought with the price of your blood: Then leade us to it quickly, answered his souldiers whiles out blood is liquid and will runne, and never let us stay so long till it be cluttered and dried up with drought. During the time of the *Cimbrians* warre he endured at once with the right of free Burgeoisie of *Rome*, a thousand men all * Camerines, in consideration of their good ser-
vice in that warre; a thing that was contrarie to lawe: now when some blamed him for trans-
gressing the lawes, he answered and said: That he could not heare what the lawes said, for the
great

* or Camerines

great rustling and clattering that harness and armor made. In this time of the civill warre, seeing himselfe enclosed round about with trenches and rampars, and streight beleaguered he endured all and waited his best opportunity; and when *Popedius* * *Silv* captaine gene-
rall of the enemies saide unto him: *Marius* if thou be so great a warrior as the name, goeth of *Sila*,
thee, come forth of the campe, and combat with me hand to hand: *Nay* saith he, and if thou
art so brave a captaine as thou wouldst be taken, force me to combat if thou canst.

CATULUS *LUCIATIS* in the foresaid *Cimbrian* warre, lay encamped along the river
Athelisi; and when the Romanes saw that the Barbarians were about to passe over the wa-
ter, and to set upon them, retired and dilogged presently, what reasons and persuasions so-
ever their captaine could use to the contrary; but when he saw he could doe no good, nor cause
them to stay, himselfe ranne away with the foremost, to the end that it should not seeme that
they fled cowardly before their enemies, but dutifully followed their captaine.

SYLLA, surnamed *Felix*, i. Happie, among other prosperities, counted these two for the
greatest: the one, that he lived in love and amitie with *Metellus Pius*; the other, that he had
not destroyed the citie of *Athens*, but saved it from being rased.

C. POPILIUS, was sent unto king *Antiochus* with a letter from the Senate of *Rome*; the
tenor whereof was this: That they commanded him to withdraw his forces out of *Adgypt*; and
not to usurpe the kingdome which appertained to the children of *Ptolemaus*, being orphans.
The king seeing *Popilius* coming toward him through his campe, saluted him a faine off very
20
curteously: but *Popilius* without any salutations or greeting againe, delivered him the letters;
which *Antiochus* read, and after he had read it, answered him that he would thinke upon the
matter that the Senate willed him to doe, and then give him his dispatch: whereupon *Popilius*
drew a circle round about the king, with a vine rod that he had in his hand, saying: Resolve I ad-
vise you first, before you passe forth of this compass, and give me my answer: all that were pre-
sent wonderred and were astonished at the boldnesse and resolution of this man: but *Antio-
chus* presently answered him: That he would doe whatsoever pleased the Romanes: then *Popilius*
saluted him most lovingly and embraced him.

LUCULLUS in *Armenia* went with ten thousand footmen and one thousand horse, to
meet with king *Tigranes*, who was an hundred and fiftie thousand strong, for to give him battell:
30
the first day it was of October, and the very day of the month upon which before time the Ro-
mane armie under the conduct of one of the *Scipios* had beene defeated by the *Cimbrians*:
and when one said unto him: That the Romanes feare that day exceedingly, as being dismal and
infortunate: Why (quoth he) even therefore ought we this very day to fight courageously and
valiantly, to the end that we may make this day to be joyfull and happie, which the Romanes
hold as cursed and unhappie: Now when the Romanes did most dread the men at armes of
Armenia, seeing them in their compleat harness, armed at all pieces, & mounted on bard horses,
he had them be of good cheere and not to feare: (For saith he) you shall finde more adoe to dis-
poile and disarm them, than you shall have in killing them: himselfe mounting first up to the
top of a certaine little hill, after he had well viewed and considered the Barbarians how they mo-
ved and waded roo and fro; he cried out with a loud voice unto his souldiers: My good friends
40
and companions, the day is ours: and in very truth, they were put to flight all at once of their
owne selves, without any onset or charge given them; and in such sort *Lucullus* followed the
chafe, that he killed in the verie rout, above one hundred thousand; and lost not of his owne but
five men onely.

CNEUS POMPEIUS, surnamed *Magnus* i. the Great, was as well beloved of the Romanes
as his father before him was hated; who being yet very young, he sided to the faction of *Sylla*:
and notwithstanding that he had no office of State, nor was so much as one of the Senataryes he
levied a mightie power of armed men from all parts of *Italy*: now when *Sylla* called him unto
him, he said: That he would not make shew of his soldiers unto his soveraigne and generall,
50
before they had made some spoile and drawne blood of their enemies; and in very deed
he came not unto him with his power, before that hee had defeated in manie battels: fundie
captaines of his enemies. Afterwards, being sent by *Sylla* with commision of a com-
mander into *Stallie*, understanding that his souldiours as they marched brake out of order
and ranke, and would goe forth to rob and spoile, and commit many riots by the way, he put
to death all such as without licence departed from their colours, and went running up & downe
the countrey: and as for such as he sent abroad with warrant about any commision or business
of his, he sealed up their swords within the scabbards with his owne signet. He was at the verie
point

point to have put all the Mamertines to the sword, for that they banded against *Sylla*; but *Sthenus* one of the inhabitants, an oratour, and a man that could doe much with the people, and leade them with his perfwasive orations, said unto him: That it were not well, that for one mans fault he should caule so many innocents to die; for I (quoth he) am the onely man culpable, and the cause of all this mischief, having by my perfwasions induced my friends, & with threats forced mine enemies to take part with *Marius* and follow his flander: *Pompeius* wondering at this resolute remonstrance of his, said: That he was content to pardon the Mamertines, who suffered themselves to be ledde and perfwaded by such a personage, as held the safetie of his owne country more deare than his owne life; and so he forgave the whole city and *Sthenus* himselfe. After this, being passed over sea into *Africa* against *Domitius*, and having woonne the field, 10 a great battell, when his souldiers saluted him by the name of Emperour or Sovereigne captaine generall, he said unto them: That he would not accept of that honourable title, so long as the rampar about his enemies campe stood; he had no sooner said the word, but they ranne all at once to this service, notwithstanding it was a great shewre of raine, plucked downe the palliada, mounted over the rampar, entred the campe and sacked it. At his returne home, *Sylla* made exceeding much of him otherwise, and did him great honour, but among many other, he was the first man that filed him with the surname of *Magnus*; howbeit, when he minded to enter triumphant into *Rome*, *Sylla* would have hindered him, alledging for his reason: That he was not as yet admitted and sworn a Senator: whereat *Pompeius* turning to those that were present: It seemeth (quoth he) that *Sylla* is ignorant how there be more men that worship the sun 20 rising than setting: which words when *Sylla* heard, he cried out with a loud voice: Let him triumph a Gods name, for I see well he will have it: and yet for all that, *Servilius* a man of the senators degree, withstood his triumph, & rooke great indignation against him; yea, & many of his own souldiers set themselves against him and dashed it quite, if they might not have certaine gifts and rewards, which they pretended were due unto them: but *Pompeius* laid with a cleere & audible voice: That he would sooner leave triumph and all, than to be so bafe minded as to flatter and make count to his souldiers: at which words *Servilius* said unto him: By this now I see well (6 *Pompeius*) what thou art truly named *Magnus*, & Great, & worthy indeed to triumph. There was a custome at *Rome*, that the knights or gentlemen, after they had served in the warres the complete time set downe and limited by the lawes, should present their horses in the market place 30 before the two reformers of maners, called Censours, and there openly recount and relate unto them in what warres or battels they had fought, and the captaines under whom they had borne armes, to the end that according to their demerits they might receive condigne praise or blame. It so fell out that *Pompeius* being consull, himselfe led his owne horse of service by the bridle, and presented him before *Gellius* and *Lentulus*, censours for the time being; and when they according to the order and manner in that behalfe, demanded of him whether he had served in the warres so many yeeres as the law required: Even all (quoth he) fully, and that under my selfe, the soveraigne commander at all times. Being in *Spain*, he light upon certaine papers and writings of *Sertorius*, wherein were many letters mislaid sent from the principall Senators of *Rome*, and namely such as solicited and called *Sertorius* to *Rome*, for to raise some innovations, and make a change in the State: these letters he flung all into the fire, giving them occa- 40 sion and opportunitie by this means, who intended mischief and were ill bent, to change their minds, repent and amend. *Phraates* king of the Parthians sent unto him certaine ambassadors to request him that he would not passe over the river *Euphrates*, but to make at the middle frontier & bound betweene them both: Nay rather (quoth *Pompeius*) let justice be the indifferent limit betweene the Parthians and the Romans. *L. Lucullus*, after he was returned from his warres and conquests, gave himselfe over excessively to all pleasures, and to live most sumptuously, reprooving *Pompeius* for this: That hee desired alwaies from time to time more and more, great charges and employments even above his age, and unfitting those yeeres of his: unto whom 50 *Pompeius* made this answer: That it was a thing more unbecoming olde yeeres, for a man to abandon himselfe to delights and pleasures, than to attend the weightie affaires of the common weale. upon a time when he was sicke, the Physicians prescribed that he should eat of a blacke-bird; great laying there was in many places for that bird, but none could be found, for that it was not their season nor the time of the yeere; but one there was, who said that if he would send to *Lucullus*, he might have of them, for he kept them in mure all the yeere long: And what needs that (quoth he) can not *Pompeius* recover and live, if *Lucullus* were not a waster and a delicate given to belly-cheere? and so leaving the Physicians prescript diet, hee composed and framed himselfe

himselfe to eat that which was ordinary and might be found in every place. In regard of a great famine and scarcitie of corne and victuals at *Rome*, he was ordered in outward shew of words, the grand purveyor or generall superintendant and over-seeer for victuals, but in effect and authority, lord indeed both of sea and land: by which occasion he made voiajes into *Affricke*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicilie*, where, after he had provided a mightie deale of corne, he intended presently to have returned with all speed to *Rome*; but there arose a terrible tempest, in which as the pilots and mariners themselves made no haste to goe to sea and set saile; but he in his owne person embarked first, and when he was on ship-board, he commanded to weigh anchor, laying with a loud voice: Saile we needs must, there is no remedie, but to live there is not such necessitie. 10 When the quarrell betweene him and *Cesar* was broken out and fully discovered, there was one *Marc'ellinus*, (a man that before-time had bene advanced by him, & yet afterwards turned to the adverse part and faction of *Cesar*) who in a frequent assembly of the Senate, charged and challenged him to his face for many things, and spake spightfull words against him: *Pompeius* could not holde, but answered him thus: Bafeth not thou *Marc'ellinus*, in this open place to miscall and raile upon me, who have made thee eloquent, whereas before thou couldst not speake at all; who have fed thee full, even untill thou be readie to cast up thy stomacke, where before thou wert hungry and ready to pine for famine? unto *Cato*, who chidde and reprooved him sharply for that he would never beleve his words, when he fore-tolde him many times, that the puissance and increase of *Cesars* State, unto whom he lent his hand, would one day greatly injure 20 and hurt the weale-publicke, he answered: Your counsell indeed was wiser, but mine more loving and friendly. In speaking of himselfe freely, he said: That all offices of State he both enjoyed sooner upon than he looked himselfe; and also forwent them before it was expected that he would. After the battell of *Pharsalia* when he fled into *Aegypt*, and was to passe out of his gally into a little barke or fisher boat, which the king had sent unto him for to bring him to land, he turning unto his wife and sonne, said no more but this verse out of *Enripides*:

Who once in court of Tyrant serve, become

His loves anon, though free they thither come.

Being passed over in this barke, after he had received one blow with a sword, he gave onely a sigh and groane, and without saying one word, he covered his owne face with his garment, and 30 yielded himselfe to be killed.

Cicero the great oratour was mocked of some for that surname of his which alludeth unto a Cich-peafe; in so much as his friends gave him counsell to change his name: but hee contrariwise said, that he would make the name of the Ciceroes more noble and renowned, than the Catoes, the Catuli, or the Scauri. He offered unto the gods a goodly faire vessell of silver, in which he caused to be engraven his two fore-names, *Marcus* and *Tullius* in letters; but for the third, to wit, *Cicero* his surname, hee commanded to be embossed or chased the forme of a Cich-peafe. He said that those oratours who used to straine their voices, and cry aloud in the pulpit, were privie to their owne weakenesse and insufficiency otherwise, and had recourse to this one helpe, like as creples and lame-folke to their horses for to mount upon, 40 *Verres* had a sonne diffamed for the abuse of his bodie in the floure of his youth; and yet the said *Verres* stucke not to slander *Cicero* and rail upon him, even to these broad and foule tearmes, as to call him a filthie wanton and a buggor; whereto *Cicero* answered thus: Thou doest not know, that it were more seemely to rebuke thy children for this within doores in some secret part of thy house close shut. *Marc'ellus* one day in debating and confesting with him said: Thou hast brought more to their death by thy testimonies and depositions, than thou hast saved with all thy good pleading: I confesse as much (quoth *Cicero* againe) for I have more truth and fidelitie in me by farre, than eloquence. The same *Marc'ellus* demanded of him who was his father, reproching him (as it were) thereby that he was a new upstart, and a gentleman of the first head: Unto whom readily thy mother hath made this question more 50 hard on thy part to be answered: now was *Metellus* his mother thought to be an unchast woman and naught of her bodie; and *Metellus* himselfe was counted a vaine braine-sicke and dissembler fellow, given over to his wanton lusts and desires. This *Metellus* had caused to be set upon the sepulchre of one *Diadorus*, who had bene his master sometime to teach him Rhetorick, the portraiture of a crow in stone: whereupon *Cicero* tooke occasion to come upon him in this wise: A just recompence in deed and fit for him, because he hath taught this man to flie and not to speake. * *Patrinus* was a lewd man, and his adverfarye: now a rumour ran abroad that he was dead; but afterwards when he found it to be a false brute: A mischief take him for me (quoth

^f Noting that by condition he was a flauce.

^g Or gold.

^x It is a pleasure to see the ruine & overthrow of such enterprisers & commorants houses.

^a A man of honour can not be too careful for to quit him well in his calling and vocation.

(quoth *Cicero*) that made this lie first. There was one supposed to be an Africane borne, who said unto him: That he heard him not when he spake: I marvelled at that (quoth *Cicero*) confiding thine eares be bored as they are and have holes in them. *C. Popilius* would have bene taken and reputed for a great lawyer, although he had no law in the world in him, and was besides a man of very grosse capacity: this man was serued with a writ to appeare in the court for to beare witness of a trueth, touching a certteine fact in question; but he answered: That he knew nothing at all: True (quoth *Cicero*;) for peradventure you meane of the law, and thinke that they are asked the question of it. *Hortensius* the orator, who pleaded the cause of *Perres*, had received of him for a fee or a gentle reward, a jewel with the portraiture of *Sphinx* in silver: it fell out, that *Cicero* chanced to give out a certteine darke and ambiguous speech: As for mee (quoth *Hortensius*) I can not tell what to make of your words, for I am not one that useth to solve riddles and enigmaticall speeches: Why man (quoth *Cicero*) and yet you have *Sphinx* in your house. He met upon a time with *Vocentius* and his three daughters, the foulest that ever looked out of a pair of eies: at which object he spake folly to his friends about him:

*This man (I weene) his children best begot
in sight of Phocbus, and when he would it not.*

Faustus the sonne of *Sylla* was in the end so farre indebted, that he exposed his goods to be sold in open sale, and caused billes to be set up on posts in every quarefour to notifie the same: Yeamary (quoth *Cicero*) I like these billes and ^g proscriptions better than those that his father published before him. When *Cesar* and *Pompey* were entred into open warre one against another: I know full well (quoth *Cicero*) whom to flie, but I wot not unto whom to flie. He found great fault with *Pompey* in that he left the cite of *Rome*, and that he chose rather in this case to imitate the policy of *Themistocles* than of *Pericles*, saying: That the present state of the world resembled rather the time of *Pericles*, than of *Themistocles*. Hee drew at first to *Pompey* side, and being with him, repented thereof. When *Pompey* asked him where he had left *Piso* his son-in-law; he answered readily: Even with your good father-in-law; meaning *Cesar*. There was one who departed out of *Cesar*'s campe unto *Pompey*, and said: That he had made such haste, that hee left his horse behinde him: Thou canst skill (I perceive) better to save thy horses life than thine owne. unto another, who brought word that the friends of *Cesar* looked soure and unpleasant: Thou failest (quoth he) as much as if they thought not well of his proceedings. After the battell of *Pharsalia* was lost, and that *Pompey* was already fled, there was one *Quentius* who came unto him, and willed him not to despair, but be of good cheere, for that they had yet seven eagles left, [which were the standards of the legions:] Seven eagles (quoth he;) that were somewhat indeed, if we had to warre against jakes & jackdawes. After that *Cesar*, upon his victorie, being lord of all, had caused the statues of *Pompey* which were cast done, to be set up againe with honors: *Cicero* said of *Cesar*: In setting up these statues of *Pompey*, he hath pitched his owne more surely. He so highly esteemed the gift of eloquence and grace of well speaking, yea, and he tooke to great paines with ardent affection, for to performe the thing, that having to plead a cause onely before the Centumvirs or hundred judges, and the day set downe being neere at hand for the hearing and triall thereof; when one of his servants *Eros*, brought him word that the cause was put off to the next day, ^h he was so well contented and pleased therewith, that incontinently he gave him his freedom for that newes.

Caius Caesar, at what time as he being yet a young man, fled and avoided the furie of *Sylla*, fell into the hands of certteine pirates or rovers, who at the first demanded of him no great summe of money for his ranfome, whereat hee mocked and laughed at them, as not knowing what manner of person they had gotten; and so of himselfe promised to pay them twice as much as they asked; and being by them guarded and attended upon very diligently, all the while that he sent for to gather the said summe of money which he was to deliver them, he willed them to keepe silence and make no noise, that he might sleepe and take his repose: during which time that he was in their custodie, he exercised himselfe in writing as well verse as prose, and read the same to them when they were composed; and if hee saw that they would not praise and commend those poemcs and orations sufficiently to his contentment, he would call them senselesse fots and barbarous, yea, and after a laughing manner, threaten to hang them: and to say a truth, within a while after, he did as much for them: for when his ranfome was come, and hee delivered once out of their hands, he levied together a power of men and ships from out of the coasts of *Africa*, set upon the said rovers, spoiled them and crucified them. Being returned to *Rome*, and having enterprised a sute for the sovereign Sacerdottall dignitie against *Catulus*, who was then

then a principall man at *Rome*; whereas his mother accompanied him as farre as to the utmost gates of his house, when he went into Mars field where the election was held, he took his leave of her and said: Mother you shall have this day your sonne to be chiefe Pontifice and high priest, or else banished from the cite of *Rome*. He put away his wife *Pompeia*, upon an ill name that went of her, as if she had bene naught with *Clodius*: whereupon when *Clodius* afterwards was called into question judicially for the fact, and *Cesar* likewise convented into the court, peremptorily for to beare witness of the truth, being examined upon his oath, he swore that he never knew any ill at all by his wife; and when he was urged and replied upon againe, wherefore he had put her away? he answered: That the wife of *Cesar* ought not onely to be innocent and

cleere of crime, but also of all suspicion of crime. In reading the noble acts of *Alexander* the great, the teares trickled downe his cheeks; and when his friends desired to know the reason why he wept: At my age (quoth he) *Alexander* had vanquished & subdued *Darius*, and I have yet done nothing. As he passed along through a little poore towne situate within the Alpes; his familiar friends about him, merrily asked one another whether there were any factions and contentions in that burrough, about superiorie, and namely, who should be the chiefe? whereupon he staid suddenly; and after he had studied and mused a while within himselfe: I had rather (quoth he) be the first here, than the second in *Rome*. As for haucie & adventurous enterprises, he was wont to say: They should be executed & not consulted upon: and verily when he passed over the river *Rubicon*, which divideth the province of *Gaul* from *Italy*, for to leade his power against *Pompey*: Let the Die (quoth he) be thrown for all: as if he would say: * This cast fort, there is but one chance to lose all. When *Pompey* was fled from *Rome* to the sea, ^{Or thus, I have put it upon the dice, some what will of it.} *Metellus* the superintendent of the publike treasure, would have hindred him for to take him forth any money from thence, keeping the treasure house fast shut, and he threatened to kill him; whereat *Metellus* seeming to be amazed at his adacious words: Tush, tush, (quoth he) good young man, I would thou shouldst know that it is harder for me to speake the word, than to doe the deed. And for that his soldiors staid long ere they were transported over unto him from *Brundisium*, to *Dyrhachium*, he embarked himselfe alone into a small vessell, without the knowledge of any man who he was, purposing to passe the seas alone without his companie; but it hapned so, that he was like to have bene cast away in a gulf, and drowned with the waves of the sea: whereupon he made himselfe knowne unto the pilot, and spake unto him aloud: Assure thy selfe and rest confident in fortune, for we well thou hast *Cesar* a ship board: howbeit for that time he was impeached that he could not crosse the seas, as well in regard of the tempest which grew more violent, as also of his soldiors who ran unto him from all sides, and complained unto him for griefe of heart, saying: That he offered them great wrong to attend upon other forces, as if he distrusted them. Not long after this he fought a great battell, wherein *Pompey* had the upper hand for a time, but for that he followed not the train of his good fortune, he retired into his campe; which when *Cesar* saw, he said: The victorie was once this day our enemies, but their head and captaine knew not so much. upon the plaines of *Pharsalia*, the very day of the battell, *Pompey* having arranged his army in array, commanded his soldiors to stand their ground, and not to advance forward, but to expect their enemies, and receive the charges wherin *Cesar* afterwards said: He did amisse and grossely failed, for that thereby he let slack as it were the vigor & vehemencie of his soldiors which is mislaid upon to the by the violence of the first onfet, & abated that heat also of courage which the said charge would have brought with it. VVhen he had defeated at his very first encounter, *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, he wrote thus unto his friends: I came, I saw, I vanquished. After that *Scipio* and those under his conduct were discomfited and put to flight in *Africke*; when he heard that *Cato* had killed himselfe, he said: I envie thy death *Cato*, for that thou hast envious me the honour of saving thy life. Some there were who had *Antonie* and *Dolabella* in jealousie and suspicion, and when they came unto him and said: That he was to looke unto himselfe, and stand upon his good guard; he made them this answer: That he had no distrust nor feare of them, who ledde an idle life, be well coloured and in so good liking as they: But I feare (quoth he) these pale and leane fellows pointing unto *Brutus* and *Cassius*. One day as he sat at the table when speech was moved and the question asked, what kind of death was best? Even that (quoth he) which is sudden and least looked for.

Caesar, him I meane who first was surnamed *Augustus*, being as yet in his youth, requi- * I. 10. Millions of Sestices or Denarii.
red and claimed of *Antonie* as much money as amounted to two thousand and five hundred
* Myriades, which he had transported out of *Julius Caesar*'s house after he was murdered, and got-
ten

* i. Denarii.

ten into his owne hands; for that he intended to pay the Romans that which the said *Cæsar* had bequeathed unto them by his last will and testament: for he had left by legacie unto every citizen of *Rome* 75. * drams of silver; but *Antonie* detained the said summe of money to himselfe, and answered young *Cæsar* that if he were wife he should desist from demanding any such monies of him: which when the other heard, he proclaimed open port sale of all the goods that came to him by his patrimonie, & in deed sold the same; and with the money raised thereof, he satisfied the forefaid legacies unto the Romans: in which doing he wan all the hearts of the citizens of *Rome* to himselfe, & brought their evil wil and hatred upon *Antonie*. Afterwards *Kymetales* king of *Thracia* left the part of *Antonius*, and turned to his side; but he overthot himselfe so much at the table, being in his cups, and namely, in that he could talke of nothing else, but of this great good service, and casting in his teeth this worthy alliance and confederacie of his, so as he became odious therefore; insomuch as one time at supper *Cæsar* taking the cup, dranke to one of the other kings who sat at the boord, saying with a loud voice: Treason I love well, but traitors I hate. The Alexandrians after their citie was woonne, looked for no better than to suffer all the extremities and calamities that might follow upon the forcing of a city by assault; but this *Cæsar* mounting up into the publike place to make a speech unto the citizens, having neere by unto him a familiar friend of his; to wit *Arius*, an Alexandrian bothe; pronounced openly a generall pardon, saying that he forgave the citie: first, in regard of the greatness and beautie thereof; secondly in respect of *Alexander* the great their first founder: and thirdly for *Arius* his sake, who was his loving friend. Understanding that one of his Procurators named *Eros*, who did negotiate for him in *Aegypt*, had bought a quail of the game, which in fight would beat all other quails, and was never conquered himselfe, but continued still invincible; which quail notwithstanding, the said slave had caused to be roasted and to be eaten: he sent for him and examined him thereupon whether it was true or no? and when he confessed Yea, he commanded him presently to be crucified and nailed to the mast of his ship. He placed *Arius* in *Sicilie* for his agent and procurator, in stead of one *Theodorus*: and when one presented unto him a little booke or bill wherein were written these words, *Theodorus of Thyras* * the bauld is a theefe, how thinke you is he not? when he had read this bill, he did nothing else but subscribe underneath: I thinke no lesse. He received yearly upon his birth day from *Athenians* (one of his familiar friends who converted daily with him) a cup for a present. *Athenodorus* the Philosopher being of great yeeres, craved licence with his good favour to retire unto his owne house from the court, by reason of his old age; and leave he gave him, but at his farewell, *Athenodorus* said unto him: Sir, when you perceive your selfe to be moved with choler, neither say do nor ought before you have repeated to your selfe all the 24. letters in the Alphabet: *Cæsar* hearing this advertisement, tooke him by the hand: I have need still (quoth he) of your company and presence, and so retained him for one yeere longer, saying withall this velle,

The hire of silence, now I see
Is out of perill and jeopardie.

Having heard that King *Alexander* the Great at the age of two and thirtie yeeres, having performed most part of his conquests, was in doubt with himselfe and perplexed what to do and how to be employed afterwards: I wonder (quoth he) that *Alexander* thought it not a more difficult matter to governe and preserve a great empire after it is once gotten, than to winne and conquer it at first. When he had enacted the law *Julia* as touching adulterie, wherein is set downe determinately the manner of proccesse against those that be attaint of that crime, and how such are to be punished who be convicted thereof: it hapned that through impatience and heat of choler, he fell upon a young gentleman, who was accused to have committed adulterie with his daughter *Julia*, in so much as he buffeted him well and thorowly with his owne fists: the young man thereupon cried unto him: Your selfe have made a law, *Cæsar*, which ordained the order and forme of proceeding against adulteries: whereat he was so dismayed & abashed, yea and so repented himselfe of this misfortune, that he would not that day eat anie supper. When he sent his nephew or daughters sonne *Caius* into *Armenia*, he praised unto the gods to accompanie him with that good will of all men which *Pompey* had, with the valiantie of *Alexander* the Great, and with his owne good fortune. He said, that he left unto the Romans for to succeed him in the empire, one who never in his life had consulted twise of one thing, meaning *Tylerius*. Minding to appease certaine young Romane gentlemen of honour and authoritie, who made a great noise and stirre in his presence; when he saw that for all

* Or read thus, it is either bald or a theefe, according to some Greeke copies.

his first admonitions he could do no good, he said unto them: Young gentlemen give care unto me an old man, whom when I was young as you are, ancient men would give care unto. The people of *Athens* had offended and done him some displeasure, unto whom hee wrote in this wise: You are not ignorant (I suppose) that I am displeased with you, for otherwise I would not have wintered in this little isle *Aegina*: and more than thus; he neither did nor said afterwards unto them. When one of *Eurycles* his accusers had at large with all libertie and licentiousnesse of speech uttered against him (without any respect) what he would, he let him run on still, untill he came to these words: And if these matters (*Cæsar*) seeme not unto you notorious and heinous, command him to rehearse unto me the seventh booke of *Thucydides*: *Cæsar* offended now at his audacious impudencie, commanded him to be had away and led to prison; but being advertised that he was the onely man left of the race and line of captaine *Brahas* hee sent for him, and after he had given him some few good admonitions, he let him goe. *Piso* had built him a most stately and magnificent house, even from the foundation to the rooffe thereof, which when *Cæsar* saw he said: It rejoiceth my heart exceedingly to see thee build thus, as if *Rome* should continue world without end.



LACONICKE APOPH- THEGMES, OR THE NOTA- BLE SAYINGS OF LACE- DÆMONIANS.

The Summarie.

Lutarch had in the collection precedent among the *Apophthegmes* of renowned Greeks, mingled certaine notable sayings of King *Agessilaus* and other *Lacedæmonians*: but now he exhibiteth unto us a treatise by it selfe of the said *Lacedæmonians*, who deserve no doubt to be registred apart by themselves, as being a people who (of all other nations destitute of the true knowledge of God) least abused their tongue. In which regard also he maketh a more ample description of their *Apophthegmes*, shewing sufficiently by so many pleasant speeches and lively reencounters, that it was no marvell, if so small a State (as *Sparta* was) flourished so long, being governed and peopled by men of such dexterity, and so well qualified in the parts both of bodie and minde, and yet who knew better to do than to say. Moreover, this Catalogue here is distinguished into foure principall portions: whereof the first representeth the worthie speeches of Kings, Generall captaines, Lords and men of name in *Lacedæmon*: the second containeth the *Apophthegmes* of such *Lacedæmonians*, whose names are unknown: the third describeth briefly the customes & ordinances which serve for the maintenance of their estate: and the fourth compriseth certaine sayings of some of their women, wherein may be scene so much the more the valour & magnanimitie of that nation. As touching the profit that a man may draw out of these *Apophthegmes* it is verie great in everie respect: neither is there any person of what age or condition soever, but he may learne herein verie much, and namely, how to speake little, to say well, and to carie himselfe vertuously, as the reading thereof will make proofe. We have noted also and observed somewhat in the margin, not particularising upon everie point; but onely to give a taste and appetite unto the Reader for to meditate better thereof, and to apply unto his owne use, both it and all therof which he may there comprehend and understand.

LACONICKE

LACONICKE APOPH- thegmes, or the notable sayings of Lacedaemonians.



* A Prince is
to honour his
native coun-
try.

AGESILAS a king of the Lacedaemonians, by nature given to heare and desirous to learne; when one of his familiar friends said unto him: I wonder sir since you take so great pleasure otherwise to heare men speake wel and eloquently, that you do not entertaine the famous sophist or rhetorician *Philophanes* for to teach you? made him this answer: It is because I desire^a to be their scholar, whose sonne also I am, that is, among whom I am borne. And to another who demanded of him, how a prince could raigne in factie, not having about him his guards for the suretie of his person; *Marie* (quoth he) if he rule his subjects as a good father governeth his children.

AGESILAS the Great, being at a certaine feast, was by lot chosen the master of the said feast; and to him it appertained to set downe a certaine law, both in what manner and how much everie one ought to drinke; now when the butler or skinker asked him how much he should poure out for everie one, he answered: If thou be well provided and have good store of wine, fill out as much as everie man list to call for; but^b if thou have no great plentie of it, let everie guest have alike. There was a malefactor, who being in prison endured constantly before him all manner of torments; which when he saw: What a cursed wretch is this and wicked in the highest degree, who doth employ this patience and resolute fortitude in the maintenance of so shamefull and mischievous parts, as he hath committed! One highly praised in his presence a certaine master of Rhetoricke, for that he could by his eloquent tooing amplifie small matters, making them seeme great, wherupon he said: I take him not to be a good thomaker, who putteth on a big shoe upon a little foot. When one in reasoning & debating a matter upon a time challenged him, and said: Sir, you gave your consent once unto it; and it soonnes iterating the same words, charged him with his grant and promise: True indeed (quoth he) if the cause were just, I approved it in good earnest & gave my promise; but if not, I did but barely say the word & no more; but as the other replied againe and said: Yea, but kings ought to accomplish & performe whatsoever they seeme once to grant, & it be but with the nod of the head: Nay (said he againe) they are no more bound thereto, than those that come unto them are tied for to speake and demand all things just and reasonable, yea, and to observe the opportunity and that which fitteth and sorteth well with kings. When he heard any men either to praise or dispraise others, he said: That it behoved to know the nature, disposition and behaviour no lesse of those who so spake, than of the parties of whom they did speake. Being whiles he was very young, at a certaine publicke and festivall solemnitie, wherein young boies daunced (as the maner was) all naked, the warden or overseer of the said shew and daunce, appointed him a place for to beholde that sight, which was not verie honourable; wherewith notwithstanding he stood well contented, albeit he was known to be heire apparent to the crowne, and already declared king; and withall said: It is very well; for I will shew, that it is not the place which crediteth the person, but the person that giveth credit and honour to the place. A certaine Physician had ordeined for him in one sicknesse that he had, a course of physicke to cure his maladie, which was nothing easie and simple, but very exquisite, curious and withall painfull: By *Castor* and *Pollux* (quoth he) if my destinie be not to live, I shal not recover though I take all the drogues and medicines in the world. Standing one day at the altar of *Minerva* surnamed *Chalcivaea*, where he sacrificed an ox, there chanced a louse to bite him; and he was nothing dismayed and abashed to take the said louse, but before them all who were present, killed her, and swore by the gods, saying: That it would do him good at the heart, so to serve them all, for who should treacherously lay wait to assaile him, yea, though it were at the very altar. Another time, when he saw a little boy drawing a mouse which he had caught, out of a window, and that the said mouse turned upon the boy and bit him by the hand, in somuch as thee made him leave his holde, and so escaped; hee shewed the sight unto those that were present about him, and said: Loe, ^a if so little a beast and fillic creature as this, hath the heart to be revenged upon those that doe it injurie, what thinke you is meet and reason that men should doe? Being desirous to make warre upon the king of *Persia*, for the deliverance and freedome

* Naturall it
is for every
thing to de-
fend it selfe.

of those Greeks who did inhabit *Asia*, he went to consult with the oracle of *Jupiter* within the forest *Dodona*, as touching this desseigne of his: and when the oracle had made answer according to his minde, namely: That if it pleased him, he should enterprise that expedition; he communicated the same to the controllers of State called *Ephors*; who willed him also to goe forward, and aske the counsell likewise of *Apollo* in the citie of *Delphos*; and being there, he entered into the chapell from whence the oracles were delivered, and said thus: O *Apollo*, art thou also of the same minde that thy father is? and when he answered, Yea; wherupon hee was chosen for the general to conduct this warre, and set forth in his voiage accordingly. *Tissiphernes*, lieutenant under the king of *Persia* in *Asia*, being astonished at his arrivall; made a composition and accord with him at the very first; in which treatie, he capitulated: and promised to leave unto his behoofe, all the townes and cities of the Greeks which were in *Asia*, free and at libertie to be governed according to their owne lawes: meane while hee dispatched messengers in post to the king his master, who sent unto him a strong and puissant armie; upon the confidence of which forces he gave defiance, and denounced warre, unlesse he departed with all speed out of *Asia*: *Agessilam* being well enough pleased with this treacherous breach of the agreement, made semblant as though he would go first into *Caria*; and when *Tissiphernes* gathered his forces in those parts to make head against him, all on a sudden he invaded *Phrygia*, where he won many cities, and raised rich booties from thence, saying unto his friends: That to breake faith and promise unjustly made unto a friend, was impietie; but to abuse and deceive an enemy, was not onely just, but also pleasant and profitable. Finding himselfe weake in cavallery, he returned to the citie of *Ephesus*, where he intimated thus much unto the rich men, who were willing to be exempt from going in person unto the warres, that they should every one set forth one horse and a man: by which means within few daies, he levied a great number both of horse and also of men able for service, in stead of those that were rich and cowards; wherewith he said: That he did imitate *Agamemnon*, who dispensed with a rich man who was but a dastard and durst not go to the warre; for one faire and goodly mare. When hee sold those prisoners for slaves, whom he had taken in the warres, the officers for this sale, by his appointment, made money of their clothes and other furniture apart, but of their bodies, all naked by themselves; now many chapmen there were, who willingly bought their apparell, but few or none had any minde to the persons themselves; for that their bodies were soot and white, as having been delicately nourished and choisely kept within house and under covert, and so seemed for no use at all, and good for nothing: *Agessilam* standing by: Beholde my masters (quoth hee) this is that for which you fight, shewing their spoiles; but these be they against whom you fight, pointing to the men. Having given *Tissiphernes* an overthrow in battell within the country of *Lydia*, and slaine a great number of his men, he overran and harried all the kings provinces: and when he sent unto him presents of gold and silver, praying him to come unto some agreement of peace, *Agessilam* made this answer: As touching the treatie of peace, it was in the citie of *Lacedaemon* power to doe what they would; but otherwise, for his owne part hee tooke greater pleasure to enrich his soldiers than to be made rich himselfe: as for the Greeks, they reputed it an honour not to receive gifts from their enemies, but to be masters of their spoiles. *Megabates* the young sonne of *Siphriates*, who was of visage most faire and beautifull, came toward him as it were to embrace and kisse him, for that he thought (as he was right amiable) to be exceedingly beloved of him; but *Agessilam* turned his face away, in somuch as the youth desisted and would no more offer himselfe unto him; wherupon *Agessilam* demanded the reason thereof, and seemed to call for him; unto whom his friends made answer: That himselfe was the onely cause, being afraid to kisse so faire a boy; but if he would not seeme to feare, the youth would returne and repaire unto him in place right willingly: upon this he stood musing to himselfe a good while, and said never a word; but then at length hee brake forth into this speech: Let him even alone, neither is there any need now that you should say any thing or perswade him; for mine owne part I count it a greater matter to be the conquerour, and have the better hand of such, than to win by force the strongest holde or the most puissant and populous citie of mine enemies; for I take it better for a man to preserve and save his owne libertie to himselfe, than to take it from others. Moreover, he was in all other things a most precise observer in every point, of whatsoever the lawes commanded, but in the affaires and businesse of his friends, he said: That straightly to keepe the rigour of justice, was a very cloake and colourable pretence, under which they covered themselves who were not willing to doe for their friends: to which purpose there is a little letter of his found written unto *Idriem* a prince of *Caria*, for the enlarging and deliverance of a friend of his, in these words: If

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Nicias

Nicias have not transgressed, deliver him if he have, deliver him for the love of me; but howsoever, yet deliver him: and verily thus affected *Agessilaus* in the greatest part of his friends occasions; howbeit, there fell some cases, when he respected more the publique utility, & used his opportunity therefore, according as he shewed good proofe, upon a time, at the dislodging of his campe in great haste & hurry, in so much as he was forced to leave a boy who he loved full well behind him, for that he lay sick: for when the partie called instantly upon him by name, & besought him not to forsake him now at his departure, *Agessilaus* turning backe, said: Oh how hard is it to be pitifull & wife both at once. Furthermore, as touching his diet & the cherishing of his bodie, he would not be served with more nor better than those of his traine and company. He never did eat untill he was satisfied, nor tooke his drinke untill he was drunke, and as for his sleepe, it never had the command and maistrie over him, but he tooke it onely as his occasions and affaires would permit: for cold and heat he was so fitted and disposed, that in all seasons of the yeere he used to weare but one and the same sort of garments: his pavilion was alwaies pitched in the mids of his soldiers, neither had he a bed to lye in, better than any other of the meanest: for he was wont to say: That he who had the charge and conduct of others, ought to surmount those private persons, who were under his leading not in daintinesse and delicacie, but in suffrance of paine and travell, and in fortitude of heart and courage. When one asked the question in his presence: What it was wherein the lawes of *Lycurgus* had made the cite of *Sparta* better? he answered: That this benefit it found by them; to make no reckoning at all of pleasures. And to another who marvelled to see so great simplicitie and plainnesse, as well in feeding as in apparell both of him, and also of other Lacedaemonians, he said: The fruit (my good friend) which we reape by this straight manner of life, is libertie and freedome. There was one who exhorted him to ease and remit a litle this straight and austere manner of living: For that (quoth he) it would not be used, but in regard of the incertitude of fortune; and because there may fall out such an occasion, and time as might force a man so to do: Yea but I (said *Agessilaus*) do willingly accustom me my selfe hereto, that in no mutation and change of fortune, I should not seeke for change of my life. And in verie truth, when he grew to be aged, he did not for all his yeeres give over and leave his handes of life: and therefore when one asked him: Why (considering the extreame cold winter and his old age besides) he went without an upper coat or gubardine? he made this answer: Because yong men might learne to do as much, having for an example before their eyes, the eldest in their countrey, and such also as were their governors. We reade of him, that when he passed with his armie over the Thasians countrey, they sent unto him for his refection meale of all sorts, geese and other fowles, confitures, and pastrie works, fine cakes, marchpanes, and sugar-meats, with all manner of exquisite viands, and drinks most delicate and costly: but of all this provision, he received none but the meale aforesaid; commanding those that brought the same, to carrie them all away with them, as things whereof he stood in no need, and which he knew not what to do with: In the end after they had bene verie urgent, and importuned him so much as possibly they could to take that curtisie at their hands, he willed them to deale all of it among the flots, which were in deed the slaves that followed the campe: whereupon when they demanded the cause thereof, he said unto them: That it was not meet for those who professed valour and prowesse to receive such dainties; Neither can that (quoth he) which serveth in stead of a bait to allure & draw men to a servile nature, agree wel with those who are of a bold and free courage. Over and besides, these Thasians having received many favours and benefits at his hands, in regard whereof they tooke themselves much bound and beholden unto him, dedicated temples to his honour, and decreed divine worship unto him, no lesse than unto a verie god, and hereupon sent an embassage to declare unto him this their resolution: when he had read their letters and understood what honour they minded to do unto him, he asked this one question of the embassadors; whether their State and countrey was able to deifie men? and when they answered, Yea: Then (quoth he) begin to make your selves gods first, and when you have done so, I will beleve that you also can make me a god. When the Greeke Colonies in *Asia* had at their parliaments ordained in this manner: I will not that you make for me any statue or image whatsoever, neither painted nor cast in mould, nor wrought in clay, ne yet cut and engraven any way. Seeing whiles he was in *Asia*, the house of a friend or hoste of his, covered over with an embowed roofof planks, beames and spars foure-square; he asked him whether the trees in those parts grew so square? and when he answered, No, but they grew round: How then (quoth he) if they had grown naturally foure cornered, would you have made them round? He

was

was asked the question upon a time, how farre forth the marches and confines of *Lacedaemon* did extend: then he shaking a javelin which he held in his hand: Even as farre (quoth he) as this is able to goe. One demanded of him, why the cite of *Sparta* was not walled about? See you not (quoth he) the wallies of the Lacedaemonians; and therewith shewed him the citizens armed. Another asked him the like question, and he made him this answer: That cities ought not to be fortified with stones, with wood and timber, but with the prowesse and valiance of the inhabitants. He used ordinarily to admonish his friends, not to seeke for to be rich in money, but in valour and vertue. And whensoever he would have a worke to be finished, or service to be performed speedily by his soldiers; his manner was, to begin himselfe first to lay hand unto it in the face of all. He stood upon this and would glorie in it; that he travelled as much as any man in his company: but he vaunted of this; that he could rule and command himselfe more than in being a king. Unto one who wondering to see a Lacedaemonian maimed and lame, go to war, said unto the partie: Thou shouldst yet at leastwise have called for an horse to serve upon: Knowest not thou (quoth he) that in warre we have no need of those that will flie away, but of such as will make good and keepe their ground? It was demanded of him, how he wonne so great honour and reputation; In despising death (quoth hee.) And being likewise asked why the Spartans used the found of flutes when they fought? To the end (said he) that when in battell they march according to the measures, it may be known who be valiant and who be cowards. One there was who reputed the King of *Persia* happie, for that he attained verie yong to so high and puissant a State: Why so (quoth he) for *Priamus* at his age was not unhappie nor infortunate. Having conquered the greater part of *Asia*, he purposed with himselfe to make warre upon the king himselfe, as well for to breake his long repose, as also to hinder him otherwise and stop his course, who minded with money to bribe and corrupt the governors of the Greeke-cities and the orators that lead the people: but amid this desaigne and deliberation of his he was called home by the *Ephori*, by reason of a dangerous warre raised by the Greeke-States, against the cite of *Sparta*, and that by meanes of great summes of money which the king of *Persia* had sent thither; by occasion whereof, forced he was to depart out of *Asia*, saying: That a good prince ought to suffer himselfe to be commaunded by the lawes; and he left behinde him much sorrow and a longing desire after him among the Greeke-inhabitants in *Asia* after his departure: and for that on the Persian pieces of coine, there was stamped or imprinted the image of an archer; he said when he brake up his campe, that the king of *Persia* had chased him out of *Asia* with thirtie thousand archers: for so many golden Dariques had bene carried by one *Timocrates* unto *Thebes* and *Athens*, which were divided among the orators and governors of those two cities, by meanes whereof they were solicited and stirred to begin warre upon the Spartans: so hee wrote a letter missive unto the *Ephori*, the tenor whereof was this: *Agessilaus* unto the *Ephori*, greeting. We have subdued the greatest part of *Asia*, and driven the Barbarians from thence; also in *Ionis* we have made many armions; but since you commaund me to repaire home by a day appointed: Know yee that I will follow hard after this letter, or peradventure prevent it; for the authority of command which I have, I hold not for my selfe, but for my native countrey and confederates: and then in truth doth a magistrat rule according to right & justice, when he obiecteth the lawes of his countrey & the *Ephori*, or such like as be in place of government within the city. Having crossed the straights of *Helle-spont*, he entred into the countrey of *Thrace*, where he requested of no prince nor State of the Barbarians, passages but sent unto every one of them, demanding whether he should passe as through the land of friends or enemies: And verily all others received him friendly, and accompanied him honorably as he journeyed through their countries: onely those whom they call Troadians, (unto them as the report goeth, *Xerxes* himselfe gave presents, to have leave for to passe,) demanded of him for licence of quiet passage, a hundred talents of silver and as many women: but *Agessilaus* after a scoffing manner asked those who brought this message: And why doe not they themselves come with you for to receive the money and women: so he led his armie forwards; but in the way he encountered them well appointed, gave them battell, overthrew them, and put many of them to the sword, which done, he marched farther. And of the Macedonian king he demanded the same question as before; who made him this answer: That he would consult thereupon: Let him consult (quoth he) what he will, meane while we will march on: the king wondering at his hardinesse, stood in great feare of him, and sent him word to passe in peaceable and friendly maner. The Thessalians at the same time were confederate with his enemies: whereupon he forsaied and spoiled their countries as he went, and sent to the cite of *Larissa* two friends of his, *Xenocles* and *Scythas*,

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* A good man
rejoiceth no
in the victory
obtaind in
civill wars.

to found them & see if they could practise effectually for to draw them, to the league and amity of the Lacedæmonians, but those of *Larissa* arrested those agents, and kept them in prison; whereupon all the rest taking great indignation, were of this minde, that *Agefilas* could doe no lesse, but presently encampe himselfe and beleaguer the citie *Larissa* round about: but hee saide that for to conquer all *Thessalie*, he would not lesse one of those twaine: so upon composition and agreement, he recovered and got them againe. Being given to understand that there was a battell fought neere to *Corinth*, in which very few Lacedæmonians were slaine, but of Athenians, Argives, Corinthians and their allies, a great number: he was not once seeme to have taken any joy or contentment at the newes of the victorie; but sighed deeply from the bottom of his heart, saying: Alas for unhappie *Greece*, who hath herselfe destroyed for many men of other owne, as had bene sufficient in one battell to have defeated all the Barbarians at once. But when the Pharfalians came to set upon the taile of his armie in his march, and to doe them much mischief and damage; with a force of five hundred horse, he charged and overthrew them; which luckie hand, he caused a Trophee to be erected under the mountaines called *Narthacii*; and this victorie of all others pleased him most, for that with so small a troupe and cornet of his owne horsemen which himselfe put out and address'd against them, hee had given those the overthrow, who at all times vaunted themselves to be the best men at armes in the world. Thither came *Diphridas*, one of the *Ephori* unto him, being sent expressly from *Sparta*, with a commandement unto him, that incontinentlie he should with force and armes invade the countrey of *Bœotia*; and he although he meant and purposed of himselfe some time after to enter with a more puissant power; yet would he not disobey those great lords of the State, but sent for two regiments of ten thousands a peece, drawn out of those who served about *Corinth*, and with them made a rode into *Bœotia*, and gave battell before *Coronea*, unto the Thebans, Athenians, Argives, and Corinthians, where he won the field: which, as witnesseth *Xenophon*, was the greatest and most bloudie battell that had bene fought in his time: but true it is, that hee himselfe was in many places of his body forewounded, and then being returned home, notwithstanding so many victories and happie fortunes, hee never altered any jot in his owne person, either for diet or otherwise for the manner of his life. Seeing some of his citizens to vaunt and boast of themselves, as if they were more than other men, in regard that they nourished and kept horses of the game to runne in the race for the prize; he perswaded his sifter named *Cynisea*, to mount into her chariot, and to goe unto that solemnitie of the Olympick games, there to runne a course with her horses for the best prize; by which, his purpose was to let the Greeces know, that all this running of theirs was no matter of valour, but a thing of cost and expence, to shew their wealth onely. He heard about him *Xenophon* the philosopher, whom he loved and highly esteemed; him he requested to send for his sonnes to be brought up in *Lacedæmon*, and there to learne the most excellent and singular discipline in the world, namely, the knowledge how to obey and to rule well. Being otherwise demanded, wherefore he esteemed the Lacedæmonians more happy then other nations: It is (quoth he) because they profess and exercise above all men in the world, the skill of obeying and governing. After the death of *Lysander* finding within the city of *Sparta* great factions and much siding, which the saide *Lysander* incontinently after he was returned out of *Asia* had raised and stirred up against him, he purposed and went about to detect his lewdnesse, and make it appeere unto the inhabitants of *Sparta*, what a dangerous medler he had bene whiles he lived: and to this purpose having read an oration found after his decease among his papers, which *Creon* verily the Halicarnassian had composed; but *Lysander* meant to pronounce before the people in a general assembly of the citie, tending to the alteration of the State, and bringing in of many novelties, he was fully minded to have divulged it abroad: but when one of the ancient Senators had read the said oration, and doubted the sequell thereof, considering it was so well penned, and grounded upon such effectually and perswasive reasons, hee gave *Agefilas* counsell not to digge up *Lysander* againe, and rake him as it were out of his grave, but to let the oration lie buried with him: whose advice he followed, and so rested quiet and made no more ado: and as for those who underhand crossed him and were his adversaries, he did not censure them openly, but practised and made meanes to send some of them forth as captaines unto certaine forraign expeditions, and unto others to commit certaine public offices: in which charges they caried themselves so, as they were discovered for covetous & wicked persons, and afterwards when they were called into question judicially, hee shewed himselfe contrary to mens expectation to helpe them out of trouble, and succour them so, as that he gat their love and good wils, inasmuch as

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in the end there was not one of them his adversarie. One there was who requested him to write in his favour to his hosts and friends which he had in *Asia*, letters of recommendation, that they would defend and maintaine him in his rightfull cause: My friends (quoth he) use to doe that which is equitie and just, although I should write never a word into them. Another shewed him the wals of a city how wonderfull strong they were and magnificently built, asking of him whether he thought them not stately and faire: Faire (quoth he) yes no doubt, for women to lodge and dwell in, but not for men. A Megarian there was who magnified and highly extolled before him the city *Megara*: Yoong man (quoth he) and my good friend, your brave words require some great puiffance. Such things as other men had in great admiration, hee would not seeme so much as to take knowledge of. Upon a time one *Callipides* an excellent plaier in Tragedies, who was in great name and reputation among the Greeks, inasmuch as all sorts of men made no small account of him, when he chanced to meet him upon the way, saluted him first, and afterwards presumptuously thrust himselfe forward to walke among others, with him, in hope that the king would begin to shew some lightsome countenance, and grace him; but in the end, seeing that it would not be, he was so bolde as to advance himselfe, and say unto him: Sirking, know you not me? and have you not heard who I am? *Agefilas* looking wistly upon his face: Art not thou (quoth he) *Callipides Deicelitus*? (for so the Lacedæmonians use to call a jester or plaier.) He was invited one day to come and heare a man who could counterfeit most lively and naturally the voice of the nightingale; but he refused to go, saying: I have heard the nightingales themselves to sing many a time. *Meneerates* the Physician had a luckie hand in divers desperate cures; whereupon some there were who furnished him *Jupiter*, and he himselfe would over arrogantly take that name upon him, inasmuch as he presumed in one letter of his, which he sent unto him, to set this supercription: *Meneerates Jupiter*, unto king *Agefilas* witheth long life: but *Agefilas* wrote back unto him in this wise: *Agefilas to Meneerates* witheth good health. When *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* the high-admirals of the armada under the Persian king, were so farre-forth of the sea, that they pillied and spoiled all the coasts of *Laconia*; and besides, the walles of *Athens* were rebuilt with the money that *Pharnabazus* furnished the Athenians withall; the lords of the councill of *Lacedæmon* were of advice, that the best policie was, to conclude peace with the king of *Persia*; and to this effect sent *Antalcidas* one of their citizens to *Tiribazus*, with commission treacherously to betray and deliver to the barbarous kings hands, the Greeks inhabiting *Asia*; for whose liberie *Agefilas* before had made warres: by which occasion *Agefilas* was thought to have had his hand in this shameful and infamous practise: for *Antalcidas*, who was his mortall enemy, wrought by all meanes possible to effect peace, because he saw that warre continually augmented the credit of *Agefilas*, and made him most mightie and honourable; yet nevertheless he answered unto one that reproched him with the Lacedæmonians, saying: That they were Medified, or turned Medians: Nay rather (quoth he) the Medians are Laconified and become Laconians. The question was propounded unto him upon a time, whether of these two vertues in his judgement was the better, Fortitude or Justice? and he answered: That where Justice reigned, Fortitude bare no sway, and was nothing worth; for if we were all righteous and honest men, there would be no need at all of Fortitude. The people of *Greece* dwelling in *Asia*, had a custome to call the king of *Persia*, The great king: And wherefore (quoth he) is he greater than I, unless he be more temperat and righteous? seembly he said: That the inhabitants of *Asia* were good slaves, but naughtie freemen. Being asked how a man might win himselfe the greatest name and reputation among men, he answered thus: If he say well, and yet do better. This was a speech of his: That a good captain ought to shew unto his enemies, valour and hardnesse; but unto those that be under his charge, love and benevolence. Another demanded of him, what children should learne in their youth? That (quoth he) which they are to doe and practise when they be men grown. He was judge in a cause, where the plaintife had pleaded well, but the defendant very badly; who estoones and at every sentence did nothing but repeat their words: O *Agefilas*, a king ought to protect and helpe the lawes: unto whom *Agefilas* answered in this wise: If one had undermined thy house, or robbed thee of thy raiment, wouldst thou thinke and looke that a carpenter or mason were bound to repaire thy house, and the weaver or tailor for to supplye thee with clothes? The king of *Persia* had writ unto him a letter mislike after a generall peace concluded; which letter was brought by a gentleman of *Persia*, who came with *Callius* the Lacedæmonian, and the contents thereof was to this effect: That the king of *Persia* desired to enter into some more especiall amitie and fraternitie with him; but he would not accept there-

Signifying that hee was brainfick, & his head out of temper.

He hath done the injurie is to make amends.

of, saying unto the messenger: Thou shalt deliver this answer from me unto the king thy master; that he needed not to write any such particular letters unto mee, concerning private friendship; for if hee friend the Lacedæmonians in generall, and shew himselfe to love the Greeks, and desire their good, I also reciprocally will be his friend to the utmost of my power; but if I may finde that he practiseth treacherie, and attempteth ought prejudiciall to the state of Greece, well may he write epistle upon epistle, and I receive from him one letter after another, but let him trust to this: I will never be his friend. Hee loved very tenderly his owne children when they were little ones, inasmuch as he would play with them up and downe the house, yea, and put a long cane betwene his legs, and ride upon it like an hobby horse with them for company; and if it chanced that any of his friends spied him so doing, he would pray them to say nothing unto any man thereof, untill they had babes and children of their owne. But during the continuall warres that he had with the Thebans, he fortuned in one battell to be grievously wounded; which when *Aricleides* saw, he said unto him: Certes you have received of the Thebans the due salarie and reward that you deserved, for teaching them as you have done, even against their willes how to fight, which they neither could nor ever would have learned to doe: for in truth it is reported, that the Thebans then became more martiall and warlike than ever before-time, as being inured and exercised in armes by the continuall roads and invasions that the Lacedæmonians made; which was the reason, that ancient *Lycorgus* in those lawes of his which he called *Rhetra*, expressely forbid his people to make warre often upon one and the same nation, for feare lest in so doing their enemies should learne to be good fouldiers. When he heard, that the allies and confederates of *Lacedæmon* were offended and tooke this continuall warfare ill, complaining that they were never in manner out of armes, but caried their harness continually upon their backs; and besides, being many more in number, they followed yet the Lacedæmonians, who were but an handfull to all them: he being minded to convince them in this, and to shew how many they were, commanded all his said confederates to assemblie together, and to sit them downe pell-mell one with another; the Lacedæmonians likewise to take their place over-against them apart by themselves; which done, he caused an herald to cry aloud in the hearing of all: That all the potters should stand up; then the carpenters; after them the malons; and so all other artificers & handi-crafts men, one after another; by which meanes all the confederates wel-nere were risen up, and none in manner left sitting; but all this while not a Lacedæmonian stirred off his seat, for that forbidden they were all, to learne or exercise any mechanical craft: then *Agessius* tooke up a laughter, and said: Lo, my masters and friends, how many more fouldiers are we able to send into the warres, than you can make? In that bloodie battell fought at *Leutres*, many Lacedæmonians there were that ran out of the field & fled, who by the lawes and ordinances of the country were all their life time noted with infamy; howbeit, the *Ephori* seeing that the cite by this meanes would be dispeopled of citizens and lie desert, in that verie time when as it had more need than ever before of fouldiers, were desirous to devise a policie how to deliver them of this ignominie, and yet notwithstanding preferre the lawes in their entire and full force: therefore to bring this about, they elected *Agessius* for their law-giver, to enact a new lawes; who being come before the open audience of the city, spake unto them in this manner: Yee men of *Lacedæmon* I am not willing in any wise to be the author and inventor of new lawes: and as for those which you have already, I minde not to put any thing thereto, to take fro, or otherwise to alter and change them, and therefore mee thinkes it is meete and reasonable, that from to morrow forward, those which you have, should stand in their full vigor, strength and vertue accustomed. Moreover, as few as there remained in the cities (when *Epaminondas* was about to assaile it with a great flectre and a violent tempest (as it were) of Thebans and their confederates, puffed up with pride for the late victorie atchieved in the plaine of *Leutres*) with those few (I say) hee put him and his forces backe, and caused them to returne without effect: but in the battell of *Manitinea*, he admonished and advised the Lacedæmonians to take no regard at all of other Thebans, but to bend their whole forces against *Epaminondas* onely, saying: That wise and prudent men alone, and none but they, were valiant and the sole cause of victorie; and therefore if they could vanquish him, they might easily subdue all the rest, as being blockish fooles and men in deed of no valour; and so in truth it proved: for when as the victorie now enclined wholly unto *Epaminondas*, and the Lacedæmonians were at the verie point to be disbanded, discomfited and put to flight: as the said *Epaminondas* turned for to call his owne men together to follow the rout, a Lacedæmonian chanced to give

give him a mortall wound, wherewith hee fell to the ground, and the Lacedæmonians who were with *Agessius* called themselves, made head againe, and put the victorie into doubtfull balance: for now the Thebans abated much their courage, and the Lacedæmonians tooke the better hearts. Moreover, when the cite of *Sparta* was meeere driven and at a low ebbe for money to wage warre, as being constrained to entertaine mercenarie fouldiers for pay, who were meeere strangers; *Agessius* went into *Aegypt*, being sent for by the King of *Aegypt* to serve as his pensioner; but for that hee was meanly and simply apparelled, the inhabitants of the country despised him, for they looked to have seene the King of *Sparta* richly arrayed and set out gallantly, and all gorgeously to be seene in his person like unto the Persian King; so foolishly a conceit they had of kings: but *Agessius* shewed them within a while, that the magnificence and majestie of Kings was to be acquired by wit, wisdom, and valour: for perceiving that those who were to fight with him and to make head against the enemies, were frightened with the imminent perill, by reason of the great number of enemies, who were two hundred thousand fighting men, and the small companie of their owne side; he devised with himselfe before the battell began, by some stratageme to encourage his owne men, and to embolden their hearts; which policie of his he would not communicate unto any person; and this it was: He caused upon the inside of his left hand to be written this word, *Victorie*, backward; which done he tooke at the priests or sooth-saiers hand who was at sacrifice, the liver of the beast which was killed, and put it into the faile left hand thus written within, and so held it a good while, making semblance as if he mused deeply of some doubt, and seeming to stand in suspence & to be in great perplexity, untill the characters of the foresaid letters had a sufficient time to give a print, and leave their marke in the superficies of the liver; then shewed he it unto those who were to fight on his side, and gave them to understand that by those characters the gods promised victory: who supposing verily that there was in it a certaine signe & preface of good fortune, ventured boldly upon the hazard of a battell. And when the enemies had invested and beleaguered his campe round about; such a mightie number there were of them; and besides had begun to cast a trench on everie side thereof, King *Nectanebus* (for whose aid he was thither come) solicited and intreated him to make a fallie and charge upon them before the said trench was fully finished, and both ends brought together, he answered: That he would never impeach the desaigne and purpose of the enemies, who went (no doubt) to give him meanes to be equal unto them and to fight so many to so many: so he staid until there wanted but a verie little of both ends meeting; and then in that space betwene, he raunged his battell, by which device they encountered and fought with even fronts, and on equall hand for number: so he put the enemies to flight, and with those few fouldiers which he had, he made a great carnage of them; but of the spoile and booty which he won, he raised a good round masse of money, and sent it all to *Sparta*. Being now ready to embarke for to depart out of *Aegypt*, & upon the point of returne home, he died: and at his death expressely charged those who were about him, that they should make no image or statue whatsoever representing the similitude of his personage: For that (quoth he) if I have done any vertuous act in my life time, that will be a monument sufficient to eternize my memorie; if not, all the images, statues, and pictures in the world will not serve the turne, since they be the workes onely of mechanickall artificers which are of no worth and estimation.

AGESIPOLIS the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, when one related in his presence that *Philip* King of *Macedon* had in few daies demolished and rased the cite *Olinthus*: *Par die* (quoth he) *Philip* will not be able in many more daies to build the like to it. Another said unto him by way of reproch, that himselfe (king as he was, and other citizens men grown of middle age) were delivered as hostages, and neither their children nor wives: Good reason (quoth he) and so it ought to be according to justice, that we our selves and no others, should beare the blame and paine of our faults. And when he was minded to send for certaine dog-whelps from home; one said unto him; that there might not be suffered any of them to goe out of the country: No more so it is permitted heerebefore (quoth hee) for men to be lead forth, but now it is allowed well enough.

AGESIPOLIS the sonne of *Pausanias* (when as the Athenians said to him: That they were content to report themselves to the judgement of the Megarians as touching certaine variances and differences between them, and complaints which they made one against another) spake thus unto them: Why my masters of *Athen*, this were a great shame indeed, that they who are the chiefe and the verie leaders of all other Greeks, should lesse skill what is just than the Megarians.

A G I S the sonne of *Archidamus*, at what time as the *Ephori* spake thus unto him: Take with you the yong & able men of this citie, & go into the countrey of such an one, for he wil conduct you his owne selfe, as farre as to the verie cattle of his citie: And what reason is it (quoth he) my matters, you that be *Ephori*, to commit the lives of so many lustie gallants into his hands, who is a traitour to his native countrey? One demanded of him what science was principally exercised in the citie of *Sparta*: Marie (quoth he) the knowledge how to obey and how to rule. He was wont to say, that the Lacedæmonians never asked, how many their enemies were? but where they were. Being forbidden to fight with his enemies at the battell of *Maninea*, because they were far more in number: He must of necessity (quoth he) fight with many that would have the command & rule of many. Unto another who asked what number there might be in all of the Lacedæmonians? As many (quoth he) as are enough to chafe and drive away wicked persons. In passing a long the wals of *Corinth*, when he saw them so high, so wel built, and so large in extent: VVhat manner of women (quoth he) be they that inhabit within? To a great master of Rhetorick who praising his owne skill & profession, chaunced to conclude with these words: VVhen all is done, there is nothing so puissant as the speech of man: VVhy then be like (quoth he) so long as you hold your peace you are of no worth. The *Argives* having bin once already beaten & defeated, returned nevertheless into the field & shewed themselves in a bravado more gallantly than before, and prest for a new battell: and when thereupon he saw his auxiliaries and confederates to be somewhat troubled and frightened: Be of good cheere (quoth he) my matters and friends, for if we, who have given them the foile be afraid, what thinke you are they themselves. A certaine embassador from the citie *Abdera*, came to *Sparta*, who made a long speech as touching his message, and after he had done and held his tongue a litle, he demanded at last a dispatch, and said unto him: Sir, what answer would you that I should carry backe to our citizens: You shall say unto them (quoth *Agis*) that I have suffred you to speake all that you would, and as long as you list? and that I lent you mine earre all the while without giving you one word againe. Some there were who commended the *Eliens* for most iust men and precise in observing the solemnities of the Olympick games: And is that so great a matter and such a wonder (quoth he) if in five yeeres space they exercise iustice one day? Some buzzed into his eares that those of the other roiall house envied him: Then (quoth he) doe they suffer a double paine; for first and foremost their owne evils will vex and trouble themselves; then in the second place, the good things in me and my friends will torment them. Some one there was of advice, that he should give way and passage to his enemies when they were put to flight: Yea, but make this (quoth he) if we set not upon them who runne away for cowardise, how shall we fight against them that staie and make good their ground by valour? One there was who propounded a meane for the maintenance of the *Greekes* libertie; which (no doubt) was a generous and magnanimous course, howbeit very hard to execute; unto who he answered thus: My good friend, your words require great store of money, and much strength. VVhen another said that king *Philip* would watch them well enough that they should not set foote within other parts of *Greece*: My friend (quoth he) it shall content us to remaine and continue in our owne countrey. There was another embassador from the citie *Perinthus*, came to *Lacedæmon*, who having likewise made a long oration, in the end demanded of *Agis* what answer he should deliver backe to the *Perinthians*: Mary what other but this (quoth he) that thou couldest hardly finde the way to make an end of speaking, and I held my peace all the while. He went upon a time sole embassador to king *Philip*, who said unto him: You are an embassador alone indeed: True (quoth he) and good enough to one alone as you are. An auncient citizen of *Sparta* said unto him one day, being himselfe aged also, and far stept in yeeres: Since that the old lawes and customes went every day to ruine and were neglected, seeing also that others farre worse were brought in and stood in their place, all in the end would be naught and runne to confusion; unto whom he answered merilie thus: Then is it at it should be, and the world goes well enough if it be so as you say; for I remember when I was a litle boy, I heard my father say, that every thing then was turned upside downe, and that in his remembrance all went kin kam; and he also would report of his father that he had seene as much in his daies; no marvell therefore if things grow worse and worse; more wonder it were if they should one be better, and another while continue still in the same plight. Being asked on a time how a man might continue free all his life time; he answered: By despising death.

A G I S the younger, when *Demades* the oratour said unto him: That the Lacedæmonians fowles were so short that these jugglers and those that plaied leggendmain, could swallow them downe

> High walle
be a fortresse
for women.

downe all once, made him this answer: As short as they be the Lacedæmonians can reach their enemies with them wel enough. A certaine leud fellow and a troublefome, never limed asking him, who was the best man in all *Sparta*: Mary (quoth *Agis*) even he who is unlikest thy selfe.

A G I S, the last king of the Lacedæmonians; being forelaid and surprisid by treachery, so that he was condemned by the *Ephori* to die; as he was ledde without forme of law and justice to the place of execution for to be strangled with a rope, perceiving one of his servants and ministers to shed teares; said thus unto him; VVeepe not for my death; for in dying thus unjustly and against the order of law, I am in better case than those that put me to death; and having said these words, he willingly put his necke within the halter.

10 A C R O T A T U S, when as his owne father and mother requested his helping hand for to effect a thing contrarie to reason and justice, staied their sute for a time: but seeing that they importuned him still and were very instant with him; in the end said unto them: So long as I was under your hands, I had no knowledge nor fence at all of justice; but after that you had betaken me to the common weale, to my countrey, and to the lawes thereof, and by that meane informed and instructed me in what you could in righteousnesse and honestie, I will endeavour and straine my selfe to follow the said instruction and not you; and for that I know full well that you would have me doe that which is good, and considering that those things be best (both for a private person, and much more for him who is in authoritie and a chiefe magistrate) which are iust; sure I will doe what you would have me, and refuse that which you say unto me.

20 A L C A M E N E S the sonne of *Teleclus*, when one would needs know of him; by what meane a man might preserve a kingdome best, made this answer: Even by making no account at all of lucre and gaine. Another demanded of him wherefore he would never accept nor receive the gifts of the *Messenians*? Forsooth (quoth he) because if I had taken the, I should never have had peace with the lawes. And when a third person said: That he marvelled much how he could live so straight and neere to himselfe, considering he had wherewith and enough: It is (quoth he) a commendable thing, when a man having sufficient and plentie can nevertheless live within the compasse of reason, and not according to the large reach of his appetite.

A L E X A N D R I D A S the sonne of *Leon*, seeing one to torment himselfe, and taking on desperately because he was banished out of his native countrey: My friend (quoth he) never farre

30 for the matter nor vexethy heart so much, for being constrained to remove so farre from thy countrey, but rather for being so remote from justice. Unto another who in delivering good matter unto the *Ephori*, and to very great purpose, but in more words a great deale than need was: My friend (quoth he) thou speakest indeed that which becommeth, but otherwise than is becomming. One asked him why the Lacedæmonians committed the charge of all their lands unto the *Ilotes* their slaves, & did not husband and tend them their owne selves: Because (quoth he) we conquered and purchased them, for that we would looke to our selves, and not tend them. Unto another who held that it was nothing but desire of credit and reputation that undid men, and whosoever could be delivered from the care thereof were happier; he replied thus againe: If it be true that you say, we must confesse and graunt that wicked men, who do wrong unto others are happy; for how can a church-robbor or theefe who spoileth other men of their goods be desirous of honour and glorie? VVhen another demanded of him, how it came to passe that the Lacedæmonians were so hardy and resolute in all occurrences and dangers of warre, he rendred this reason: Because (quoth he) we studie and endeavour to have a reverend regard of our lives, and not to entortine the feare of our lives, as others doe. It was demanded of him, wherefore the Seniors or Elders sat many daies in deciding and judging criminall causes? and why albeit the accused party were by them acquit, yet he continued nevertheless in the state of a guiltie and accused person? As for the Senators (quoth he) they be long in deciding capital matters, where men are brought in question for their life; because those judges who have committed an error in condemning a man to die, can never redresse and amend that sentence: and as to the partie absolved and enlarged, he must remaine alwaies liable and subject to the law, because they might ever after enquire and judge better of his fact according to the law.

40 A N A X A N D E R the sonne of *Enicrates*, being asked the question why he and such other did not gather money and lay it up in the publicke treasury, made this answer: For feare lest wee being keepers thereof, should be corrupted and perverted thereby.

A N A X I L A S, unto one who marvelled why the *Ephori* tole not up and made offence to the kings, considering that by the kings they were ordained and put into that place? gave this reason:

! A man
ought to
grieve more
for committing
sinne,
than for being
exiled.

reason: Even because they are created *Ephori*, that is to say, overseers and controllers of them.

ANDROCLEDAS the Laconian, being maimed and lame of a legge, would neverthelesse be enrolled in the number of those who were to serve in the warres; and when some withstood him because he was impotent of that legge: Why my masters (quoth hee) they be not the men of good footmanhip, who can run away, but such as stand their ground that must fight with enemies.

ANTALCIDAS making meanes to be admitted into the confraternitie of the Samothracian religion, when the priest his confessor, in houseing and striving him, demanded which was the greatest sinne that ever hee had committed in all his life? If (quoth he) I have committed any sinne all my life time, the gods know the same well enough themselves. When a certaine Athenian miscalled the Lacedaemonians, terming them ignorant and unlearned fots: In deed (quoth he) we onely of all the Grecians, are the men who have not learned of you to do ill. And when another Athenian bragged, and said: We have chafed you many a time from the river *Cephissus*. But we (quoth he) never yet drave you from the river *Eurotas*. Unto another, who was desirous to know how one might please men best, he shapd this answer: In case he speake alwaies that which pleaseth, and doe that which profiteth them. A certaine great master and professor of Rhetorique, would needs one day rehearse and pronounce before him an oration composed in the praise of *Hercules*: And who ever (quoth he) dispraised him? And unto *Agessilaus*, being fore wounded in a battell by the Thebans: Nay (quoth he) you are well enough served and receive a due Minervall for your schoollage at the Thebans hands, whom you have taught even against their willes that which they knew not, nor were willing to learne, to wit, for to fight: for in truth, by means of the continuall incursions and expeditious that *Agessilaus* made against them, they became valiant warriors. Himselfe was wont to say: That the wallies of *Sparta*, were their young men; and their confines, the heads of their pikes. Unto another, who demanded why the Lacedaemonians fought with such short cuttelaxes: To the end (quoth he) that we might cope and close more neerely to our enemies.

ANTIOCHUS being one of the *Ephori*, heard say that king *Philip* had bestowed upon the Messenians certaine lands for their territoire: But hath *Philip* (quoth he) given them withall, forces to be able for to defend the same?

ARIEGUS, when some there were that highly commended certaine dames, not their owne wives, but wedded to other men: By the gods (quoth he) of good, honest, and faire women, there ought no vaine speeches to bee made, for that indeed they are not known of any other but their husbands who live ordinarily with them. As he passed once thorow the citie *Selinus* in *Sicilie*, he chanced to reade this epitaph engraven upon a sepulchre or tombe:

*These men before Selinus gates
were slain in bloudie fight,
As whilom they fought for to quench
the lawlesse tyrants might.*

And well deserved you (quoth he) to die, for seeking to extinguisht tyranny when it burneth out of a light fire; for cleane contrariwise, you should have kept it from burning altogether.

ARISTON hearing one praise and discourse of a fence that king *Cleomenes* was wont to use, at what time as the question was asked: What was the office of a good king? Mary even to do good unto his friends & hurt unto his enemies: But how much better (answered *Ariston*) my good friend, were it to benefit friends indeed, and of enemies to make good friends? but of this notable fence, no doubt, *Socrates* was the author, and upon him it is rightly fathered. Also when one demanded of him how many in number the Lacedaemonians were: As many (quoth he) as be sufficient to chase away their enemies. A certaine Athenian pronounced a funerall oration which he had penned in the praise of their owne citizens, who had bene defeated and were slain by the Lacedaemonians in a battell: If your countrymen (quoth he) were so valiant as you say, what thinke you then of ours, who vanquished them? When one praised *Chirilus* upon a time, for that hee shewed himselfe courteous indifferently to all men: And how can he deserve (quoth *Ariston*) to be commended, who is kind and friendly to wicked persons? Another reproved *Hecataeus* a professor in Rhetorique, who being invited to eat with them at their feasts which they call *Symnia*, spake never a word all dinner time; unto whom he made this answer: It seemeth that you are ignorant, that he who knoweth how to speake wel, can skill likewise of the time when it is good to speake and when to keepe silence.

ARCHIDAMUS the sonne of *Zenxidamus*, when one asked him who they were that governed

governed the citie *Sparta*? answered: The lawes first, and then the magistrates who ruled according to those lawes. When he heard one praising exceedingly a plaier on the harpe, and for his skill in musick having him in singular admiration: My friend (quoth he) what honourable reward shall they have at your hands, who bemen of prowess and valour, when you comittend so highly an harper? Another recommended unto him a musician and said: Oh, what an excellent chaunter is there? This is (quoth he) even as much as a good cooke or maker of potrage among us: meaning that there was no difference at all betwene giving pleasure by sound of voice or instruments, and the dressing of viands or seasoning of sewes. One promised to give him wine that was very sweet and pleasant: And to what purpose? (quoth he) considering that it will veth but for to dray on more wine, and to make folke drinke the rather; and besides, to cause men to be lesse valiant and unfit for any good things. Lying at siege before the city of *Corinth*, he marked how there were hares started even close under the wallies thereof; upon which sight he said thus to those that served with him: Our enemies are easie to be surprisid and caught, when they are so lazie and idle, as to suffer hares to lie and harbour hard under their citie wallies, even within the trench and towne-ditch. He had bene chosen an umpire betwene two parties who were at variance, for to make them friends; and he led them both into the temple of *Diana* furnamed *Chalceaeos*, where he willed them both to promise and sweare, laying their hands upon the altar of that goddesse, that they would both twaine observe from point to point whatsoever he should award; which they undertooke to doe, and bound it with an oath accordingly: I judge then (quoth he) that neither of you both shall depart out of this temple, before you have made an atonement, and pacified all quarrels betwene you. *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Sicily*, had sent unto his daughters certaine rich robes to wear; but he refused them, and said: I greatly feare, that when they have this raiment upon them, they will seeme more foule and illfavoured than now they do. Seeing his owne sonne in a battell, fighting desperately against the Athenians: Either (quoth he) augment thy strength, or abate thy courage.

ARCHIDAMUS the sonne of *Agessilaus*, when king *Philip* after the battell which he had won against the Greeks, neere unto *Cheronea*, wrote unto him a rough and sharpe letter; returned unto him backe againe this answer in writing: If you take measure now of your owne shadow, you shall finde it no bigger than it was before the victorie. Being demanded the question upon a time, how farre the territory of the Lacedaemonians did extend? he answered: Even as farre as they can reach with their javelins. *Periander* the physician was a sufficient man in his art, and esteemed with the best and most excellent, howbeit he wrote in verse, but with a bad grace; unto whom he said one day thus: I marvel much *Periander* whether you had rather be named an ill poet or a good physician? In the warre which the Lacedaemonians made against King *Philip*, some gave him counsell to be wel advised where he fought, and to battell as far as he could from his owne country; unto whom he replied againe: This is not the thing (quoth hee) that wee ought to regard, but rather to confider and thinke upon this, how we may quit our selves so well in fight, that we be winners in the end. And to those who praised him for that he had woone a field of the Arcadians, he made this answer: It had bene better that we had overcome them rather in wisdom and prudence than in might and force. About the time that hee entred by force and armes into the country of *Acadia*, being advertised that the Eleans sent aide and succor unto the Arcadians, he wrote unto them in this sort: *Archidamus* to the Eleans greeting: A blessed thing it is to be quiet & at repose. When the confederate & allied nations in the *Peloponnese* warre, demanded how much money would serve for the defraying of the charges to the said warre belonging? and requested him to taxe each one how much they should contribute: War (quoth he) knoweth no sum, & is not waged at any certaine rate. Seeing a shot which was levelled from an engine of batterie newly brought out of *Sicily*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) now is mans prowess gone for ever. And for that the Greeks would not give credit and be perswaded by him, to performe those conditions of peace which had bene made with *Antigonius* and *Cyrtanus*, two Macedonians, for to live in their ancient libertie; alleging that the Lacedaemonians would be lords more rigorous and insupportable than the Macedonians: The sneepe (quoth he) hath alwaies one and the same voice; but man changeth it oftentimes in divers sorts, untill he have brought about and finished his desseignes.

ASTICRATIDAS, when one said, after that King *Agis* had lost the field to *Antigonius*, about the citie *Megale*: O poore Lacedaemonians, what will you doe now? will you become slaves to the Macedonians? answered thus: And why lo? Can *Antigonius* forbid and let us; but we will die in fight for *Sparta*?

BIAS

BIAS being surpris'd by an ambush, which was laid for him by *Iphiterates* captain of the Athenians, when his souldiers said: Now captaine what is to be done? What esse (quoth hee) but to aduise you to save your selves, and to resolue my selfe for to die in fight.

BRASIDAS found among dried figs a mouse that bit him by the hand, so as he was glad to let her goe, whereupon he said unto those that were present: Lo, how there is not the least creature that may be, but it is able to make shift and save it life, in case it have but the heart to defend it selfe against those who should affaile it? In a certaine skirmish he was wounded with a iavelin throw his buckler, and when he had drawn the head out of his bodie, with the verie same weapon he slew his enemy who had hurt him; and to those who asked him, how he came so wounded? he answered thus: Because my buckler deceived me. When he put himselfe into his journey to the warres, he wrote thus unto the *Ephori*: All that is requisite for this warre as touching the warre, do I will to my power or die for it. After he had lost his life in the quarrell of delivering the Greeks out of servitude who inhabit in *Thracia*, the embassadors which were sent from those parts to give thanks unto the Lacedaemonians, went to visite his mother *Argileontis*, of whom she demanded first, whether her sonne *Brasidas* died manfully or no? And when the Thracian embassadors highly praised him, inasmuch as they said, that he had not left his fellow behinde him: Oh (quoth she) you are much deceived my friends; *Brasidas* was in deed a valiant and hardie man, but there be in *Sparta* many more farre better than he.

DAMONIDAS hapned to be placed last in the dance by him who was the master chorister; whereat hee was no otherwise displeased, but said thus unto him: Well done, for thou hast found the meanes to make this place honourable, which heretofore was but base and infamous.

DAMIS, when letters had bene written unto him as touching *Alexander* the Great, namely how *Alexander* by their suffrages was declared a god; wrote backe in this wise: We grant that *Alexander* should be called a god since he will needs have it so.

DAMIDAS, when King *Philip* was entred with a maine armie unto *Peloponnesus*, whereupon one said unto him: The Lacedaemonians are in danger to suffer many calamities, unless they can make meanes to agree and compound with him: Thou womanish-man (quoth hee) how can hee bring us to suffer any miseries, considering that we make no reckoning at all of death?

DERCILLIDAS was sent embassador unto King *Pyrhus*, what time as he had his armie encamped upon the verie confines of *Sparta*; and *Pyrhus* enjoined the Lacedaemonians to receive againe their King *Cleonimus* whom they had banished, or else he would make them to understand, that they were no more valiant than other men; upon whom *Dercyllidas* thus replied: If you be a god we feare you not, because we have no way offended you; but if you be a man, know you that you are no whit better than we.

DEMARATUS talked and communed one day with *Orontes*, who gave him blunt speeches and hard words; and when one who heard their talke, said afterwards: *Orontes* is verie bold with you, and useth you but homely & *Demaratus*: Nay (quoth he) he hath nothing faulted to me; ward; for those who glorie and flatter in all their speech, be they who doe most harme, and not such as (speake upon ill will and malice. One seemed to demand of him, wherefore at *Sparta* those were noted with infamie, who in a discomfiture threw away their bucklers, and not they who cast from them their morrions, cuirasses or breast-plates: Because (quoth he) these armors and head-pieces, serve onely for those who wear them; but their shields & bucklers, have their use also for the common strength of the whole battalion. When he heard a certaine musician sing: Believe me (quoth hee) the fellow plaies the foole verie well. He was upon a time in a great companie & assembly, where he continued a long while and spake never a word; by occasion whereof one said unto him: Is it for folly and want of matter to talke of, that you are so silent? How can it be folly (quoth he) for a foole can never hold his peace? One asked of him what was the cause why he was banished out of *Sparta*, being king thereof? Because (quoth hee) the lawes there be mistresses and command all. A certaine Persian by continuall gifts had inveigled and gotten from him in the end a yong boy whom hee loved, and afterwards in manner of a skorne said unto him: I have so well hunted, that at last I have caught your love: Not so (quoth hee) I sweare by the gods, but rather you have bought it. A certaine gentleman of *Persia* there was, who had rebelled against the king of *Persia*; but *Demaratus* by reasons and remonstrances wrought with him, that he perswaded him to yeeld and returne againe to his allegiance; the king incontinently minded to put this Persian to death; but *Demaratus* diverted him, and

and said: Sir, this were an utter shame for you, if when you could not punish him for rebellion being your enemy you should proceed to his execution now, when he is become againe your servitor and friend. There was a certaine jester and parasite who used to play his part at the kings table, and gave unto *Demaratus* fist-boles, biting quips, and taunts by way of reproch for his exile; but hee answered him and said: Good fellow, I am not disposed to fight with thee now at this time, being put as I am out of my biace and the range of my life, and having lost my standing.

* *EMERETES* the *Ephorus*, cut two strings of the nine with an hatchet, in *Phrynis* his harpe, * or *Epergete*, saying withall: Then matre not musike.

† *EPARENETUS* was wont to say: That liars were the cause of all the offences and crimes in world.

EUBOIDAS hearing some to praise another mans wife, reprooved them for it, & said: That strangers who were not of the house, ought not in any respect to speake of the behaviour and manners of any dame.

EUDAMIDAS the sonne of *Archidamus* and brother to *Agis*, having espied *Xenocrates*, a man well stricken in yeeres, studying philosophie hard, with other yong schollers in the *Academie*, demanded what old man that might be: one standing by answered, that he was a wife man and a great cleark, one of those who sought after vertue: If he be still seeking of it (quoth hee) when will he use and practise it? Having heard a Philosopher dispute and discourse upon this paradox: That there was no good captaine in warre, but the great cleark and learned Sage onely: This is (quoth he) a strange proposition and a wonderfull, but the best is, he that mainteineth it, is in no wise to be credited, for his eares were never yet acquainted so much as with the sound of a trumpet. He came one day into the open schoole or auditoire to heare *Xenocrates* discourse at large upon some question; but it fell out so, that he had new done when hee entred into the place; then one of his companie began to say: Surely, so soone as we were present, he became silent: He did well (quoth *Eudamidas*) if he had made an end of that which he had to say: but when the other replied: It were not amiss yet that we heard him, and that he would let it to againe: If we (quoth *Eudamidas*) should goe to visit a man in his house who had sipped already before we came, were it well done of us to pray him to goe to an upper for the love of us? It was once demanded of him why he alone would seeme to approve rest, quietnesse and peace, considering that all his fellow-citizens with one consent were of opinion to take armes and make warre upon the Macedonians? It is (quoth he) because I neither need nor am desirous to convince them of their error and lying. Another for to animate him to this warre, alleged the prowesses and worthy exploits atchieved by them at other times against the Persians: Methinks (quoth he) you know not what you say, namely, that because we have overcome a thousand sheepe, we should therefore set upon fittie wolvess. He was upon a time in place to heare a musician sing, who did his part very well; and one asked him, how he liked the man, and what he thought of him? Mary (quoth he) I take him to be a great amuser of men in a small matter. When another highly extolled the citie of *Athens* in his presence: And who can justly and du'lie (quoth he) praise that citie which no man ever loved, for being made better in it? When *Alexander* the great had caused open proclamation to be made in the great assemblee at the Olympick games: That all banished persons might returne unto their owne countries, except the Thebans: Behold (quoth *Eudamidas*) here is a wofull proclamation for you that be Thebans; howbeit honorable withall, for it is a signe that *Alexander* heareth none but you onely in all *Greece*. A certaine citizen of *Argos* said one day in his hearing: That the Lacedaemonians after they be gone once out of their owne country and from the obseance of their lawes, proove woort for their travelling abroad in the world: But it is contrary with you that be Argives and other Greeks (quoth he) for being come once into our citie *Sparta* you are not the woortie, but proove the better by that meanes. It was demanded of him what the reason might be, wherefore they used to sacrifice unto the Muses before they did hazard a battell: To the end (quoth he) that our valiant acts might be well and woorthilie written.

EURYCRATIDAS the sonne of *Anaxandrides*, when one asked him why the *Ephori* sat every day to decide and judge of contracts betweene men: For that (quoth hee) we should learne to keep our faith and truth even among our enemies.

ZEUXIDAMUS likewise answered unto one who demanded of him why the statutes and ordinances of prowesse and martiall fortitude, were not reduced into a booke, and given in writing

ting unto young men for to reade? Because (quoth he) we would have them to be acquainted with deeds and not with writings. A certaine *Aetolian* said: That warre was better than peace, unto those who were desirous to shew themselves valorous men: And not warre onely (quoth he) for by the gods, in that respect better is death than life.

HERONDAS chanced to be at *Athens*, what time as one of the citizens was apprehended, arraigned, and condemned for his idleness, judicially and by forme of law; which when he understood, and heard a brute and noise about him, he requested one to shew him the partie that was condemned for a gentlemen's life.

THEARIDAS whetted his sword upon a time, and when one asked him if it were sharpe, he answered: Yea, sharper than a slanderous calumination.

THEMISTEAS being a prophet or soothsaier, foretold unto king *Leonidas* the discomfiture that should happen within the passe or freights of *Thermopylae*, with the losse both of himselfe and also of his whole armie: whereupon being sent away by *Leonidas* unto *Lacedemon*, under a colour and pretence to enforme them of these future accidents; but in truth, to the end that he should not miscarie and die there with the rest; he would not so doe, neither could he forbear but say unto *Leonidas*: I was sent hirher for a warrior to fight, and not as an ordinary courtier and messenger to carrie newes betwene.

THEOPOMPUS when one demanded of him how a king might preserve his kingdom and roiall estate in safetie? said thus: By giving his friends libertie to speake the truth, and with all his power by keeping his subjects from oppression. unto a stranger who told him that in 20 his owne country & among his citizens he was commonly surnamed *Philolacon*, that is to say, a lover of the *Laconians*: It were better (quoth he) that you were called *Philopolites* than *Philolacon*. Another embassadour there came from *Elis*, who said: That he was sent from his fellow-citizens, because he onely of all that citie loved and followed the *Laconike* manner of life; of him *Theopompus* demanded: And whether is thine or the other citizens life the better? he answered Mine: Why then (quoth he) how is it possible that a citie should continue safe, in which there being so great a number of inhabitants, there is but one good man? There was one said before him, that the citie of *Sparta* maintained the state thereof entier, for that the kings there knew how to governe well: Nay (quoth he) not so much therefore, as because the citizens there can skill how to obey well. The inhabitants of the citie *Pyle*, decreed for him in their generall coun- 30 sell exceeding great honors; unto whom he wrote backe againe: That moderate honors time is woont to augment, but immoderate to diminish and weare away.

THERYCTON returning from the citie *Delfhos*, found king *Philip* encamped within the freight of *Peloponnesus*, where he had gained the narrow passage called *Isthmos*, upon which the city of *Corinth* is seated; whereupon he said: *Peloponnesus* hath but bad porters and warders of you, *Corinthians*.

THECTANENES, being by the *Ephori* condemned to death, went from the judgement place smiling away; and when one that was present asked him, if he despised the lawes and judiciall proceedings of *Sparta*? No iwis (quoth he) but I reioyce heereat, that they have condemned me in that time which I am able to pay and discharge fully, without borrowing of any friend, 40 or taking up money at interest.

HIPPODAMUS, as *Agis* was with *Archidamus* in the campe, being sent with *Agis* by the king unto *Sparta*, for to provide for the affaires of weale publicke and looke unto the States refused to goe, saying: I cannot die a more honorable death, than in fighting valiantly for the defence of *Sparta*: now was he fourecore yeeres old and upward and tooke armes, where hee raunged himselfe on the right hand of the king, and there fighting by his side right manfully, was slaine.

HIPPOCRATIDAS, when a certaine prince or great lord of *Caria* had written unto him, that he had in his hands a *Lacedemonian*, who having beene privie unto a conspiracie and treason intended against his person, revealed not the same; demanding withall, his counsell 50 what he should doe with him; wrote backe againe in this wise: If you have heerebefore done him any great pleasure and good turne, put him to death hardly and make him away; if not, expell him out of your countrey, considering he is a base fellow incapable altogether of vertue. He chanced to encounter upon the way a young boy, after whom followed one who loved him; and the boy blushed for shame; whereupon he said unto him: Thou oughtest to goe in thy company any boy with whom thou hast being seene, needest not to change colour for the matter.

CALLICRATIDAS

CALLICRATIDAS being admirall of a fleet, when the friends of *Esfander* requested him to pleasure them in killing some of their enemies; and in consideration thereof he should receive of them fifty talents; notwithstanding he stood then in very great need of money for to buy victuals for the mariners, yet would not he grant their request; and when *Cleander*, one of his counsell, said unto him: I would (I trow, if I were in your place) take the offer: So would I also (quoth he) if I were in yours. Being come to *Sardis* unto *Cyrus* the younger, who at that time was an allye and confederate of the *Lacedemonians*, to see if hee could speed himselfe of him with money for to enterteine mariners and mainteine the armada; the first day he gave him to understand that he was thither come to speake with him; but answere was made: That the king 10 was at the table drinking: Well (quoth he) I will give attendance untill he have made an end of his beaver: after that he had waited a long time, and saw that it was impossible for to have audience that day, he departed out of the court for that time, being thought very rude and uncivill in so doing: the morow after, when likewise he was given to understand that he was drinking againe, and that he would not come abroad that day; he made no more adoe, but returned to *Ephesus*, from whence he came, saying withall: That he ought not so farre soorth to take paines for to be provided of money, as to doe any thing unseeming *Sparta*: and besides, he fell a cursing those who were the first that endured such indignitie, as to subject themselves unto the infolenie of Barbarians, and who taught them to abuse their riches, and thereby to shew themselves to proud and disdainfull, as to insult over others; yea, and he sware a great oath in the presence of those 20 who were in his company, that so soone as he was returned to *Sparta*, he would labor with all his might and maine, to reconcile the Greeke nations one unto another, to the end that they might be more dread and terrible to the Barbarians, when as they stood in no need of their foreen forces to wage warre one upon another. It was demanded of him, what kinde of men the Ionians were? Good slaves they are (quoth he) but bad free-men. When *Cyrus* in the end had sent money for to pay his souldiers wages, and besides some gifts and presents particularly to himselfe; he received onely the foresaid pay, but as for the gifts, he sent them backe againe, saying: That he had no need of any private or particular amitie with *Cyrus*, so long as the common friendship which he had with all the *Lacedemonians* pertained also unto him. A little before he gave the battell at sea, neere unto *Arginusse*, his pilot said unto him: That it was best for him to faile away, 30 for that the galleies of the *Athenians* were farre more in number than theirs: And what of all that (quoth he) is it not a shamefull infamie, & hurtfull besides to *Sparta*, for to flie? simply, best it is to rary by it, and either to win, or die for it. Being at the point to encounter and joine medley, and having sacrificed unto the gods, the soothsaier shewed unto him that the entrails of the beast signified and promised assured victory unto the armie, but death unto the captaines; whereat he was nothing daunted nor affrighted, but said: The state of *Sparta* lieth not in one man, for when I am dead, my countrey will be never the lesse; but if I should recule now, and yeeld unto the enemies, she will be much impaired, and lose her reputation. Thus having substituted *Cleander* in his place, if ought should happen otherwise than well, he gave the charge, and strooke a navall battell, wherein fighting valiantly he ended his life.

CLEOMBROTUS the sonne of *Paulyniat*, when a certaine friend a stranger, debated and reasoned with his father about vertue, he said unto him: In this point at least-wis is my father before you, for that he hath already begotten a sonne, and you none.

CLEOMENES the sonne of *Anaxandrides*, was wont to say: That *Homer* was the Poet of the *Lacedemonians*, because he taught how to make warre; but *Hesiodus* the Poet of the *Ilots*, for that he wrote of agriculture and husbandry. He had made truce for seven daies with the *Argives*; and the third night after it beganne, perceiving that the *Argives* upon the assurance and confidence of the said truce were foundly asleepe, he charged upon them, slew some, and tooke others prisoners; and when he was reproched therefore, and namely, that he had broken his oth, he answered: That he never sware to observe truce in the night season, but in day-time onely; 50 and besides, what annoiance soever a man did unto his enemies (in what fort it made no matter) he was to thinke that both before God and man it was a point above justice, and in no wise subject and liable unto it: howbeit, for this perjurie of his and breaking of covenant, he was disappointed and frustrate of his hope and desaigne, which was to surprize the citie of *Argos*, for that indeed the very women tooke those armes which in memoriall of ancient victories were hung; and set up fast in their temples, with which they repelled them from the wallles: after this, he fell into a furious rage, and his wits were besttraught; in somuch as he tooke a knife, and slit his bodie from the very ancles up to the principall and noble vitall parts, and so laughing and scoffing, he left

Q 2

left his life. His very foorthfaier would have dissuaded and diverted him from leading his forces against *Argos*, saying: That his returne from thence would be dishonourable and infamous: and when he presented his power before the citie, he found the gates fast shut against them, and the women in armes upon the walles: How thinke you (quoth he) now, doe you suppose this a dishonourable returne, when as the women, after all the men be dead, are faine to keepe the gates fast locked? When the *Argives* abused him with reprochfull tearmes, calling him a perjured and godlesse person: Well (quoth he) it is in you to miscall me and raile upon me as you do, in words; but it is in me to plague and mischiefe you indeed. Unto the ambassadours of *Samos*, who came to moove and sollicit him for to warre upon the tyrant *Polycrates*, and to that effect, used long speeches and perswasions, he answered thus: As touching that point which you spake of in the beginning of your oration, it is out of my head now, and I remember it not; in which regard also I doe not well conceive the middle part of your speech; but as for that which you delivered in the latter end, I mislike it altogether. There was in his time a notable rover or pirate, who made roads into the land, and spoiled the coasts of *Laconia*, but at the last he was intercepted and taken; now being examined and demanded why he robbed in this sort? I had not wherewith (quoth he) to mainteine and keepe my foouldiers about me, and therefore I came to those who had it, and knowing that they would give me nothing freely and by faire means, I assaied to get somewhat of them by force and strong hand: Naughtinesse I see well (quoth he) goeth the needrest way to worke. There was a leaud villaine, who did nothing but revile and miscall him: Thou seemest (quoth he) to go up and downe railing upon every man, to the end that being amused how to answer those thy flanders and imputations, we might have no time nor leasure to charge thee with thy wickednesse and lay open thy vices. When one of his subjects said unto him: That a good king ought alwaies and in every thing to be milde and gracious: Not so (quoth he) left he grow thereby despised and contemptible. Being fore handled with a long and tedious maladie, and not knowing what to do, he put himselfe at last into the hands of forcerers, enchanterers, wifards and sacrificers, unto whom he was wont never to give any credit before; whereat when one of his familiar friends marvelled much, he said unto him: Wherefore wonder you at the matter? for I am not the man that heretofore I was, but much changed by sickness; and as I am not the same, so I do not like & allow of those things which I did in times past. There was a great professor of Rhetoricke, who tooke upon him in his presence to discourse at large of prowesse and valour, whereat he began to laugh a good; and when the partie said unto him: Why laugh you to heare a man speake of valiance, especially being as you are a king? My good friend (quoth he) because if a swallow should talke as you have done, I would doe as you do; marie if it had bene an eagle, I should have bene silent haply and held my peace. The *Argives* made their boast & vaunted that in a second battel, they had recovered the losse which they sustained in a former: I wonder much at that (quoth he) if by the addition of two syllables onely, you are proved better men now than erst you were. When one reproched him in foule tearmes, saying: You are a great spender *Cleomenes* and a voluptuous person: Better it is yet (quoth he) so to be, than unjust as you are, who being wealthie enough, are yet covetous, and get your goods by undue and indirect means. There was one who recommended a musician unto him, and in truth praised the man in many respects; but among the rest for his excellent voice, saying: He was the best singer in all *Greece*: but *Cleomenes* pointing with his finger to one hard by: Lo (quoth hee) here is a passing good cooke of mine, and namely at making of broth he hath no fellow. *Meander* the Tyrant of *Samos*, upon the coming and invasion of the Persians, fled into the citie of *Sparta*, where hee shewed unto *Cleomenes* all the gold and silver which he had brought with him, praying him to take what he would of it; none would hee receive at his hands, but fearing lest he would fatten some of that treasure upon other citizens, to the *Ephori* he went & said thus unto them: It were better for *Sparta*, if this Samian guest of mine were sent out of *Peloponnesus*, for feare he induce and mislead some one of the Spartans to be naught: the *Ephori* no sooner heard this advertisement of his, but the verie same day by open proclamation banished him out of the country. One demanded of him upon a time, and said: Why having so often vanquished the *Argives* warring upon you, have yet not rooted them out cleane? Neither will wee ever so do (quoth he) for we would have our young men alwaies to be kept occupied and in exercise: and when another asked him why the Spartans never consecrated unto the gods the armors which they had depolished their enemies of? Because (quoth he) they be the spoiles of cowards; for those armors which have bene taken from such as held them cowardly, it is not meete either to shew unto young men, or to dedicate unto the gods.

CLEOME-

CLEOMENES the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, when one gave him certaine cockes of game which were verie eager and hot in fight, saying: That they would in combat for the victorie, die in the verie place: Nay (quoth hee) give methose rather that kill them; for surely such mult needs be better than these.

LABOTUS unto one who made a long discourse before him, hee said: To what purpose makest thou such great preambles and prologues for so small a matter; words I tell thee must be consents to the things.

LEOTYCHIDAS the first of that name, when offe hit him in the teeth that he was inconstant and mutable: If I change (quoth he) it is in regard of the times which doe alter and be diverse; and not as you do, who alter ever and anon upon your owne naughtinesse. Unto another who asked him how a man might best keepe the goods that presently he enjoyed; he answered: By not committing them all at once unto fortune. It was demanded of him once, what it was that young gentlemen of noble houses ought to learne: Even that (quoth hee) which will doe them good another day, when they be men grown. Lastly, when one would needs know of him the reason why the Spartans dranke so little: Because (quoth he) others should not consult of us, but we of others.

LEOTYCHIDAS the sonne of *Arifon*, when one brought him word that the sonnes of *Demaratus* gave out verie hard speeches of him: By the gods (quoth he) I nothing marvel thereat; for there is not one of them all that can afford any man a good word. There chanced to be a serpent scene, which clasped round about the key or bolt of the gate next unto him; which fight the sooth-sayers pronounced to be prodigious and a great wonder: Why (quoth he) this seemeth not to me any monstrous or strange thing, that a serpent should winde about a key or bolt; but surely it were a marvellous matter indeed, if the key or bolt should be wound about the serpent. There was a sacrificer or priest named *Philippus*, who inducted and professed men in the ceremonial religion of *Orpheus*; and to exreame poore he was that he begged for his living; howbeit he went about and said: That those who by his hand were admitted unto those ceremonies, should be happy after their death: Foole that thou art (quoth he) why dost not thou thy selfe die quickly, to the end that thou maiest cease to lament and bewaile thine owne miserie and poverie.

LEON the sonne of *Eueratides*, being asked in what citie a man might dwell most safely? answered thus: Even in that, whereof the inhabitants are no richer or poorer one than another; and wherin justice doth prevayle, & injustice is of no force. When he saw certaine runners prepare to run a course for the prize in the race at the solemne Olympicke games, and marked how they espied all means possible to catch and winne some advantage of their concurrents: See (quoth he) how much more studious these runners are of swiftnesse than of righteounesse. And when one hapned to discourse out of time and place, of things verie good and profitable: My good friend (quoth he) unto him, your matter is honest and seemely, but your manner of handling it is bad and unseemely.

LEONIDAS the sonne of *Amixandrides*, and brother to *Cleomenes*; when one said unto him: There was no difference betwene you and us before you were a king: Yes I wis good Sir (quoth he) for if I had not been better than you, I had never bene king. When his wife, named *Gorge*, at what time as he tooke his leave of her and went forth to fight with the Persians in the passe of *Thermopyle*, asked of him whether hee had ought else to command her? Nothing (quoth he) but this, that thou be wedded againe unto honest men and bring them good children. When the *Ephori* said unto him, that he lead a small number forth with him to the foresaid fraights of *Thermopyle*: True (quoth he) but yet enough for that service which we go for. And when they enquired of him againe, and said: Why sir, intend you any other desaigne and enterprize? In outward shew (quoth he) and appearance, I give out in words that I go to empeach the passage of the Barbarians; but in verie truth to lay downe my life for the Greeks. When he came to the verie entrance of the said passe, hee said unto his foouldiers: It is reported unto us by our scouts, that our Barbarous enemies be at hand; therefore wee are to lose no more time, for now we are brought to this issue, that we must either defeat them, or else die for it. When one said unto him, for the exceeding number of their arrowes we are not able to see the fun: So much the better (quoth he) for us, that we may fight under the shade. To another who said: Lo they be even hard & close to us; And so are we (quoth he) hard by them. Another used these words unto him: You are come *Leonidas* with a verie small troupe, for to hazard your selfe against so great a multitude; unto whom he answered: If you regard number, all *Greece* assembled

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assembled together is not able to furnish us, for it would but answer one portion or canton of their multitude: but if you stand upon valor & prowesse of men, certes this number is sufficient. Another there was who said as much to him: But yet I bring (quoth he) money enough, considering we are heere to leave our lives. *Xerxes* wrote unto him to this effect: You need not trouble yourself to be so perverse and obstinate as to fight against the gods, but by siding and combining with me, make your selfe a monarch over all *Greece*; unto whom he wrote back in this wise: If you knew wherein consisted the soveraigne good of mans life, you would not covet that which is another mans; for mine owne part, I had rather loose my life for the safetie of *Greece*, than be the commander of all those of mine owne nation. Another time *Xerxes* wrote thus: Send me thy armour; unto whom he wrote backe: Come your selfe and fetch it. At the verie point when he was to charge upon his enemies, the marshalls of the armie came unto him, and protested that they must needs hold off and stay until the other allies & confederates were come together: Why (quoth he) thinke you not that as many as be minded to fight are come already? or know you not that they onely who dread and reverence their kings, be they that fight against enemies? this said, he commanded his souldiers to take their dinners, for sup we shall alight against enemies? in the other world. Being demanded why the best and bravest men preferre an honorable death before a shamefull life? Because (quoth he) they esteeme the one proper to nature onely; but to die well they thinke it peculiar to themselves. A great desire he had to have those young men of his troupe and regiment, who were not yet married, and knowing well that if he delt with them directly and openly, they would not abide it; he gave unto them one after another two brevets or letters to carrie unto the *Ephori*, and so sent them away: he meant also to save three of those who were married; but they having an inkling thereof, would receive no brevets or missives at all: for one said, I have followed you hither to fight, and not to be a carrier of newes; the second also: By staying heere I shall quit my selfe the better man; and the third: I will not be behind the rest, but the foremost in fight.

Lochagus the father of *Polyxenes* and *Syron*, when newes was brought unto him that one of his children was dead: I knew long since (quoth he) that he must needs die.

Lycurgus the law-giver, minding to reduce his citizens from their old manner of life, unto a more sober and temperate course, and to make them more vertuous and honest (for before time they had beene dissolute and over delicate in their manners and behaviour) nourished two whelpes which came from the same dogge and bitch, and the one he kept alwaies within house, & used it to lick in every dish & to be greedily after meat; the other he would leade forth abroad into the fields and acquaint it with hunting: afterwards he brought them both into an open and frequent assembly of the people, and set before them in the midst, certaine bones, fesse & scraps; he put out also at the same time an hare before them; now both the one and the other tooke incontinently to that whereto they had beene acquainted, and ranne apace, the one to the mess of fops, and the other after the hare and caught it: heereupon *Lycurgus* tooke occasion to inferre this speech: You see heere my masters and citizens (quoth he) how these two dogs having one fire and one dam to them both, are become farre different the one from the other, by reason of their divers educations and bringing up; whereby it is evident how much more powerful nouriture and exercise is to the breeding of vertuous manners, than kinde and nature: howbeit some there be who say, that these two dogs or whelps which he brought out, were not of one and the same dogge and bitch; but the one came from those cures that used to keepe the houle, and the other from those hounds that were kept to hunting; and afterwards that he acquainted the whelp that was of the worse kinde onely to the chafe, and that which came of the better race, to flappe, lick, and doe nothing else but raven; whereupon either of them made their choise and ranne to that quickly whereto they were accustomed; and thereby he made it appeere evidently, how education, trayning, and bringing up is available both for good and bad conditions, for thus he spake unto them: By this example you may know my friends that nobilitie of blood, how highly soever it is esteemed with the common sort, is to no purpose, no though we be descended from the race of *Hercules*, if we doe not practise those deeds whereby we became the most renowned and glorious knight in the world, learning and exercising all our life time those things which are honest and vertuous. Having made a devision of the whole territorie, and distributed to every citizen an equall portion; it is reported that a good while after, being returned fro a long voyage which he had into the said territorie about harvest time, when the corne was newly reaped and cut down, seeing the flocks & sheaves, cocks and fitches running even and orderly, and the same like one to another; he rejoiced in his heart, and smiling said

said to those about him: That the whole territorie of *Laconia* looked like unto the inheritance and patrimonie of many brethren who had lately parted and divided their portions together equally. When he had brought in the cutting off and abolition of debts, he went in hand with the division of all utensils also and moveable goods within house into even shares, to the end that there might be no imparitie nor inequality at all among his citizens; but perceiving that if he went directly and plainly to work, they would hardly beare and brooke that any thing should be abridged and taken from them: he discredited first and forsook all sorts of gold and silver coine, giving commaundement that there should be no money used but made of iron: and taxed a certaine rate and limitation to what summe each mans state should amount; according to the estimation of the said money by way of exchange; which done, all wrongs and unjust dealings were chased cleane out of *Laconia*: for now by this means there could no man rob nor steale, there was no bribing nor corruption by gifts, no man might defraud in contracts and bargains, nor embezzell any more, considering that neither they might conceale and hide that which was unjustly gotten, nor any man joied in possessing ought, nor could possibly use and occupie the same without perill, ne yet carie to and fro in safetie and securitie: and withall by the same means, he banished out of *Laconia* all superfluities, whereby there were no more any marchants nor pleading sophisters, no wifards & fortune tellers, no coggings mount-banks & jugglers, no ingenious devisers of new fabricks & buildings that haunted *Sparta* any more; for why, he would not permit any money there which was current in other places, but onely this iron coine was in request, and passed from one to another: as for the price thereof it weighed an Aegineticke pound; but in worth and valour, it went but for foure *Chalcins*. Moreover, having a purpose to root out delicate and superfluous pleasures, and to cut off cleane all covetous desire of riches, he instituted and brought up those meetings which they call *Systia*: i. eating at publick meales and making merrie together: and when some demanded of him what he meant to devise the same, and also why he ordeined that his citizens should be divided by little tables when they sat together in armies? To the end (quoth he) that they might be in more readinesse to receive commaundement from their superiours; as also if peradventure there should be some practise among them of change and alteration, the fault might be in some few; and moreover, that there should be equality in their eating & drinking, & neither in their dishes of meat nor cups of drink, nor in their beds nor apparel, nor no so much as in the utensils & implemets of the house, or in any thing whatsoever, the rich should have any vantage over the poore: by this policy having brought to passe that riches was not set by and desired, considering that such order was taken, that neither men had much occasion to use it, nor any joy & pleasure to shew it, he would thus say unto his familiars: My good friends, what a gay & goodly matter is it, to make it knownen by effect indeed, that *Phuto*, that is to say, the god of riches, is in truth blinde, according as he is named to be. Furthermore, careful he was, and had a speciall regard that his people should not first dine at home in their owne houses, and after that, goe to their publicke halles and meetings aforesaid, being full of other viands and drinks; for others would reproche and speake badly of a man who did not eat among them with a good appetite, as being a glutton, or one who for daintinesse and delicacy disdained this common and vulgar manner of diet; but if any such happened to be seene and knownen, he was sure to be condemned in a good round fine. Hereupon it was, that a long time after, king *Agis* (after his returne from an expedition or voyage in warre, wherein he had subdued the Athenians) willing one day to suppe privately by himselfe with his wife at home, sent into the kitchen for his part or allowance of meat; but the marshalls of the armie would send him none; and the morrow after, when the matter came to the knowledge of the *Ephori*, he had a fine set on his head for it: but by reason of these new ordinances, divers of the richer sort tooke snuffe, and in great indignation rose up against him, abused him with hard tearmes, & threw stones and would have brained him; but he seeing himselfe thus furiously pursued, made shift by good footmanship, and escaped out of the common market place, & put himselfe within the sanctuary of *Minervaes* temple, called *Chalceas*; before the other could overtake him, only *Alexander* was so neere unto him, that when he cast his eye behinde to see who followed after, caught him a rap with his baston, and strake one of his eyes out of his head: but *Alexander* afterwards, by the common sentence of the whole citie, was put into his hands for to doe exemplary justice upon him, according as he thought good: howbeit, he wrought him no mischief nor displeasure at all; and that which more is, he never for much as complained of any wrong or abuse that he had offered and done unto him; but having him to be a domestickall guest and to live with him, he did this good of him: That hee blazed in

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every place where he came, his commendable parts, and namely, the orderly diet and maner of life, that he had learned by conversing with him; and in one word, shewed himselfe highly to affect that discipline in which *Lycurgus* had trained him: afterwards, for a memoriall of this accident which befell unto him, he caused within the temple of *Minerva Chalcocoe*, a chapel to be built unto *Minerva*, furnished *Optileti*; for that the Dorians inhabiting those parts, do call in their language, *Eies, Opteli*. It was demanded of him upon a time, why he had not established any written positive lawes: Because (quoth he) they that are well brought up and instituted in that discipline as it apperteineth, know well how to judge that which the time requireth. Some asked him why he had ordeined that the roofes of houses should be made with timber rough-hewen with the axe, and the doores of fawen planks or board onely, without worke of any other 10 roofes or instruments at all? unto whom he answered: Because our citizens should be moderate in all things that they bring into their houses, and have no furniture therein that might set other mens teeth on water, or which other men do so much affect. From this custome by report it came, that king *Lycorgides* the first of that name, being at supper in a friends house of his, when he saw the roofe over his head richly feeled with embowed arch-woike, demanded of his host whether the trees in that country grew square or no? When he was asked why he forbade to make warre often against the same enemies: For feare (quoth he) that being forced chisloones to stand upon their owne guard and put themselves in defence, they should in the end become well experienced in the warres: in which regard *Agessilaus* afterwards was greatly blamed for being the cause by his continuall expeditions and invasions into *Boeotia*, that the Thebans were 20 equal in armes unto the Lacedaemonians. Another asked also of him, why he enjoined maidens marriageable to exercise their bodies in running, wrestling, pitching the barre, flinging coits, and lancing of darts? For this purpose (quoth he) that the first rooting of their children which they are to breed, taking fast and sure holde in able bodies wel fed and strongly knit, might spring and thrive the better within them, and they also themselves being more firme and vigorous, beare children afterward the better, be prepared and exercised (as it were) to endure the paines and travels of child-birth easily and stoutly, over and besides, if need required, be able to fight in defence of themselves, their children and country. Some there were who found fault with the custome that he brought in, that the maidens of the city at certaine festivall daies should dance naked in solemn shewes and pomps that were let, demanding the cause thereof? to whom he 30 rendred this reason: That they performing the same exercises which men do, might be no lesse enabled than they, either in strength and health of body, or in vertue and generosity of minde, and by that meanes checke and despise the opinion that the vulgar sort had of them. And from hence it came, that *Gorgo* the wife of *Leonidas*, as we finde written, when a certaine dance and ladic of a forren country said unto her: There be no other women but you Laconian wives, that have men at command; answered in this wise: For why? we onely are the women that beare men. Moreover, he debarrd and kept those men who remained unmarried, from the sight of those shewes where the young virgins aforesaid danced naked; and that which more is, set upon them the note of infamie, in depriving them expressly of that honour and service which younger folke are bound to yield unto their elders: in which doing, he had a great foresight and providence to move his citizens to marriage and for to beget children; by occasion whereof, there was never any man yet who milked and complained of that which was said unto *Dercilidas*, by way of reproch, though otherwise he was a right good and valiant captain; for when he came upon a time into a place, one of the younger sort there was, who would not deigne to rise up unto him, nor give him any reverence; and this reason he gave: Because (quoth he) as yet you have not begotten a child to rise up and doe his duty likewise to me. Another asked of him, wherefore he had ordeined that daughters should be married without a dowrie or portion given with them? Because (quoth he) for default of marriage-money none of them might stay long ere they were wedded, nor be heartened after for their goods; but that every man regarding only the maners and conditions of a young damosell, might make choise of her whom he meaneth 50 to espouse, for her vertue onely; which is the reason also that he banished out of *Sparta* all manner of painting, trimming, and artificiall embellishments to procure a superficiall beauty and complexion. Having also prefixed and set downe a certaine time, within the which all maidens as young men might marrie; one would needs know of him why he limited forth such a definite terme? unto whom he answered: Because their children might be strong and lustie, as being begotten and conceived of such persons as be already come to their full growth. Some wondered why hee would not allow that the new married bridegrome should lie with his

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espouse; but expressly gave order that the most part of the day hee should converse with his companions, yea, and all the nights long, but whensoever hee went to keepe company with his new wedded wife, it should be secretly and with great heed and care that hee be not surprized or found with her? This (quoth he) is done to this end that they may be alwaies more strong and in better plight of body: also thereby not enjoying their delights and pleasures to the full; their love might be ever fresh, and their infants betweene them more hardie and stout: furthermore, hee removed out of the citie all precious and sweete perfumes, saying: That they were no better than the vertie marring and corruption of the good naturall oile; the art of dyeing and tincture, which he said was nothing else but the flatterie of the senses: 10 to be brieve, he made the citie *Sparta* inaccessible (as I may say) for all jewelers and fine workmen, who professe to set out and adorne the body: giving out, that such by their lewd artificiall devices, do deprave and marre the good arts and mysteries in deed. In those daies the honestie and pudicitie of dames was such, and so far off were they from that tractable facilitie and easie access unto their love; which was afterwards, that adulterie among them was held for an unpoffible and incredible thing. And to this purpose may well be remembered the narration of one *Geradatus*, an ancient Spartane, of whom a stranger asked the question: What punishment adulterers were to suffer in the citie of *Sparta*? for that, he saw, *Lycurgus* had set downe no expresse law in that behalf: Why (quoth he) there is no adulterie among us: but when the other replied againe: Yea, but what and if there were? even the same answer made *Geradatus*, and 20 none other: For how (quoth he) can there be an adulterer in *Sparta*, wherein all riches, all superfluous delights and dainties, all outward trickings and embellishments of the bodie are despised and dishonoured? and where shame of doing ill, honestie, reverence and obedience to superiours carrie away all the credit and authoritie? One put himselfe forward, and was in hand with him to set up and establish the popular State of government in *Sparta*; unto whom hee answered: Begin it thy selfe first within thine owne house. And unto another who demanded of him, why he ordeined the sacrifices in *Lacedaemon* to be simple and of final cost? To the end (quoth he) that we should never cease and give over to worship and honour the gods. Also when hee permitted his citizens to practise those exercises of the bodie only, wherein they never stretched forth their hands; he was required by one to yeeld a reason thereof: Because (quoth he) 30 none of us should in taking paines be accustomed to be wearie or to faint, and give over at any time. Likewise being asked the reason why he gave order oftentimes to change the campe, and not in one place to lie long encamped? To the end (quoth he) that we might doe the greater damage to our enemies, and hurt more of them. Another was desirous to know of him, why he forbade to give the assault unto any walles? unto whom he answered: For feare that the best men might not be killed, by a woman, a child, or some such like person. Certaine Thebans craved his advice and opinion touching the sacrifice, divine service, and dolefull moane which was solemnly made in the honour of *Leucorhea*; unto whom he answered thus: If you take her for a goddesse, weepe not for her as if she were a woman; if you suppose her to be a woman, sacrifice not unto her as to a goddesse. Unto his citizens who demanded of him, how they might put 40 backe and repulse the invasions of their enemies? Marie (quoth he) if you continue poore, and none of you do covet to have more than another. Again, when they would needs know why he would not have their citie to be walled about: Because (saith he) that citie is never without a wall, which is environed and compassed about with valiant men, and not with bricke or stone. The Spartans also were verie curious in trimming the haire of their heads, alledging for their warrant a certaine speech of *Lycurgus* as touching that point, who was wont to say: That side-haire made them who were faire more beautifull, and those that were foule, more hideous and terrible. Likewise he gave commaundements, that in their warres, when they had discomfited their enemies and put them to flight, to follow the chase so hardly, untill they were fully assured of the victorie, and then to retire withall speed, saying: That it was no act of a generous spirit, 50 nor becoming the brave minde of the Greeklith nation, to massacre and execute those who had quit the place and were gone; besides, this also would be faine and commodious for themselves, inasmuch as the enemies who knew once their custome, namely, to put those to the sword who obstinately resist and make head, and to spare those and let them escape who flie before them, find by that meanes that flight is better than to stand to fight. A certaine man asked him, for what cause he would not suffer the fouldiers to rife and spoile the bodies of their enemies as they fell dead: For feare (quoth hee) lest while they busie themselves, and stoupe forward to gather

ther the spoiles, they should neglect their fight in the meane time, but rather entend onely with their poverie and want to keepe their range.

The Tyrant of *Sicilie Dionysius* had sent unto *LYSANDER* two suites of womens robes, that he might choofe whether of them he liked better, to carrie unto his daughter; but hee said unto him: That the herselfe knew best which to choofe, and what was fittest for herselfe, and so he tooke both away with him. This *Lysander* was a verie craftie and subtille foxe, who ordered and managed most part of his affaires by cunning casts and deceitfull devices, esteeming justice onely by utilitie, and honestie by profit; confessing in word that truth was better than fall hood; but measuring in deed the worth and price as well of the one as the other by commoditie. To them who reprooved and blamed him for conducting the most part of his enterprises by fraud and guile, and not by plaine direct force, a thing unworthy the magnanimity of *Hercules*, hee would laugh and answer: That where he could not achieve a thing by the lions skin, hee must needs fow thereto a piece of the foxes ease. And when others charged and accused him mightily for that he had violated and broken his oath, which he had made in the citie *Attilum*, he used to say: That children were to be deceived with cock-all-bones, but men with oaths: Having defeated the Athenians in a battell by means of an ambush, in a certaine place called the Goats-rivers, and afterward pressed them so fore with famine, that he forced them to yeeld the citie unto his mercie, he wrote unto the *Ephori* thus: *Athens* is woon. The Lacedaemonians in his time were at some difference with the Argives about their confines; and it seemed that the Argives alledged better reasons, and brought forth more direct evidences for themselves 20 than the other; whereupon he came among them and drew his sword, saying: That they are the mightier with this, plead best for their confines. Seeing the Boeotians as he passed thorow their country, hanging in equal balance, and as yet not resolved and certaine to which side for to range themselves, he sent one unto them for to know whether they would chuse, that he marched thorow their lands with speares and pikes upright, or bending downward and trailing. In a certaine assembly of the estates of *Greece*, there was a Megarian who spake bravely and audaciously unto him: Thy words my friend (quoth he) have need of a citie; meaning thereby, that he was of too weake and small a citie, as to give such glorious words. The Corinthians rebelled upon a time, whereupon he advanced with his forces against their walles, which the Lacedaemonians seemed to assaile verie coldly: but at the verie instant there was espied an hare, running 30 croffe over the towne ditch: whereupon he tooke occasion to say: Are yee not ashamed in deed to see Spartanes, to feare such enemies, who are so idle and stirre so little abroad, that hares can sleepe quietly, even under their verie walles. When hee was at *Smothrace* to consult with the oracle there; the priest was in hand with him to confesse what was the most wicked and enormous act that ever hee did in all his life time: whereupon hee asked the priest againe: Whether is it your selfe or the gods that would know thus much, and imposeth this confession upon mee? The gods (quoth the priest) would have it so: Why then (quoth he) retire you aside out of my sight, and if they demand the fame of mee, I will answer them. A certaine Persian asked him what kinde of government hee liked best and praised most: Even that (quoth hee) which ordeineth for cowards and hardy men that reward and hire 40 which is meet for them. Another said unto him: That in every place where he came hee was ready to commend and defend him: I have (quoth he againe) in my grounds two oxen, and neither of them speaks a word; howbeit, I know for al that, which is good of deed, and which is idle and lazie at his worke. There was one who let die at him divers odious and reprochfull words. Speake on good fellow (quoth he) out with it hardly and spare not, vomit up all and leave nothing behinde, if haply thou canst rid and purge thy heart of all the wicked venom wherewith thou seemest to swell. Some time after, when he was dead, there arose variance betweene the allies of *Sparta* as touching certaine matters; and for to know the truth and settle all causes among them, *Agessilaus* went to *Lysanders* house, for to search certaine papers that might give light and evidence to the thing in controversie; and among other writings he chanced to 50 light upon an oration or pamphlet penned by him as touching policie & the State; wherein he seemed to perswade the Spartans to take the roialtie and regall dignitie from the houses of the *Eurytomide* and *Agidae*, and to bring it to a free election of the citizens, that they might chuse for their kings out of all the citie those who were approved and knownen for the worst thief men, and not to be obliged for to take and admit of necessitie one of *Hercules* line; so as the crowne and regall state might be conferred as a reward and honour upon him who in verie resembled

resembled *Hercules* most, considering that it was by the means thereof, that unto him were assigned the honors due unto the gods: now was *Agessilaus* fully bent to have published this oration before al the citizens, to the end that they might take knowledge how *Lysander* was another kind of man than he had beene taken for, and withall to traduce those that were his friends and bring them into obloquie, suspition, and trouble: but by report *Laetridas* the principall man, and president of the *Ephori*, fearing lest if this oration were once divulged & openly read, it might take effect, and perswade that indeed which it pretended; staied *Agessilaus* and kept him from doing so, saying: That he should not now take *Lysander* out of his grave, but rather enterre and burie the oration together with him, so wittily and artificially composed it was, and 10 so effectfull to perswade. Certaine gentlemen there were of the citie, who during his life were suiters to his daughters in marriage; but after his death when his estate was known to be but poore, they desisted and cast them off, whereupon the *Ephori* condemned them in great fines, for that they made court unto them, so long as they esteemed him wealthy; but afterwards when they found by his poore estate that he was a righteous and just man, they made no more reckoning of his daughters but disdained them.

NAMERTIS being sent as embassadour into a forren country, there chanced to be one of those parts who said unto him: That he held and reputed him for an happie man, because he had so many friends; unto whom he replied and asked: Whether he knew the true proofe whereby a man might be assured that he had many friends? the other answered: No, but I pray you 20 tell me: Why then (quoth he) it is * advertisement.

NICANDER, when one brought him, word that the Argives spake ill of him: It makes no matter (quoth he) are they not sufficiently chastised and punished for railing upon good men? One asked of him wherefore the Lacedaemonians wore their haire long of their heads, & suffred likewise their beards to grow side; unto whom he answered: Because a mans owne proper ornament is of all other the fairest, and costeth least. A certaine Athenian being in communication with him, cast out this word: All you Lacedaemonians (*Nicander*) love your ease well, and are idle: You say true indeed (quoth he) but we busie not our selves as you doe in every trifling matter.

PANTHOIDAS, being sent in embassage into *Asia*, was shewed by the people of those parts a certaine strong citie well fortified with high and goodly wals: Now by the gods (quoth he) 30 my friends, this seemes to be a trim cloister to mure up women in. In the schoole of *Academie* the philosophers discoured and disputed as touching many good themes, and after they had made an end, they said unto him: Now good fir *Panthoidas*, how like you these discourses? What should I thinke of them else (quoth he) but that they are goodly and honest in shew, but surely profitable they are not, nor edifie at all, so long as your selves doe not live accordingly.

PAUSANIAS the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, when the inhabitants of the isle *Delos* were at debate, and pleaded for the proprietie of the said isle against the Athenians, alleging for themselves that by an old law (time out of minde) observed among them, there might none of their women beare children within the said island, nor any of their dead be buried there: How then 40 (quoth he) can this isle be yours, if none of you were ever borne or buried there? When certaine exiled persons from *Athens* solicited him to leade his armie against the Athenians, and for to provoke him rather thereto, said: That they were the onely men who hissed and whistled at the naming of him, when he was declared victor in the solemnitie of the Olympick games: But what thinke you (quoth he) will they doe when we have wrought them some shrewd turne, since they sticken not to hisse at us being their benefactors? Another asked of him, wherefore the Lacedaemonians had enfranchized the poet *Tyrtens* their denizen? Because (quoth he) we never would be thought to have a stranger or alien our leader and governour. There was a very weak and feeble man of bodie who nevertheless seemed very earnest and instant to make warre upon the enemies, and to give them battell both on sea and land: Will you (quoth he) strip your 50 selfe out of your clothes, that we may see what a goodly man of person you are, to moove and perswade us for to fight? Some there were who seeing the spoiles that were taken from the dead bodies of the Barbarians after they were slaine in the field, marvelled much at their sumptuous and costly clothes: It had been better (quoth he) that themselves had beene of more valour; and their habilements of lesse valew. After the victorie which the Greeks wan of the Persians before the citie *Plataea*, he commaunded those about him to serve him up to the table that supper which the Persians had provided for themselves, which being woondfull excessive and superfluous: Now *Par-die* (quoth he) the Persians are great gormaunders and greedy gluttons, who

* Or, profiteer.

who having so great store of viands come hither among us, for to cate up our browne bread and couffe biscket.

PAUSANIAS the sonne of *Plistonax*, unto one who asked him, why it was not lawfull in their countrey to alter any of their ancient statutes, made this answer: Because lawes ought to be misseffes of men, and not men matters of the lawes. Being exiled from *Sparta*, and making his abode within the citie *Tegea*, he highly praised the Lacedaemonians; one of the standers by said unto him: And why then staied not you at *Sparta*, if there be so good men there? why I say fled you from thence? Because (quoth he) physicians doe not use to keepe where folke be found and whole, but where they are sicke and diseased. One came to him and said: How shall we be able to defeat & conquer the *Thracians* *Mary* (quoth he) if we chuse the valiantest for our captaine, A certaine Physician advised & looked upon him very wiffly, & after he had well considered his person, said: Thou ailest nothing, neither is there any evil in thee: I thinke so (quoth he) because I use none of thy counsell & physick. His friends reprooved him for speaking ill of a physician, of whom he had no prooffe nor experience, and at whose hands he had received no harme: True indeed (quoth he) I have made no triall of him; for if I had, surely I should not have bene a lives-man at this day. When a Physician said unto him: You are now become old sir: Thou saist truth (quoth he) because I have not entertained thee for to minister physicke unto me, He was wont also to say: That he was the best Physician, who would not let his patients rot above ground, but dispatch them at once, and send them quickly to their graves.

PAEDARETUS, when one said unto him: There is a great number of our enemies: Then (quoth he) shall we win greater honour, for kill we may the more of them. Seeing one who by nature was a very daftard and coward, howbeit, commended otherwise by his fellow-citizens for his modestie and mildnesse: I would not have men (quoth he) praised for being like women, nor women for resembling men, unless peradventure a woman be driven upon some occasion of extremitie to play the man. Having the repulse upon a time, when hee should have bene chosen into the counsell of the three hundred, which was the most honourable degree of State in all the citie, he departed from the assembly all jocund, mery and smiling; and when the *Ephori* called him backe againe, and demanded of him why he laughed? Because (quoth he) I joy in the behalfe of the citie, that it hath in it three hundred better and more sufficient citizens than my selfe.

PLEISTARCHUS the sonne of *Leonidas*, when one enquired of him the cause why they caried not the denomination of their families from the names of their lust kins, but of the lacer? Because (quoth he) those in the olde time* chose rather to be leaders than kings; but their successors not. There was a certaine advocate at the barre, who in pleading for his client, was full of his jests and frumps, never ceasing to scoffe and move laughter: My friend (quoth he unto him) do you not consider and regard, that in seeming to make others for to laugh, you will cause your selfe to be ridiculous and a laughing stocke? even as those who by wrestling off become good wrettlers? Report there was made unto him one day of a certaine soule-tongued fellow, who used to slander and back-bite all men; and yet spake all good of him: I wonder much (quoth he) if no man tolde him that I was dead; for surely he cannot for his life afford any man living one good word.

PLISTONAX the sonne of *Pausanias*, when a certaine Athenian oratour called the Lacedaemonians, unlettered and ignorant persons: Thou saiest true (quoth he) for we alone of all other Greeks, are the men who have learned no naughtinesse of you.

POLYDORUS the sonne of *Alcmenes*, said unto one who ordinarily did nothing els but menace his enemies: Doeft not thou perceive how thou spendest the most part of thy revenge in these threats? He led upon a time the army from *Lacedaemon* against the citie of *Missene*; and one demanded of him, whether his heart would serve to fight against brethren? No (quoth he) but I can finde in mine heart to march into that inheritance which is not yet set out and parted by lots. The *Argives*, after the discomfiture of their three hundred men who fought against so many of the Lacedaemonians, were defeated a second time, all in a ranged battell; by reason whereof, the allies and confederates of the Lacedaemonians were earnest with *Polydorus* not to let slip so good an opportunitie, but to follow the traine of victory, and to go directly to the oppugnation of their city walles, and to win it by force; which he might effect right easily, considering that all the men were killed up in the field, and none but women left alive within, to defend the citie; unto whom he answered: I am well appeard, and take this for my great honour and glory, that I have vanquished mine enemies in battell, fighting on even-hand fo many to fo many;

* Some relate thus: Were compelled off to be captives or slaves.

many; but being to determine the quarrell by dint of sword for our confines onely, and having exploited that, to proceed forward, and covet to assault and winne their city, it holde it next to be just and equal; for come I am to recover those lands of ours which they occupied, and not to seize upon their home-stalles. Being demanded why the Lacedaemonians exposed themselves so manfully to the hazzard of warre? It is (quoth he) because they have learned to reverence, and not to feare their rulers and capitaines.

POLYCRATIDAS being sent with others, in ambassage to the lieutenants of the king of *Perfia*, when they demanded of him & the rest, whether they were come of their own proper motion, or sent by commission from the State? If we speed of that (quoth he) which we demand, then are we come in the behalfe of the common weale; but if we misse, we come of our owne heads.

PHOEBIDAS immediately before the battell of *Leutres*, when some gave out, and said: This day will trie and shew who is a good man: Such a day (quoth hee) is much worth in deed, if it be able to shew a good man.

SOUS, as it is reported (being upon a time straightly besieged by the *Clitorians*, in a place which was very rough and without water) made offer to render into their hands all those lands which he had conquered from them, in case that he and all his company might drinke at a certaine fontaine which was neere at hand: the *Clitorians* accorded thereto, and this covenant was concluded and confirmed by oath betweene them: so hee assembled all his men together, and declared unto them: That if there were any amongst them would abstaine from drinke, he would resigne up into his hands all his soveraigne power and roialtie; but there was not one of all his troupe who could contene and forbear, so exceeding thirstily they were all; but everie man drunke heartily, himselfe onely excepted, who went last downe to the spring, where he did nothing els but coole and besprinkle his body with out, in the presence of his very enemies, not taking one drop inwardly: by which evasion, he would not afterwards yeeld up the forefild lands, but alleged that they had not all drunke.

TELECRUS when one came unto him & said: That his owne father gave him alwaies hard words; made him this answer: Surely, if there were not cause to use such speeches, he would never speake so. His brother also was discontented, and complained in this wise: The citizens do not beare mee such favour and kindnesse as they shew in your behalfe notwithstanding we are the sonnes of one father and mother; but they misuse me most injuriously: Thereason is (quoth he) because you know not how to put up a wrong as I doe. Being demanded why the custome was in their countrey, that young men should rise up from their places where they were set, and do reverence unto their elders: It is (quoth he) to this end, that in doing this honor unto those, who nothing belonged unto them, they might leaue so much the more to honour their parents. Unto another that asked him of what wealth he was, and how much goods he had? he answered: I have no more than will suffice.

CHARILLUS being asked the question why *Egeus* had given them so few lawes? Because (quoth he) they have no need at all of many lawes: who speake but little. Another demanded of him the cause, why at *Sparta* they suffered to goe forth into publick place, virgins with their faces open, but wives veiled and covered: For that (quoth he) maidens might finde them out husbands to be wedded unto; and wives keepe those whom they have married already. One of the slaves (called *Notes*) behaved himselfe upon a time over boldly and malapertly with him; unto whom he said: Were I not angrie, I would kill thee at my foot. One asked him what kind of government he esteemed best? Even that (quoth he) wherein most men, in managing of publicke affaires without quarrels and seditions; strive a vie who shall be most vertuous. And unto another who would needs know the reason, why at *Sparta* the images and statues of the gods were made in armor? he shaped this answer: To the end that the reproches which are fittied upon men for cowardise, might not take hold of them; also that young men should never with- out their armes make their praies unto the gods.

The Samiens had sent certaine embassadors unto *Sparta*, who after audience given, were very long and somewhat tedious in their orations; but when they had found the way to make an end, THE LORDS OF *SPARTA* made them this answer: The beginning of your speech we have forgotten, and we conceived nob thereof because the beginning was out of our remembrance. The Thebanes upon a time had contested bravely, and contradicted them stoutly in certaine points in question, unto whom they answered thus: Either lesse hearts, or more puiſſance. There was one asked a Lacedaemonian upon a time why he let his beard grow so long? Because

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* Apophthegmes of Spartans and Lacedaemonians, whose names are not expressed.

(quoth he) whensover I see my hoary and grey haire, I might be put in minde to doe nothing unbecoming them. When another highly praised certaine men for most valiant : a Lacedæmonian heard him and said : Oh, such were sometime at *Great Troy*. Another of them hearing it spoken, that in certaine cities men were forced to drinke after supper : And doe they not (quoth he) compell them also to eate ? The poet *Pindarus* in one of his canticles nameth the cite of *Athens* the prop of *all Greece* : The wil *Greece* quickly come tumbling down (quoth a Laconian) if it beare but upon so sleight a pillar. Another beheld a painted table, wherein was the pourtrature of the Lacedæmonians, how they were killed by the Athenians, and when one that stood by said, Now surely these Athenians be valiant men : Yea mary (quoth he) in a picture. There was one esteemed to take pleasure in hearing certaine opprobrious and slanderous words untruely given out against a Laconian, & to beleeve the same ; but the partie thus misused said : Cease to lend your eare against me. Another when he was punished, went crying, If I have don amisse it was against my wil. Why then (answered a Laconian) let it be against thy wil also that thou art punished. Another seeing men going forth of the countrey, set at their eale within coches : (God forbid (quoth he) that I should sit there where I can not rise up to doe my dutie unto him that is elder than my selfe. Certaine Chians there were, who being come to see the cite of *Sparta*, chanced to be well whittled and starke drunke, who after supper went to see also the consistorie of the *Ephori*, where they cast up their gorges, yea and that which more is, both vomited and discharged their guts, even upon the very chaires where the *Ephori* was wont to sit : the morrow after, the Lacedæmonians made great search and diligent enquire at the first, who they were that thus had 20 plaid the flovens and beasts, and namely whether they were any of their owne cite or no : but when they understood that they were these strangers and travellers from *Chios*, they made open proclamation with sound of trumpet ; That they gave the Chians leave thus filthily to abuse themselves. Another Laconian seeing hard almonds sold at the double price : What (quoth he) are stones for geason here ? Another having plucked all the feathers off from a nightingale, and seeing what a little body it had : Surely (quoth he) thou art all voice and nothing else. There was likewise a Lacedæmonian, who seeing the cynick philosopher *Diogenes* in the mids of winter when it was extreme cold, embracing and clipping a brazen statue very devoutly, asked him if he chilled not for cold ? and when the other answered, No ; Why then (quoth he) what great matter doe you ? A certaine Laconian reproched upon a time one borne in *Metapontine*, say- 30 ing : They were all cowards and false-hearted like women : If it be so (quoth the *Metapontine*) how is it that we hold so much of other mens lands as we doe ? Why then (replied the Laconian) I see that you are not cowards onely, but unjust also. A traveller being come to *Sparta* for to see the cite, stood upright a long while upon one foote onely, and said unto a Laconian I doe not thinke thou canst stand so long of one leg as I doe : Not I indeed (quoth the other) but there is not a goose but can do as much. There was one vaunted greatly what a Rhetorician he was, and namely that he was able to perswade what he would ; Now by *Cassor* and *Pollux* I sweare (quoth a Laconian) there never was, nor ever will be any arte indeed without verity. A certaine Argive boasted much, that there were in their cite many graves & tombes of the Lacedæmonians : And contrariwise (quoth a Laconian) there is not among us one sepulcher of the Argives, 40 giving him thus much to understand, that the Lacedæmonians had many times entred with a puissant armie into the countrey of *Argos*, but the Argives never into the territorie of *Sparta*. A Laconian being taken prisoner in warre (when hee should bee sold in port sale, as the crier began with a loud voice to pronounce : Who will buy a Laconian, who) put his hand to the criers mouth and said : Cry for Gods sake who will buy a prisoner ? One of those mercenary soldiers whom king *Typhonchus* waged, being demanded of him this question : Art thou one of these Lacedæmonian Ilots ? Why, thinke you (quoth the other) that a Lacedæmonian will deigne to come and serve for foure obols by the day ? After that the Thiebans had defeated the Lacedæmonians at the battell of *Leuctres*, they invaded the countrey of *Laconia*, so farre as to the river *Eurotas* ; and one of them in boasting & glorious maner, began to say : And where be now 50 these brave Laconians ? what is become of them ? A Laconian who was a captive among them, straight waies made this answer : They are no wherenow indeed, for if they were, you would never have come thus farre as you doe. At what time as the Athenians delivered up their owne cite into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, for to be at their discretion, they requested that at leastwise they would leave them the isle *Samos* : unto whom the Laconians made this answer : VVhen you are not matters of your owne, doe you demand that which is other mens : hereupon arose the common proverbe throughout all *Greece* :

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Who cannot that which was his owne save,
The isle of *Samos* would yet saime have.

The Lacedæmonians forced upon a time a certaine cite, and wan it by assault, which the *Ephori* being advertised of, said thus : Now is the exercise of our young men cleane gone, now shall they have no more concurrents to keepe them occupied. When one of their kings made promise unto them for to rafe another cite and destroy it utterly (if they fo would) which oftentimes before had put those of *Lacedæmon* to much trouble ; the said *Ephori* would not permit him, saying thus unto him : Doe not emolish and take away quite the wheestone that giveth an edge to the harts of our youth. The same *Ephori* would never allow that there should be 10 any professed masters, to teach their young men for to wrestle and exercise other feats of activitie : To this end (say they) that there might bee jealousie and emulation among them, not in artificiall flight, but in force and vertue. And therefore when one demanded of *Lysander*, how *Chiron* had in wrestling overcome him and laid him along on the plaine ground : Even by flight and cunning (quoth he) and not by pure strength. *Philip* king of *Macedonia*, before he made entrie into their countrey, wrote unto them to this effect : Whether they had rather that he entred as a friend, or as an enemy : unto whom they returned this answer : Neither one nor the other. When they had sent an embassadour to *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, having intelligence that the said embassadour in parle with him, estoones gave him the name of King, they condemned him to pay a fine when he was returned home ; notwithstanding that hee 20 brought as a present and gratuite from the said *Demetrius*, in time of extreme famine, a certain measure of corne called *Medimnus*, for every poll throughout the whole cite. It hapned that a leud and wicked man delivered in a certaine consultation very good counsell : this advice of his they approved right well, howbeit receive it they would not comming out of his mouth, but caused it to be pronounced by another who was known to be a man of good life. Two brethren there were at variance, and in sute of law together ; the *Ephori* set a good fine upon their fathers head, for that he neglected his sonnes, and suffred them to maintaine quarrell and debate one against another. A certaine musician who was a stranger and a traveller, they likewise condemned to pay a summe of money, for that he strake the strings of his harpe with his fingers. Two boies fought together, and one gave the other a mortall wound with a fickle or reaping hook ; 30 & when the boy that was hurt lay at the point of death, & was ready to yeeld up the ghost, other companions of his promised to be revenged for his death, and to kill the other, who thus deadly had wounded him : Doe not so I beseech you (quoth he) as you love the gods, for that were injustice ; and euen I my selfe had done as much for him ; if I had bene ought, and could have raught him first. There was another yong lad, unto whom certaine mates and fellows of his (in that season wherein yong lads were permitted freely to slitch whatsoever they could handsomely come by, but reputed it was a shamefull and infamous thing for them to be surprized and taken in the manner) brought a yong cub or little foxe to keepe alive, which they had stolen : those who had lost the said cub came to make search ; now had this lad hidden it close under his clothes, & the unhappie beast being angred, gnawed & bit him in the flanke as far as to his very bowels, 40 which he endured resolutely, and never quetched at it, for feare he should be discovered : but after all others were gone and the search past, when his companions saw what a shrewd turne the curst cub had done him ; they chid him for it, saying : That it had been far better to have brought forth the cub and shewed him, rather than to hide him thus with danger of death : Nay I wis (quoth he) for I had rather die with all the dolorous torments in the world, than for to save my life shamefully to be detected so, for want of a good heart. Some there were who encountered certaine Laconians upon the way in the countrey, unto whom they said : Happie are you that can come now this way, for the theeves are but newly gone from hence : Nay forsooth (by god *Mars* we sweare) we are never the happier therefore ; but they rather, because they are not fallen into our hands. One demanded of a Laconian upon a time, what he knew and was skillfull in ? 50 Mary in this, to be free. A yong lad of *Sparta* being taken prisoner by King *Antigonus*, and sold among other captives, obeyed him who had bought him in all things that he thought meet for to be done by a freeman ; but when he commaunded to bring him an unriall or chamber-pot to pisse in ; he would not endure that indignitie, but said : Fetch it your selfe for me, I am no servant for you in such ministeries : now when his master urged him thereto and pressed hard upon him, hee ran up to the ridge or rooffe of the house, and said : You shall fee what an one you have bought ; and with that cast himselfe downe with his head forward, and brake his

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owne necke. Another there was to be fold; and when the partie who was about him, said thus: VVilt thou be good and profitable if I doe buy thee? Yea that I will (quoth he) though you never buy me. Another there was likewise upon sale in open market, and when the crier proclaimed aloud: Here is a slave, who buies him, who? A shame take thee (quoth he) couldst not thou say, a captive or prisoner, but a slave. A Laconian had for the badge or ensigne of his buckler a flie painted, and the same no bigger than one is naturally; whereupon some mocked him and said: That he had made choise of this ensigne, because he would not be knowne by it: Nay rather (quoth he) I did it, because I would be the better marked: for I meane to approach mine enemies so neere, that they may see how great or little my cognifance is. Another there was, who when there was tendered unto him at the end of a banquet, the harpe to play upon there was the custome of *Greece*, refused it and said: The Laconians have not yet learned to play the foolles. One asked a Spartan once, if the way that led to *Sparta*, were safe or no? but he answered thus: Even according as a man doth goe downe thither: for * they who goe thither as lions, bee hardly entreated and use their coming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their borroughs. In wrestling it chanced that a Laconian was caught hold on by the necke, and notwithstanding that he strove what he could to make the other leave his hold; yet hee forced him and made him stoupe groveling downward to the ground: the Laconian seeing himselfe feeble in the reines of the backe, and at the point to be laide along, bit the others arme who held him so hard, whereupon hee began to crie: VVhat thou Laconian, doest thou bite like women? No (quoth he) but I bite as lions use to doe. A certaine Laconian who was maimed and lame of his 20 legges, went to warfare, whereupon some mocked him; but hee said unto them: It is not for thole to goe into the warres who are good of foot-manhip and can runne away apace; but such as are able to make good their ground and keepe well their ranke. Another Laconian being shot thorow the body with an arrow, when he was at the point to yeeld up his vitall breath, said thus: It never grieves me to lesse my life, but to die by the hand of an effeminate archer, before I came to hand-strokes, that is it that troubleth me. Another being come to an hostellie or inne to be lodged in, gave his hoste that kept the inne, a piece of flesh to dreffe for his supper; but hee called for cheefe besides and oyle: And what needes that (quoth the Laconian) if I had cheefe, do you thinke that I would desire to have any viands more? Another hearing the merchant named *Lampus* borne in *Acgina*, highly praised and esteemed happie, for that he was exceeding rich, and had many great ships going at sea: I never (quoth hee) make reckoning of that felicitie, which hangeth by ropes and cords. Another likewise answered unto one who said unto him: Thou liest Laconian: And why not (quoth he) wee are free, as for others that happen to speake untruths, they are wel punished for it and crie out, alas. There was a Laconian who laboured hard to make a dead body stand upright upon his feet; but when he saw that he could not bring his purpose to effect, do what he could: Now by *Jupiter* (quoth hee) there wanteth somewhat that should bee within. *Tymnichus* the Laconian, when his sonne *Thrasylubus* was slaine in the warre, tooke his death verie well and like a man, whereupon was this Epigram made:

*Thy body was upon the shield
of Thrasylubus brought
All breathlesse to the armed troupe,
from place where thou hadst fought:
Seven deadly wounds at Argives hands
thou didst receive in fight,
And on the forefront of thy corps,
thou shew'dst them all in fight.
Thy father old Sir Tymnichus
it tooke with blood beaid,
And putting it in funerall fire,
with good cheere thus he said:
Let cowards weepe and wail thy death;
but I thy father kinde,
Will shed no teares, nor semblance make
of sad and grieved minde:
But thee enterr (my sonne) as doth*

besee

*besee thy fathers child,
And as true Laconian,
who looke to die in field.*

The master of the buines where *Alcibiades* the Athenian was wont to bathe and wash himselfe, poured great store of water upon his bodie more than ordinarily upon others; a Laconian being then by said: It seemeth that he is not cleane and neare; but that he is exceeding foule and filthie; that he bestoweth so much water upon him. VVhen King *Philip of Macedonia* entered with a maine army into *Laconia*, at what time as it was thought all the Lacedaemonians were killed up and dead, he said unto one of the Spartans: O poore Laconians, what will you do now? what else (quoth the Laconian) but die valiantly like men; for we alone of all other Greeks have beene taught to live free and not to serve in bondage under any others. After that King *Agis* was vanquished; *Anipater* the king demanded of the Lacedaemonians for hostages, little children of theirs: *Eteocles* one of the *Ephori* for the time being, returned this answer: That hee would not deliver into his hands any of their children, for feare they would learne ill manners and lewd conditions; for that they should not be brought up and nourtered in the discipline of their owne country, and wanting it they would not prove so much as good citizens; but if he would be so content, he should receive for pledges women or old men, twice as many. And when he menaced hereupon and said: That he would worke him all the despite that possibly he could; they answered all with one accord: If thou impose upon us those conditions which are more 20 grievous than death, we shall die with so much the better will. One old man desirous to see the combats at the Olympicke games, could not get a roome to sit in, but passed along by manie places, and no man would make him roome; but fell to laugh and made good game at him, untill he came at length to that quarter of the whole theater, whereas the Lacedaemonians were set; and there all the children, yea and many of the men rose up unto him, and offered him their place: all the whole assembly of the Greeks observed well this behaviour of theirs, and with great applause and clapping of hands, approved and praised the same: then the good olds farther

*Shaking his head with haire all gray,
His beard also as hoare as they.*

30 and weeping withall: Ah, God helpe (quoth he) what a world is this? that Greeks should all of them know well enough what is good and honest; but the Lacedaemonians onely practise it? Some write, that the same hapned in *Athens* also, at the festivall solemnitie called *Panathenaeas*; where those of *Athens* plaied mock-holiday, and made themselves mery with a poore old man, who they seemed to call unto them (as it were) to give him a place among them; but after hee was come to them, no roome he could have with them, but was well mocked and frumped for his labour: howbeit, when he had passed along by all the rest, at length he came to a place where certein ambassadours of *Lacedaemon* were set, and they made him roome, and let him among them: the people there assembled, taking great pleasure to see this act, clapped their hands aloud, with great acclamation, in token that they approved it: then one of the Spartans, who 40 there was: By the two twin-gods, *Castor* and *Pollux* (quoth he) I sweare, these Athenians know what is good and honest, but they doe not according to their knowledge. A begger upon a time craved almes of a Laconian, who answered him thus. But if I should give thee any thing, thou wouldest make an occupation of it, and beg still so much the more; for verily, whosoever he was that first bestowed almes upon thee, was the cause of this villanous life which thou leadest now, and hath made thee go vagrant and idle as thou art. Another Laconian seeing a collector going about, and gathering mens devotions for the gods, said thus: I will now make no more reckoning of the gods, so long as they be poorer than my selfe. A certaine Spartan having taken an adulterer in bed with his wife, a foule and illfavoured woman: Wretched man that thou art (quoth he) what necessitie hath driven thee to this? Another having heard an oratour 50 making long periods, and drawing out his sentence in length: Now by *Castor* and *Pollux*, what a valiant man his here? how he rolleth and roundly turneth his tongue about, and all to no purpose. A traveller passing thorow *Lacedaemon*, marked among other things, what great honour and reverence young folke did to their elders: I perceive (quoth he) there is no place to *Sparta*, for an olde man to live in. A Spartan was upon a time asked the question, what manner of Poet *Tyrtaeus* was? A good Poet beleeveme (quoth he) to * whet and sharpen the courages of young men to warre. Another having very badde and diseased eyes, would needs goe to warfare; and when others said unto him: VVilt thou go indeed in that case as thou art in? what deed thinkest thou

thou to do there? Why (quoth he) if I do no other good ends, I will be sure to dull the brightnesse of mine enemies sword. *Paris* and *Speris*, two Lacedæmonians, voluntarily departed out of their country, and went to *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, offering themselves to suffer that paine and punishment, which the Lacedæmonians had deserved by the sentence of the oracle of the gods, for killing those heralds which the king had sent unto them; who being come before him, were desirous that he should put them to death in what manner he would himselfe, for to acquit the Lacedæmonians: the king wondering at this resolution of theirs, not onely pardoned the fault, but earnestly requested them to stay with him, promising them liberall entertainment: And how can we (say they) live here, abandoning our native soile, our lawes, and those kinde of men, for whose sake to die we have so willingly undertaken this long voyage? and when a great captain under the king, named *Sidarnes*, intreated them still very instantly, assuring them upon his word, that they should be kindly used, and in equall degree of credit and honour, with those who were, in highest favour with the king, and most advanced by him, they said unto him: It seemeth unto us sir, that you full little know what is liberty and freedom; for he that wist what a jewell it were, if he be in his right wits, would not change the fame for the whole realme of *Persia*. A certaine Laconian as he way-fared, came unto a place where there dwelt an olde friend and host of his, who the first day, of purpose avoided him and was out of the way, because he was not minded to lodge him; but the morrow after, when he had either hired or borrowed faire bedding, coverings and carpets, received him very stately; but this Laconian mounting up to his beds, trampled and stamped the faire and rich coverlets under his feet, saying withall: I bestrow these fine beds and trim furniture, for they were the cause that yesternight I had not so much as a mat to lie upon, when I should sleepe and take my rest. Another of them, being arrived at the city of *Athens* and seeing there the Athenians going up and downe the city, some crying false-fish to sell, others flesh and such like viands; some like publicanes, sitting at the receipt of custome, other professing the trade of keeping brothel-houses, and exercising many such vile and base occupations, esteeming nothing at all foule and dishonest: after he was returned home into his owne country, when his neighbours and fellow-citizens asked him, what newes at *Athens*, and how all things stood there? Passing well (quoth he) and it is the best place that ever I came in (which he spake by way of mockerie and derision) every thing there, is good and honest: giving them to understand, that all meanes of gaine and lucre, were held lawfull & honest at *Athens*; and nothing there, was counted villanous and dishonest. Another Laconian being asked a question, answered; No: and when the party who mooved the question said: Thou liest; the Laconian replied againe, and said: See what a foole thou art, to aske me that which thou knowest well enough thy selfe! Certeine Laconians were sent upon a time, ambassadours to *Lygdamis* the tyrant, who put them off from day to day, and haisted with them so, as he gave them no audience; at the last, it was tolde them, that hee was at all times weake and ill at ease, and not in case to be conferred with: the ambassadours thereupon said unto him who brought this word unto them: Tell him from us, that we are not come to wrestle, but to parle onely with him. A certaine priest, induced a Laconian into the orders and ceremonies of some holy religion; but before that he would fully receive and admit him, he demanded of him what was the most grievous sinne that ever he committed, and which lay heaviest upon his conscience? The gods know that best (quoth the Laconian: but when the priest pressed hard upon him, and was very importunate, protesting that there was no remedie, but he must needs utter and confesse it: unto whom (quoth the Laconian) must I tell it, unto you or to the God whom you serve? unto God (quoth the other.) Why then turne you behinde me (quoth he) or retire aside out of hearing. Another Laconian chanced in the night to goe over a church-yard by a tombe or monument, and imagined that he saw a spirit standing before him; whereupon he advanced forward directly upon it with his javelin; and as he ran full upon it, and as he thought, strake thorow it, he said withall: Whether sleepest thou from me, ghost that thou art, now twise dead? Another having vowed to fling himselfe headlong from the high Promontorie *Leucas*, downe into the sea, mounted up the top thereof, but when hee saw, what an huge downfall it was, he gently came downe againe on his feet: now when one twitted and reproched him therefore: I wist not (quoth he) that this vow of mine had need of another greater than it. Another Laconian there was, who in a battell and hot medley, being fully minded to kill his enemy who was under him, and to that purpose had lifted up his sword backe, to give him a deadly wound; so soone as ever hee heard the trumpet found the retreat, presently staid his hand, and would no more follow his stroake: now when one asked him, why he slew not his enemy whom he had in his hands? Because (quoth he) it is better

to obey a captain, than to kill an enemy. There was a Laconian tooke the soile in wrestling at the Olympicke games; and when one cried aloud: Thy concurrent is better than thou, Laconian: Better (quoth he) not so, but in deed he can skill better than I of supplanting and tripping.



THE CUSTOMES AND ORDINANCES AMONG THE LACEDÆMONIANS.



THE manner and custome was at *Lacedæmon*, that when they entred into their publicke halles where they tooke their meats and meales together; the eldest man of the whole companie should open the doores unto everie one as they came, and say unto them: At these doores there goeth not forth so much as one word. The most exquisite dish among them was a messe of broth, which they called *Blacke-pottage*; in so much as when that was served up to the table, the elder folke would not care for any flesh meats, but leave all them fame for the younger sort. And (as it is reported) *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, for this purpose bought a Cooke from *Lacedæmon*, and commanded him to make him such pottage and spare for no cost; but after he had a little tasted thereof, he found it so bad that he cast up all that he had taken of it; but his Cooke said unto him: Sir, if you would finde the goodnesse of this broth, you must be exercised first after the Lacedæmonian manner, all watted, and be well washed in the river *Eurotas*. Now after the Laconians have eat & drunk soberly at these ordinaries, they returne home to their houses without torch or any light before them: for it is not lawfull for any man at *Lacedæmon*, to go either from thence or to any place else with a light carried before him in the night; because they should be accustomed to keepe their way, and goe confidently without feare, all night long in the darke without any light at all. To write and reade they learned for necessitie onely; as for all other forreine sciences and literature they banished them quite out of their coasts, like as they did all strangers and aliens: and in verie truth their whole studie was to learne how to obey their superiours, to endure patiently all travells, to vanquish in fight, or to die for it in the place. All the yeere long they went in one single gaberdine without coat at all under it; and ordinarily they were foule and sullied, as those who used not the stoupes & baines, yet appointed themselves for the most part. Their boies and young men commonly slept together in one dory, by bands and troups, upon pallets and course beds, which they themselves gathered, breaking and tearing with their owne hands without any edged tooles; the heads of canes and reeds which grew along the banks of the river *Eurotas*; and in winter time they strewed and mingled among, a certaine kind of Thistle-downe, which they call *Lyophanes*; for they are of opinion, that such stuffe hath in it (I wot not what) which doth heat them. It was lawfull and permitted among them to love young boies for their good minds and virtuous natures; but to abuse their persons wantonly and fleshly, was reputed a most infamous thing, as if such were lovers of the bodie and not of the minde; in such sort, as whosoever was accused and attaine thereof, became noted with infamie, and shame followed him wherefoever he went all his life time. The custome was that elder folke when and wherefoever they met with younger, should demanda whither and whereabout they went? yea and checke and chide them, if they were to seeke of a good answer or if they went about to devise colourable excuses: and whosoever he was that did not reprove him that did a fault in his presence, incurred the same reprehension and blame as he did who transgressed; yea and if he chafed and shewed himselfe discontented, when he was reprovved, he sustained reproch, disgrace and discredit thereby. If peradventure one were surprisid and taken tardie in some fault; he must be brought to a certaine altar within the citie, and there forced to go round about

about it singing a song, made of purpose for his owne reproofe, and containing naught else, but the blame and accusation of himselfe. Moreover, yong folke were not onely to honor their owne fathers, and to be obedient unto them; but also to shew reverence unto all other elder persons; namely, in yielding them the better hand, in turning out of their way when they met them, and giving them the wall, in rising up from their seats before them when they came in place, and in standing still when they passed by: and therefore everie man had a certaine hand of government, and dispose, not onely (as in other cities) over their owne children, their proper servants and goods; but also they had a regard of their neighbours children, servants and goods, as well as if they had bene their owne: they made use also of them as of things common, to the end, that to each one everie thing might be (as it were) his owne in proprietie. Whereupon, if it fortuned that a child having beene chastised by another man, went to complaine thereof to his owne father; it was a shame for the said father, if he gave him not his payment againe: for by the ordinarie course of discipline in that countrey, they were assured, that their neighbors would impose nothing upon their children, but that which was good and honest. Yong lads were used to sitch and steale whatsoever they could come by, for their food and victuals; yea and they learned from their verie infancie, to forleay and lie pretily in ambush for to surprisethose who were allepe, & stood not well upon their guards: but say that one were taken in the manner when he stealeth; this was his punishment, namely, to be whipped and to fast from meat; expressly therefore and of very purpose they were allowed verie little to eate, to the end that they might be driven upon verie extreame necessitie to make shifts and expose themselves venturously into any danger, yea and to devise alwaies some cunning craft or other to steale more cleanly: but generally the reason and effect of this their straight diet was, that they should long before accustom their bodies never to be full, but able to endure hunger; for that in deed they were of opinion, that they should be the meetter for souldiars, if they could take paines and travell without food; yea and that it was a good meane to be more continent, sober, and thrifftie, if they were taught & inured to continue along time with smal cost & expence: to be brieft, persuaded they were: That to abstaine eating of flesh or fish dressed in the kitchen, or to feed favorily of bread or any other viands that came next to hand, made mens bodies more healthy, & caused them to burnish and grow up; for that the naturall spirits not pressed nor over-charged with a great quantitie of meat, and so by that meane not kept and depressed downward, but dispersed and spread in largenesse and breadth, gave libertie for the bodies to shoot up, waxe tall, and personable; yea and made them more faire and beautifully for that the habitudes and complexions which be slender, lanke and emptic, are more obsequent unto that naturall vertue and facultie which giveth forme and fashion to the limmes; whereas those who be corpulent, grosse, full, and given to much feeding, by reason of weight and heavines resist the fame. They set their minds also to compose and make proper ditties and ballads, yea, and no lesse studious are they to sing the fame; having alwaies in these their compositions, a certaine pricke or sting (as it were) to stir up and provoke their courage and stomacke, to enspire also into the hearts of the hearers a considerate resolution, and an ardent zeale and affection to doe some brave deed: the ditties were plaine, simple, and without all affectation; containing in manner nothing else, but the praises of those who had lived virtuously, and died valiantly in the warres for the defense of *Sparta*, as being of all others most happie; as also the blame and reproch of such as for cowardise and faint-heart were afraid to die, whom they accounted to live a wretched and miserable life. Moreover they stood much upon promises of future prowess or vanteries of present valour, according to the diversitie of their ages who chanted the said songs; for alwaies in their solemn and publike feasts, three quiers or dances there were: one of old folke, and the foreburchen of their carnicle was this:

*The time was when we gallant were,
Toughfull and hardy, void of feare.*

Next to it came in place a daunce of men in their best age and full strength, who answered them so in this wise:

*But we are come to prooffe, and now at best;
Try who that list, to fight we are now prest.*

And a third followed after of children who chaunted thus:

*And we one day shall be both tall and strong,
Surpassing far, if that we live so long.*

Now their very notes and tunes to the measures and numbers whereto they daunced and marched

ched in battell against their enemies after the sound of the flute, were appropriate and fitted to incite their hearts to valour, confident securitie, and contempt of death: for *Lycurgus* did study and endeavor to joyne the exercise & practise of militarie discipline with the pleasure of musick, to the end, that warlike and vehement motions being mingled and delaid with sweet melodie, might be tempered with a delectable accord and harmonie: and therefore in battels before the charge and first shock of the conflict, their king was wont to sacrifice unto the Muses, for this intent; that the soldiers in fight might have the grace to performe some glorious and memorable exploits. But if any man passed one point beyond this ancient musick, they would not endure him, in so much as the *Ephori* set a fine upon the head of *Terpander* (though otherwise he loved antiquitie well enough, and was the best harper in his time, yea & tooke greatest delight to praise the heroicke acts of the renowned worthies in times past) and more than that they hung up his harp upon a stake or post, onely because he had set to it one string more than ordinarie, whereby he might varie his voice the better with more sundry notes; for they allowed no songs nor fones but such as were plaine and simple; and when *Timotheus* at the feast *Carnea* plaied upon the harpe for to winne the prize; one of the *Ephori* taking a skine or knife in his hand, asked him, on whether side, either above or beneath, he would rather have him to cut a two the strings which were more than seven. Moreover *Lycurgus* tooke from them all vaine & superstitious feare as touching sepulchers, permitting them to burie their dead within the citie, and to reare their monuments and tombs round about the temples of their gods: he cut off likewise all pollutions of mortuaries, and would not give them leave to enterre any thing with the corps, but onely to enwrap the same within a winding sheet of red cloth, together with olive leaves strewd among, and the same indifferently to all bodies, no more to one than another: semblably he put downe all epitaphes and superscriptions upon graves, no lesse it were for such as lost their lives in battell; forbidding all mourning and dolefull lamentations. Furthermore it was unlawful for them to make voiajes into strange countries, for feare they should learne forein fashions and uncivill manners, favouring of no good bringing up; and for the same reason, *Lycurgus* banished aliens out of the citie, lest if they should thither resort, by reason of their confluence, they might teach and shew the citizens their vices. And as for citizens borne, any of them would not suffer their children to be brought up according to the discipline and institution of the citie, they might not enjoy the rights and privileges of free burgeslie. Some say also that *Lycurgus* ordained; If a very alien would yeeld to the observation of his discipline, and be ranged under the policie of the State, he might enjoy one of those portions which from the beginning was set out and appointed; but he was not allowed to sell the fame. The maner and custome was in *Lacedæmon*, to make use of their neighbours servants, even as well as of their owne; whensoever they had any businesse or occasion to employ them; as also to make bold with their horses and hounds, unlesse the owners themselves and masters had present need of them. In the countrey also and territorie of *Lacædia*, if they stood in need of any thing that was in their neighbours house, they would goe boldly and aske no leave, to their cupboards, presses, coffers, and such places where the thing was, make no more ado but open them, take out and carie away whatsoever they thought good, so they made fast and shut againe the roome out of which they had taken ought. To warfare they went in red liveries both for that they thought this colour more decent for a man, as also because it resembled blood, it strucke the greater feare into those who were not used thereto; besides, there was good use and profit thereof in this respect, that if any of them happened to be wounded, the enemies could not so perceive it, because that colour looked so like unto blood. Whensoever they had vanquished their enemies by some stratagem that their captaines used, their maner was to sacrifice an ox unto *Mars*; but if they got a victorie by fine force & open manhood, they sacrificed a cock; by which meane, they occasioned their leaders to be not onely valiant, but also politticke warriors. Among other praiers that they made unto the gods this was ever one: That they might have the power and grace to beare
50 wrongs: but the summe of all their supplications was this: That the gods would vouchsafe them honour for wel doing, & no more. They worshipped the goddess *Venus* in her complext armor, and made all the images of their gods, as well female as male, with launces and javelins in their hands, as if they all had militar and martiall vertue in them. Also they used this saying as a common proverbe:

*Call upon fortune in each enterprise,
With hand stretch forth, not otherwise.*

As if they would say, that we ought when we invoke the gods, to enterprife somewhat our selves,

selves, and lay our hands to worke, or else not to call upon them. They used to let their children see the Ilotes when they were drunk, to keepe them by their example from drinking much wine. They neuer knocked and rapped at their neighbours doores, but stood without, and called aloud to those within. The currie-combes that they occupied were not of iron, but of canes and reeds. They neuer heard any comedies or tragedies acted, because neither in earnest nor in game they would not heare those that any wife contradicted the lawes. When *Archilochus* the poet was come to *Sparta*, they drave him out the very same houre that he came, for that they knew he had made these verses, wherein he delivered: That it was better to fling away weapons than to die in the field:

*A foole he is, who trusting in his shield,
Doth venture life and limme in bloody field:
As for mine owne, I haue it slung me fro
And left behind in bushes thicke that grow.*

Others translate it thus.

*Some say an now, in that my doubtie shield
Doth take great joy, which flying out of field,
Though full against my mind, I hang me fro
And left behind in bushes thicke that grow.
Although it were right good, yet would not I
Presume to fight with it, and so to dy,
Farewell my shield, I though thou be lost and gone,
Another day as good I shall buy one.*

All their sacred and holy ceremonies were common, as well for their daughters as their sonnes. The *Ephori* condemned one *Siraphidas*, to pay a summe of money, for that he suffred himselfe to take wrong and abuse at many mens hands. They caused one to be put to death for playing the hypocrite, and wearing sackcloth like a publike penitent, for that the saide sackcloth was purfled with a border of purple. They rebuked and checked a yooing man as hee came from the ordinary place of exercise, for that he frequented it still, knowing as he did the way to *Pyraea*, where was held the assembly of the States of *Greece*. They chased out of the citie a Rhetorician named *Cephisophon*, because he made his boast; That he could speak if it were 30 a whole day of any theme propoosed unto him; for they said: That speech ought to be proportionable to the subject matter. Their children would endure to be lashed & whipped all the day long, yea, and many times even to death, upon the altar of *Diana*, surnamed *Orthia*, taking joy and pleasure therein, striving a vie for the victorie who could hold out longest; and looke who was able to abide most beating, he was best esteemed, and caried away the greatest praise: this strife & emulation among them was called the Whippado; and once every yeere they observed such an exercise. But one of the best, most commendable and blessed things that *Lycurgus* provided for his citizens; was the plenty & abundance that they had of rest & leisure; for they were not allowed at all to meddle with any mechanick arte; and to trafficke and negotiate painfully to gather and heape up goods, was in no wise permitted; for he had so wrought that riches among them was neither honored nor desired. The Ilotes were they that ploughed and tilled their ground for them, yielding them as much as in old time was set downe and ordeined; and execrable they esteemed it to exact more of any of them, to the end that those Ilotes for the sweetness of gaine which they found thereby, might serue them more willingly, and themselves covet to have no more than the old rate. Forbidden likewise were the Lacedæmonians to be mariners, or to fight at sea; yet afterwards for all that, they fought navall battels, and became lords of the sea; howbeit they soone gave that over, when they once saw that the maners and behavior of their citizens were thereby corrupted and depraved; but they changed afterwards againe, and were mutable, as well in this as in all other things: for the first that gathered and hoarded up money for the Lacedæmonians, were condemned to death, by reason that there was an auncient oracle which delivered this answer unto *Alcemenes* and *Theopompus*, two of their kings,

*Avarice one day (who ever lives to see)
Of Sparta citie will the ruine bee.*

And yet *Lyxander* after he had wonne the citie of *Athens*, brought into *Sparta* a great masse of gold and silver, which the citizens received willingly, and did great honour unto the man himselfe for his good service. True it is, that so long as the citie of *Sparta* observed the lawes of *Lycurgus*, and kept the othes which it was sworn by, she was a paragon, yea and the soveraigne of all

all *Greece*, in good government and glorie for the space of 300. yeeres: but when they came once to transgresse the saide lawes and breake their oathes; avarice and covetousnesse crept in among them by little and little, and they with all their puissance & authoritie decreased, yea and their allies and confederates hereupon began to be ill affected unto them: and yet being as they were in this declining estate, after that king *Philip* of *Macedonia* had won the battell at *Charones*, when all other cities and states of *Greece*, by a generall consent, and with one accord had chosen him the generall capitaine of all the Greeks, as well for land as sea, yea, and after him his sonne *Alexander* the Great, upon the destruction of the citie *Thebes*, onely the Lacedæmonians, notwithstanding their citie lay all open, without any wall about it, and themselves 10 were brought to a very small number by occasion of their continual warres, which had wasted and consumed them, whereby they were become very feeble, and by consequence more easie to be defeated than ever before, yet for that they had retained still some little reliques of the government established by *Lycurgus*, they would never yeeld to serve under those two mightie monarches, nor other kings of *Macedonia* their successors, neither would they be present at the generall diets and common assemblies of other states, nor contribute any money with the rest, untill they having utterly cast aside and rejected the lawes of *Lycurgus*, they were held under and yoked with the tyranny of their owne citizens; namely when they retained no part of the ancient discipline, whereby they grew like unto other nations, and utterly lost their old reputation, glory, and libertie of franke speech, so as in the end they were brought into servitude, and even 20 at this day be subject unto the Romane empire, as well as other cities and states of *Greece*.



THE APOPTHEGMES, 30 THAT IS TO SAY, THE NO- BLE SAYINGS AND ANSWERS OF LACEDÆMONIAN DAMES.



40 **A**RISTAGORIS the mother of *Brasidas*, (after that her sonne was slaine; when certaine embassadors from the citie *Amphipolis* came to *Sparta*, and visited her;) demanded of them, whether her sonne died like a valiant man; and as became a Spartan? now when they praised him exceedingly, saying that he was the bravest man in athenes in all *Lacedæmon*; she said againe unto them: My sonne was indeede a knight of valour and honour (my good friends;) but *Lacedæmon* hath many others yet more valiant than he was.

50 **G**ORGON, the daughter of king *Cleomenes*, when *Aristagoras* the Milesian was come to *Sparta*, for to sollicit *Cleomenes* to make warre upon the king of *Persia*, in the defence of the Ionians freedome; and in consideration hereof promised him a good round summe of money; and the more that he contradicted and denied the motion, the more he still augmented the summe of money which he promised: Father (quoth she) this stranger 50 here will corrupt you, if you send him not the sooner out of your house. Also when her father would hir one day to deliver certaine come unto a man, by way of a reward and recompence, saying withall: For this is he who hath taught me how to make wine good: How now, good father (quoth she) shall there be more wine drunke still, considering that they who drinke thereof become more delicate and lesse valorous? When she saw how *Aristagoras* had one of his men to put on his shooes: Father (quoth she) here is a stranger that hath no hands. When she saw a forreiner comming toward her who was wont to goe softly and delicatlie, she thrust him from her

her and said: Avaunt idle lusk as thou art, and get thee gone, for thou art not so good of deed as a woman.

G YRTIAS, when *Aeratus* her nephew or daughters sonne, (from out of a braule and fray that was betwene him and other yoonkers his companions) was brought home with many a wound, inso much as no man looked for life; seeing his familiar friends and those of his acquaintance, waile and take on piteously: VWhat (quoth she) let be this weeping and lamentation, for now hath he shewed of what bloud he is descended; neither ought wee to crie out and bewaile for the hurts of valiant men, but rather to goe about their cure and salve them, if haply we may save their lives. When a messenger coming out of *Candia*, where he served in the warres, brought newes that the said *Aeratus* was slaine in fight: Why (quoth she) what elle should he do, being once gone forth to warre, but either die himselfe or else kill his enemies? yet had I rather heare, and it doth me much more good that he died worthily my selfe, worthily his native country and his progenitours, than that he should live as long as possible a man could, like a coward and man of no worth.

D E M E T R I A hearing that her sonne proved a dastard, and indeed not worthy to be her sonne, so soone as ever he was returned from the wars, she killed him with her owne hands; whereupon was made this epigram of her:

*By moths hand was slaine one Demetrix,
For that he brake the lawes of chivalrie,
No marvell, she a noble Spartan dame
Disclum'd her sonne, unworthy by of that name.*

Another woman of *Lacedæmon* being given to understand, that her sonne had abandoned his ranke, made him likewise away, as unworthy of that country wherein he was borne, saying: That he was no sonne of hers: And thereupon this epigram also was composed of her:

*Amishiefe take thee wickedampe,
be gone in devils name
Through balefull darknesse: Hatred is
too good, and earthly shame:
For cowards such of craven kind
like hinds, are not to drinke,
Nor wish in faire Eurotas streame
their bodies, as I thinke.
Avaunt thou cur-dogge: helpe to hell,
thou devils sonne unmortall,
Unworthy Sparta soile thou art
for thee I never grow'd.*

Another, hearing that her sonne was saved and had escaped out of the hands of his enemies, wrote thus unto him: There runneth a naughtie rumor of thee; either stop the course thereof, or else live not. There was another likewise, whose children had fled out of the battell, and when they came home unto her, she welcomed them in this manner: VWhether goe you running leawd lozels and cowardly slaves as you are; thinke you to enter hither againe from whence you first came? and therewith plucked up her cloaths, and shewed them her barebelly. Also another espying her sonne new returned from the wars, and comming toward her: VWhat newes (quoth she) how goeth the world with our country and common-wealth? and when he answered: We have lost the field and all our men be slaine; she tooke up an earthen pot, let it fly at his head & killed him out-right, saying: And have they sent thee to bring us the newes? There was one brother recounted unto his mother what a noble death his brother died, and unto whom his mother answered: And wert not thou ashamed that thou didst not accompanie him in so faire a journey? And there was who had sent her sonnes (and five they were in number) to the warres, and the flood waiting at the townes end, about the suburbs and hamlets neere unto them, for to hearken what was the issue of the battell; and of the first man whom she encountered from the campe, she asked what newes, and who had the day; hee told her that her sonnes were slaine all five: Thou leavest varlet (quoth she) and base slave as thou art, I did not demand that question of thee; but in what state the affaire of the common-wealth stood: The victorie (quoth he) is ours: Then am I well appaid (saith she) and contented with the losse of my children. Another there was, unto whom as she buried her sonne slaine in the warres, there came a silly

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old woman and moaned her, saying: Ah good woman what fortune is this? VWhy good (quoth she) by *Castor* and *Pollux* I sweare; for I bare him into this world for nothing else, but that he should spend his life for *Sparta*; and loe this is now hapned. A ladie there was of *Ionia*, who bare herselfe verie proud of a worke in tapistrie which she herselfe had made, most costly and curiously; but a Lacedæmonian dame shewed unto her, foure children, all verie well given and honestly brought up: Such as these (quoth she) ought to be the works of a ladie of honour, and herein should a noble woman in deed, make her boast and vaunt herselfe. Another there was, who heard newes, that a sonne of hers behaved himselfe not well in a strange country where hee was, unto whom she wrote a letter in this wise: There is blowen a bad brute of thee in these parts, either prove it false or else die, I advise thee. Certaine fugitives or exiled persons from *Chios*, came to *Sparta*, who accused *Padavetus*, and laid many crimes to his charge: his mother *Telenia* hearing thereof, sent for them to come unto her; at whose mouthes when she heard the severall points of their imputations, and judging in herselfe that hee was in fault, and had done great wrongs, she sent a letter unto him in this forme: Either do better or tarry thee still, and never thinke to save thy selfe here. In like manner another wrote unto her sonne accused of an hateful crime, in these termes: My sonne quit thy selfe of this imputation, or else quit thy life. Another accompanying a son of hers upon the way when he went to battell, said unto him: Sonne remember every foot that thou steppest to vertue and prowesse, and fight like a man. Another whose sonne returned out of the field wounded in the foot, and complaining unto her of the great paine which he endured: Sonne (quoth she) if thou wouldest remember vertue and valour, thou shouldst never thinke of thy paine. A certaine Lacedæmonian chanced so grievously to be wounded in a skirmish, that he had much ado to stand upon his legs, so that he was faine to go with crutches (as it were) upon foure feet; now when he was abashed to see some laugh at him for it, his mother said: Greater cause thou hast (my sonne) to reioice for this testimonie of thy valour and prowesse, than to be dismaited at their fond and senseless laughter. Another woman when she gave unto her sonne a shield, admonished him to use it well, and do his devoir like a man, and these words she used unto him: My sonne either bring this shield home againe, or let it bring thee dead upon it. Another likewise giving a targuet to her sonne when he tooke his leave of her to go to warre, said unto him: Thy father kept this targuet well from time to time; see thou (for thy part) keepe it as well, or else die with it. Another when her sonne found fault with his short sword, said unto him: Then set foot neerer to thine enemy. A woman hearing that her sonne died valiantly in battell: No marvell (quoth she) for he was my sonne. Contrariwise, another when she heard that her sonne rooke him to his heeles, and escaped by good footman ship: He was never (quoth she) a sonne of mine. But another hearing that her sonne was slaine fighting in the verie place where his captaine had set him: Remove him than (quoth she) from thence, and let his brother step into his place. A Lacedæmonian woman being in a solemne and publicke procession, with a chaplet of flowers upon his head, understood that her sonne had wonne a field, but was so grievously wounded, that ready he was to yeeld up his breath; without putting off her chaplet of flowers from her head, but glorying (as it were) in these newes: Oh my friends (quoth she) how much more glorious and honourable is it for a soldier to die with victorie in battell, than for a champion to survive after he hath wonne the prize in the Olympicke games. A brother reported unto his sister, how valiant her sonne died in battell, unto whom she answered againe: Look how much I joy & take pleasure to heare this of him; so much I am displeased and discontented at you, brother, for that you would not beare him companie in so virtuous a voiage, but tarry behind him. When one sent unto a Lacedæmonian woman to sollicit and found her, whether she would consent unto him, she made this answer: When I was a maiden, I learned to obey my father, and so I did evermore; and when I was a wife, I did the like unto my husband; if then that which he demaundeth of me be honest and just, let him acquaint my husband with it first. A poore maiden being asked the question what dowrie she would bring her husband? The pudicitie (quoth she) and honestie of my country. Another Lacedæmonian woman being demaunded, whether she had yet bene with her husband? Not I (quoth she) but hee hath bene with me. Also another young woman chanced secretly to be deflowred and to leese her maiden-head; now when by some mishap she fell unto untimely labour, and to slip an abortive fruit; she endured the paines of travell thereto belonging so patiently, without one crie or groane, that neither her father, nor any one about her, perceived any thing at all that she was delivered; for shame and honestie fighting together, overcame all the vehemencie of her paines. A Lacedæmonian woman being sold in the mar-

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ket for a slave, was asked what she could doe? I can skill (quoth shee) to be true and faithfull. Another likewise being a captive and demanded the like question, answered, that she could keepe the house well. Another likewise when she was asked by one whether shee would proove good if he bought her, made answer thus: Yea that I will, although you never buy me. Last of all, a Lacedaemonian woman when she was to be sold in port-sale, and the crier demanded of her what she had skill in? answered: To be free. Now when he that bought her commaunded her to do some things unbecoming a free person: You will repent (quoth shee) that you envied your selfe so noble a possession; and so she killed herselfe.



THE VERTVOVS DEEDS OE WOMEN.

The Summarie.

Vertue alwaies deserueth praise wheresoever it is found, but especially when it proceedeth from feeble instruments, and those of small shew; for by that meanes the excellencie thereof is so much better scene: our Author therefore in that regard, hath made here a collection of histories, relating the worthy demeanours of many women who have shewed manly courage in sundry dangers; the consideration whereof, is able greatly to move and affect the reader. In the Preface of this discourse, after he had refused the opinion of Thucydides, who would confine women (as it were) into a perpetuall ermitage, he prooveth by divers reasons, that vertue being alwaies the selfe-same, notwithstanding that it hath objects and subjects different, it were meere iniquitie and too much iniquitie, either to forget or to despise those women who for their valour have deserved, that their name and example should continue; to the end that the same might be imitated, as occasion requireth in many sorts, not onely by other women, but also by the most part of men. Which done, he describeth the notable exploits of some in generall: and then he cometh to speake of certaine in particular, noting and observing in them divers graces and commendable parts, but especially an extreme hatred of tyrannie and servitude, an ardent love and affection toward their country, a singular affection to their husbands, rare honestie, pudicitie, chastitie joined with a generous nature, which hath caused them, both to enterprize and also to execute heroique acts, and well deserving that praise, which hath bene preserved entire for such women, after so many yeeres until this day, by the meanes of this present historickall fragment; the which containeth goodly instructions for men and women of name and make, to induce them to governe themselves in such sort, that in the midst of the greatest confusions, they might take a good courage, and lay their hands to that which their vocation requireth; and to hold this for certaine, that enterprizes lawfull and necessarie, will sooner or later have good issue, to the shame and ruine of the wicked, but to the repose and quietnesse of all persons, who doe desire, seeke, and procure that which is good.



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THE VERTUOUS DEEDS of women.



Ain not of *Thucydides* minde (*domae Cles*) touching the vertue of women; for he is of this opinion: That she is the best & most vertuous, of whom there is least speech abroad, as well to her praise as her dispraise; thinking that the name of a woman of honour, ought to be shut up and kept fast within, like as her bodie, that it never may go forth. *Gorgias* yet (me thinks) was more reasonable, who would have the renowne and fame, but not the face & visage of a woman, to be known unto men: and it seemeth unto me, that it was an excellent law and custome among the Romans, which imported thus much: That women aswell as men, after their death might be honoured publicly at their funerals, with such praises as they had deserved: and therefore immediately after the decease of the most vertuous ladie *Leontis*, I discoursed with you at large upon this matter; which discourse (in my conceit) was not without some consolation founded upon reason & Philosophy: and now also (according to your request at that time) I send you in writing, the rest of our speech and communication, tending to this point: That the vertue of man and woman is all one and the very fame; which appeareth by the prooffe and testimony of many and sundry examples, drawn out of ancient histories, collected by me, not upon any intention to please the eare; but if the nature of an example be such, as alwaies, to the perswasive power that it hath to proove, there is joined also a lively vertue to delight. This treatise of mine rejecteth not the grace of that pleasure, which doth second and favourise the efficacy of a prooffe; neither is it ashamed to join Graces with Muses; which (as *Euripides* saith) is the best conjunction in the world, inducing the minde most easily to give eare and credit unto good reasons, by means of the delectation which it there findeth. For if to proove, that it is all one art, to paint and draw the life of women and men, I should produce and bring forth such pictures of women as *Apelles*, *Zeuxis* or *Picomachus* have left behinde them; hath any man reason to finde fault and to charge me, that I aime and intend to delight the eie and content the minde, rather than to verifie my assertion? I suppose that no man will doe: semblably, if otherwise to shew, that the art of Poetrie, or skill to represent in verse, all things whatsoever, is the same in women and men, and nothing different one from the other, I should conferre the Odes and verses of *Sappho* with those of *Anacreon*; or the oracles penned by the *Sibylles* with those which are set downe by *Bacchis*; is there any man that could justly blame such a demonstration, for that it draweth the heart to believe with some pleasure and content? no man (I trow) would ever so say: and yet there were no better way to know either the resemblance, or the difference in the vertue of man and woman, than in comparing lives with lives, and deeds with deeds; as if wee should lay together the works of some noble science, and consider them one by another; even so likewise, to see whether the magnificence of queene *Semiramis*, hath all one forme and figure with that of king *Sesostris*; and the wisdom of queene *Tanagol*, with that of king *Servius*; or the magnanimitie of ladie *Portia*, with that of *Brutus*; or of dame *Timothea*, with that of *Pelopidas*; namely, in that quality which is most principally, and wherein lieth the chiefest point and force of these vertues: for vertue admitteth certeine other differences, as proper and particular colours, according to divers natures, and is in some sort conformable to the manners and conditions of those subjects wherein they be, and to the temperaures of their bodies, or to the verie nutriments and divers diets and fashions of their life. For *Achilles* was after one sort valiant, and *Ajax* after another; the wisdom of *Ulysses* was not like unto *Nestors*; neither were *Cato* and *Alexis* just alike; *Irene* loved not her husband in that manner as *Alecsia* loved hers; nor *Comelia* & *Olympia* were alike magnanimous; and yet for all that, we say not, that there be many and divers kinds of fortitude, sundry sorts of prudence and wisdom, nor different justices, in regard of the dissimilitude and varietie which ariseth particularly in each one person, so as the said peculiar differences, do not exclude any one vertue from the proper definition thereof. As for such examples as are most divulged and published abroad (of which I presume you have already sufficient knowledge, and firmly remember their historie, by that which you have read in ancient books) I wil passe them over at this present; unless happily there be some acts worthy of remembrance.

brance, which they were ignorant of, who before our time have written the common histories and vulgar Chronicles. But for that the women in times past, as well in common as particular, have performed many memorable deeds, it will not be amisse in the first place to set downe briefly what some of them have done in societie and companie together.

THE TROJANE DAMES.

OF those Trojanes who escaped after the winning and destruction of *Troie the Great*, the most part went to seeke their fortune, and by force of tempest (the rather for that they had no skill in navigation, and were not acquainted with the seas) were cast upon the coast of *Italie*, where putting into such bays, ports & creeks as they could meet with, in that very place (whence the river *Tybris* dischargeth it selfe into the sea) with much adoe and great difficultie they landed, and the men went wandering up and downe the countrey, for to see if they could light upon those that might direct them in their voiage, and give them some light and intelligence of those coasts. Meane while the women communed and devised thus among themselves: That since they had bene the most fortunate and happy nation in the world, it were better for them to settle in any one certaine place whatsoever, than still to wander uncertainly upon the seas, and to make that their countrey and seat of habitation, since they were not able to recover that native soile which they had lost: to which motion after they had all with one accord agreed, they set fire on their ships, and the first ring-leader in this action was a Ladie (by report) named *Roma*; which done, they went farther up into the continent to meet with the men aforesaid, who now by this time were coming apace to the sea for to succour their ships on fire, & fearing their furious anger, they fell to embrace and kisse them very kindly, some their husbands, others their kinsfolke, and by this means appeased their wrath. Hereupon arose that custome, which continueth at this day among the Romanes, that no men should salute their kinsfolke, and those that be joined in blood to them, by kissing their lips: for the Trojan men seeing (as it should seeme) in what necessitie they stood, were well enough content; and withal, finding the inhabitants of the sea-coasts courteous, and ready to receive and entertaine them friendly, approved that which the women had done, and so remained and dwelt in the same part of *Italy* among the Latines.

THE DAMES OF PHOCIS.

THE woorthy act of the dames of *Phocis*, whereof we now meane to make mention, no Historiographer of name hath yet recorded and set downe in writing: howbeit there was never a more memorable deed of vertue wrought by women, and the same testified by the great sacrifices, which the Phocians do celebrate even at this day, neere unto the citie *Hyampolis*, and that according to the ancient decrees of the countrey. Now is the totall historie of this whole action from point to point particularly recorded in the life of *Diaphantus*; as for that which the said women did, thus stood the case. There was an irreconcilable and mortall warre betweene the Thessalians and those of *Phocis*, for that the Phocians upon a certaine fore-set day, killed all the magistrates and rulers of the Thessalians, who exercised tyrannie in the cities of *Phocis*: and they againe of *Thessalia* had beaten and brui'd to death two hundred and fiftie hostages of the Phocians, whom they had in custodie; and after that, with all their puissance entred and invaded their countrey by the way of the Locrians, having before hand concluded this resolution in their generall counsell, not to pardon nor spare any one that was of age sufficient to beare armes, and as for their wives and children, to lead them away captives as slaves: whereupon *Diaphantus* the sonne of *Bathyllus*, one of the three soveraign governours of *Phocis*, moved and perswaded the Phocians (as many as were of yeeres to fight) for to go forth and encounter the Thessalians; but their wives and children, to assemble all together unto a certaine place in *Phocis*, & environe the whole pourprise and precinct thereof with a huge quantity of wood, and there to set certaine guards to watch and ward; whom hee gave in charge, that so soone as ever they heard how their countrey-men were defeated, they should set the wood on fire, and burne all the bodies within the compasse thereof: which desseigne when all others had approved; there was one man among them stood up and said: It were just and meet, that they had the consent also of the women as touching this matter; and if they would not approve and allow of this counsell, to leave it unexecuted, and not to force them thereto: this consultation being come to the cares of the said women, they held a counsell together apart by themselves as touching this

this intended action, where other resolved to follow the advice of *Diaphantus*, and that with so great alacritie and contentment, that they crowned *Diaphantus* with a chaplet of flowers, as having given the best counsell that could be devised for *Phocis*. It is reported also, that their verie children fat in counsell hereabout by themselves, and concluded the same: but it fortune'd so, that the Phocians having given the Thessalians battell neere unto a village, called *Clona*, in the marches or territorie of *Hyampolis*, defeated them. This resolution of the Phocians, was afterwards by the Greekes named *Spomena*, that is, A desperate desseigne: and in memoriall of the said victory, all the people of *Phocis* to this day do celebrate in *Hyampolis*, the greatest and most solemne feast that they have, to the honour of *Diana*, and call it *Elypebolia*.

THE WOMEN OF CHIOS.

THE men of *Chios* inhabited sometime the colonie *Leuconia*, upon such an occasion as this. A gentleman, one of the best houses in *Chios*, chanced to contract a marriage; and when the bride was to be brought home to his house in a coach, King *Hippoclaus* being a familiar friend unto the bridegroom, & one who was present with others at the epousales and wedding; after he had taken his wine wel, being set upon a merrie pin, and disposed to make sport, leapt up into the coach where the new wedded wife was not with any intent to offer violence or villanny, but only to dallie, toy & make pastime in a meriment, as the manner was at such a feast: howbeit the friends of the bridegroom tooke it not so, but fell upon him and killed him outright in the place: upon which murder there appeared unto those of *Chios* many evident tokens and signes of Gods anger; yea and when they understood by the oracle of *Apollo*, that for to appeale their wrath, they should put all those to death who had murdered *Hippoclaus*; they made answer: That they all were guiltie of the fact: and when the god *Apollo* commanded them, that if they were all tainted with the said murder, they should all depart out of the citie *Chios*, they sent away (as manie, as either were parties and principals, or accessories and privie to the said blood-shed; yea, and whosoever approved and praised the fact, and those were neither few in number, nor men of meane qualitie and power) as far as to *Leuconia*; which citie the Chians first conquered from the Coroneans, and possessed by the helpe of the Erythraens: but afterwards when there was warre betweene the said Chians and the Erythraens (who in those daies were the mightiest people in all *Ionis*) inasmuch as the Erythraens came againe to *Leuconia*, with a power intending to assaile it: the Chians being not able to resist, grew to make a composition in which capitulated it was & agreed, that they should quit the city, & depart every person with one coat & cassock onely, without taking any thing els with them. The women understanding of this agreement, gave them foule words, & bitterly reproched them, for being so base minded as to lay off their armor, & thus to go naked throw the mids of their enemies; but when their husbands alleged that they had sworn & taken a corporal oth so to do, they gave them counsell in any wife, not to leave their armes and weapons behind them, but to say; that a javelin was a coat, and a shield the cassock of a valiant and hardie man. The Chians perswaded hereunto spake boldly to the Erythraens to that effect, and shewed them their armes, inasmuch as the Erythraens were afraid to see their resolute boldnesse, and there was not one of them so hardie as to come neere for to empach them, but were verie well content that they abandoned the place, and were gone in that sort. Thus you may see how these men having learned of their wives to be courageous and confident, saved their honours and their lives. Long after this, the wives of the Chians achieved an other act nothing inferiour to this in vertue and prowesse. At what time as *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, holding their citie besieged, caused this barbarous edict, and proud proclamation to be published: That all the slaves of the citie should rebell against their masters, and come to him: for that he would make them all free, and give them libertie to espouse and marie their mistresses, even the wives of their former masters. The dames conceived hereof so great choler and indignation in their hearts (together with the slaves themselves, who were provoked likewise to anger as well as they, and readie to assist their mistresses) that they took heart to mount upon the walles of the citie, and to carrie thither stones, darts and all manner of shor, beseeching their husbands to fight lustily and with good courage, & estoones admonishing and encouraging them to quit themselves like men, and do their devoir; which they did so effectually both in word and deed, that in the end they repul'd the enemy, and constrained *Philip* to raise his siege from before the citie without effecting his purpose, and there was not so much as one slave that revolted from his master unto him,

THE WOMEN OF ARGOS.

THe exploit of the *Argive* dames against *Cleomenes* king of *Lacedemon*, in defence of the citie *Argos*, which they enterprised under the conduct and by the perswasion of *Teleilla* the poetresse, is not lesse glorious and renowned, than any action that ever was achieved by a crew of women. This dame *Teleilla* (as the same goeth) was defended of a noble and famous house, howbeit in body she was very weake and sickly; by occasion whereof, she sent out to the oracle for to know how she might recover her health: answer was made, that she should serve, honour and worship the Muses: the yeelding obedience to this revelation of the god, and giving herselfe to learne poesie, and likewise vocall musick, and skill in song, in short time was delivered from her maladie, and became most renowned and highly esteemed among women for hir poeticall veine, and muscicall knowledge in this kind: in proccesse of time it fortuned that *Cleomenes* the king of the Spartans, having in a battell slaine a great number indeed of *Argives*, but not as some fabulous writers have precisely set downe (seven thousand, seven hundred, sevenie and seven) advanced directly to the citie of *Argos*, hoping to finde and surprize the same void of inhabitants: but the women, as many as were of age sufficient (as it were by some heavenly and divine instinct) put on a resolute minde, and an extraordinary courage, to doe their best for to beate backe their enemies that they should not enter the citie; and in very truth under the leading of *Teleilla*, they put on armes, tooke weapon in hand, and mounting up the wals stood round about the battlements thereof, and environed them on every side, defending the citie right manfully, so the great wonder & admiration of the enemies: thus they gave *Cleomenes* the repulse, with the losse and caruage of a great number of his men. Yea and they chased *Democrates* another king of *Lacedemon* out of their citie, as *Socrates* saith, who had made entrance before, and seized that quarter which is called *Pamphyliacum*: when the citie was thus saved by the prowesse of these women, ordeined it was, that as many of them as chanced in this service to be slaine, should be honorably enterr'd, upon the great cauley or high-way called *Argelia*; and unto them who remained alive, granted it was for a perpetuall monument and memoriall of their prowesse, to dedicate and consecrate one statue unto *Mars*. This combat and fight (as some have written) was the seventh day, or (as others say) the first of that month, which at *Argos* in old time they called *Tetartos*, but now *Hermes*, on which day the *Argives* do celebrate even in this age, a solemne sacrifice and feast which they call *Hybristia* (as one would say) reprochfull and infamous; wherein the custome is, that women went clad in soldiers coates and mantels, but men were arraid and attired in womens peticoates, frocks, and veiles. Now to replenish and repeople the citie againe, for default of men who died in the wars, they did not (as *Herodotus* writeth) use this pollicie, to marrie their slaves to their widdowes, but they granted free burgesie of their citie, unto the better sort of men who were their neighbors and borderers, and granted unto them for to affiance and espouse the said widdowes: but it should seeme that these wives disdain'd & despised (in some sort) these husbands of theirs, as not comparable to their former; for they made a law, that these wives should have counterfeite beards set to their chins whensoever they slept and lay with their husbands.

THE PERSIAN WOMEN.

Cyrus (having caused the Persians to rebel against king *Astages* & the Medes) hapned to be discomfited & vanquished together, with the Persians: now when the Persians fled amaine toward the city, and their enemies followed hard at their heeles, ready to enter pell-mell with the; the women issued out of the gates, met them even before the citie, and plucking up their clothes before, from beneath, to their waste, cried unto them: Whither away, and whither doe you flee, you most beauly cowards that ever were? for run as fast as you wil there is no reentrance here for you into that place, out of which you came first into the world: the Persians being ashamed as well to see such a sight, as to heare those words, blamed and rebuked themselves; whereupon they turned againe, and made head at their enemies, fought freshly, and put them to flight: from which time forward, there was a law established: That whensoever the king returneth from some farre voiage, and entrench into the citie, everie woman should receive of him a piece of gold, and that by the ordinance of king *Cyrus*, who first enacted it. But it is reported, that king *Ochus* one of his successors (who being bad enough otherwile) was the most covetous prince that

that ever reigned over them, turned alwaies out of the way, passed besides the citie, and never would come into it after such a journey; whereby the women alwaies were disappointed of that gratuitie and gift which they ought to have had: but king *Alexander* contrariwise entred the citie twice, and gave to every woman with childe, double so much, that is to say, two such pieces of gold.

THE WOMEN OF GAULE.

Before that the *Gauls* passed over the mountaines called *Alpes*, and held that part of *Italy* which now they doe inhabit; there arose a great discord and dangerous sedition among them, which grew in the end to a civill warre: but when both armies stood embattailed and arranged, ready to fight, their wives put themselves in the very mids between the armed troupes, tooke the matter of difference and controversie into their hands, brought them to accord and unitie; and judged the quarrell with such indifferent equitie, and so to the contentment of both parts, that there ensued a woonderfull amitie; and reciprocall good will, not onely from citie to citie, but also betwene house and house; inso much that ever after, they continued this custome in all their consultations, as well of warre as peace, to take the counsell and advice of their wives; yea to compose and pacifie all debates and brailes with their neighbours and allies, by the mediation of them: and therefore in that composition and accord which they made with *Anniball*, at what time as he passed through their citie, among other articles this went for one: That in case the *Gauls* complained of any wrongs done unto them by the *Carthaginians*, the *Carthaginian* captains and governors which were in *Spain* (should be the judges betwene them; but contrariwise, if the *Carthaginians* pretended that the *Gauls* had wronged them, the *Gauls* should decide the quarrell.

THE WOMEN OF MELOS.

THe *Melians* purposing to seeke for another land to inhabit, more large and fertile than their owne, chose for the captaine and leader of that troupe or colonie which was sent forth, a young gentleman of singular beautie, named *Nymphæus*; but first they had consulted with the oracle, where they received this answer: That they should take the seas, and saile; and looke in what place soever they happened to leese their porters and carriers, there they should rest and inhabit: now it happened as the coasted along *Caria*, and were flet abroad, their ships were lost in a tempest and perished; and then the inhabitants of the city *Cryssa* in *Caria*, (were it that they had pity of their necessitie, or feared their hardinesse and valour) requested them to make their abode with them, and granted them a part of their territorie to holde and occupie: but afterwards the *Carians* seeing, that in a small time the *Melians* mightily increased and waxed great, they plotted and laid ambushes for to murder them all, at a certaine solemne feast and supper which they prepared for them: but it fell out so, that a young damosell of *Caria* named *Cophene* (who secretly was in love and enamoured upon *Nymphæus* above said, and could not endure that her love *Nymphæus* should so treacherously be murdered) discovered the said plot and intended desseigne of her countrey men: now when the *Cryssians* came to call them to the feast above said, *Nymphæus* made them this answer: That the custome of the *Greeks* was not to go unto any great suppers or feasts, unless they had their wives with them; which when the *Carians* heard, they said: Bring your wives with you and spare not, they shall be welcome: thus when he had advertised his countrey men the *Melians*, what had passed betwene him and the *Carians*, he gave order that they should themselves come unarmed in their plaine apparell, but every one of their wives should bring with them a skeine or dagger under their clothes, and so ech of them sit close unto her husband: now in the mids of supper, when the signall was given to the *Carians* for to go in hand with the execution of their desseigne, they *Greeks* knew thereby incontinently, that the time was now come to execute this feat; and then the women all at once opened their bosoms, and their husbands caught the skives aforesaid, ran upon the barbarous *Carians*, and massacred all in the place, inso much as not one of them escaped with life: and thus being masters of the countrey, they raised the city, and built another, which they called *Ægryssa*: *Cophene* then was married to *Nymphæus*, and woon much honour and favor, which she right well had deserved for the great good service that she did: but in my conceit, the principall matter in this whole action, and that which is most to be commended, was the silence and

THE WOMEN OF ARGOS.

THe exploit of the *Argive* dames against *Cleomenes* king of *Lacedæmon*, in defence of the citie *Argos*, which they enterprised under the conduct and by the perswasion of *Telephus* the poetresse, is not lesse glorious and renowned, than any action that ever was achieved by a crew of women. This dame *Telephus* (as the same goeth) was descended of a noble and famous house, howbeit in body she was very weak and sickly; by occasion whereof, she lent out to the oracle for to know how she might recover her health: answer was made, that she should serve, honour and worship the Muses: she yielding obedience to this revelation of the god, and giving herselfe to learne poeie, and likewise vocall musick, and skill in song, in short time was delivered from her maladie, and became most renowned and highly esteemed among women for hir poeticall veine, and musickall knowledge in this kind: in proceesse of time it fortuned that *Cleomenes* the king of the Spartans, having in a battell slaine a great number indeed of *Argives*, but not as some fabulous writers have precisely set downe (seven thousand, seven hundred, sevenie and seven) advanced directly to the citie of *Argos*, hoping to finde and surprize the same void of inhabitants: but the women, as many as were of age sufficient (as it were by some heavenly and divine instinct) put on a resolute minde, and an extraordinary courage, to doe their best for to beate backe their enemies that they should not enter the citie; and in very truth under the leading of *Telephus*, they put on armes, tooke weapon in hand, and mounting up the wals stood round about the battlements thereof, and environed them on every side, defending the citie right manfully, to the great wonder & admiration of the enemies: thus they gave *Cleomenes* the repulse, with the losse and carvage of a great number of his men. Yea and they chased *Democrates* another king of *Lacedæmon* out of their citie, as *Socrates* saith, who had made entrance before, and seized that quarter which is called *Pamphilæum*: when the citie was thus saved by the prowesse of these women, ordeined it was, that as many of them as chanced in this service to be slaine, should be honorably entred, upon the great cauley or high-way called *Argæus*; and unto them who remained alive, granted it was for a perpetuall monument and memoriall of their prowesse, to dedicate and consecrate one statue unto *Mars*. This combat and fight (as some have written) was the seventh day, or (as others say) the first of that moneth which at *Argos* in old time they called *Teiartes*, but now *Isterneus*, on which day the *Argives* do celebrate even in this age, a solemne sacrifice and feast which they call *Hybrisica* (as one would say) reprochfull and infamous; wherein the custome is, that women went clad in soldiers coates and mantels, but men were arraigned and attired in womens peticoates, frocks, and viles. Now to replenish and repeople the citie againe, for default of men who died in the wars, they did not (as *Herodotus* writeth) use this policie, to marrie their slaves to their widowes, but they granted free burgesie of their citie, unto the better sort of men who were their neighbors and borderers, and granted unto them for to affiance and espouse the said widowes: but it should seeme that these wives disdaind & despised (in some sort) these husbands of theirs, as not comparable to their former; for they made a law, that these wives should have counterfeited beads for their chins whensoever they slept and lay with their husbands.

THE PERSIAN WOMEN.

Cyrus (having caused the Persians to rebel against king *Astages* & the Medes) hapned to be discorrupted & vanquished together, with the Persians: now when the Persians fled amaine toward the city, and their enemies followed hard at their heeles, ready to enter pell-mell with the women issued out of the gates, met them even before the citie, and plucking up their clothes before, from beneath, to their waste, cried unto them: Whither away, and whither do you flee, the most beastly cowards that ever were? for run as fast as you will there is no recontrance here for you into that place, out of which you came first into the world: the Persians being ashamed as well to see such a sight, as to heare those words, blamed and rebuked themselves; whereupon they turned againe, and made head at their enemies, fought freshly, and put them to flight: from which time forward, there was a law established: That whensoever the king returneth from some farre voiage, and entred into the citie, everie woman should receive of him a peece of gold, and that by the ordinance of king *Cyrus*, who first enacted it. But it is reported, that king *Ochus* one of his successors (who being bad enough otherwile) was the most covetous prince that

that ever reigned over them, turned alwaies out of the way, passed besides the citie, and never would come into it after such a journey; whereby the women alwaies were disappointed of that gratuitie and gift which they ought to have had: but king *Alexander* contrariwise entred the citie twice, and gave to every woman with childe, double so much, that is to say, two such peecees of gold.

THE WOMEN OF GAULE.

BEfore that the *Gaules* passed over the mountaines called *Alpes*, and held that part of *Italy* which now they doe inhabit; there arose a great discord and dangerous sedition among them, which grew in the end to a civill warre: but when both armies stood embattailed and arranged, ready to fight, their wives put themselves in the very mids between the armed troupes, tooke the matter of difference and controverfie into their hands, brought them to accord and unitie, and judged the quarrell with such indifferent equitie, and so to the contentment of both parts, that there ensued a wonderfull unitie; and reciprocal good will, not onely from citie to citie, but also betwene house and house; insumch that ever after, they continued this custome in all their consultations, aswell of warre as peace, to take the counsell and advice of their wives; yea to compose and pacifie all debates and braules with their neighbours and allies, by the mediation of them: and therefore in that composition and accord which they made with *Annibal*, at what time as he passed through their citie, among other articles this went for one: That in case the *Gaules* complained of any wrongs done unto them by the *Carthaginians*, the *Carthaginian* captains and governors which were in *Spain* should be the judges between them; but contrariwise, if the *Carthaginians* pretended that the *Gaules* had wronged them, the *Gaule* dames should decide the quarrell.

THE WOMEN OF MELOS.

THe *Melians* purposing to seeke for another land to inhabit, more large and fertile than their owne, chose for the captaine and leader of that troupe or colonie which was sent forth, a young gentleman of singular beantie, named *Nymphæus*; but first they had consulted with the oracle, where they received this answer: That they should take the seas, and saile; and looke in what place soever they happened to leese their porters and cariers, there they should rest and inhabit: now it happened as the coasted along *Caria*, and were set a land, their ships were lost in a tempest and perished; and then the inhabitants of the city *Cryssa* in *Caria*, (were it that they had pity of their necessitie, or feared their hardinesse and valour) requested them to make their abode with them, and granted them a part of their territorie to holde and occupie: but afterwards the *Carians* seeing, that in a small time the *Melians* mightily increased and waxed great, they comploted and laid ambushes for to murder them all, at a certaine solemne feast and supper which they prepared for them: but it fell out so, that a young damosell of *Caria* named *Cophene* (who secretly was in love and enamoured upon *Nymphæus* above said, and could not endure that her love *Nymphæus* should so treacherously be murdered) discovered the said plot and intended desseigne of her countreyemen: now when the *Cryssians* came to call them to the feast above said, *Nymphæus* made them this answer: That the custome of the *Greeks* was not to go unto any great suppers or feasts, unless they had their wives with them; which when the *Carians* heard, they said: Bring your wives with you and spare not, they shall be welcome: thus when he had advertised his countreyemen the *Melians*, what had passed betwene him and the *Carians*, he gave order that they should themselves come unarmed in their plaine apparell, but every one of their wives should bring with them a skaine or dagger under their clothes, and so ech of them sit close unto her husband: now in the mids of supper, when the signall was given to the *Carians* for to go in hand with the execution of their desseigne, they *Greeks* knew thereby incontinently, that the time was now come to execute this feat; and then the women all at once opened their bosoms, and their husbands caught the skaines aforesaid, ran upon the barbarous *Carians*, and massacred all in the place, insumch as not one of them escaped with life: and thus being masters of the countrey, they rased the city, and built another, which they called *Neu Cryssa*: *Cophene* then was married to *Nymphæus*, and won much honour and favor, which she right well had deserved for the great good service that she did: but in my conceit, the principall matter in this whole action, and that which is most to be commended, was the silence and

and secrecie of these dames, that being so many as they were, there was not one whose hart fainted in the execution of this enterprize, nor perforce and for feare against her will, failed in her dutie.

THE TUSCANE WOMEN.

Here were in times past certeine Tyrthenians or Tuskans, who seized upon the isles of *Lemnos* and *Imbros*; yea and ravished certeine Athenian wives out of *Brauron*, and begar children of them; but afterwards, the Athenians chased that generation out of the said isles, as being mungrels and halfe Barbarians, who fortuning to arrive at the cape or head of *Tenarus*, did very good service under the Spartans in their wars against the Ilots; and for this cause obtained their freedom and burgeoisie in *Sparta*, yea, and were allowed to take wives and marrie among them; onely they were not capable of any office of State or magistracie, nor admitted into the counsell of the citie: howbeit, suspected they were in the end, that they conspired and went about a change and alteration in the government: whereupon the Spartans apprehended their bodies, and cast them in prison, where they kept them very straight, as close prisoners, to see if they could convince them by some proofes and undoubted evidence. Meanwhile, the wives of these prisoners came to the goales, and by their earnest praies and importunate lute, wrought so with their keepers, that they suffered them to have access to their husbands, onely to visit, salute, and speake unto them: they were no sooner entred in, but they advised and perswaded their husbands, with all speed to put off their owne clothes, and doe on their apparel, and so to get away with their faces veiled and covered; which presently was put in execution, and themselves remained fast shut up in the said prison, prepared and resolute to abide all the miseries and tortures that might be done unto them: thus the goalers let out their husbands, taking them to be their wives. No sooner were they at libertie, but immediately they went and seized the mountaine *Taygeta*, and solicited withall the Ilots to take armes and rebell, which the men of *Sparta* much fearing, sent unto them an herald with atumpet, by whose entercourse they agreed upon these articles of composition. Inprimis, to deliver them their wives. Item, to restore unto them their money and all their goods. Item, to furnish them with ships to passe upon the seas for to seeke their adventure: and when they had found a commodious land, in one place or other, & were provided of a citie to inhabit; that they should be named and reputed kinsfolke to the Lacedaemonians, and a colonie derived and descended from them. The same did the Pelasgians, who tooke for their captaines in this voyage, *Pollis*, *Adolphus*, and *Cratides*, all three Lacedaemonians; for when one part of them staied in the isle *Melos*, the greater troupe under the conduct of *Pollis* arrived in *Candia*, attending and expecting if those signes which had beene foretold them by the oracles would happen; for answer was given them by oracle: That whensoever they had lost their ankor and goddesse, then they were at an end of their voyage and should build them a citie: being come therefore unto the demie island *Cherfoneia*, and their ship lying at ankor in the harbour, there hapned in the night a sudden feare and fright among them without any apparent cause, such as they call Panique Frights, wherewith being wonderfully troubled and feared, they went a shipboord, without all order, and in a tumultuous manner, leaving behinde them for haste, the image of *Dianna* upon the land, which had remained a long time among them, and had passed by descent from father to sonne, and by their forefathers had beene first brought unto them from *Brauron* unto the isle *Lemnos*, and which they carried with them from thence into all places wheresoever they came: after this sudden fright and tumult was passed, as they sailed in the open sea, they missed the said image, and withall *Pollis* also was advertised, that a flouke of an ankor was wanting and lost; for that when they came to weigh ankor by great force (as commonly it hapneth in such places where it taketh hold of the ground among rocks) it brake and was left behinde in the bottome of the sea; whereupon he said that the oracles were now fulfilled which foretold them of these signes, and therewith gave signall to the whole flecte to retire backe, and so he entred upon that region to his owne use: and after he had in many skirmishes vanquished those who were up in armes against him, he lodged at length in the citie *Lyctus*, and wan many more to it. Thus yon see how at this day they call themselves the kinsfolke of the Athenians by the mothers side; but indeed by the father they are a colonie drawne from *Lacedaemon*.

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THE LYCIAN WOMEN.

That which is reported to have beene done in *Lydia*, as a meere fable and tale devised of pleasure, yet nevertheless testified by a constant fame that runneth verie current. For *Amisodarus* (as they say) whom the Lycians name *Ismus*, came from about the marches of *Zeles*, a colonie of the Lycians, with a great flect of rovers and men of warre, whose captaine or admirall, was one *Chimarus*, a famous arch-pirate, a warlike man but exceeding cruell, savage and inhumane) who had for the badges and enignes of his owne ship, in the prow a lion, and at the poope a dragon: much hurt hee did upon all the coasts of *Lydia*; inso much as it was not possible either to faile upon the sea, or to inhabit the maritime cities and townes, neere unto the sea side for him. This man of warre or arch-rover, *Bellerophon* had slaine who followed him hard in chase with his swift pinnace (*Pegasus*) as he fled, untill he had overtaken him, and withall had chased the Amazones out of *Lydia*; yet for all this, hee onely received no worthy recompence for his good service, at the hands of *Iobates* king of *Lydia*, but also which was woofe, sustained much wrong by him: by occasion whereof *Bellerophon* taking it as a great indignitie, went to sea againe, where he praied against him unto *Neptune*, that he would cause his land to be barraine and unfruitfull; which done, hee returned backe againe: but beheld a strange and fearfull spectacle, for the sea swelled & overflowed all the countrey, following him everie where as he went, and covering after him the face of the earth: and for that the men of those parts, who did what possibly they could to entreat him for to stay this inundation of the sea, could not obtaine so much at his hands, the women tooke up their petticoats before & went to meet him, & shewed their nakednes; whereupon for very shame he returned backe, & the sea likewise (by report) retired with him into the former place. But some there be (who more civilly avoiding the fabulosity of this tale) say: That it was not by praies & imprecations that he drew after him the sea, but because that part of *Lydia* which was most fertile, being low and flat, lay under the levell of the sea: there was a banke raised along the sea side which kept it in; and *Bellerophon* cut a breach thorow it, and so it came to passe that the sea with great violence entred that way, and drowned the flat part of the countrey; whereupon the men did what they could by way of praies and intreatie with him, in hope to appease his mood, but could not prevail: howbeit, the women environing him round about by great troups & companies, pressed him so on all sides, that he could not for verie shame deny them, & so in favour of them, laid downe his anger. Others affirme that *Chimarus* was an high mountaine, directly opposite to the sunne at noon-tide, which caused great reflections and reverberations of the sunne beames, and by consequence, ardent heats in manner of a fire, in the said mountaine, which coming to be spread and dispersed over the champion ground, caused all the fruits of the earth, to dry, fade, and wither away: whereof *Bellerophones* (a man of great reach and deepe conceit) knowing the cause in nature, caused in many places, the superface of the said rocke or mountaine to be cloven and cut in two, which before was most smooth & even, and by that reason consequently did send back the beames of the sun, & caused the excessive heat in the countrey adjoining: now for that he was not well considered and regarded by the inhabitants, according to his demerit, in despite he meant to be revenged of the Lycians; but the women wrought him so, that they allayed his fury. But surely that cause which *Nymphus* alleageth in his fourth booke as touching *Heraclea*, is not fabulous nor devised to delight the Reader: for he saith: That this *Bellerophones* having killed a wilde bore that destroyed all the fruits of the earth, & all other beasts within the Xanthiens countrey, had no recompense therefore; whereupon, when he had powdered out grievous imprecations against those unthankfull Xanthiens, unto *Neptune*, hee brought salt-water all over the land, which marred all and made all become bitter, untill such time as he (being wome by the praies and supplications of the women) besought *Neptune* to let fall his wrath. Loe whereupon the custome arose and continueth still in the Xanthiens countrey: That men in all their affaires negotiate not in the name of their fathers, but of their mothers, and bee called after their names.

THE WOMEN OF SALMATICA.

Amibal of the house of *Barka*, before that he went into *Italie* to make warre with the Romans, laid siege unto a great citie in *Spaine*, named *Salmatica*: the besieged were at the

the first affaid, and promised to do whatsoever *Amibal* would commaund them; yea and to pay him three hundred talents of silver; for securitie of which capitulation to be performed, they put into his hands three hundred hostages: but so soone as *Amibal* had raised his sieges, they repented of this agreement which they had concluded with him, and would do nothing according to the conditions of the accord; whereupon hee returned againe for to besiege them afresh: and to encourage his souldiers the better to give the assault, he said: That hee would give unto them the sackage and pillage of the towne; whereupon the citizens within, were wonderfully affraid, and yielded themselves to his devotion, upon this condition: That the Barbarians would permit as many as were of free condition, to goe forth, every man in his single garment, leaving behind them their armes, goods, money, slaves and the cite. Now the dames and 16 wives of the towne, fearing lest the enemies would search and raffe their husbands as they went forth of the gates, and not once touch and meddle with them, tooke unto them short curtlasses or skaines, hid them under their clothes, and so went forth together with their husbands. When they were all out of the towne, *Amibal* (having feare of a guard of Macesyilians to attend them) staid them at the end of the suburbs: meane while the rest of his armie, without all order put themselves within the cite, and fell to the spoile and sackage of it: which when the Macesyilians perceived, they grew out of all patience, & could not containe themselves, nor looke wel unto their prisoners; but were wonderous angrie, and in the end meant for to have as good a part and share as the rest, of the spoile: hereupon the women tooke up a crye, and gave unto their husbands the swords which they had brought with them, yea & some of them fel upon the guard or 20 garison, in so much as one of them was so bold, as to take from *Banon* (the Truchman or interpreter) the speare which he had, and thrust at him with it, but he had on a good corps of a cuirace which saved him: but their husbands having wounded some of them, and put the rest to flight, escaped by this meanes away, together in a troupe with their wives; which when *Amibal* understood, he set out immediately after them, and surprisid those who were left behind; whiles the rest got away and saved themselves for the present, by recovering the mountaines adjoining; but after they sent unto *Amibal* and craved pardon, who graciously granted it; yea and permitted them to returne in safetie and reinhabit their owne cite.

THE MILESIAN WOMEN.

30

THE Milesian maidens upon a time, were surprisid with a verie strong passionate fit of a fearfull melancholike humour, without any apparant cause that could be rendred thereof, unlesse it were (as men most conjectured:) that the aire was infected and empoisoned, which might cause that alienation of the mind, and worke a distemperature in their braines, to the overthrow of their right wits; for all on a sudden, every one had a great desire to die, and namely, in a furious rage would needs hang themselves; and in truth many of them secretly knit their necks in haltars, and so were strangled: no, reasons and remonstrances, no teares of father and mother, no persuasions and comfortable speeches of their friends would serve the turne; but looke what keepers feverer they had, and how carefully feverer they looked unto them, they 40 could find meanes of evasion to avoide and goe beyond all their devices and inventions; in such sort, that it was thought to be some plague and punishment sent from the gods above; and such as no humane provision could remedie, untill such time as by the advice of a sage and wise citizen, there went forth a certaine edict, and the same enacted by the counsell of the citie: That if any one more, hapned to hang herselfe, she should be carried stark naked as ever she was borne thorow the market place in the view of the whole world: this proclamation being thus ratified by the common-counsell of the citie, did not only repress for a while, but also staid for altogether, this furious rage of the maidens and their inordinate desire to make themselves away. Thus we may see, that the fear of dishonour, shame & infamy, is a great signe & infallible token of good nature and vertue, considering that they feared neither death nor paine, which are the most horrible accidents that men can endure; howbeit they could not abide the imagination of villanie, shame and dishonour, though it hapned not unto them, untill they were dead and gone.

THE WOMEN OF CIO.

THE maner and custome was for the young virgins of *Cio*, to goe altogether unto their publick temples and churches, and so to passe the time all the long day there, one with another: where

where their lovers who wooed them for marriage, might behold them dispoit and daunce: and in the evening they went home to each of their houses, in order, where they waited up^d their fathers and mothers, yea and the brethren, one of another, even to the very washing of their feet. Now it hapned sometimes that many young men were enamoured of one and the same maide; but their love was so modest, good, and honest, that so soone as a maiden was affianced and betrothed unto one, all the rest would give over sute, & so cease to make any more love unto her: In summe, the good order and cariage of these women of *Cio* might be known in this: that in the space of seven hundred yeeres, it was never known nor appeared upon record, that anie wife committed adulterie, nor maiden unmarried lost her virginite.

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THE WOMEN OF PHOCIS.

THE tyrants of *Phocis*, surprisid upon a time and seized the citie of *Delphos*; by occasion whereof, the Thebans made that warre upon them, which was called the Holy warre; at which time it so befell, that the religious women consecrated unto *Bacchus*, named *Thyades*, being bestraught and out of their right wits, ranne wandering like vagrants up and downe in the night, and knew not whither, untill ere they were aware, they ranne unto the citie *Amphissa*, where being wearie (but yet not come againe to their senses) they lay along in the mids of the marketplace, and couched themselves scattering heere and there to take their sleepe: the wives 20 of *Amphissa* being advertisid hereof, and fearing lest their bodies should be abused by the foldiers of the tyrants (whereof there lay a garison within the citie, for that *Amphissa* was of the league, and confederate with the Phocaeans) ranne all thither to the place, standing round about them with silence, and not saying one word, and so long as they slept, troubled them not; but so soone as they wakened of themselves and were gotten up, they tooke the charge of them, gave them meat, and each of them looked to one; yea, and afterwards having gotten leave of their husbands, they conveyed and accompanied them in safetie, so farre as to the mountains and marches of their owne territorie.

VALERIA and CLOELIA.

THE outrage committed upon the person of a Roman ladie, named *Lucretia*, and her vertue together, were the cause that *Tarquinius Superbus* (the seventh king of the Romanes after *Romulus*) was deprived of his roiall estate, and driven out of *Rome*: This dame being married unto a good personage, descended of the bloud roiall, was abused and forced by one of the sons of the said king *Tarquin*, who was entertained and friendly lodged in her house: by occasion of which villanous fact, she called all her kinsfolke and friends together about her; unto whom after she had declared and given them to understand the shamefull dishonour that he had done upon her body, she stabbed herselfe in the place before them: and *Tarquin* the father (for this cause being deposed from his princely dignitie, and chased out of his kingdome) levied manie 40 warres against the Romans, thinking thereby to recover his state; and among the rest in the end wrought so effectually with *Porfena* king of the Tuscanes, that he perswaded him to laie siege to the citie of *Rome*, and to beleaguer it with a puissant power: Now over and besides this hostilitie, the Romans within, were afflicted also and sore pressed with famine; but hearing that the said *Porfena* was not onely a valiant captain in armes, but withall a good and righteous prince, they were willing to make him the indifferent umpire and judge betwene them and *Tarquin*; but *Tarquin* standing stiffe in his owne opinion, and highly conceited of himselfe, giving out also, that *Porfena* if he continued not a fast and constant ally, he would not afterwards be a just & equall judge: whereupon *Porfena* forsaking him, and leaving his alliance, capitulated and promised to depart in good teermes of amitie & peace with the Romans, upon condition to recover 50 of them all those lands which they had occupied in *Tuscanie*, & to have away with him those prisoners whom they had taken in those wars: now for the better assurance of this composition so concluded, there were delivered into his hands as hostages, ten boies, and as many young maidens; among whom *Valeria* the daughter of *Poplicola* the consull was one: which done, presently he brake up his campe and dislodged, yea and gave over preparation of farther warre; notwithstanding that all the articles of the said capitulation were not yet accomplished. These young virgins before said, being in his campe, went down as it were to bath and wash themselves, unto the river side, which ran a good way from the campe; and by the motion and intigation of

of one among the rest named *Cloelia*; after they had wrapped and wreathed their clothes fast about their heads; theyooke the river which ran with a very strong streame and swift current, and by swimming croffe over it, helping one another what they could amid the deepe channell, and surging whirlpoles thereof, untill with much travell, they hardly recovered the banke on the other side. Some report, that this damozell *Cloelia*, made meanes to get an horse, mounted his backe, and gently by little and little passed overthwart the river, shewing the way unto the rest of hir fellowes, encouraging, yea, and supporting them as they swomme on each side and round about her: but what the reason is of this their conjecture, I will shew anon: when the Romans saw that they were gotten over in safetie, they wondered at their boldnesse and rare vertue; howbeit they were nothing well pleased with their returne, neither could they endure to be challenged and reproched: that in fidelitie and troth, they all should be inferior to one man, and therefore gave commandment that these virgins should returne from whence they came, and sent with them a guard to conduct them; but when they were passed over the river *Tybris* againe, they escaped very hardly of being surprized by an ambush that *Turpin* had laid for them by the way: as for *Valeria* the consull *Papstolus* daughter, she fled at first with three servants into the campe of *Porfena*: and the rest, *Annus* the sonne of king *Porfena*, who ran presently to the rescue, recovered out of the hands of the enemies: now when they were all presented and brought before the king; he demaunded which of them it was, who had encouraged her companions to swim over the river, and given them counsell so to doe: all the rest fearing lest the king would doe *Cloelia* some harme, would not speake a word; but she her selfe confessed all: *Porfena* highly esteeming her valour and vertue, caused one of the fairest horses to be fetched out of his stable, richly trapped and set out with costly furniture, which he bestowed upon her, yea, and that which more is (for her sake and to grace her) courteously and kindly dismissed all her fellowes, and sent them home. This is the gesse (I say) by which some thinke that *Cloelia* passed over the river on horse-backe: but others say no; who deliver the storie thus. That the king marvelling at this valour and extraordinary hardinesse, above the proportion of that sex, thought her worthy of a present, which is wont to be given unto a valiant man at armes and a brave warrior: but how ever it was, for a memorie of this act, there is to be seene her statue at this daie, to wit, a maiden sitting on horse-backe, and it standeth in the street called *Via sacra*, which some say, representeth *Cloelia*, others *Valeria*.

MICCA and MEGISTO.

Aristotimus having usurped tyranny and violent dominion over the Elians, bare himselfe much upon the favor and countenance of king *Antigonus*, established the same; but so cruelly and excessively he abused this power and authoritie under him, that in nothing he was tolerable; for over and besides that, he was a man by nature given to violence (by reason that he stood in some servile feare, and was glad to please the guard that he had about him of mixt Barbarians, whom he had gotten together from divers parts, for the defence of his state and person) he suffered them also to commit many insolent parts and cruell outrages upon his subjects; and among the rest, that unhappie indignitie which befell to *Philodemus*, who had a faire damozell to his daughter, named *Micca*, unto whom one of the captaines of the said tyrant, named *Lutius*, seemed to make court, not for any true love and heartie affection that he bare unto her, but upon a wanton lust to abuse and dishonour her bodie: so he sent for this maiden to come and speake with him: her parents seeing, that whether they would or no, constrained they should be to let her goe, gave her leave; but the damozell her selfe of a generous spirit and magnanimous heart, elapsed them about and hung upon them, fell downe at their feet, and humbly besought them, that all ever she could, rather to kill her out of hand, than to suffer her thus shamefully to be betrayed, and villanously to be deposed of her maidenhead: but for that she staid longer than was to the good liking of the foresaid *Lutius*, (who burned all this whiles in lust, and had withall taken his wine liberally) he rose from the table in great choler, and went himselfe toward her: when he came to the house, he found *Micca* with her head upon her fathers knees, and her he commanded to follow him; which she refused to do; whereupon he rent her clothes from her bodie, and whipped her stark naked; and she, without giving one word againe, endured for her part with patience and silence all the smart and paine: but her father and mother, seeing that with all their piteous prayers and tender teares, they could not prevail nor bootanie thing with this wretch, turned to call and implore the helpe both of God and man, crying with a

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loud voice: Out upon such injurious indignity and intolerable villany: whetupon, this barbarous villaine (growen now to be furious and enraged, partly with choler, and so part with drunkennesse) killed this silly poore girl; even as she couched her face in the very lap and bosome of her father: howbeit, for all this and such like wicked pranks played, the tyrant was nothing at all moved to pitee and compassion, but many citizens he murdered; and more he banished and caused to leave their countrey, in such sort, that (as this speech went) no fewer than eight hundred fled to the Aerolians, craving at their hands to make meanes unto the tyrant, that they might have away their wives and little children also. Not long after, the tyrant of his owne accord caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that as many women as were willing to go unto their husbands, should make themselves ready and departs, yea, and carry with them as much of their goods as they would: now when he understood, that they all with great joy of this proclamation thus published, and that they were assembled together with much contentment of minde, to the number of fixe hundred, he commanded that they should depart, and put themselves in their journey all together on a certaine day by him prefixed, making semblant against that time, to provide a good convoy for their better security: when the time appointed was come, they flocked thicke to the gates of the city, having brought with them their trusses and fardles of such goods as they meant to have away with them, carrying some of their little babes in their armes, taking order for others for to be brought in waggons; and so they staid there, and attended one another coming: but suddenly, many of the fouldiers and those of the tyrants guard, came running toward them, and crying aloud asse off: Stay, stay: now when they approached nere, all the women they commanded to go backe againe, but the waines and waggons they turned together with the horses full upon them, and drave them amaine thorow the mids of the troupe and throng of the women, not suffering them either to follow, or to stay or luccor their poore little infants, whom they saw to die before their faces: for some of them perished with falling out of the chariots to the ground, others were destroyed and trampled under the horse feet; and all this while, these pensioners of the guard, with loud out-cries and with whipping, drave the women before them, like as they had bene so many sheepe, and thronged them so hard, that one tumbled upon another; and thus they chased them, untill such time as they had cast them all into prison: but all their bag and baggage was seized upon, and brought unto *Aristotimus*. Now when the men of *Eli* were here with mightily offended; the religious women consecrated to the service of *Bacchia*, whom they call the Sixteene (carrying in their hands boughs of olive trees, like suppliants, and chaplets of vine branches about their heads, which they tooke from the god whom they served) went to meet with *Aristotimus* about the marketplace of the citie: his squires and pensioners about him for the guard of his bodie, made a lane for them, and seemed (upon some reverence) to give them way that they might come nere: and the women at first kept silence, doing nought els but in most humble and devout maner tender unto him their branches, like suppliants: but after that the tyrant understood that it was for the Eliens wives that they came thus to make supplication, and namely, that hee would take some commiseration of them; being wroth & displeased with his guard, he cried out upon them for suffering the said women to approach so neere unto his person; and thereupon commanded them to drive some and to beat others, untill they had all chased out of the marketplace; and more than all this, he condemned these religious votaries in a fine of two talents a piece. During these occurrences, there was within the citie, one of the burgessees named *Hellanicus*, a man very farre stept in age, who was the authour of a conspiracie and insurrection against the tyrant; one that of all others he least distrusted, and whom he never thought likely to practise against him, both for that he was very aged, and also because but a little before he had buried two of his children: and it fortuned at the very same time, that frō *Atolia* the exiles before named, passed into the territorie of *Eli*, and seized upon a fort called *Anymon*, situate in a very commodious place for to maintaine warre; where they received and entertained many other inhabitants of the citie, who immediately resorted thither, and ran apace: upon these tydings, the tyrant *Aristotimus* much fearing the sequel hereof, went unto their wives in prison; and thinking to compass his defignes better by feare, than favor and love, he commanded them to send unto their husbands, & to write unto them, for to abandon their holde and depart out of the countrey, menacing the poore women, that if they did not so, he would cause their children first to be managled with whips, and so killed before their face, and then put themselves also to death: all of them were silent a good while, & notwithstanding he importuned them a long time, and urged them to speake at once whether they would doe it or no? they looked one upon another without say-

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ing a word, giving him thereby to understand, that they stood in no feare, and were not affonied for all his threats: at the last, one of them, named *Megisto*, wife to *Tumelson*, and a woman whom the rest regarded and held as their capitaineſſe, a well inſpect of her husbands honour, as her owne vertue, deigned not to riſe up from her ſeat herſelfe, nor ſuffered any of the reſt to ſtand up; but ſitting ſtill in her place, thus ſaid: If thou wert a wife man, thou wouldeſt not deale thus as thou doeſt, betwene women and their husbands, but rather ſend unto them, as to thoſe who have the power and authoritie over their wives, and to deliver unto them better ſpeeches than ſuch, whereby thou haſt deceived us; now if (being paſt hope to perſwade them) thou thinkeſt to circumvent and delude them by the means of us, never looke that thou ſhalt abuſe us any more, nor thinke that they will be ſo ill adviſed or ſo baſe minded, as that for to ſpare their wives and little children, they will abandon and loſe the libertie of their country: for ſurely the loſſe of us will not be to them ſo much, conſidering that they now enjoy us not, as the gaine and benefit, in delivering their country and fellow-citizens from ſuch outrageous crueltie. Whiles *Megisto* entertained *Ariſtotimus* with theſe ſpeeches, he could no longer endure, but commanded her little ſonne to be brought before him, for to murder him before her eyes; and when the perſoners about the tyrant ſearched for him among other little boies that were playing & wreſtling together, his mother called unto him by name, ſaying: Come hither to me my boy, that thou maiſt be delivered from the crueltie of this tyrant, before thou haſt any ſenſe or understanding to know what tyranny is: for a greater griefe it would be unto me another day to ſee thee for to ſerve like a ſlave unworthily, than to die here preſently: hereat *Ariſtotimus* through impatience of furious anger, drew his ſword upon the woman herſelfe, meaning to run her thorow; but one of his familiar friends, named *Cylon* (who made ſemblant to be true & faithfull unto him but hated him ſecretly in his hart, & indeed was of the complices in that conſpiracy of *Hellanicus*) ſtepped before him, and by his effectfull praies turned his hand, making remonſtrance unto him, that it was no generous and manly deed, but a womanly act: neither favoured it of a prince or ſuch a perſonage as knew how to manage great affaires of State, to deale in that fort, which he forced and preſſed ſo inſtantly that hardly and with much ado though it were; *Ariſtotimus* was of a better minde, beſought himſelfe and went his way. Now there beſell unto him a ſtrange accident, which preſaged what miſchiefe was toward him; for about high noone it was, when being in his bed-chamber, & reſpoſing himſelf with his wife, whiles his dinner was now ready to be ſerved up, thoſe of his houſhold might perceive an eagle ſoaring round over his houſe; and the let fall a bigge ſtone directly upon the very place of the rooſe of the ſaid chamber where he lay, as if upon deliberate purpoſe he had aimed and leveled as it were ſo to doe, himſelfe hearing the noiſe and rap that the ſtone gave upon the houſe top over his head, and withall, the outcry beneath of thoſe who beheld the ſoule, was mightily affrighted, and demanded what the matter might be? when he underſtood what it was; hee ſent preſently for the wizard or ſoothſaier, whom he was wont to uſe in ſuch caſes, and all troubled and perplexed in ſpirit, asked him what this ſigne might preſage? the ſoothſaier coſorted him, & willed him to be of good cheere, ſaying unto himſelfe: That it was *Jupiter* who wakened him, & ſhewed how willing he was to aſſiſt and ſuccour him; but unto other citizens whom he might truit, he expounded it otherwiſe, and affirmed them that it was the vengeance of God, which ſpeedily would light upon the tyrants head: whereupon *Hellanicus* and his adherents were reſolved to deſerre the execution of their deſignes no longer, but to ſet upon the enterpriſe the next morrow in the night that came betwene, *Hellanicus* as he ſlept, dreamed, and in that viſion he thought, that one of his ſons late deceaſed ſtood before him & ſaid: Father, what meanſt thou to lie a ſleeper, conſidering that once to morrow you muſt be capitaine general and ſovereigne governor of this citie: *Hellanicus* wonderfully encouraged by this viſion, ſtarted up, and went to ſollicit the reſt of his complices and companions in the ſaid conſpiracie. By this time was *Ariſtotimus* adverted that *Craterus* was coming to aide him with a powerfull armie, and lay encamped neere to *Olympia*; in the aſſurance and confidence whereof, he preſently tooke *Cylon* with him, and went forth without any guard about his perſon: *Hellanicus* ſeeing the opportunitie now offered, and taking the vantage thereof, gave not the ſignal and watchword which was agreed upon, with thoſe who firſt were to ſet to the execution of their intended enterpriſe; but ſtretching forth both his hands with a loud voice cried out: Now, now, my maſters and valiant men, what ſaieſt thou for? can you deſire a fairer theater to ſhew your valour in, than to fight for the defence of your libertie, in the very heart of your native country? At which words, *Cylon* drew his ſword firſt, and ſmote one of them that followed and accompanied *Ariſtotimus*; but *Thraſibulus* and *Lampis* came

came aſtont, and ran upon the tyrant himſelfe, who preventing the venue of their ſtroake, fled for refuge and ſanctuarie into the temple of *Jupiter*, where they ſlew him out-right, and drew his dead corps into the market place; and then aſſembled all the citizens thither, for to recover their freedom: but many of the people could not prevent the women; for they ranne out with the firſt in great alacrity, weeping and crying out for very joy, and environing their husbands round about, crowned them, and ſet chaplets of flowers upon their heads: then the multitude of the common people ſet upon the tyrants houſe, and aſſaulted it; his wife having ſlur herſelfe within her chamber, there hung herſelfe, and whereas ſhe had two daughters, virgins as yet, but in the prime and flower of their yeeres, ready for marriage; thoſe they tooke, and by force haled them out of the houſe, with full intent to kill them; in the end after they had abuſed their bodies firſt, and then perpetrated all the villanie & ſhame they could deviſe unto them; which no doubt they would have put in execution; but that *Megisto* with other honeſt matrons of the citie, oppoſed themſelves and came betwene, who cried aloud unto them; that in ſo doing they ſhould commit an indignitie unbefitting them, if conſidering, that now being in the verie traine and high way of recovering their libertie, for to live from henceforth in a popular government, they ſhould perpetrate as violent outrages, as the moſt bloody and cruell tyrants are uſed to commit: the people in good reſpect and reverence to the honour and authoritie of this vertuous and honeſt dame, who ſpake her minde ſo frankly unto them with teares gushing out of her eyes, were reclaimed and adviſed to offer no abuſe nor villanie unto their perſons; but to put unto their choiſe what death they would die? and when they had brought them both back againe into the houſe, and intimated unto them, that there was no other remedie but die they muſt, and that preſently; the elder of the twaine named *Myrina* untied her girdle from about her waſte, and with a running nooſe did it about her owne necke in manner of an halter; then kiſſing and embracing her younger ſiſter, ſhe praied her to marke what ſhe did, and according to her example to doe thereafter: To the end (quoth ſhe) that we may not die baſely, unworthy the place from whence we are come and defended: but the younger deſired againe, that ſhe might die firſt, caught hold of the girdle and ſnatched it from her; then the elder: Well ſiſter (quoth ſhe) never yet reſuſed to do any thing that you deſired at my hands; & even now content I am to doe ſo much for you as to endure and ſuffer that, which will be more grievous unto me than death it ſelfe, namely, to ſee my moſt deere and beſt beloved ſiſter to die before me; which ſaid, ſhe herſelfe taught her how to fit the ſaid girdle to her necke, and to knit it for the purpoſe, and when ſhe perceived once that the life was out of her bodie, ſhe tooke her downe and covered her breathleſſe corps; then addreſſing her ſpeech unto dame *Megisto* her ſelfe, ſhe beſought her, that ſhe would not ſuffer her bodie after ſhe was dead, to lie ſhamefully above the ground, and not interred: the ſight hereof and the words withall were ſo pathetically, that there was not one preſent ſo hard hearted, or ſo ſpightfully and maliciously bent againſt the tyrant, but deplored their wofull eſtate, and pitied the generoſitie and magnanimitie of theſe two young ladies. Now albeit there be infinite preſidents of noble deeds, that in old time, women have done in companies together; yet me thinks theſe few examples which I have already delivered, may ſuffice: from henceforth therefore I will rehearſe the particular vertuous acts of ſeveral women by themſelves, as they come ſcattering into my remembrance: for I ſuppoſe that ſuch narrations and hiſtories as theſe, doe not require of neceſſitie the preſiſe order and conſequence of the times.

PIERIA.

OF thoſe Ionians who were come to dwell in the citie of *Miletum*, ſome chaunced to bear variance and debate with the children of *Neleus*; by occaſion whereof in the end, they thought the city too hot for them, and conſtrained they were to remove and retire themſelves into the citie *Myus*, where they made their abode & habitation; and yet even there alſo, much moleſted they were and troubled by the *Mileſians*, who warred upon them, for their revolt and apoſtaſie: howbeit this warre was not ſo bloudie and mortall, but that they uſed to ſend one unto another, yea and to communicate and negotiate reciprocally in divers things: for even upon certaine ſolemne and feſtival daies, the wives and women of *Myus* would repaire boldly unto *Miletum*: now among theſe *Myuntines*, there was a noble man and of great name, one *Pythias*, who had to wife a ladie called *Sapphia*, by whom he was father of a faire daughter, cleped *Pieris*: when as therefore the great feaſt unto *Diana* and a ſolemne ſacrifice called *Neleus*, was

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celebrated by the Milesians: *Pythes*, sent thither unto this solemnitie, his wife and daughter afore said, for they had requested leave of him to be partakers of the feast. It fortuned whilst they were there, that one of the sonnes of *Neleus* (a man of most credit and greatest authoritie in the citie) named *Phrygius*, cast a fancie to *Pieria*; and in courting her after the manner of lovers, desired to know of her what it might be, wherein he might gratifie her most, and best content her, unto whom she answered: If Sir you will so bring about, that I my selfe with many more may oftentimes resort hither, you shall doe me the greatest pleasure that you can devise: *Phrygius* (conceiving presently what her meaning was, namely that there might bee continuall peace and amitie betwene those two cities) wrought so, that he composed the warre on both sides: in regard hereof *Pieria* was highly esteemed and honoured in both cities; in such wise, to that unto this day the Milesian dames do with ordinarily and pray unto the gods, that they may be as well beloved, as *Pieria* was of *Phrygius*.

POLYCRITE.

There was in times past, warre betwene the Naxians and the Milesians, about *Neera* the wife of *Hyspercon*, and the same arose upon this occasion. This *Neera* was enamoured upon *Promedon*, a Naxian, inasmuch as she would embarke, take the sea, and saile with him: for why? an ordinarie guest he was of *Hyspercons*, and used to lodge in his house whensoever hee came to *Miletum*: yea and secretly she had him to lie with her, she loved him so well: but 20 in proesse of time when shee feared that her husband perceived it, he faire tooke her cleane away with him to *Naxos*, where he ordained, that she should be a suppliant of *Pestus*, *Hyspercon* sent for her againe; but when the Naxians in favour of *Promedon* refused to render her, alleging for a colourable pretense of their excuse the privilege and franchises of suppliants: hereupon the warre began between them; in which quarrell the Erythraens favoured the Milesians verie affectionately and sided with them, inasmuch as it grew to a long and lingering warre, and many miseries and calamities that follow warres, it drew withall, as well to the one part as the others until at last the quarrel was finally ended by the vertue of one woman, like as it began first by the vice and wickednesse of another. For *Diognetus* the captaine generall of the Erythraens, (unto whom was comitted the charge of keeping a fort, seated upon a very commodious place 30 to annoy & endamage the Naxians) made rodes and incursions into their territorie, where with many other huge booties that he drave and carried away, he took and led as his prisoners many maidens and wives of good houses and parentage; among whom there was one named *Polycrita*, whom himselfe fancied and fell in love with; her he kept and entertained not like a captive or prisoner, but as if she had beene his espoused wife: now it fortuned that the day was come when the Milesians lying in campe, were to solemnize a great feast; by reason whereof they fel to drinking freely and making good cheere, inviting one another as the manner was: then *Polycrita* asked captaine *Diognetus*, whether hee would be offended if she should send certaine tarts, pies, and cakes, provided for that feast unto her brethren? who answered: that he not only permitted, but also willed her so to doe: the taking the opportunitie of good occasion, put within 40 one of these tarts, a little thimble plate of lead which was written upon, charging him expressly who had the carriage thereof, to say unto her brethren, that in any case none but they, should taste of the said cakes or tarts: this message was done accordingly, and when they came to eate the tarts, they found within one, a writing of their sisters; whereby shee advertised and advised them not to faile, but that very night to come and assaile their enemies, for that they should finde them in great disorder, without sentinell and *corps-de-guard*, without any watch and ward at all, for that they were all drunke by occasion of the good cheere that they had made at that feast: having this intelligence, they presently acquainted the captaine generall of the Naxians with it, praying them to enterprise this service by their direction and with them: thus were the Erythraens deceived of their strong hold, and a great number of them within, put 50 to the sword: but *Polycrita* craved *Diognetus* of her fellow-citizens, and by that means saved his life; now when she approached nere unto the gates of *Naxos*, seeing all the inhabitants coming forth to meet her with exceeding great joy and mirth, putting garlands of flowers upon her head, and chanting songs of her praises, her heart was not able to endure to great joy; for she died at the very gate of the citie, where afterwards she was entered and entombed; and her monument was called, the Sepulcher of Envy, as if there had beene some envious fortune, which had grudged unto *Polycrita*, the fruition of so great glorie and honour. Thus the Historiographers

riographers of *Naxos* have delivered this narration: howbeit (*Aristotle* saith) that *Polycrita* was never taken prisoner; but *Diognetus* having had a sight of her by some other means, became enamoured upon her so fast, that he was ready to give unto her, and to do for the love of her, whatsoever she would: also that she promised to go with him, in case he would agree and graunt one thing, and (as the said philosopher telleth the tale) thereupon she required of him an obligation of his oth; and after he had faithfully sworn unto her, she demanded that hee should deliver unto her the citie *Delios*; for that was the name of the fort or piece whereof hee had the charge, otherwise she said that she would never come in bed with him; whereupon he (aswell for the great desire that he had to enjoy her love, as in regard of his fore said oath, by 20 which he was bound and obliged) quit the place and rendered it into the hands of *Polycrita*, who presently delivered it up unto her countrymen and fellow-citizens; by which means they lying now able once againe to make their parts good with the Milesians, made an accord and concluded peace, under what conditions they desired themselves.

LAMPSACE.

In the citie *Phocaea*, there were sometimes two brethren twines, of the house and family of the *Codridæ*; the one named *Phobus*, the other *Blephsus*, of which twaine, *Phobus* was the first that (according as *Chiron* the Chronicler of *Lampiscum* doth record) cast himselfe from the 20 high rocks and cliffes of *Leucas* into the sea. This *Phobus* being of great puilliance and royall authoritie in his countrey, hapned to have some private affaire and negotiation of his owne in the isle of *Paros*, and thither he went; where he contacted amitie, alliance and hospitalitie with *Mandron* king of the Bebrycians, surnamed *Pityoesses*: and by vertue of this new league he aided them, and in their behalfe made warre with them, against other barbarous people their neighbours, who did them wrong and wrought them much damage: afterwards (when he was upon his departure and returne home) *Mandron* among many other courtesies and tokens of kindeaffe which he bestowed upon him, now ready to embarke and take the sea, offered him the one moitie of his countrey and city: if he would come & dwell in the citie *Pityoessa*, with some part of the *Phocæans*, for to people the place whereupon *Phobus* after he was come home againe to 30 *Phocaea*, propoed this matter unto the *Phocæans* his citizens; & having perswaded them to accept of the offer, he sent his owne brother, as leader and captaine to conduct this colonie of new inhabitants: who upon their first arrivall and coming thither, found themselves as well entreated, & as courteously entertained as they could wish or looke for at *Mandron* his hands: but in tract of time, after that they had gotten many advantages at the Barbarians hands, their neighbours & borderers, wan divers booties from them, and gained much pillage & spoile: they began to be envied first, and afterwards to be dread and feared of the Bebrycians; who being desirous for to be rid and delivered of such guests, durst not addresse themselves unto *Mandron*, whom they knew to be an honest and just man, for to perswade him to practise any disloyaltie or treacherie, against men of the Greek nation; but espying a time when he was absent and out of 40 the countrey, they conspired and prepared to surprize the *Phocæans* by a wile, and so to dispatch them all at once out of the way: but *Lampisæ* (the daughter of *Mandron*) a maiden yet unmarried, having some fore-inkling and intelligence of this forelaid ambush laboured & dealt, first with her familiar friends to divert them from so wicked an enterprise, shewing and proving unto them, that it was a damnable act before God, and abominable among men, to proceed so treacherously against their allies and confederates, who had beene ready at all times to aid and assist them in their need against their enemies, and besides, were now incorporate with them, and their fellow-citizens: but when the saw that there would no good be done, & that she could not dissuade them from it: she acquainted the Greeks under-hand with this treason, which was a warping against them, & advised them to look unto themselves, & stand upon their 50 own guard: so the *Phocæans* made a solemn sacrifice & a publick feast, invited the *Pityoesses* to come out of the citie into the suburbs to take part thereof; & themselves they divided into two troupes, whereof the one seised the wals of the citie, whilst the inhabitants were at the feast, meaning time the other were busied in massacring the guests that were bidden to it; and by this means they became masters of the whole citie, and sent for *Mandron*, whom they desired to participate with them in their counsels and affaires: as for *Lampisæ* his daughter, who formented to die of sicknesse, they interred magnificently, and in memoriall of that good which she did unto them, called the citie after her name *Lampiscum*: howbeit *Mandron* because he would not

be suspected to have beene a traitour unto his owne people, would not consent to dwell among them, but required to have of them, the wives and children of them who were dead; whom they sent unto him with all speed and diligence, without doing any harme or displeasure at all unto them; as for *Lamfaca* unto whom before they had ordeined heroick honors; they decreed for ever to sacrifice unto her as unto a goddesse, and even to this day they doe continue and observe the same divine worship unto her.

ARETAPHILA.

Aretaphila of Cyrene, was none of them that lived in ancient time, but lately in the daies of king *Mithridates*; but she shewed vertue, & performed an act comparable to the magnanimous counsels and desseignes of the most antike demi-goddesse that ever were: daughter she was to *Aeglator*, and wife to *Phedimus*, both noble men and great personages; faire & beautifull of visage, of deepe conceit and high reach, and namely in matters of estate, & affaires of government well experienced: the publike calamities of her country did illustrate her name, and caused her to be well knowne and voiced in the world: for *Nicoerates* having usurped the tyrannic of Cyrene, put to death many of the chiefe and principall men of the cite, and among the rest, one *Melinippus* the high priest of *Apollo*, whom he slew with his owne hands, for to enjoy his priesthood: he did to death also *Phedimus* the husband of *Aretaphila*, and not content therewith, married her perforce and against her will: this tyrant over & above an infinit number of other cruelties which he daily committed, let certaine warders at every gate of the city; who when there was carried forth any dead corps to buriall out of the cite, abused the same, with digging into the soles of their feet, with the points of their daggers and poinards, or else with searing them with red hot irons; for feare that any of the inhabitants should be conveyed alive out of the cite, under colour of being borne to the grave as dead: private and particular crosses, had *Aretaphila* no doubt, which were greivous unto her, and hardly to be endured, although the tyrant was otherwise kinde enough unto her, and led her a faire life, letting her have her owne will, for the love he bare unto her, in so much as the tyrant suffered her to enjoy a great part of his puissance and regall power; for love had enthralled and subdued him unto her; and not one there was but she alone who knew how to use and handle him; for to all the others he was untractable, inflexible, and savage beyond all measure: but it grieved her most of all, to see her native country so miserably abused, and so unworthily intreated by this tyrant; for there was not one day went over his head, but he caused to be executed one citizen or other, neither was there to be seene any hope of revenge or deliverance out of these calamities on any side; for that the exiled persons and such as fled, being weake and feeble every way, and altogether heartlesse and fearefull, were scattered some in this place others in that: *Aretaphila* therefore (building upon her selfe alone, the onely hope of recovering and raising the State of the common-weale, and proposing the magnanimous and renowned acts of *Theba*, the wife of the tyrant *Pheres*, as examples to imitate; but wanting and destitute altogether of faithfull friends and trustie kinsfolke for to helpe and second her in any enterprife, such as the present times and affaires did alford unto the other) assaid to make away the tyrant by some poison; but as she was about the provision hereof, and assaid to make proofe of the forces of many strong poisons, she could not carrie her desseigne so secretly but it came forth, and was discovered: now when the thing was averred & evidently proved by strong presumptions: *Calbia* the mother of *Nicoerates* (a bloudy woman, and of nature implacable) thought to have her put to many exquisite torments, and then to bring her soone after to her death: but the affection that *Nicoerates* bare unto her wrought some delay in revenge, and dulled the edge of his anger, and withall, *Aretaphila*, (who constantly and resolutely offered her selfe to answer all imputations that were laid unto her charges) gave some colourable excuse unto the passionate affection of the tyrant: but in the end seeing that she was convinced by certaine proofes and evidences, which she knew not how to answer, neither could she deny that she had some drugs in her closet, & did temper certaine medicines; but confessed that indeed she had prepared certaine drugs, yet such as were neither deadly nor dangerous: But my good lord (quoth she unto her husband the tyrant) I am much perplexed and troubled with many things of great consequence, and namely how to preserve the good opinion which you have of me, the kinde affection also which of your gracious favour you beare unto me, by means wherof, I have this honour, as to enjoy a good part of your power and authoritie jointly with you; this maketh me to be envied of wicked women, at

whose

whose hands I (feareing forceries, charmes, enchantments, and other cunning divellish casts, by which they would goe about to withdraw and distract you from the love that you beare me) resolved at the length with my selfe for to seeke means how to meet, encounter, and prevent their devices; foolishly peradventure they may be (as indeed the very inventions of a woman) but in no wise worthy of death; unless haply, sir (in your judgement) it be just and reasonable to put your wife to death, for that she mindeth to give you some love-drinks, and amatorious cups; or deviseth some charmes, as desirous to be more loved of you than haply it is your pleasure for to love her. *Nicoerates* having heard these excuses alledged by *Aretaphila*, thought good, and resolved to put her to torture; wherat *Calbia* her mother was present, who never relented nor seemed to be touched with her dolorous torments, but remained inexorable: now when she was laid upon the racke, and asked fundrie questions, she yielded not unto the paines that she sustained, but continued invincible, and confessed no fault in the height of all extremities; untill at length *Calbia* herselfe, even against her will was forced to give over tormenting her any longer: and *Nicoerates* let her goe, being not fully perswaded, that the excuses alledged by her were true & to be credited, repenting that he had put her to such paine as he did; and it was not long after (so deeply was the passion of love imprinted in his heart) but he returned to her, and assaid to win her grace and good will againe, by all honours, favours, countresses and kinnesse that possibly he could shew unto her; but she, who had the power and strength to resist all torments and yield unto no paines, would not be overcome with all his flatteries; but joining now unto her former desire of doing some vertuous deed, the animosities for to be revenged and to effect her purpose, assaid other meanes. One daughter he had marriageable, and beautifull she was besides; her the suborned and set as an alluring bait to entrap and catch the tyrants brother, a young gentleman, easie to be caught with the pleasures & delight of youth; and many are of opinion, that she used certaine charmes and amatorious potions, as well as the object of her daughters beautie, whereby she enchanted and bewitched the wits and senses of this young man, whom they called *Leander*: when he was once enamoured with the love of this young damo-selle, hee prevailed so much by praiers and entreatie with his brother, that he permitted him to wed her: no sooner was he married, but his fresh spouse (having instructions before-hand from her mother) began to be in hand with him, and to perswade him for to enterprife the recoverie of freedom unto the cite, shewing by good remonstrance, that himselfe enjoyed no libertie, so long as he lived under tyrannic, neither had he power of himselfe, either to wed a wife, or to keepe her when he had her, if it pleased not the tyrant: on the other side, his friends and other of his familiar acquaintance, for to gratifie *Aretaphila* and to doe her pleasure, repaired unto him continually, forging some new matter of quarrels and suspitions against his brother the tyrant: when he perceived that *Aretaphila* was allo of the same minde, and had her hand therein, he resolved to execute the enterprife; and thereupon he set one *Daphnis*, a servant of his owne, in hand with the businesse, by whose meanes he killed *Nicoerates*: but after he thus murdered, *Leander* would no more be advised by *Aretaphila*, nor follow her counsell in the rest; but shewed inconteniently by his deportments and carriage in all actions, that a brother indeed hee had murdered, but not killed a tyrant: for in his owne government, he bare himselfe like a foole, and ruled insolently and furiously: howbeit, unto *Aretaphila* he shewed alwaies some honour and reverence, conferring upon her some part of his authoritie in management of State affaires; for that she made no semblant at all of discontentment, nor directly and in open manner seemed to watre against him, but privily practised, and cunningly disposed all: for first and foremost, she raised watre upon him out of *Lybia*, by the meanes of a prince there, named *Anabus*, betweene whom and her there passed secret intelligence: him shee solicited and perswaded to invade his country, and with a puissant armie to approach the cite *Cyrene*: then shee buzzed into *Leanders* head, certaine surmizes and suspitions of disloyaltie in his peeres, his friends and captaines; giving him to understand, that their hearts stood not to this watre, but that they loved

peace and quietnesse rather: Which (quoth she) to say a truth, as things now stand, were better for you & for the establishment of your roial state & dominion, in case you would rule in deed, holde under, and keepe in awe, your subjects and citizens: and for mine owne part, I holde it good policie for you to make meanes for a treatie of peace, which I will labour so effect, and for that purpose bring you and *Anabus* together, to an interview and parle (if you thinke so good) before that you grow to farther tearmes of hostilitie and open watre, which may breed a mischief, that afterwards will admit no cure nor remedie. This motion he handled and followed with such dexteritie, that *Leander* condescended thereto; and thence herselfe in person went to conferre

conferre with the Lybian prince, whom she requested, that so soone as ever they were met together to treat of this pretended accord, he should arrest the tyrant as his prisoner; and to doe this feat, she promised him great gifts and presents, besides a good reward in money: the Lybian soone accorded hereto: now *Leander* made some doubt at first, to go into this parle, and staid a while, but afterwards (for the good respect that he had unto *Aretaphila*, who promised in his behalfe, that he should come to conference) he set forward, naked, without armes and without his guards: when he approached the place appointed for this interview, and had a sight once of *Anabus*, his heart misgave him againe; and being much troubled and perplexed, he would not go on, but said, he would stay for his guard: howbeit, *Aretaphila* who was there present, partly encouraged him, and in part rebuked and checked him, saying: That he would be taken and reputed for a base minded coward, and a disloyall person, who made no account of his word, if he should now flinch and start backe: at the last, when they were at point to meet; she laied holde upon him, plucked him forward by the hand, and with great boldnesse and resolution haled him, untill she had delivered him into the hands of the barbarous prince: then immediately was he apprehended, and his bodie attached by the Lybians, who kept him bound as a prisoner, and set a strait guard about him, untill such time as the friends of *Aretaphila* with other citizens of *Cirene*, were come to the campe, and brought the money and gifts unto her which she had promised unto *Anabus*. For so soone as it was known in the city that *Leander* was taken prisoner & in sure hold, a number also of the multitude ran forth, to the place appointed of conference; and so soone as they had set an eye on *Aretaphila*, they went within a little off forgetting all their anger and malice which they bare unto the tyrant, thinking that the revenge and exemplarie punishment of him was but accessarie and by-matter; as being now wholly amused upon another thing, and supposing the principall fruition of their libertie consisted in saluting and greeting her most kindly, and with so great joy, that the teares ran downe their cheeks, inasmuch as they were ready to kneele, yea, and cast themselves downe prostrate at her feet, no lesse than before the sacred image and statue of a goddesse: thus they flocked unto her, by troops out of the citie one after another, all day long, inasmuch as it was well in the evening before they could aduise with themselves to seize upon the person of *Leander*, and hardly before darke night did they bring him with them into the citie. Now after they were well satisfied with giving all manner of praises, and doing what honour they could devile unto *Aretaphila*, in the end they turned to consultation what was best to be done with the tyrants: so they proceeded to burne *Calbia* quick; and as for *Leander*, they put him in a leather poke and fowed it up close, and then cast it into the sea. Then ordeined and decreed it was, that *Aretaphila* should have the charge and admittation of the weale publicke, with some other of the principall personages of the citie joined in commission with her: but the (as one who had plaied many and sundry parts already upon the stage so well, that shee had gotten the garland and crowne of victorie) when shee saw that her country and citie was now fully free and at libertie, immediately betooke her selfe to her owne private house, as it were cloistered up with women onely, and would no more intermeddle in the affaires of State abroad; but the rest of her life she passed in peace and repose with her kinsfolke and friends, without setting her selfe to any businesse, save onely to her wheele, her web, and such womens works.

C A M M A.

Here were in times past, two most puissant Lords and Tetrarches of *Galatia*, who also were in blood of kinne one to the other, *Sinatus* and *Synorix*. *Sinatus* had espoused a yong virgin named *Camma*, and made her his wife; a ladie highly esteemed of as many as knew her, as well for the beautie of her person, as the floure of her ages; but admired much more in regard of her vertue and honestie; for she had not onely a tender respect of her owne good name and honour, carried an affectionate love and true heart unto her; but also, shee was wise, magnanimous, and passing well beloved of all her subjects and tenants, in regard of her gentle nature, and her debonaire and bounteous disposition; and that which made her better reputed and more renowned, was this; that she was both a religious priesttresse of *Diana* (a goddesse whom the Galatians most devoutly honour and worship) and also in every solemne procession and publicke sacrifice, she would alwaies be seene abroad most sumptuously set out, and stately adorned. It fortuned so, that *Synorix* was enamoured of this brave dame, but being not able to bring about his purpose and to enjoy her, neither by faire meanes nor foule, perswade he, or menace what

he could, so long as her husband lived: the devill put in his head, to commit a most heinous and detestable fact; for he laied waite for *Sinatus*, and treacherously murdered him: he staid not long after, but he fell to wooing of *Camma*, and courting her by way of marriage; she made her abode within the temple at that time, and tooke the infamous act committed by *Synorix*, not pitiously, and as one cast downe and dejected therewith, but with a stout heart and a stomacke moved to anger, and yet considerably, waiting the time and opportunitie of revenge: on the other side, *Synorix* followed his sute verie earnestly, soliciting and intreating importunately; neither seemed he to alledge vaine and frivolous reasons, but such as carried some colourable pretense of honestie; namely, that he had alwaies shewed himselfe a man of more valor & worth than *Sinatus*; and whereas he took away his life, induced he was thereto for the exceeding love that hee bare to *Camma*, and not moved thereto by any malice otherwise. This yong dame at the first seemed to denie him, but yet her denials were not verie churlish, and such, as he might take for his small answer; for daily by little and little, she made semblant that she relented and inclined unto him, for that divers kinsfolke and friends also of hers, joined with him to second his sute, who (for to gratifie and doe pleasure unto *Synorix*, a man of the greatest credit and authoritie in his country) perswaded, yea & forced her to yield unto this match. To be short, in the end she gave her consent, & *Synorix* was sent for to come unto her, where she kept her residence, that in the presence of the said goddesse, the contract of marriage might passe, & the espousals be solemnized: when he was come, she received and welcomed him with an amiable and gracious countenance, lead him unto the very altar of *Diana*, where religiously & with great ceremonie she powred forth before the goddesse, a little of a potion which shee had prepared, out of a bowle; the one part thereof the drunke herselfe, & the other she gave unto *Synorix* for to drinke: now this potion was mead mingled with ranke poison: when she saw that he had taken his draught, the fetching a loud and evident groane, doing reverence also unto the goddesse: I protest and call thee to witnesse (quoth she) most powerfull and honourable goddesse, that I have not surived *Sinatus*, for any other cause in the world, but onely to see this day, neither have I had any ioye of my life all this while that I have lived since, but onely in regard of hope that one day I might be revenged of his death, which seeing that now I have effected, I go most gladly and joyfully unto that sweet husband of mine; and as for thee (most accursed & wicked wretch in the world) give order to thy kinsfolke and friends, in stead of a nuptiall bed, to provide a grave for thy burial: the Galatian (hearing these words, and beginning withal to feeble the operation of the poison, and how it wrought & troubled him within his bowels, and all parts of his body) mounted presently his chariot, hoping that by the jogging and agitation thereof, he might vomit and cast up the poison; but immediately he alighted againe, and put himselfe into an easie litter; but did he what he could, dead he was that very evening: as for *Camma*, she continued all the night languishing, and when she heard for certaintie that he was deceased, she also with joy and mirth departed out of this world.

S T R A T O N I C E.

The selfesame province of *Galatia* afforded two other dames worthy of eternall memorie, to wit, *Stratonice* the wife of king *Deiotarus*, and *Chiomara* the wife of *Ortiagon*: as for *Stratonice*, she (knowing that the king her husband was desirous to have children lawfully begotten, for to leave to be his successors & inheritors of the crowne, and yet could have none by her) praised and intreated him to trie another woman, and beget a childe of her body, yea and permitted that it should be put unto her, and she would take it upon her as her owne: *Deiotarus* wondered much at this resolution of hers, and was content to doe all things according to her mind: wherupon she chose (among other captives taken prisoner in the warres) a proper faire maiden named *Electra*, whom she brought into *Deiotarus* bed chamber, & shut them in both together: and all the children which this concubine bare unto him, his wife reared and brought up with as kinde an affection and as princelike, as if she had borne them herselfe.

C H I O M A R A.

At what time as the Romans, under the conduct of *Cn. Scipio*, defeated the Galatians that inhabit in *Asia*, it befell that *Chiomara* the wife of *Ortiagon*, was taken prisoner with other Galatian women: the captaine whose captive she was, made use of his fortune, did like a soldier,

dier, and abused her bodie, who as he was a man given unto his fleshly pleasure, so he looked also as much or rather more unto his profit and sildie lucre; but so it fell out, that overtaken he was and entrapped by his owne avarice: for (being promised by the woman a good round quantitie of gold, for to deliver her out of thraldome and set her at libertie;) he brought her to the place which she had appointed for to tender her and set her free; which was at a certeine banke by the river side, where the Galatians should passe over, tender him the said monie, and receive *Chiomara*; but she winked with her eie, & thereby gave a signall to one of her own companie for to kill the said Romane captaine, at whattime as he should take his leave of her with a kisse and friendly farewell; which the partie did with his sword, & at one stroke fetched off his head: the head she herselfe tooke up, and wrapped it in the lap of her gowne before, and so gat her away apace homeward: when she was come to her husbands house, downe he cast his head at his feet, wherewith he being astonished: Ah my sweet wife (quoth he) it is a good thing to keepe faithfull promise: True (quoth she) but it is better, that but one man alive should have my companie. *Polybius* wittich of the same woman, that himselfe talked with her afterwards in the cite of *Sardis*, and that he found her then to be a woman of an high minde and of woonderfull deepe wit. But since I am fallen to the mention of the Galatians, I will rehearse yet one story more of them.

A WOMAN OF PERGAMUS.

King *Mithridates* sent upon a time for threescore of the principall lords of *Galatia*, to repaire unto him upon trust and safe-conduct as friends, into the cite *Pergamus*: whom being come at his request, he entertained with proud & imperious speeches, wherewith they all took great forme and indignation, in so much as one of them named *Toredorix* (a strong & tall man of his hands, & besides woonderfull couragious, Tetrarch of the *Tossipians* countrey) undertooke this one day enterprize, to set upon *Mithridates*, at whattime as he sat in judgement, & gave audience from the tribunall seat in the publike place of exercise, and both him and feat together to tumble downe headlong into the pit underneath: but it fortune that the king that day came not abroad as his manner was, up into that place of open exercise, but commanded all those Galatian lords, to come and speake with him at his house: *Toredorix* exhorted them to be bold and confident, and when they were altogether in his presence, to runne upon him from everie side, to teare him in pieces and make an end of him: this plot was not projected so closely, but it came to *Mithridates* eares, who caused them all to be apprehended, and sent to chop off all their heads one after another: but immediately after, he called to remembrance that there was one young gentleman among the rest, for the flower of his yeeres, for beautie also, and feature of bodie, the goodliest person that he had set eie on in his daies; whom he tooke pitie of, and repented that he had condemned him to die with his fellows, shewing evidently in his countenance, that he was mightily grieved and disquieted in his minde, as thinking verily that he was executed already with the first; howbeit, at a very venture he sent in all haste a countermand, that if he were yet alive, he should be spared and let goe: this young mans name was *Bepolitamus*, and verily his fortune was most strange and woonderfull: for had away hee was to the place of execution in that habit wherein he was attached, and the same was a very faire and rich suite of apparell, which because the butcherly executioner desired to reserve cleane and unsprinkled with blood, he was somewhat long about the stripping of him out of it; & whiles he was so doing he might perceive the kings men come running apace toward him, and with a loud voice naming *Bepolitamus*. See how covetous himselfe, which hath bene the death of many a thousand, was the meanes beyond all expectation, to save the life of this young gentleman: as for *Toredorix*, after he was cruelly mangled with many a chop and hacke, his bodie was cast forth unburied to the dogs; neither durst any of his friends come neere for to enterre it: one woman onely of *Pergamus*, whom this Galatian in his life time had knowne, in regard of her fresh youth and beauty, was so hardie as to hazard the taking of his dead corps away, and to burie it: which when the wardens and watchmen perceived they attached her, and brought her to the king: and it is reported that *Mithridates* at the very first sight of her, had compassion, for that she seemed to be a young thing, & a simple harmelese wench every way; but when he understood withal that *Jove* was the very cause thereof, his heart melted so much the rather; whereupon he gave her leave to take up the bodie, and commit it to the earth, allowing her for that purpose funerall clothes, and furnishing her at his owne charges, with all other things meet for comly and decent buriall.

TIMOCLIA.

TIMOCLIA.

Thebanes the Theban, carried the like minde and purpose for the defence of his countrey and the common-wealth, as sometimes *Epaminondas*, *Pelopidas*, and the bravest men in the world had done; but his fortune was to fall in that common ruine of *Greece*, when as the Greeks lost that unfortunate battell before *Cheronea*; and yet for his owne part he was a victour, and followed them in chase, whom he had disarmed and put to flight; for he it was who when one of them that fled cried out unto him: How farre wilt thou pursue and follow us; answered: Even as farre as into *Macedonia*: but when he was dead, a sister of his who survived him, gave good testimony, that in regard as well of his ancestors vertue, as his owne naturall disposition, he had bene a worthy personage, and worthy to be reckoned and renowned amongst the most valiant knights in his daies; for some fruit received, and reaped vertue, which helped her to beare and endure patiently as much of the common miseries of her countrey as touched her; for after that *Alexander the Great* had wonne the cite of *Thebes* by assault, & the soldiers ran to and fro into all parts of the towne, pilling and ransacking whatsoever they could come by: it chanced that one leised upon the house of *Timoclia*, a man who knew not what belonged to honour, honestie, or common curesse and civilitie, but was altogether violent, furious and out of reason; a captaine he was of a coronet of *Thracia* light horsemen, and carried the name of king *Alexander* his lord and master, but nothing like he was unto him in conditions: for having filled himselfe with wine after supper, and good cheere, without any respect unto the race and lineage of this noble dame, without regard of her estate and calling; he was in hand with her to be his bedfellow all that night, neither was this all; for he would needs search and know of her, where the had laid up and hoarded any gold or silver, one while threatening to kill her, unless she would bring him to it, another while bearing her in hand that he would make her his wife, if she would yeeld unto him: she taking vantage of this occasion which himselfe offered and presented unto her: It might have pleased the gods (quoth she) that I had died before this night, rather than remaine alive; for though I had lost all besides, yet my bodie had bene undefiled & saved from all violence and villanie; but since it is my fortune, that hereafter I must repute you for my lord, my master, and my husband, and seeing it is gods will to give you this puissance and soveraigntie over me, I will not deprive and dispossit you of that which is yours, and as for my selfe, I see well, that my condition from henceforth must be such as you will; I was wont indeed to have about me, costly jewels and ornaments for my bodie; I had silver in plate, yea and some gold in good coine and other ready money; but when I saw that the cite was lost, I willed my women and maid-servants about me to get altogether, and so I cast it away, or rather indeed to say a truth, I bestowed it, and reserved it in safetie within a dry pit, wherein no water is, an odde blinde corner I may say to you, that few or none doe know; for that there is a great stone lieth over the mouth of it, and a many of trees grow round about to shade and cover the same; as for you, this treasure will make you a man, yea, and a rich man for ever, when you have it once in your possession; and for my part, it may serve for a good testimony and sufficient prooff, to shew how noble and wealthy our house was before-time. When the Macedonian heard these words, his teeth fo watered after this treasure, that he could not stay until the morrow, and attend the day light; but would needs out of hand be conducted by *Timoclia*, and her maidens to the place; but he commanded her in any wise to shut fast and locke the fore-yard gate after them, that no man might see and know, and so he went downe in his shirt into the foresaid pit: but cursed and hideous *Cleio*, was his mistress and guide, who would punish and be revenged of his notorious wickednesse by the hands of *Timoclia*, who standing above; for when she perceived by his voice that he was now at the very bottom, she herselfe threw downe a number of stones upon him, & her women also tumbled downe many others, & those very big ones so and heavy, after him, untill they had brained him, overwhelmed him, and in manner filled the pit up: which when the Macedonians heard of, they made meanes to draw up his dead bodie, and for that there was a proclamation published before by sound of trumpet throughout the city, that they should not massacre one Theban more, they apprehended *Timoclia*, & brought her before king *Alexander*, whom they had already acquainted from point to point in particular, with that audacious act which she had committed: the king judging (by her setled & confident countenance, by her staied gate also and portly pace) that she could not chuse but be of some great and noble house; demanded of her, first, what she was and she with rare boldnesse and resolution

tion without shewing any figure that she was daunted and astonied; I had (quoth she) a brother named *Theagines*, who being captaine generall of the Thebans, against you, in the battell of *Cheronea*, lost his life fighting manfully, in the defence of the libertie of *Greece*; to the end that we might not fall into that wofull misery, into which we are at this present fallen; but seeing it is so, that we have suffred those outrages & indignities which be unworthy the place from whence we are defended, for my selfe I refuse not to die, and peradventure it were not expedient for me to live any longer, and trie such another night as the last was, unless your selfe inpeacht and debarre such demeanors: at these words, the noblest and most honorable persons who were present, could not forbear but weepe; as for *Alexander*, he thought that the haucie mind and courage of this dame, was greater than to moove pity and compassion; and therefore highly praising her vertue and commending her speech which he marked, and pondered well enough, gave straight charge and commaundement unto his capitaines, to have a good eie, and careful regard, yea, and to take order presently, that there should no more such abuses be offered in any house of honor and nobilitie: as was touching *Timoclea*, he ordeined immediately, that she should be set at full libertie, both herselfe, and also all those who were knowne and found any way to be of her blood and kindred.

ERYXO.

BAttus who was surnamed *Demon*, that is to say, Happie, had a sonne whose name was *Arcefilus*, in nothing at all resembling the maners and conditions of his father; for even during his fathers life (for raising of battlements and pinnacles round about the walles of his owne house) hee was condemned by his father himselfe in a fine of one whole talent; and after his death, being of a crooked, rough and troublesome spirit, (according as his very name, *Caleps*, implied), and for that he was governed altogether by the counsell of a minion and favourite of his owne, named *Laarchus*, a man of no worth nor respect, he proved a tyrant in stead of a king. And this *Laarchus* aspiring likewise to be tyrant, either chased and banished out of the citie, or els caused to be put to death, the best and principall citizens of all *Cyrene*; but when he had so done, he derived from himselfe all the blame and imputation upon *Arcefilus*; and in the end gave him to drinke a cup of poison, to wit, a sea-hare, whereupon he fell into a lingering and languishing disease, whereby he pined away, and died at the last; by which meanes himselfe usurped the seignorie and rule of the citie, under a colour of keeping it as Tutor and Lord Protector, for the behoofe and use of *Battus* the sonne of *Arcefilus*; for a very childe he was, and lame withall; so that in regard aswell of his nonage and minoritie, as the defect and imperfection of his body, he was despised of the people; but many there were, who drew and ranged themselves unto his mother, and were willing to obey and honour her, for that she was a wife ladie, and of a milde and courteous nature: besides, most of the mightiest men in those partes were knit to her either in blood and kindred, or els by bond of friendship: by meanes whereof, *Laarchus* made court to her, yea, and sued unto her for her good will by way of marriage, offering unto her (if she would be affianced and wedded unto him) to adopt *Battus* for his owne sonne, and make him partaker of his seignorie and dominion: but *Eryxo* (for that was the name of this noble ladie) being advised and counselled thereto before-hand by her brethren, willed *Laarchus* to impart the matter unto them, for that upon conference with them (if they thought well of this marriage) she would be content and consent thereto: *Laarchus* failed not so to do, but went and brake the thing unto her brethren accordingly; and they (as it was complotted before) drew the matter out in length, and drave him off from day to day; but *Eryxo* sent unto him secretly one of her waiting maidens, to give him notice from her, that her brethren in deed for the present did contradict her minde and crossed her will; but were the knot once knit and consummate in bed together, they would consent and haste no longer, but be willing enough to like and approve thereof as a convenient match: and therefore she advised him (if he thought good) to repaire by night unto her: for if the thing were once well begun, the rest no doubt would speed accordingly; this message pleased *Laarchus*, and fitted his humour passing well: being therefore transported wholly besides himselfe with these lovely and sugred words of this dame, he promised to attend her at what houre soever she would appoint. Now was this device complotted and laid by the counsell of her eldest brother *Polyarchus*; and after that she had set downe the just time when they should meet and company together, against that very instant, she tooke order that the said brother should secretly be conveyed into her chamber, who brought with him

him two lustie tall yong men well appointed with good swords, and who desired nothing more than to revenge their fathers blood, whom lately *Laarchus* had caused to be put to death: when all things were now in readinesse, she sent for *Laarchus*, willing him to come alone without any of his guard about him: no sooner was he entred into the chamber, but these two yong men charged upon him with their swords, wounded him in many parts of his bodie, that he died in the place: his dead corps they cast over the walles of the house; which done, they brought the yong prince *Battus* abroad into the publicke place; declared and proclaimed him king after the maner and custome of the citie. Thus *Polyarchus* rendered unto the *Cyrenians* their ancient government which they had from the beginning. Now there happened to be at the same time in *Cyrene* many souldiers of *Amasis* the king of *Aegypt*, in whom *Laarchus* reposed his confidence, and found them fast & trustie unto him; by whose meanes he became dread and terrible to the *Cyrenians*: these sent in post with all speed unto king *Amasis*, messengers of purpose, to charge & accuse *Eryxo* & *Polyarchus* for this murder; whereat the king was wroth, and in great indignation intended out of hand to make sharpe war upon the *Cyrenians*; but as he prepared to set forward this expedition, it fortune that his mother departed this life: whiles therefore he was busie about her funerals, newes came to *Cyrene*, how this king was highly displeased and resolved to levie warre against them: whereupon *Polyarchus* thought good to adreffe himselfe in person to the said king, and to render a reason unto him of this late fact committed upon the bodie of *Laarchus*: neither would his sister *Eryxo* tary behinde, but follow him, and expose her owne person to the same perill that he entred into: yea, and the mother of them both, named *Critola* (very aged though she was) was right willing to goe, and accompanied her sonne and daughter in this journey: now was she a great ladie, and most highly esteemed in this regard especially, that shee was the sister in the whole blood to *Battus* the first of that name, surnamed the Happie. When they were arrived in *Aegypt*, all other lords and noble men of the court approved well of that which they had done in this case; and *Amasis* himselfe infinitely commended the pudicitie and magnanimitie of dame *Eryxo*; and after he had honoured them with rich presents, and roially entertained them, he sent them all backe (*Polyarchus* I meane, and the two ladies) with his good grace and favour, to *Cyrene*.

XENOCRITE.

Xenocrite a ladie of the citie *Cumes*, deserveth no lesse to be praised and admired, for that which she practised against *Aristodemus* the tyrant, whom some thinke to have bene surnamed *Malacos*, that is to say, Soft and effeminate, in regard of his loose and dissolute carriage: but they are deceived and ignorant in the true originall and occasion of his name; for the Barbarians gave him this addition *Malacos*, which in their language signifieth a Yonker: because being a very youth, with other companions of equal age, as yet wearing their haire long, whom in olde time they termed *Coronists*, (of their blacke locks as it should seeme) he above the rest, in the warres against the Barbarians, bare himselfe so bravely: (for he was not only hardy & courageous in spirit, stout also and tall of his hands, but withall full of wit, discretion and foresight, and so farre excelled all others in singulartie) that hee became right famous and renowned; whereupon he grew into such credit and admiration among his countrey men and fellow-citizens, that incontinently promoted he was and advanced by them to the greatest offices of State and highest dignities in common-weale: insomuch as when the Tuskans made warre upon the Romans in the right and quarrell of *Tarquinus Superbus*, and namely, to restore him againe to his crowne and kingdome, from which he was deposed; the Cumans made him captaine generall of those forces which they sent to aide the Romans: in which expedition and warfare that continued long, he carried himselfe so remissly among his citizens, (which were in the campe under his charge, and gave them so much the head to do what they would, winning their hearts by courtesies and flatterie, rather than commanding them as their generall) that he put into their heads, and perswaded them (upon their returne home) to run upon the Senare, and to joine with him in expelling and banishing the mightiest persons and best men of the citie. By which practice he set up himselfe as an absolute tyrant: and as he seemed wicked and violent otherwise in all kinde of oppression and extortion; so most of all he was outrageous and went beyond himselfe in villanie toward wives and maidens, to yong boies also of good houses and free borne: for among other enormities, this is recorded of him: That he forced yong lads to weare their haire long, like lasses, to have also upon their heads borders, cawles, and attires with frangles of golde;

golde; contrariwise, hee compelled yong maidens to be rounded, polled, and noted, and to wear short jackets, coats & mandilions without sleeves, after the fashion of springalls: howbeit, being exceedingly enamored upon *Xenocrita* the daughter of one of those principall citizens by whom hee was exiled, hee kept, not having espoused her lawfully, nor won her good will by faire persuasions, supposing that the maiden might thinke her selfe well appaied, and her fortune verie happie, to be entertained (in any sort whatsoever) by him, being by that meanes highly reputed of and esteemed fortunate among all the citizens: but as for her, all these favors did not ravish and transport her sound judgement and understanding; for besides that she was mightily discontented to converse and keepe companie with him, not espoused, nor affianced and given in marriage by her friends, she had no lesse desire to recover the liberty of her country, than those who were openly hated of the tyrant. Now it fortuned about the same time, that *Aristodemus* caused a trench to be cast, & a bank to be raised round about his territory, a piece of worke neither necessarie, nor profitable, which hee did onely upon a policie, because he would thereby veere out toyle consume & waste his poore subjects; for hee tasked every man, to cast up & cary forth by the day a certaine number of measures full of earth. *Xenocrita* when she saw him at any time comming toward her, would turne aside, and cover her face with the lapet of her gown: but when *Aristodemus* was passed by & gone, yong men her play-felers, by way of mirth and pastime, would aske her why she mist and masked her selfe, as ashamed to see him onely, and was not abashed to see and be seene of other men as well; unto whom she would answer demurely, & that in right good earnest say: I wis I do it of purpose because there is not one man among all the Cumans but *Aristodemus*: this word touched them all very neere; but such as were of any noble spirit and courage, it galled and pricked for very shame, yea, and gave them an edge to set in hand and enterprise some manly act for to recover their freedom: which when *Xenocrita* heard, she said by report, that she would rather herselfe carie earth in a basket upon her owne shoulders as other did, for her father if he were there present, than participate in all delights and pleasures, yea, and enjoy great power and authoritie with *Aristodemus*. These and such like speeches cast out by her, confirmed those who were conspired and ready to rise against the tyrant, of whom the chieftaine and principall leader, was one *Demotetes*: unto these conspiratours *Xenocrita* gave free access and ready entrie unto *Aristodemus*; who finding him alone, unarmed and ungarded, fell many at once upon him, and so quickly dispatched him out of the way. Lo how the citie of *Cumes* was delivered from tyrannie by two vertues of one woman; by the one she first gave the citizens an affection, minde and heart, to begin and enterprise; and by the other she ministered unto them, meanes to execute and performe the same: for which good service of *Xenocrita*, those of the citie offered unto her many honors, prerogatives, and presents; but she refused them all, onely she requested this favour at their hands, that she might enterre the corps of *Aristodemus*, which they granted, and more than so, they chose her for to be a religious priestesse unto *Ceres*, supposing that this dignitie would be no lesse acceptable and pleasing unto the goddesse, than becomming and sitting the person of this lady.

THE WIFE OF PYTHES.

It is reported moreover, that the wife of rich *Pythes*, in the daies of *Xerxes* when hee warred upon *Greece*, was a vertuous and wife dame; for this *Pythes* having (as it should seeme) found certaine mines of gold, and setting his minde thereon, not in measure, but excessively, and unsatiably, for the great sweetnesse and infinit gaines that arose thereby; both himselfe in person bestowed his whole time therein, and also hee employed all his subjects and citizens indifferently without respect of any person, to digge and delve, to carrie, to purge, and cleanse the said golde oare; not suffering them to follow any other trade, or exercise any occupation else in the world: upon which unmeasurable and incessant toyle, many died, and all were wery, and grumbled thereat, inasmuch as at last, their wives came with olive branches, like humble suppliants to the gate of this lady his wife, for to moove pittie, and beseech her for redresse and succour in this case: she having heard their supplication, sent them away home to their houses with verie good & gracious words, willing them not to distrust and be discomforted: meane while she sent secretly for gold-smiths, goldsmiths, and other worke-men in gold, such as she repofed most confidence in, & shut them up close within a certaine place, willing them to make loaves, pies, tarts, cakes, pastrie-works, and junkets of all sorts, sweet meats, fruits, all manner of meats and viands, such as she knew her husband *Pythes* loved best, all of cleane gold; afterwards, when all were

were made, and hee returned home to his house (for as then he was abroad in a forren country): so soone as hee called for supper, his wife set before him a table furnished with all kinds of counterfeited viands made of gold, without any thing at all, either good to be eaten or drunken, but all gold, and nothing but gold: great pleasure at the first tooke *Pythes* for to see so rich a sight, and so glorious a banquet, wherein arte had so lively exprest nature; but after hee had fed his eyes sufficiently with beholding these goodly golden works, hee called unto her in good earnest for somewhat to eate; but she still whatsoever his minde stood to, brought it him in gold; so that in the end hee waxed angrie, and cried out, that hee was ready to famish: Why sit (quoth she) are not your selfe the cause of all this? for you have given us foison and store of this mettall, but caused extreme want and scarcitie of meat and all things else, for all other trades, occupations, arts, and mysteries are decayed, and their use cleane gone; neither is there any man that followeth husbandry and tilth the ground; but laying aside, and casting behind us all thing that should be sown and planted upon the earth for the food and sustentation of man, we doe nothing else but digge and search for such things as will not serve to feed and nourish us, spending and wearing out both our selves and our citizens. These words mooved *Pythes* verie much; howbeit, for all this, hee gave not over quite the mines and mettall works, but enioining the fifth part of his subjects to travell therein by turnes, one after another; hee gave the rest leave to husband their lands, and plie their other crafts and misteries. But when *Xerxes* came downe with that puissant armie for to make warre upon the *Greeks*, this *Pythes* shewed his magnificence in the entertainment of him, with sumptuous furniture, costlie gifts and presents, which hee gave unto the king and all his traine: for which hee craved this onely grace and favour at his hands againe: that of many children which hee had, he would dispend with him for one of them, that he might not goe to the warres, to the end that the said sonne might remaine with him at home in his house, for to tend and looke unto him carefullie in his old age: whereat *Xerxes* was so wroth, that hee commanded that one sonne (whom hee requested) to be killed presently, and his dead body to be cloven through in the mids, and divided into two parts; and so dislodged and caused his armie to march betwene them both; the rest of his fonneshes led with him to the warres, who died all in the field; whereupon *Pythes* being discomforted, and his heart cleane cast downe, did that which those ordinarilie doe, who want courage and wit; for hee feared death, and hated life; willing hee was not to live, and yet hee had not the power to make an end of his life; what did hee then? There was within the citie a great banke or mount of earth, under which there ranne a river, which they called *Pythopolites*; within this mount hee caused his tombe to be made, & turned aside the course of the said river, in such sort, that as it passed, the streame might glide upon this monument of his; which being prepared and done accordingly, hee went downe quicke and alive into the same sepulchre, having resigned over unto his wives hands the citie, and the whole seignorie thereof; injoyning her thus much, that she should not approach herselfe unto this tombe or monument but onely every daie once send unto him, his supper in a little punt or boat downe the river, and to continue this so long untill she saw, that the said punt went beyond the monument, having in it all his victuals whole and untouched; for then she should not need to send him any more, but take this for an assured signe, that hee was dead. Thus lived *Pythes* the rest of his daies; but his wife governed and managed the State prudently, and wrought a great change and alteration in the toilsome life of her people.





A CONSOLATORIE ORATION SENT UNTO APOLONIUS UPON THE DEATH OF HIS SONNE.

The Summarie.



Howsoever Plutarch in this treatise hath displayed his eloquence and all the skill and helps that he had by the means of Philosophie, yet we see that the same is not sufficient to set the minde and spirit of man in true repose; and that such consolations are (as they say) but palliative cures & no better: wherein also is discovered the want and default of light in the reason and wisdom of man: yet notwithstanding, take this witbold, that such discourses doe recommend and shew unto us so much the better, the excellencie of celestiall wisdom, which furnishest us with true and assured remedies, and in stead of leaving the heart afflicted amid humane thoughts and considerations, raiseth and lifeth it up unto the iustice, wisdom and bountie of the true God and heavenly father; it canerh it to see the estate of eternal life; it assurth it of the soules immortalitie, of the resurrection of the bodie, (points of learning, wherein the Pagans were altogether ignorant) and of the permanent and everlasting ioyes above, in the kingdome of heaven. Now albeit as this truth of God (revealed unto us in his sacred word) hath instructed and reioyced us sufficiently, it will not be amisse and impertinent, to learne of our author and such others, those things which themselves did not well and thoroughly understand, neither in life nor yet in death; for that the sound reason ruled them, and they missed the ground-work indeed, and in clearing and learning to (I wot not what) fortune and fatall destinie, they caused man to rest and stay himselfe upon a vaine shadow of vertue, and willed him (in one word) to seeke for consolation, where there was nothing but desolation, for happinesse in misery, and for life in death. As touching the argument and contents of this treatise; adorned it is with notable reasons, similitudes, examples and testimonies, the substance whereof is this: That Apollonius (unto whom it is addressed) ought not to be over-pensive and heaue for the death of his sonne, deceased in the flower of his age. To move and perswade him thereto, Plutarch after he had excused himselfe in that he wrote no sooner unto him, and shewed, that space of time coming betwene, doth better prepare hearts, which forrow and be in anguish, to receive comfort; he commendeth as well blockish and senselesse folke, as also those that be weakling and over-tender in adversity. Which done, he entred into a general review of the remedies which be appropriate to cure the miseries and afflictions of man; namely, that he ought to holde a meane, and to continue alwaies like himselfe; so cast his eie and have regard upon the divers accidents of our life, and in enjoying the blessings thereof; to thinke upon future crosses and calamities; to be armed with reason for to beare all changes; to remember and carefully thinke upon the estate of this mortall and transitorie life; to consider the evils and miseries of the same; to endure patiently that which can not be avoided and prevented with all the cures and lamentations that be; and to compare our owne adversities with other mens. Then he proceeded unto the particular consolations of those who are heaue and forrowfull for the death of their children, kinsfolke or friends; to wit: That there is no harme nor evil in all in death, but rather that it is a good thing, that the houre of it being uncertaine, it is a comfort unto those whom it summoneth, who no doubt would be cast downe and overtrowen with the apprehension of miseries to come in case they had any foresight thereof. After this, he proveth at large by three inductions and arguments of Socrates, that there is not any evil in death; which he confirmeth by divers examples; and then returning into his consolations, he maintaineth and holdeth: That whosoever die young, are most happy; that the consideration of Gods providence ought to reteme and stay us; that we are not to mourne and lament for the dead, neither in regard of them nor of our selves; that since over-long heauelesse

heavelesse and sorow maketh a man miserable, it were very good for him to be rid and dispatched of that paine quickly. Having finished this point, he reioyseth and assaileth certaine difficulties which are presented in these matters: and then taking in hand his purpose againe, he reueth and reformeth the affections of the living, toward them that are departed; he reclaimeth them from persisting and continuing obstinately in bewailing their absence, willing them rather to bewaile the case of those who are living; and by many reasons doth prove and conclude, that they who die betimes have one marvellous advantage over those that remaine alive in the world. Then he reacheth a man to mainteine and cary himselfe as he ought, in all affaires; refuseth those who can abide no paine and trouble; and knitting up all the premises in few words, he adjoineth certaine necessarie and profitable counsels in such accidents; and before that he concludeth the whole treatise, he describeth the felicity of those whom death entred off in the prime of their yeeres, having a speciall regard therein, to Apollonius the partie unto whom he writeth, and assuring him by the recitall of the good parts and vertues which were in his sonne lately departed, that he was without all question, in that place of repose and rest which the Poets do imagine. Upon which occasion he treateth of the immortalitie of the soule, according to the doctrine of Plato and his followers, which is the very end and closing up of all that had bene delivered before.

A CONSOLATORIE ORATION sent unto Apollonius upon the death of his sonne.



It is not newly come upon me now at this present and not before, to pittie your case and lament in your behalfe (O Apollonius) having heard long since (as I did) the heavy newes concerning the untimely death of your sonne, a young gentleman singularly well beloved of us all, as who in that youth and tender yeeres of this, shewed rare examples of wise carriage, staied and modest behaviour, together with precise observance of those devout duties and just offices, which either pertained to the religious service of the gods, or were respective to his parents and friends; for even from that time have I condoled with you, and had a fellow-feeling of your forrow: but for me to have come then, and visited you immediately upon his decease & departure out of this world, to present you with an exhortation to beare patiently and as becommeth a man, that unfortunate accident, had bene an unseemly part of mine and inconvenient; considering how in that verie instant your minde and bodie both (overcharged with the insupportable burden of so strange and unexpected a calamitie) were brought low and much ineebled; and my selfe besides, must needs have moaned you, felt part of your griefe, and sorrowed with you for companie: for even the best and most skillfull Physicians, when they meet with violent rheumes and catarrhes, which suddenly surprize any part of the body, doe not proceed at the first to a rough cure by purgative medicines, but permit this rage and hot impression of inflamed humours to grow of it selfe to maturitie by application onely of supple oiles, mild liniments, and gentle fomentations. But now, that since your said misfortune, some time (which useth to ripen all things) is passed betwene, and given good opportunitie, considering also, that the present disposition and state of your person seemeth to require the helpe and comfort of your friends, I thought it meet and requisite to impart unto you certaine reasons and discourses consolatorie, if happily by that means I may ease your anguish, mitigate your penivenessse, and stay your needlesse mourning and bootlesse lamentation: for why?

If minde be sicke, what physicke then?

But reasons fit for each disease?

A wise man knowes the season when

To use those meanes, the heart to ease.

And according as the wise Poet Euripides saith:

Ech griefe of minde, ech maladie

Doth crave a severall remedie:

If restless sorow the heart torment,

Kind words of friends worke much consent.

*(Where folly swaies in every action,
Great need there is of sharpe correction.)*

For verily among so many passions and infirmities incident to the soule of man, dolor and heaviness be most irksome and goe neereft into it. By occasion of anguish many a one (they say) hath run mad and fallen into maladies incurable; yea, and for thought and hearts-griefe, some have bene driven to make away themselves. Now to sorrow and be touched to the quicke for the losse of a soune, is a passion that ariseth from a naturall cause, and it is not in our power to avoid; which being so, I cannot (for my part) holde with them, who so highly praise and extoll, I wot not what brutish, hard, and blockish indolence and stupidity, which if it were possible for a man to enterteine, is not any way commodious and available. Certes, the same would bereave vs of that mutuall benevolence and sweet comfort which we finde in the reciprocall interchange of loving others and being loved againe; which (of all earthly blessings) we had most need to preserve and mainteine. Yet do I not allow that a man should suffer himselfe to be transported and caried away beyond all compasse & measure, making no end of sorrow; for even that also is likewise unnaturall, and proceedeth from a corrupt and cronious opinion that we have: and therefore, as we ought to abandon this excesse as simply naught, hurtfull, and not becomming vertuous and honest minded men; so in no wise must we disallow that meane and moderation in our passions, following in this point sage *Cranor* the Academick Philosopher: I could with (quoth he) that we might be never sicke; howbeit, if we chance to fall into some disease, God send us yet some sense and feeling, in case any part of our bodie be either cut, plucked away, or dismembered in the cure. And I assure you, that senselesse impassibilitie is never incident unto a man, without some great mischief and inconvenience ensuing; for lightly it falleth out, that when the bodie is in this case without feeling, the soule soone after will become as insensible: reason would therefore, that wise men in these and such like crosses, cary themselves, neither void of affections altogether, nor yet out of measure passionate; for as the one bewraith a fell and hard heart, resembling a cruell beast; so the other discovereth a soft and effeminate nature, becomming a tender woman; but best advised is he, who knoweth to keepe a meane, and being guided by the rule of reason, hath the gift to beare wisely and indifferently, as well the flattering favours, as the scowling frownes of fortune, which are so ordinarily occurrent in this life; having this forecast with himselfe: That like as in a free State, and popular government of a common wealth, where the election of soveraigne magistrates passeth by lots; the one whose hap is to be chosen, must be a ruler and commander; but the other who misseth, ought patiently to take his fortune, and beare the repulse; even so in the disposition and course of all our worldly affaires, we are to be content with our portion allotted unto us, and without grudging and complaint, gently to yield our selves obedient: for surely they that can not so doe, would never be able with wisdom and moderation to weld any great prosperitie: for of many wise speeches and well said sawes, this sentencie may goe for one:

*How ever fortune soile and looke full faire,
Be thou not proud nor beare a loslie mind;
Ne yet cast downe and plung'd in deepe despair,
If that but frowne or shew herselfe unkind,
But alwayes one and same let men thee find.
Constant and firme receive thy nature still,
As gold in fire, which alter never will.*

For this is the propertie of a wife man and wel brought up, both for any apparent shew of prosperitie to be no changling, but to beare himselfe alwayes in one sort; & also in adversitie, with a generous and noble mind, to mainteine that which is decent & becomming his own person: for the office of true wisdom & considerate discretion is, either to prevent & avoid a mischief coming, or to correct and reduce it to the least & narrowest compasse when it is once come, or els to be prepared and ready to beare the same manfully, and with all magnanimitie. For prudence, as touching that which we call good, is scene and employed foure maner of waies; to wit, in getting, in keeping, in augmenting, or in well and right using the same: these be the rules as well of prudence, as of other vertues, which we are to make use and benefit of in both fortunes, as well the one as the other: for according to the old proverb:

*No man there is on earth above,
In every thing who say doth thrive.
And rarely*

By

*By course of nature, wnneth it wrought may be,
That ought should checke fatal necessity.*

And as it falleth out in trees and other plants, that some yeeres they beare their burden, and yeeld great store of fruite, whereas in others they bring forth none at all; also living creatures one whiles be fruitefull and breed many young, otherwhiles againe, they be as barren for it; and in the sea it is now tempest, and then calme: sensibly in this life there happen many circumstances and accidents, which winde and turne us into the chaunces of contrarie fortunes; in regard of which varietie, a man may by good right and reason, say thus:

*O Agamemnon, thy father Atreus bee,
Alwayes to prosper hath not begotten thee:
For in this life thou must have one day joy,
Another, griefe and wealth, mixt with annoy,
And why? thou art by mortall nature fraile,
Thy will against this course cannot prevail:
For so it is the pleasure of the gods,
To make this change, and worke in man such odds.*

As also that which to the same effect the poet *Menander* wrote in this wise:

*Sir Trophimus, if you the onely night
Of women borne, were brought into this light
With priviledge, to have the world at will,
To taste no woe, but prosper alwayes still?
Or if some god had made you such behest,
To live in joy, in solace and in rest?
You had just cause to sweare thus, as you doe,
And chafe, for that he from his word doth goe;
And hath done what he can not justifie:
But if so be, as truth will testifie:
Under one law this publike vitall aire,
You draw with us, your breath for to repaire;
I say to you (gravely in tragick stile)
You ought to be more patient the while;
To take all this in better woorth (I say)
Let reason rule, and stand for small pay.
And to knit up in few words, Trophimus
Of this discourse the summe; I reason thus:
A man you are, (that is as much to say)
A creature, more prompt and subject ay
To sudden change, and from the pitch of blis,
To lie in pit, where bale and sorrow is,
Than others all: and not unwort hily;
For why, most weake by his owne nature, he
Will needs himselfe in highest matters wrap,
Above his reach, secure of after-clap:
And then anon, he falling from on high,
Beares downe with him all good things that were nigh:
But as for you, the goods which heere to fore
O Trophimus you lost, exceeded not, nor more
Than those mishaps which you this day susteine
Exceſſive be, but keepe with in a meane:
Henceforth therefore, you ought to beare the rest
Indifferently, and you shall finde it best.*

Howbeit, although the condition and estate of mens affaires stand in these tearmes, yet some there be, who for want of sound judgement and good discretion, are grown to that blockish stupiditie, or vaine overweening of themselves, that after they be once a little raised up, and advanced, either in regard of excelsive wealth, and store of gold and silver under their hands, or by reason of some great offer, or for other preſidence and preeminence of high place which they hold in the common-weale; or else by occasion of honours and glorious titles which they have

have acquired, doe menace, wrong and insult over their inferiours, never considering the uncertainty and inconstance of mutable fortune, nor how quickly that which was aloft may be flung downe; and contrariwise, how soone that which lieth below on the ground, may be extolled and lifted up on high by the sudden mutations and changes of fortune: to seeke for any certaintie therefore in that which is by nature uncerteine and variable, is the part of those that judge not aright of things:

*For as the wheele doth turne, one part we see
Of jolly high and low in course to bee.*

But to attaine unto this tranquillitie of spirit, void of all griefe and anguish, the most soveraigne powerfull, and effectuall medicine, is reason, and by the means thereof, a prepared estate and resolution against all the changes and alterations of this life: neither is it sufficient for a man onely to acknowledge himselfe to be by nature borne mortall; but also that he is allotted unto a mortall and transitorie life, and tied as it were unto such affaires as soone doe change from their present estate unto the contrarie: for this also is most certaine, that as mens bodies be mortall and fraile, so their fortunes also, their passions and affections be fitting and momentanie; yea, and in one word, all that belongeth unto them is transitorie; which it is not possible for him to avoid and escape, who is himselfe by nature mortall: but as *Pindarus* said:

*With masie weights of strong necessity,
Of hell so darke to bottom fore dare we.*

Verie well therefore said *Demetrius Phalereus*, whereas *Enripides* the Poet wrote thus:

*No worldly wealth is firme and sure,
But for a day it doth endure.*

Also:

*How small things may our state quite overthrow!
It falleth out (as every man doth know)
That even one day is able downe to cast
Some things from height, and others rise as fast.*

All the rest (quoth he) was excellently by him written, but farre better it had bene, if he had named, not one day, but the minute, moment, and very point of an houre:

*For earthly fruits and mortall mens estate
Turne round about in one and selfe same rate,
Some live, waxe strong and prosper day by day,
Whiles others are cast downe and fade away.*

And *Pindarus* in another place

*What is it for to be but one?
Nay what is it to be just none?
And verily a man is made
To be the dreame even of a shade.*

hath declared the vanitie of mans life, by using an Hyperbole or excessive manner of an over-reaching speech, both passing wittily, and also to the purpose most significantly. For what is there more weake & feeble than a shadow? but to come in with the fantasticall dreame of a shadow; surely it is not possible that any other man should expresse the thing that he meant, more lively & in fitter reames. And verily, *Cranior* in good correspondence hereto, when he comforteth *Hippocles* for the untimely death of his children, useth these words among the rest: These are the rules (quoth he) that all the schoole thoroughout of ancient Philosophie doth deliver and teach; wherein, if there be any point besides, that we can not admit and approve, yet this at leastwise is most undoubted true, that mans life is exceeding laborious and painfull: for say that in the owne nature it be not such; so it is, that by our owne selves it is brought to that corruption: besides, this uncerteine fortune haunth and attendeth upon us as fast off, and even from our very cradle and swaddling bands, yea, and ever since our first entrance into this life accompanieth us, for no good in the world.

To say nothing, how in all things whatsoever that breed and budde, there is evermore some portion more or lesse of naughtinesse inbred and mingled therewith; for the very naturall seed (which at the first, when it is at best, is mortall) doth participate this primitive cause, whereupon proceed the untoward inclination and disposition of the minde, maladies, cares and sorowes; and from thence there creepe and grow upon us, all those fatal calamities that befall to mortall men. But what is the reason that we are digressed hitherto? forsooth, to this end, that we

we may know that it is no newes for any man to taste of miseries and calamities, but rather that we are all subject to the same: for (as *Theophrastus* saith) fortune never aimeth or levelleth at any certeine mark, but shooteth at random; taking much pleasure, and being very powerfull to turne a man out of that which he hath painfully gotten before, and to overthrow a supposed and reputed felicity, with all regard of any fore-set and prefixed time to worke this feat. These reasons, and many other such like, every one of us may easily consider and ponder within himselfe; yea & besides, lay thereto the sage speeches (which he is say to heare and learne) of ancient and wise men: among whom, the chiefe and principall is that heavenly and divine Poet *Homer*, who saith thus:

*More weake than man, there is no creature
That from the earth receiveth nouriture:
So long as limmes with strength he can advance,
And whilst he gods do lend him puffiance,
He thinks no harme will ever him befall,
He casts no doubt, but hopes to ouergoe all:
But let them once from heaven some sorowes send,
Mangle the smart, he beares unto the end.*

Also:

*Such minds have men, who here on earth do live,
As Jupiter from heaven doth daily give.*

And in another place:

*Why aske you of my blood and parentage?
Sir Tydeus sonne, a knight magnanimous.
To leaves of trees much like is mans linage:
Leaves some blown downe by minde our agious
Lie shed on ground, and others numerous,
But fresh in wood, when pleasant spring doth call:
Mens houses so, some rise and others fall.*

Now that this similitude or comparison of tree-leaves fitly exprest and represented the transitorie vanitie of mans life, it appeareth evidently by those verses which he wrote in another place:

*You would not say that I were wise, if I did armour take
To fight with you, in wretched mens behalfe and for their sake,
Who much resemble leaves at first, faire in their fresh verdure,
So long as they of earthly fruits do feed for nouriture;
And afterward be like to them, withered and dead againe,
When humour radicall is spent, and no strength doth remaine.*

Simonides the Lyricall Poet, when as *Pausanias* king of *Lacedemon* (bearing himselfe high, and vaunting of his brave exploits) bad him (upon a time, by way of mockery) to give unto him some sage precept & good advertisement; (knowing full well the pride & over-weening spirit of the said prince) counsell'd him onely to call to minde, and remember: That he was but a man. *Philip* likewise, king of *Macedon*, hearing newes in one and the same day, of three severall happy successes: the first: That he had wonne the prize, at the great running of chariots drawn with horses, in the solemnitie of the Olympicke games: the second: How his lieutenant general, *Parmenio*, had defeated the *Dardanians* in battell: and the third: That his wife *Olympias* was delivered safe of a jolly sonne: lifted up his hands toward heaven, and said: O fortune, I beseech thee to send unto me in counterchange, some moderate advertitie: as knowing full well, that the bare spight and envie alwaies to great felicities. Semblably, *Theramenes* one of the thirty tyrants of *Athens*, at what time as the house wherein he sipped with many others fell downe, and he alone escaped safe out of that dangerous ruine, when all others reputed him a happy man, cried out with a loud voice: O fortune, for what occasion of misfortune refferest thou me? and verily within few daies after, it hapned that his owne companions in government cast him in prison, and after much torture, put him to death. Moreover, it seemeth unto me, that the poet *Homer* deserveth singular praise in this matter of consolation, when hee bringeth in *Achilles* speaking of king *Priamus* (being come unto him for to ransom and redeeme the corps of his sonne *Hector*) in this wise;

Come on therefore and heere sit downe, by me upon this throne,
 Let be all plaints; for beare we thus to weepe, so sigh and grone,
 And though our griefe of heart be much, let us the same repress,
 For why? no teares will ought prevaile, nor helpe us in distress.
 To live in paines and sorowes great men are predestinate
 By gods above, and they alone dwell ay in blessed state,
 Exempt from cares and discontents, for in the entrie-hill
 Of joye his house in heaven aloft, two turnes are standing still,
 Whereout he doth among men deale, such gifts as they containe,
 In one good blessings are bestowed, in th other curse and paine:
 Now be to whom great Jupiter vouchsafes of both to give,
 Sometime in joy, and otherwhiles in heaviness shall live:
 But if a man be onely from that cursed cressell freed,
 With shame, with want, and penurie he is full ill befied,
 He shall be sure upon the earth to wander and to stray,
 In much disgrace with God and man untill his dying day.

The poet who came after him both in order of time, and also in credit and reputation, *Hesiodus*, although he taketh upon himselfe the honour to have bene a discipule of the Muses, having as well as the other included the miseries and calamities of mankind within one tun; writeth that *Pandora* in opening it, set them abroad in great quantitie, and spread them over all lands and seas, 20 saying in this manner:

No sooner then this woman tooke, the great lid from the tun,
 With both her hands, but all abroad she scattered anon,
 A world of plagues and miseries; thus mischiefs manifold
 She wrought thereby to mortall men on earth both young and old:
 Hope onely did remaine behinde, and flew not all abroad,
 But underneath the upmost brim and edge it still abode,
 For why, before it could get forth, she hid the clapt to fast:
 When other evils infinite were flossen from first to last:
 Full was the earth of sundrie plagues, full was the seallikewise,
 Diseases then and maladies from day to day did rise
 Among mankind, and those by night doe walke and creepe by stealth;
 All secretly without cause knowne, and doe impeach mans health,
 Unles: they come in silence deepe they make not any noise,
 For Jupiter in wisdom great, bereft them all of voice.

To these sayings and sentences the comickall poet according well, as touching those who torment themselves by occasion of such misfortunes when they happen, writeth thus,

If teares could cure and heale all our diseases,
 Or weeping stay at once our paine and griefe,
 We would our gold exchange for teares, so ease
 Our maladies, and so procure reliefe:
 But Master, now teares with them beare no sway,
 Nor ought prevaile, for weepe we, or weepe not,
 They hold their course, and still keepe on their way,
 So that we see by plaints nothing is got;
 What game we then? nought, for yet give me ease,
 Griefe brings forth teares, as trees their fruit doe beare.

And *Dylis* when he comforted *Danaë*, who sorrowed overmuch for the death of her sonne, spake unto her in this manner:

Think you that Pluto doth your teares regard,
 And will for sighes and grones your sonne back send?
 No, no, ease you to job and weepe so hard,
 Your neighbours ease make rather and intend:
 Harts ease will come, if that you call to minde,
 How many men have died in dungeon deepe?
 Or many old, bereft of children kind,

Or

Or princely state and port who could nor keepe,
 But fell to base degrees consider this,
 And make right use, it will you helpe invite.

He giveth her counsell to consider the examples of those who have bene more or lesse unfortunate then herselfe, as if the comparing of their condition might serve her turne very well, the better to endure her owne calamitie. And heere to may a man very pertinently draw and apply the saying of *Socrætes*, who was of opinion; that if we laid forth all our adversities and misfortunes in one comon heape, with this condition, that each one should carrie out of it an equal portion; most men would wish and be glad to take up their owne and goe away with all. The poet *Antimachus* also used the like induction, after that his wife whom he loved so entirely, was departed; for whereas her name was *Lyde*, he for his owne consolation in that sorrow of his, composed an Elegie or lamentable dittie, which he called *Lyde*: wherein he collected all the calamities and misfortunes which happed in old time to great princes and kings, making his owne dolour and griefe the lesse, by comparing it with other miseries more grievous: whereby it is apparent, that he who comforteth another, whose heart is afflicted with sorrow and anguish, (giving him to understand that his infortunie is common to many besides him, by laying before his face the fembable accidents which have befallen to others,) changeth in him the sense and opinion of his owne grievance, and imprinteth in him a certaine setled perswasion, that his misfortune is nothing so great as he deemed it to be before.

20 *Aeschylus* likewise seemeth with very great reason to reproove those who imagine that death is naught, saying in this wise:

How wrongfully have men death in disdaine,
 Of many evils the remedie soveraigne.

For in imitation of him, right well said he who forever was the authour of this sentence:

Come death to cure my painfull malady,
 The onely leech that bringeth remedie;
 For hell is th' haven for worlds calamity,
 And harbour sure in all extremity.

And verily, a great matter it is, to be able for to say boldly and with confidence:

How can he be a slave justlie,
 Who careth not at all to die?

As also:

If death me helpe in my hard plight,
 No spirits nor ghosts shall me affright.

For what hurt is there in death? and what is it that should so trouble and molest us when we die? A strange case this is, & I can not see how it cometh to passe, that being so well knowne, so ordinarily, familiar & naturall unto us as it is, yet it should seeme so painfull & dolorous unto us. For what wonder is it, if that be slit or cut, which naturally is given to cleave? if that melt, which is apt to be molten? if that burne, which is subiect to take fire? or if that perish & rot, which by 40 nature is corruptible? and when is it that death is not in our selves? for (according as *Heraclitus* saith) quicke and dead is all one; to awake and to sleepe, is the same; in young and olde, there is no difference; considering that these things turne one into another, and as one passeth, the other cometh in place: much after the manner of an imager or potter, who of one masse of clay, is able to give the forme and shape of living creatures, and to turne the same into a rude lump, as it was before; he can fashion it againe at his pleasure, and confound all together, as he list: thus it lieth in his power, to do and undoe, to make and marre, as often as he will, one after another, unceasingly; fembably, nature of the selfe-same matter, framed in times past our ancestors and grandfathers, and consequently, afterwards brought forth our fathers; then he made us; and in proceesse of time, will of us ingender others; and so proceed still to further posterities; 50 in such sort, that as the current (as it were) of our generation will never fail, so the streame also of our corruption will run on still, and be perpetual; whether it be the river *Acheron* or *Coitus*, as the Poets call them; whereof, the one signifieth privation of joy, & the other betokeneth lamentation. And even so, that first and principall cause which made us to live and see the light of the sunne, the same bringeth us to death and to the darkenesse of hell. And hereof we may see an evident demonstration and resemblance, by the very aire that compasseth us round about, which in alternative course and by turnes, representeth unto us the day, and afterwards the night; it induceth us to a similitude of life and death, of waking and sleeping: and therefore, by good

good right is life called, a fatall debt, which we must duely satisfie, and be acquit of: for our forefathers entred into it first; and we are to repay it willingly, without grumbling, sighing and groaning, whensoever the creditor callth for it; unless we would be reputed unthankfull and unjust. And verily, I beleeve that nature seeing the uncertainty and shortnesse of our life, would that the end thereof and the prefixed houre of death should be hidden from us, for that shee knew it good & expedient for us so to be; for if it had bene fore-known of us, some (no doubt) would have languished and fallen away before, with griefe and sorrow; dead they would have bene before their death came. Consider now the troubles and sorrowes of this life; how many cares and crosses it is subject unto: certes, if we went about to reckon and number them, wee would condemne it as most unhappie, yea, we would verifie and approve that strong opinion¹⁰ which some have held: That it were faine better for a man to die than to live; and therefore said the Poet *Simonides*:

*Full feeble is all humane puissance:
Paine is our care and painfull vigilance:
Mans life is even a short passage,
Paine upon paine is his arravage:
And then comes death that sheweth none,
So fierce, so cruell, without pardone:
Over our heads it doth defend,
And threatns alike those that doe spend
Their yeeres in vertue and goodnesse,
As in all sinne and wickednesse.*

Likewise *Pindarus*:

*For blest is one which men obtaine,
The gods ordaine them curses twaine,
And those they can not wisely heare,
Fooler as they be, and will not beare.*

Or thus:

*They can not reach to life immortal,
Nor yet endure that which is mortal.*

And *Sophocles*:

*Of mortall men when one is dead,
Doth thine heart groane, and eie reares head;
Not knowing once what future gaine
May come to him, devoid of paine?*

As for *Euripides*, thus he saith:

*In all thy knowledge, canst thou find
The true condition of mankind?
I thinke well, No: For whence should come
Such knowledge deepe, to all or some?
Giv eare, and thou shalt learne of me
The skill thereof, in veritie:
Almen ordain'd are once to die,
The debt is due, and paid must be:
But no man know's if morow next,
Unto his daies shall be annex:
And whether fortune bend's her way,
Who can fore-see, and justly say?*

If it be so then, that the condition of mans life is such indeed as these great clearks have delivered and described unto us; is it not more reason to repute them blessed and happy, who are freed⁵⁰ from that servitude which they were subject to therein, than to deplore and lament their estate, as the most part of men doe, through follie and ignorance? Wife *Socrates* said, that death resembled for all the world, either a most deepe and sound sleepe, or a voiage faire remote into forraine parts, in which a man is long absent from his native cuntry; or else thirdly, an utter abolition and small dissolution both of soule and bodie. Now take which of these three you will, according to him, there is no harme at all in death: for thus he discoursed through them well, and beginning at the first, in this wise he reasoneth: If death (quoth he) be a kinde of sleepe, and

thofe

thofe that sleepe feelee no ill; we must needs confesse likewise, that the dead have no sense at all of harme: neither is it necessarie to goe in hand to prove, that the deepest sleepe is also the sweetest, and most pleasant; for the thing it selfe is plaine and evident to all the world. To saie nothing of *Homer's* testimonie, who speaking of sleepe writeth thus:

*Most sweetly doth a man sleepe in his bed,
When least he wakes, and seemes must to be dead.*

The same he iterateth in many places; and namely once in this wise:

*With pleasant sleepe she there did meet,
Deaths brother german, you may weet.*

And againe:

*Death and sleepe are sister and brother,
Both twinnes resembling one another.*

Where by the way, he lively declareth their similitude, and calling them twins; for that brothers and sisters twinnes, for the most part be very like; and in another place besides, he calleth death a brassen sleepe; giving us thereby to understand, how senselesse death is: neither seemeth he unelegantly and besides the purpose, whosoever he was, to have expressed as much in this verse when he said:

*That sleeper (who doth them well advise)
Of death are pette mysteries.*

And in very deed, sleepe doth represent (as it were) a preamble, inducement, or first profession toward death: in like manner also the cynick philosopher *Diogenes* said very wisely to this point, for being surprised and overtaken with a dead sleepe, a little before he yecled up the ghost, when the physician wakened him, and demanded what extraordinary symptome or grievous accident was befallen unto him? None (quoth he) onely one brother is come before another, to wit, sleepe before death: and thus much of the first resemblance.

Now if death be like unto a faine journey or long pilgrimage, yet even so, there is no evill at all therein, but rather good, which is cleane contrary: for to be in servitude no longer unto the flesh, nor enthrall'd to the passions thereof; which seizing upon the soule, doe empeach the same, and fill it with all follies and mortall vanities, is no doubt a great blessednesse and felicitie: for as *Plato* saith: The body bringeth upon us an infinit number of troubles and hindrances about the necessarie maintenance of it selfe; and in case there be any maladies besides, they divert and turne us cleane away from the inquisition and contemplation of the truth; and in stead thereof, pester and stutle us full of wanton loves, of lusts, feares, foolish fancies, imaginations and vanities of all sorts; in so much, as it is most true which is commonly saide:

That from the bodie there commeth no goodnesse nor wisdom at all. For what else bringeth upon us warres, seditions, battels and fights, but the bodie and the greedie appetites and lusts proceeding from it; for to say a truth, from whence arise all warres, but from the covetous desire of money, and having more goods? neither are we driven to purchase and gather still; but onely for to enterteine the bodie, and serve the tune thereof, and whilst we are amused & employed thereabout, we have no time to studie Philosophie: finally (which is the worst and very extreme of all) in case we find some leisure to follow our booke, and enter into the studie and contemplation of things, this body of ours at all times & in every place is ready to interrupt and put us out; it troubleth, it empeacheth and so disquieteth us, that impossible it is to attaine unto the perfect sight and knowledge of the truth; whereby it is apparent and manifest, that if ever we would cleerely and purely know any thing, we ought to be sequestred and delivered from this bodie; and by the eies onely of the mind, contemplate & view things as they be; then shall we have that which we desire and wish; then shall we attaine to that which we say we love, to wit, wisdom, even when we are dead, as reason teacheth us, and not so long as we remaine alive: for if it cannot be, that together with the bodie we should know any thing purely; one of these

two things must of necessitie ensue, that either never at all, or else after death we should attaine unto that knowledge; for then and not before, the soule shall be apart, and separate from the bodie; and during our life time, so much nearer shall we be unto this knowledge, by how much lesse we participate with the body, and have little or nothing to doe therewith, no more than very necessitie doth require; nor be filed with the corrupt nature thereof, but pure and neat from all such contagion, untill such time as God himselfe free us quite from it; and then being fully cleared and delivered from all fleshly and bodily follies, we shall converse with them and such like pure intelligences, seeing evidently of our selves all that which is pure and sincere, to wit,

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truth

truth it selfe; for unlawfull it is and not allowable that a pure thing should be infected or once touched by that which is impure; and therefore say that death seeme to translate men into some other place, yet is it nothing ill in that respect, but good rather, as *Plato* hath very well proved by demonstration in which regard, *Socrates* in my conceit spake most heavenly & divinely unto the judges, when he said: My lords, to be afraid of death, is nothing else but to seeme wife when a man is nothing lesse, & it is as much as to make semblance of knowing that which he is most ignorant of; for who woteth certainly what is death? or whether it be the greatest felicity that may happen to a man? yet men doe feare and dread it, as if they knew for certaintie, that it is the greatest evil in the world. To these sage sentences he accordeth well who said thus:

*Let no man stand in doubt and feare of death,
Since from all travells it him delivereth.*

10

and not from travells only, but also from the greatest miseries in the world; whereto it seemeth, that the verie gods themselves give testimonie: for we reade that many men in recompense of their religion and devotion, have received death, as a singular gift and favour of the gods. But to avoid tedious prolixitie, I will forbear to write of others, and content my selfe with making mention of those onely who are most renowned and voiced by every mans mouth: and in the first place, rehearse I will the historie of those two yong gentlemen of *Agos*, namely, *Cleobis* and *Biton*; of whom there goeth this report: That their mother being priestesse to *Juno*, when the time was come that shee should present herselfe in the temple, and the mules that were to draw her coach thither, not in readinesse, but making stay behinde; they seeing her driven to that exigent, and fearing lest the houre should passe, under-went themselves the yoke, and drew their mother in the coach to the said temple: the being much pleased, and taking exceeding joy to see so great pietie and kindnesse in her children, praised unto the goddesse, that she would vouchsafe to give them the best gift that could befall to man: and that she the same night following, being gone to bedde for to sleepe, never rose againe: for that the goddesse sent unto them, death, as the onely recompense and reward of their godlinesse. *Pindarus* also writeth as touching *Agamedes* & *Trophonius*: That after they had built the temple of *Apollo* in *Delfos*, they demanded of that god, their hire and reward; who promised to pay them fully at the seven-nights end; meane while he bade them be merie and make good cheere; who did as he enjoined them: so upon the seventh night following, theyooke their sleepe, but the next morning they were found dead in bed. Moreover, it is reported that when *Pindarus* himselfe gave order unto the commissioners that were sent from the State of *Boetia* unto the oracle of *Apollo*, for to demand what was best for man? this answer was returned from the prophetisse: That he who enjoined them that errand, was not ignorant thereof, in case the historie of *Agamedes* and *Trophonius* (whereof he was author) were true; but if he were disposed to make further trial, he should himselfe see shortly an evident proofe thereof: *Pindarus* when he heard this answer, began to thinke of death, and to prepare himselfe to die; and in truth, within a little while after changed his life. The like narration is related of one *Euthynous* an Italian, who was sonne to *Elysius* of *Terina*, for vertue, wealth and reputation, a principall man in that citie, namely, that he died suddenly, without any apparent cause that could be given thereof: his father *Elysius*, incontinently there-upon, began to grow into some doubt (as any other man besides would have done) whether it might not be, that he died of poison, for that he was the onely childe he had, and heire apparent to all his riches: and not knowing otherwise how to found the truth, hee sent out to a certaine oracle, which used to give answer by the conjuration and calling forth of spirits or ghosts of men departed; where (after he had performed sacrifices and other ceremoniall devotions according as the law required) he laied him downe to sleepe in the place, where he dreamed, and saw this vision: There appeared unto him (as he thought) his owne father, whom when he saw, he discoursed unto him what had fortuned to his sonne, requesting and beseeching him to be assistant with him to finde out the truth, and the cause indeed of his so sudden death: his father then should answer thus: And even therefore am I come hither; here therefore receive at this mans hands, that certifiace which I have brought unto thee, for thereby shalt thou know all the cause of thy griefe and sorrow: now the partie whom his father shewed and presented unto him, was a yong man that followed after him, who for all the world in stature and yeeres resembled his sonne *Euthynous*; who being demanded by him, what he was? made this answer: I am the ghost or angell of your sonne: and with that, offered unto him a little fewle or letter; which when *Elysius* had unfolded, he found written within it, these three verses:

Rex

*Hegou vime l'vion epous andyur.
Eudouie kaku pautella daretu.
Ouk elio si'vion avroth epavon piron.*

Which may be done into English thus:

*Elysius thou foolish man, aske living Sages read,
Euthynous by farall course of destinies is dead;
For longer life would neither him nor parents stand in stead.*

And thus much may suffice you, both as touching the ancient histories written of this matter and also of the second point of the foresaid question.

But to come unto the third branch of *Socrates* his conjecture: admit it were true, that death is the utter abolition and destruction aswell of soule as body; yet even so, it cannot be reckoned simply ill: for by that reckoning there should follow a privation of all sense, and a generall deliverance from paine, anxietie and anguish: and like as there cometh no good thereby, even so, no harme at all can ensue upon it; forasmuch as good and evil have no being, but in that thing onely which hath essence and subsistence, and the same reason there is of the one as of the other: so as in that which is not, but utterly becometh void, annulled, and taken quite out of the world, there can not be imagined either the one or the other. Now this is certaine, that by this reason the dead returne to the same estate and condition wherein they were before their nativite: like as therefore, when we were unborne, we had no sense at all of good or evil; no more shall we have after our departure out of this life: and as those things which preceded our time, nothing concerned us; so whatsoever hapneth after our death, shall touch us as little.

*No paine feele they that out of worlde be gone:
To die, and not be borne, I holde all one.*

For the same fate and condition is after death, which was before birth. And do you thinke that there is any difference betwene, Never to have bene, and To cease from being? surely they differ no more, than either an house, or a garment, in respect of us and our use thereof after the one is ruined or fallen downe, and the other all rent and torne, from that benefit which we had by them before they were begun to be built or made; and if you say, there is no difference in them in these regards; as little there is be you sure, between our estate after death, and our condition before our nativite: a very pretie and elegant speech therefore it was of *Aeschylus* the philosopher when he said: This death (quoth he) which every man feareth evil, hath one peculiar propriety by it selfe, of all other things that be accounted ill; in that when it is present, it never harmeth any man; onely whiles it is absent and in expectance it hurtheth folke. And in very truth, many men through their folly and weaknesse, and upon certaine slanderous calumnies and false surmises conceived against death, suffer themselves to die because forsooth they would not die. Very well therefore and aptly wrot the poet *Epicharmus* in these words:

*That which was knit and joined fast,
Is loosed and dissolved at last:
Each thing returnes into the same,
Earth into earth; from whence it came:
The spirit up to heaven anon;
Wherefore what harme heerein? just none.*

And as for that which *Cresphontes* in one place of *Euripides*, speaking of *Hercules* said:

*If under globe of earth, with those he dwell,
Who being none, have left, laid once in grave:
A man of him might say, and that right well,
That puissance and strength be none can have.*
By altering it a little in the end, you may thus inferre:
*If under globe of earth with those he dwell,
Who being none, have left, laid once in grave:
A man of him might say, and that right well,
That sense at all of paine, he can none have.*

A generous and noble saying also was that of the *Lacedaemonians*:

*Now are we in our gallant prime,
Before as others had their time,
And after us shall others flowe,
But we shall never see that home;*

Xx

A

*These verses
be unperfected,
and it seemeth
that Cicero,
Tuscul. 1. in
translating
this full verse,
read thus:
non enim vi-
mus idcirco
epous andyur.*

As also this:

Now dead are they who neuer thought,
That life or death were simply ought:
But all their care was for to dy
And live, as they should, honestly.

Right excellent also are those verses of Euripides, as touching them who endure long maladies:

I hate all those bymeat and drink,
Who to prolong their daies doe think:
By Magick arte and forcery,
The course of death who turne awry.
Where as they should be glad and iaine,
When as they see it is but vaine
Of earth to live upon the face,
For younger's then to quit the place.

As for Aterope in pronouncing these manlike and magnanimous words, she mooveth the whole theater to this consideration of her speeches, when she saith;

I am not th' only mother left,
Who of faire children am bereft;
Nor yet a widow am I alone,
Who my deere husband have for gone:
For others infinite there bee,
Who have felt like calamities.

Unto this, a man may very aptly adioine these verses also:

What is become of that magnificence?
Where is king Caelus with his opulence?
Or Nereus, he whose monstrous worke was,
By bridge, the firth of Hellespont to pass?
To Pluto now they are for ever gon,
To houses of most deepe oblivion.

Their goods, and their wealth, together with their bodies are perished; howbeit, beleeve me, some will say; many are mooved perforce to weepe and lament, when they see a young person die before due time; and yet I assure you, this hastic and untimely death admitteth so readie consolation, that even the meanest and most vulgar comicall poets have scene into the thing, and devised good meanes, and effectuall reasons of comfort: for consider what one of them saith in this case, to him that mourned and lamented for the unripe and unseasonable death of a friend of his, in these words:

If thou hadst knowne for certaine, that thy friend
Who now is dead, should have bene blessed ay,
Throughout that course of life which was behind,
In case the gods had staid his dying day:
His death had bene untimely, I would say,
But if long life, should bring him griefes incurable,
To him haply was death, than now more favorable.

Seeing then uncertaine it is whether the issue and end of this life will be expedient unto a man; and whether he shall be delivered and excused thereby from greater evils, or no; we ought not to take ones death so heavilie, as if we had utterly lost all those things which we hoped for, and promised our selves by his life to enjoy; and therefore me thinks that Amphiarus in a certaine tragedy of a poet, did not impertinently and without good purpose, comfort the mother of Archemorus, whoooke it to the heart, and grieved excessively, that her sonne a young infant died so long before the ordinarie time: for thus he saith unto her:

Nowe there is of womans body born,
But in his daies much travell he doth beare:
Children some die the parents long before,
And live by them entered: then they reare
And get young babes for those that buried were:
Lastly themselves into the graves doe fall,
That is the course, this is the end of all.

Let men for them doe weepe and sorrow make,
Whose bodies they on biers to earth doe send,
Although in truth a way direct they take,
As eares of corne full ripe, which downward bend,
As some begin, so others make an end.
Why should men grieve and sigh at natures lore?
What must, shall be, thinke it not hard therefore.

In summe, every man ought both in meditation within himselfe, and in earnest discourse also with others, to hold this for certaine; that the longest life is not best, but rather the most vertuous: for neither he that plaith most upon a lute or citterne, is commended for the cunningest musician; no more than he who pleadeth longest, is held the most eloquent orator; nor he that sitteth continually at the helme, is praised for the best pilot; but they that doe best, deserve the greatest commendation: for we are not to measure goodnesse by the length of time, but by vertue, by convenient proportion and measure of all words and deeds: for this is that amiable beautie which is esteemed happie in this world, and pleasing to the gods: which is the reason that the poets have left unto us in writing, that the most excellent worthies or demie gods, and such (as by their saying) were begotten by gods, changed this their mortal life, and departed before they were old: for even * he

Who was of mightie Jupiter, and Phœbus loved best,
Permitted was not long to live, and in old age to rest.

For this we alwaies see, that ordinarily the maturation of yeeres, and the same well employed, is preferred before old age and long life: for thus we repute those trees and plants best, which in least time beare most fruite; as also those living creatures which in little space yeeld greatest profit and commodity to mans life: furthermore, little difference you shall finde betweene short time and long, in comparison of eternitie; for that a thousand, yea and ten thousand yeeres according to *Symonides*, are no more than a very prick, or rather the smallest indivisible portion of a prick, in respect of that which is infinit. We reade in histories that there be certaine living creatures about the land of *Pontus*, whose life is comprised within the compasse of one day; for in the morning they are bred, by noone they are in their vigor and at best, and in the evening they be old, and end their lives: would not these creatures thinke you, if they had the soule of man, and that use of reason which we have, feele the very same passions that we doe, if the like accidents befall unto them? certes, those that died before noone, would minister occasion of mourning and weeping; but such as continued all day long, should be reputed happy. Well, our life should be measured by vertue, and not by continuance of time; so that we are to esteeme such exclamations as these, foolish and full of vanitie: Oh, great pittie, that he was taken waie so young; it ought not to have bene that he should die yet: and who is he that dare say; This or that ought? But many things else have bene, are, and shall be done hereafter, which some man might say, ought not to have beene done: howbeit, come we are not into this life for to preterite laws, but rather to obey those laws which are decreed and set down already by the gods, who governe the world, and the ordinances of destinie and divine providence.

But to proceed, those who so much deplore & lament the dead, do they it for love of themselves, or for their sake who are departed? if in regard of their own selves, for that they find how they are deprived of some pleasure or profit, or els disappointed of support in their old age, which they hoped to receive by those who are departed: surely this were but a small occasion, & no honest pretence of lamentation; for that it seemeth they bewaile not the dead persons, but the losse of those comodities which they expected from them: but in case they grieve in the behalf of those that be gone out of this world, soone will they shake off their sorrow, if they be perivaded and beleeve, that after death they feele no ill; & obey they will that ancient & wise sentence, which teacheth us to extend as much as we can all good things, but to draw in and restrain those that be so illnow if sorrow is to be counted good, we ought to augment and encrease the same as much as possibly we can; but if we acknowledge it (as it is indeed) to be naughty, we are to shorten & diminish it, as much as we may, yea, & to abolish it quite, if it lie in our power: and that this may be easily effected, it appeereth by the precedent, of such a consolation as this: We reade that a certaine ancient Philosopher went upon a time to visit queene *Arfinoe*, who mourned & lamented much for a sonne of hers lately departed this life; & to her he used these or such like words; *Madame*, at what time as *Jupiter* dealt among the petie gods, goddesse, & other heavenly wights; certaine honors and dignities, it chaunced that dame *Sorrow*, was not present among the rest: but

after that the distribution and dole was made, the also came in place and presented her selfe, craving of *Jupiter*, her part of honor as well as the other: *Jupiter* being thus driven to his shifts, for that he had divided and given away all before, not having any thing else to bestow, gave unto her the honor which is done unto those that be departed this life, to wit, teares, plaints, and lamentations: as other petie gods and goddesses therefore, love those who honor them and none else; even so (good lady) *Sorrow* (if you make not much of her, and give her divine honor) will not come neere unto you; but in case you worship and honor her dutifully with those prerogatives which be allotted unto her, to wit, weeping, wailing, and lamentations, she will affect and love you, she will haunt you, yea, she will always minister matter unto you, that she may be continually honored by you. This device of the Philosopher, wonderfully wrought with the woman, and persuaded her in such sort, as she staied her plaints, gave over her weeping, and cast off all her sorrow: 10

In one word, a man may deale in this wife with one that is in sorrow, and demand of him: Whether art thou minded one day to cease this mourning, and make an end of piteous lamentation? or to persist still in afflicting and tormenting thy selfe as long as thou livest? for if thou continue all thy life time in this dolorous anguish, thou wilt procure and bring upon thy selfe perfect miserie & infelicitee in the highest degree, through thy effeminate softnesse and feebleness of heart; but if thou meanest at the length to change this fit, and to lay all mourning aside, why dost not thou beginne betimes, and resolve out of hand, to be delivered from this miserie at once? for looke what reasons and meanes thou art to use hereafter, for to be freed from these paines and perplexities; by the helpe of the same thou maiest presently be quit of this unhappy plight and state wherein thou art. And as it fareth in our bodies, the sooner that wee ridde away the crasse indispositions and maladies thereof, the better it is for us; even so it is in the diseases and passions of the soule: that therefore, which thou art minded and disposed to yeeld unto long time, give forthwith unto reason, unto literature and knowledge; discharge thy selfe (I say, and that with speed) of these calamities which now environ and compass thee round about. But haply you will say, I never thought that this would have befallen unto me, neither did I so much as doubt any such thing: yea, but you ought to cast doubts afore-hand; you should long time before have considered and meditated of the vanitie, weaknesse and instabilitie of mans affaires; by which meanes you had not bene surprisid as you are, nor taken so unprovided, as by some sudden incursion of enemies. Very well and wisely therefore it seemeth, that noble *Thesbeus* in *Euripides*, was prepared and armed against all such accidents of fortune, when he thus said: 30

*According, as a wise man once me taught,
I did in minde all miseries foresee;
And namely, how I might be overcaught
With bitter sight; and not to sit so fast
In native joye, but fore't to sit at last:
Untimely death of wife, of child, of friend,
How soone might hap, full or ofse unto my minde.
In summe, I did misfortunes manifeste
Eft soones prophe and set before mine eyes,
To the end that I acquainted thus of old
With such fore-casts, might soone learne to despiise,
And yet nought by adverse calamities:
For no mischance, or fortune overthrowt,
Could now be strange, and nip me to the hart.*

But those who are effeminate, base-minded, and not exercised before-hand in such premeditations, never plucke up their spirits, nor set their mindes to deliberate and consult as touching any honest or profitable course; but suffer themselves to breake out into extremities and miseries remedielesse, afflicting and punishing their harmelesse bodies, and as *Aleus* was wont to say, forcing them to be sicke with them for companie, which ailed nought before. And therefore *Plato* (in my conceit) gave a very wise admonition: That in such casualties and mischances as these, we should be quiet; aswell, for that it is uncerteine whether it be good or ill for them whose death we seeme to lament; as also, because there can no good ensue unto us by such pensiveness and sorrow: for this is certeine: That as sage consultation in a mans selfe (as touching that which is hapned already) doth remove sorrow; so griefe impeacheth wise counsell, which 40

would have a man to employ and accommodate all his affaires and occurrences the best way he can; like as in playing at the tables, to dispose so of his cast and chance whatsoever, as may most serve to win the game.

Ifkeith hap therefore, to stumble and catch a fall, by the crooked aspect of adverse fortune, we must not doe as little children, who laying their hands upon that part which is hurt, fall a puling or setting up a crie; but apply our minds presently to seeke for remedie; to let that upright, which is fallen; to rectifie that which is out of frame, by helpe of good medicines; and in one word, to put away all moanes and lamentations.

Certes, it is reported, that he (whoever he was) that set downe lawes and statutes to the Ly- 10 cians, ordeined expressly: That whensoever they were disposed to mourne and lament, they should be araied in womans apparell; as giving them thereby to understand, that to weepe and waile, was but a feminine and servile passion, nothing at all befitting grave persons, well descended, or honestly brought up: for (to say a trueth) to weepe and waile thus, is meere womanish, and bewaileth a base and abject minde: and like as women ordinarily be more prone and forward thereto than men; so Barbarians rather than Greeks; and the worse sort of people are given thereto more than the better: also, if you goe thorow all barbarous nations, you shall not finde those who are most haughtie-minded and magnanimous, or carry any generositie of spirit in them, such as be the Almans or Gaules addicted hereto; but Aegyptians, Syrians, Lydians, and such other; for some of these (by report) use to goe downe into hollow caves within the 20 ground, and there hide themselves for many daies together, and not so much as see the light of the sunne, because (forsooth) the dead partie whom they mourne for, is deprived thereof. In which regard, for the Tragical Poet having (as it should seeme) heard of such fooleries, bringing in upon the stage, a woman speaking in this wife:

*Come forth am I, now at the last,
Your nurse and childrens governess,
Out of deepe caves, where some daies past,
I kept in balefull heavynesse.*

Others there be also of these Barbarians, who cut away some parts, and disfigure themselves, lit their owne noses, crop their eares, misuse & disfigure the rest of their bodies, thinking 30 to gratifie the dead in doing thus, if they seeme to exceed all measure, & that moderation which is according to nature. There are besides, who reply upon us and say: That they thinke we ought not to waile and lament for every kind of death; but only in regard of those that die before their time; for that they have not as yett attained of those things which are esteemed blessings in this life, to wit, the joys of marriage, the benefit of literature and learning, the perfection of yeeres, the management of common-weale, honors and dignities; for these be the points that they stand upon; and grieve most who lose their friends or children by untimely death, for that they be disappointed and frustrate of their hopes before the time; ignorant altogether that this hasty and over-speedie death, in regard of humane nature, differeth nothing at all from others: for like as in the returne to our common native countrey, which is necessarily imposed upon all, 40 and from which no man is exempted, some march before, others follow after, and all at length meet at one and the same place; even so in traveling this journey of farall destinie, those that arrive late thither, gaine no more advantage than they who are thither come betime: now if any untimely or hasty death were naught simply, that of little babes and infants that sucke the breast, and cannot speake, or rather such as be newly borne were worst; and yett their death we beare verie well and patiently, whereas we take their departure more heavily, and to the heart, who are grown to some good yeeres, and all through the vanitie of our foolish hopes; where- by we imagine and promise to our selves assuredly, that those who have preceded thus farre, be past the worst, and are like to continue thus, in a good and certaine estate: If then the prefixed 50 terme of mans life were the end of twentie yeeres, certes, him that came to be fiftene yeeres old we would not judge unripe for death, but thinke that he had attained to a competent age; and as for him who had accomplished the full time of twentie yeeres, or approached neere thereto we would account him absolute happy, as having performed a most blessed and perfect life: but if the course of our life reached out to two hundred yeeres, he who chanced to die at one hundred yeeres end, would be thought by us to have died too soone; and no doubt his untimely death we would bewaile and lament. By these reasons therefore, and those which heereofore we have alledged, it is apparent, that even the death which we call untimely, soone admitteth consolation, and a man may beare it patiently; for this is certaine, that *Troilus* would have wept 60 lesse;

Iesse; yea even Priamus himselfe, shed fewer teares, in case he had died sooner; at what time as the kingdome of Troy flourished, or whilst himselfe was in that wealthy estate; for which he lamented so much; which a man may evidently gather by the words which he gave to his sonne Hector, when he admonished and exhorted him to retire from the combat which he had with Achilles in these verses:

Returne my some with these wals, that thou from death maist save
The Trojan men and women both, let not Achilles have
Of thee that honour, as by life so sweet to take away,
By victorie in single fight, and hast thy dying day:
Have pittie yet my sonne of me, thy wofull aged sire,
Ere that my wits and senses faile, whom Jupiter inire
Will else one day at the end of this my old and wretched yeeres,
Consume with miserable death, out-worne and spent with teeres.
As having many objects scene, of sorrow and hearts griefe;
My sonnes cut short by edge of sword, who should be my reliefe;
My daughters trait d by haire of head, and waight in my sight;
My pillage rae'd, their chambers sackt, wherein I tooke delight:
And sucking babes from mothers breasts pluckt, and their braines disht out
Against the stones of pavment hard, lie sprawling all about:
When enemy with sword in hand, in heat of bloody heat
Shall havocke make: and then my selfe at last must play my part:
Whom when some one by dint of sword, or lance of dart from farre,
Hath quite bereft of vital breath, the hungry dogs shall are
About my corpes, and at my gates hale in and drag along,
Gnawing the flesh of hoarie head, and gristled chin among,
Mangling besides the privie parts of me a man soold,
Unkindly flaine, a spectacle most piteous to behold.
Thus spake the aged father tho, and plucks from head above
His haire milke-white, but all these words, did Hector nothing move.

Seeing then, so many examples of this matter presented unto your eyes, you are to thinke and consider with your selfe, that death doth deliver and preserve many men from great & greivous calamities, into which without all doubt they should have fallen, if they had lived longer: But for to avoid prolixitie, I will omit the rest, & my selfe, with those that are related already, as being sufficient to proove & shew, that we ought not to breake out beside nature, and beyond measure into vaine sorrowes and needlesse lamentations, which bewray nothing else but base and feeble minds. *Crantor* the philosopher was wont to say: That to suffer adversitie causelesse, was no small eadement to all sinisther accidents of fortune: but I would rather say: That innocencie is the greatest and most soveraigne medicine to take away the sense of all dolour in adversitie: moreover, the love and affection that we beare unto one who is departed, consisteth not in afflicting and punishing our selves; but in doing good unto him so beloved of us: now the profit and pleasure that we are able to performe for them who are gone out of this world, is the honour that we give unto them by celebrating their good memorials; for no good man deserveth to be mourned and bewailed; but rather to be celebrated with praise and commendation: He is not worthy of sorrow and lamentation, but of an honorable and glorious remembrance; he requieth not teares as testimonials of griefe and dolour; but honest offerings, and civill oblations: if it be true, that he who is gone out of this world, doth partake a more divine and heavenly condition of life, as being delivered from the servitude of this bodie, and the infinit cares perplexities, and calamities which they must needs endure, who abide in this mortall life, untill such time as they have runne their race, and performed the prefixed course of this life, which nature hath not granted unto us for to be perpetual, but according to the lawes of fatall destiny hath given to every one in severall proportion. Such therefore as be wise and well minded, ought not in sorrow and griefe for their friends departed, to passe beyond the bounds and limits of nature, and in vaine plaints and barbarous lamentations forget a meane, and never know to make an end; expecting that which hath befallen to many before them, who have bene so far gone in heaviness and melancholie, that before they had done lamenting, they have finished their daies, and ere they could lay off the mourning habit for the funerals of others, they have bene ready themselves to be caried forth to their unhappy sepulture: in so much as the sorrowes which they

they entertained for the death of another, and the calamities proceeding from their owne folly, have bene buried together with them; so as a man might very well and truly say of them as *Homer* did:

Whiles they their plaints and sorrowes made,
Darke night over-spread them with her shade.

And therefore in such case we are cliques thus to speake unto our selves, and reason in this manner: What? shall we make an end once? or rather never cease so long as we live; but still keepe a weeping and wailing as we do? for I assure you, to thinke that sorrow should never end, were a point of extreame folly, considering that often times we see even those, who of all others take on and fare most impatiently in their fits of griefe and heaviness, become (in proceesse of time) so well appeased, that even at those tombs and monuments where they piteously cried out and knocke their breasts, they met afterwards solemnly to make magnificent feasts, with musick, minstrells, and all the meanes of mirth that might be devised. It is the propertie therefore of a mad man and one bereft of his wits, to resolve and set downe with himselfe to dwell evermore in sorrow, and not to give it over: but if men thinke and reckon, that it will cease at length and passe away, by occasion of some thing that may occur, let them call this withall, that space of time, will (after a sort) doe it: for that which once is done, can not by God himselfe be undone: and therefore that which now is hapned contrary to our hope and expectation, is a sufficient proove & demonstration of that which is wont to befall unto many others by the same means.

How then? is not this a thing that we are able to comprehend by learning and discourse of reason in nature? to wit:

The earth is full, and sea likewise,
Of sundrie evils and miseries.

As also:

Such mischiefs ay, and strange calamities,
Are daily one after another sent

To mortall men by fatall destinies;

The skie it selfe is not thereof exempt.

For not onely in these daies, but time out of minde, many men (and those of the wiser sort) have deplored the miseries of mankind, reputing life it selfe to be nothing els but punishment; and the verie beginning of mans birth and nativitie, to be no better than woe and miserie. And *Aristotle* saith: That even *Silenus*, when he was caught and taken captive, pronounced as much unto king *Midas*. But forasmuch as this matter maketh so well to our purpose, it were best to set downe the very words of the said Philosopher; for in his booke entituled *Eudemus* or *Of the soule*, thus he saith: Therefore (quoth he) o right excellent and of all men most fortunate, as we esteeme the dead to be blessed and happy, so we thinke that to make a lie or speake evil of them, is meere impietie, and an intolerable abuse offered unto them, as being now translated into a far better and more excellent condition than before; which opinion and custome in our country is so ancient and of such antiquitie, that no man living knoweth either the time when it first began, or the first author thereof, who brought it in: but from all eternitie this custome hath bene among us observed for a law. Moreover, you know full wel the old said law, that from time to time hath run currant in every mans mouth: And what is that? quoth he: then the other presently inferred this answer, and said: That simple it was best, not to be borne at all, and to die better than to live: and hereto have accorded and given testimony, the very gods themselves, and namely, unto king *Midas*, who having in chase and hunting (upon a time) taken *Silenus*, demanded of him what was best for man? and what it was that a man should with for and chuse above all things in the world? for that your life is lesse dolorous and irkesome, when it hath no knowledge at all of her owne calamities; but so it is, that men by no means can have that which simply is best, nor be partakers of that which is most excellent: for best it had bene for all men and women both, never to have bene borne at all; the next to it, and indeed the principall and chiefe of all those things that may be effected, (how ever in order it falleth out to be second) as to die immediately after one is borne. So that it appeareth plainly, that *Silenus* judged and

and pronounced the condition of the dead to be better than of the living. For the proof of which conclusion, ten thousand sentences and examples there be, and ten thousand more upon the head of them, which may be alledged: but needlesse it were, to discourse farther of this point, and make more words thereof. Well then: we ought not to lament the death of young folke, in this regard, that they be deprived of those blessings and benefits which men doe enjoy by long life: for uncerteine it is (as we have shewed often times before) whether they be deprived of good things or delivered from bad; considering that in mans life there be farre more sorowes than joys; and those (as few as they be) we get with much paines, great travell, and many cares; whereas calamities and evils come easily unto us; inasmuch (as some men say) they be round and united close, and following aptly one upon another; whereas good things be separate and disjointed, inasmuch as hardly they meet together at the very end of mans life: and therefore it seemeth that we forget our selves; for as *Euripides* saith:

Not only worldly goods are not

Proper to men when they are got,

but not any thing els whatsoever; and therefore of all such things we are thus to say:

The gods have all in rightfull propertie,

And under them, at will we tenants be,

To hold, and use the same, some more some lesse,

Until they please us quite to dispossesse.

We ought not therefore to be grieved and discontented, if they redemand of us that which they have lent and put into our hands, onely for a litle while; for even the banquers themselves (as we were wont oftentimes to say) are not displeased or offended when they be called unto or constrained to render and give up those stocks of money that have bene committed unto them, if they be honest men, and well minded: for a man may by good right lay unto those who are unwilling, to redeliver the same: Hast thou forgotten that thou didst receive these monies to repay againe? And the very same may be applied unto all mortall men: for we have our life at Gods hands, who upon a titall necessitie, have lent and left the same unto us; neither is there any time fore-set or prefixed, within which we ought to yeeld the same; no more than the foresaid banquers are limited to some appointed day, on which they are bound to deliver up those stocks of money which be put into their hands; but unknown and uncerteine it is when they shall be called unto, for to render the same to the owners. He therefore who is exceeding much displeased, & angrie, when he perceiveth himselfe readie to die; or when his children have changed this life; is it not evident that he hath forgotten, both that himselfe is a man, and also that he begot children mortall? for surely it is no part of a man whose understanding is cleere and entire, to be ignorant in this point, namely that man is a mortall creature, or that he is borne upon this condition, once to die: and therefore if dame *Niobe*, according as fables recount unto us, had bene alwaies furnished with this opinion and setled resolution; That

The flower of age she should not use

Enjoy, nor children see alway

About her fresh in number many,

To keepe her ever company:

Nor sweet sun-shine continually

Behold, until that she must die.

she would never have fared so, and fallen into such despaire, as to desire to be out of the world, for the unsupportable burden of her calamitie, and even to conjure the gods for to fetch her away, and plunge her into most horrible destructions. Two rules and precepts there are written in the temple of *Apollon*, at *Delfos*, which of all others be most necessarie for mans life: the one is, Know thy selfe; and the other; Too much of nothing: for of these twaine depend all other lessons, and these two accord and found very well together; for it seemeth that the one doth declare the other, and containe the force and efficacie one of the other; for in this rule; Know thy selfe, is comprised; Nothing too much: likewise in this, a man doth comprehend the knowledge of himselfe: and therefore for the poet speaking of these sentences, saith thus;

Know thy selfe, a word but short,

Implies a worke not quickly done,

Of all the gods and heavenly sort

None sk. is thereof but heavenly Jove alone.

And *Pindarus* writeth in this wise:

This

*This sentence brieve: Nothing excessively,
Wise men have praised alwaies exceedingly.*

Whoever therefore setteth alwaies before the eyes of his minde these two precepts, and holdeth them in such reverence as the oracles of *Apollon* deserve, he shall be able to apply them easily unto all the affaires and occurrences of humane life, and to beare all things modestly as it becometh, both having a regard to his owne nature, and also endeavouring neither to mount up too high with pride and vain-glories, for any happie fortune that may befall, nor yet be dejected and cast downe beyond measure, to mourning and lamentation upon infinitie of fortune, or rather of the minde, or by reason of that inbred fear of death imprinted deeply in our hearts for want of knowledge and good consideration of that which is ordinary, and customably hapneth in mans life, either through necessitie, or according to the decree of fatall destinie. Notable is that precept of the Pythagoreans:

*What part thou hast of griefe and woe, which unto man is sent,
By hand of God, take well in woorth, and shew no discontent.*

And the tragicall poet *Aeschylus* said very well:

*Wise men and vertuous in all woe and distresse,
Against God will not murmur more or lesse.*

As also *Euripides*:

The man who yeelds unto meeke spite,

Well skilled is in true divinitie:

And such we count, and not unworthily

To beare themselves among men most wisely.

And in another place:

Who knows the way, what ever doth befall

With patience meekely to suffer all;

In my conceit, he may be thought right well,

In vertue and wise dome all men to excell.

But contrariwise, most men in the world complaine and grumble at every thing; and whatsoever falleth out croffe and contrary to their hope and expectation, they imagine the same to proceed alwaies from the malignitie of fortune and the gods; which is the reason that in all accidents they weepe, waile, and lament; yea, and they blame their owne froward and adverse fortune: unto whom we may very well and with great reason reply in this manner:

No God it is, nor heavenly might,

That works thy woe, and all thy sight.

but even thine owne selfe, thy folly and error proceeding from ignorance: and upon this false persuasion and erroneous opinion it is, that these men complaine of all sorts of death; for if any of their friends chaunce to die in a forreine country, they fetch a deepe sigh in his behalfe, and cry out saying:

Alas poore wretch, woe's me for thee, that nei her father shine,

Nor mother deere shall present be, to close thy sight-lesse eien.

Dieth he in his owne native soile, and in the presence of father and mother? they mourne and lament, for that being taken out of their hands, he hath left unto them nothing else behind, but a deepe impression of griefe, in seeing him die before their eyes: Is it his hap to depart out of this world in silence, and without giving any charge of ought concerning him or them? then they cry out againe, and breake forth into these words; as he did in *Homer*:

Alas the while, that no wife speech and lesson thoume gave,

Which while my breath and life doth last, I should remembered have.

Again, if he delivered any words unto them at the houre of his death, they will evermore have the same in their mouthes to kinde anew and refresh their sorow: went he suddenly, and never bad his friends farewell, when he departed? they lament and say: That he was ravished away and forcibly taken from them: if he languished, and was long in dying, then they fall a complaining, and give out; that he consumed and pined away, enduring much paine before hee died: to be short, every occasion & circumstance whatsoever, is enough to stirre up their griefe, and minister matter to maintaine forowfull plaints. And who be they who have moved and brought in all these outcries and lamentations, but Poets, and even *Homer* himselfe, most of all other, who is the chief and prince of the rest, who in this manner writeth:

Like as a father, in the fire of wefull funerals,

Burning

*Burning the bones of his young sonne, soone after his espousals,
Sbeds many teares for griefe of minde, and weepeb bitterly:
The mother likewise (tender heart) bewailes him piteously,
Thus he by his untimely death, both parents miserable,
Afflict's with sorrowes manifold, and woes unexplicable:*

But all this while it is not certaine whether it bewel and rightly done, to make this sorrow; for see what followeth afterwards:

*He was their only sonne, and borne to them in their olde age,
Sole heire of all, and to enjoy a goodly heritage.*

And who knoweth, or is able to say, whether God in his heavenly providence and fatherly care of mankind, hath taken some out of the world by untimely death, foreseeing the calamities and miseries which otherwise would have hapned unto them? and therefore we ought to thinke that nothing is befallen them which may be supposed odious or abominable:

*For nothing grievous though may be,
Which cometh by necessity.*

Nothing (I say) that hapneth to man, either by primitive cause immediatly, or by consequence, aswell in this regard, that often times most kinds of death preserve men from more grievous adversities, and excuse them for greater miseries; as also for that it is expedient for some, never to have bene borne, and for others, to die in their very birth; for some, a little after they be entered into this life, and for others againe, when they are in their flower, and grown to the verie height and vigor of their age: all which sorts of death, in what maner soever they come, men are to take in good part, knowing that whatsoever proceedeth from fatall destinie, can not possible be avoided; and besides, reason would, that being well taught and instructed, they should consider and premeditate with themselves, how those whom we thinke to have bene deprived of their life before their full maturitie, go before us but a little while; for even the longest life that is, can be effeemed but short, and no more than the very minute and point of time, in comparison of infinit eternitie: also, that many of them who mourned and lamented most, within a while have gone after those whom they bewailed, and gained nothing by their long sorrow; onely they have in vaine afflicted and tormented themselves: whereas, seeing the time of our pilgrimage here in this life is so exceeding short, we should not consume our selves with heaviness and sadness, nor in most unhappie sorrow and miserable paines, even to the punishing of our poore bodies with injurious misusage; but endeavour and strive to take a better and more humane course of life, in conversing civilly with those persons who are not ready to be pensive with us, and fit to stirre up our sorrow and griefe after a flattering sort; but rather with such as are willing & meet to take away or diminish our heaviness, with some generous and grave kinde of consolation: and we ought to have ever in minde these verses in *Homer*, which *Hector* by way of comfort delivered unto his wife *Andromache*, in this wife:

*Unhappy night, do not my heart vexee and sollicit still,
For woman (boreen) shall my daies, before the heavenly will:
And this (I say) Andromache, that fatall destinie,
No person good or bad, once borne, avoid can possibly.*

And of this fatall destinie the same Poet speaketh thus in another place:
*No sooner out of mothers wombe, are babes brought forth to light,
But destinie hath spun the thread for every mortall night.*

These and such like reasonings, if we would conceive and imprint before-hand in our mindes, we should be free from this foolish heaviness, and delivered from all melancholy; and namely, considering how short is the terme of our life between birth and death, which we ought therefore to spare and make much of, that we may passe the same in tranquillitie, and not interrupt it with carking cares and dolefull dumps, but laying aside the marks and habits of heaviness, have a regard both to cheerish our owne bodies, and also to procure and promote the welfare and good of those who live with us. Moreover, it will not be amisse to call to minde and remember those arguments and reasons, which by great likelihood wee have sometime used to our kinsfolke and friends, when they were afflicted with like calamities, when as by way of consolation we exhorted and perswaded them to beare the common accidents of this life with a common course of patience, and humane cases, humanely. Neither must we shew our selves so far short and faultie, as to have bene sufficiently furnished for to appease the sorrow of others, and not be able by the remembrance of such comforts, to do our selves good: we ought therefore present-

ly

ly to cure the anguish of our heart with the soveraign remedies and medicinale drogues (as it were) of reason; and so much the sooner, by how much better we may admit delay in any thing els than in discharging the heart of griefe and melancholie: for whereas the common proverbe and by-word in every mans mouth, pronounceth thus much:

*Who loves delays, and his time for to slacke,
Lives by the losse, and shall no sorrows lacke.*

Much more damage (I suppose) he shall receive, who deferreth and putteth off from day to day to be discharged of the grievous and adverse passions of the minde. Anian therefore is to turne his eyes toward those worthy personages who have shewed themselves magnanimous and of great generositie in bearing the death of their children: as for example, *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian, *Pericles* and *Demosthenes* of Athens, *Dion* the Syracusan, and king *Antigonus*, besides many others, both in these daies and also in times past: of whom, *Anaxagoras* (as we read in historie) having heard of his sonnes death by one who brought him newes thereof, even at what time as he was disputing in naturall philosophie, and discoursing among his scholars and disciples, paused a while, and stated the course of his speech, and said no more but thus unto those who were about him: Well I wist that I begat my sonne to be a mortall man. And *Pericles* who for his passing eloquence and excellent wisdom, was surnamed *Olympus*, that is to say, divine and heavenly; when tidings came to him that his two sonnes *Paralus* and *Xanthippus* had both changed this life, behaved himselfe in this manner as *Protagoras* reporteth of him in these words: When his two sonnes (quoth he) both young and beautifull, died within eight daies, one after the other; he never shewed any sad countenance or heavie chere, but tooke their death most patiently: for in truth he was a man at all times furnished with tranquillitie of spirit, whereby he daily received great frute and commodities; not onely in respect of this happinesse, that he never tasted of hearts griefe; but also in that he was better reputed among the people; for every man seeing him thus stoutly to take this losse and other the like crosses, esteemed him valiant, magnanimous, and of better courage than himselfe; the one being privie to his owne heart, how he was wont to be troubled and afflicted in such accidents: As for *Pericles* I say, immediately after the report of both his sons departure out of this world, he wore a chaplet of flowers nevertheless upon his head, after the manner of his country, put on a white robe, made a solemne oration to the people, propounded good and sage counsels to the Athenians, & incited them to war. Semblably *Xenophon* one of the followers & familiars of *Socrates*, when he offered sacrifice one day unto the gods, being advertised by certaine messengers returned from the battell, that his sonne *Gryllus* was slaine in fight; presently put off the garland which was upon his head, and demanded of them the manner of his death; and when they related unto him that he bare himselfe valiantly in the field, and fighting manfully lost his life, after he had the killing of many enemies; he tooke no longer pause for to repress the passion of his mind by the discourse of reason, but after a little while, set the coronet of flowers againe upon his head, and performed the solemneitie of sacrifice; saying unto those who had brought those tidings; I never praised unto the gods that my sonne should be either immortal, or long lived, for who knoweth whether this might be expedient or no? but this rather was my praier, that they would vouchsafe him the grace to be a good man, and to love and serve his country well, the which is now come to passe accordingly. *Dion* likewise the Syracusan, when he was set one day in consultation, and devising with his friends, hearing a great noise within his house, and a loud outcry, demanded what it was? and when he heard the mischaunce that hapned; to wit, that a sonne of his was fallen from the top of the house, and dead with the fall; without anie shew or signe at all of astonishment or trouble of mind, he commanded that the breathlesse corps should be delivered unto women, for to be interred according to the manner of the country; and as for himselfe, he held on and continued the speech that hee had begun unto his friends. *Demosthenes* also the orator is reported to have followed his steps; after he had buried his onely and entirely beloved daughter, concerning whom, *Aeschines* thinking in reprochfull wise to challenge her father, said thus: This man within a seven-night after his daughter was departed, before that he had mourned or performed the due obsequies according to the accustomed manner; being crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and putting on white robes, sacrificed an ox unto the gods, and thus unnaturally he made no reckoning of her that was dead, his onely daughter, and the that first called him father, wretched wreck that he is: this Rhetorician thus intending to accuse and reproch *Demosthenes*, used this manner of speech, never thinking that in blaming him after this manner he praised him, namely, in that hee rejected and cast behind

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him all mourning, and shewed that he regarded the love unto his native countrey, more than the naturall affection and compassion to those of his owne blood. As for king *Antigonus*, when he heard of the death of his sonne *Alcyonem*, who was slaine in a battell, he beheld the messengers of these wofull tidings, with a constant and undaunted countenance; but after he had mused a while with silence, and held downe his head, he uttered these words: O *Alcyonem*, thou hast lost thy life later than I looked for, venting thy selfe so resolutely as thou hast done among thine enemies, without any care of thine owne safetie, or respect of my admonitions. These noble personages, there is no man but doth admire and highly regard for their constance & magnanimitie; but when it cometh to the point and trall indeed, they cannot imitate them through the weakenesse and imbecillitie of mind, which proceedeth of ignorance, and want of good instructions: howbeit, there be many examples of those who have right nobly and virtuously caried themselves in the death and losse of their friends and neere kinsmen which we may reade in histories, as well Greeke as Latin; but those that I have rehearsed already may suffice (I suppose) to moove you for to lay away this most irksome mourning, and vaine sorrow that you take, which booteeth not, nor can serve to any good: for that yong men of excellent vertue, who die in their youth, are in the grace and favour of the gods, for being taken away in their best time, I have already shewed heretofore, and now also will I addressse my selfe in this place as briefly, as possibly I can to discourtie, giving testimonie of the truth to this notable wise sentence of *Menander*:

*To whom the gods wouche safe their love and grace,
He lives not long but some hath runne his race.*

But peradventure (my most loving and right deere friend) you may reply in this maner upon me: Namely, that yong *Apollonius* your sonne, enjoyed the world at will, and had all things to his hearts desire; yea, and more besitting it was, that you should have departed out of this life, and bene entered by him, who was now in the flower of his age, which had bene more answerable to our nature, and according to the course of humanitie. True it is I confesse, but haply not agreeable to that heavenly providence and government of this universall world: and verily in regard of him who is now in a blessed estate, it was not naturall for him to remaine in this life longer than the terme prefixed and limited unto him; but after he had honestly performed the course of his time, it was needfull and requisite for him to take the way for to returne unto his destinie that called for him to come unto her: but you will say, that he died an untimely death; true, and so much the happier he is, in that he hath felt no more miseries of this life: for as *Empidius* said very well:

*That which by name of life we call,
Indeed is travell continuall.*

Certes, this sonne of yours (I must needs say) is soone gone, and in the very best of his yeeres and flower of his age, a yong man in all points entire and perfect, a fresh bachelor, affected, esteemed and well reputed of all those who kept him companie, loving to his father (kinde to his mother, affectionate to his kinsfolke and friends, studious of good literature, and to say all in a word) a lover of all men; respecting with reverence (no lesse than fathers) those friends, who were elder than himselfe, making much of his equals and familiars, honoring those who were his teachers; to strangers aswell as to citizens most civill and courteous; gracious and pleasant to all; generally beloved, aswell for his sweet attractive countenance, as his lovely affabilitie. All this (I confesse) is most true; but you ought to consider and take this withall: That he is translated before us in very good time out of this mortall and transitorie life into everlasting eternitie, carrying with him the generall praise and blessed acclamation of all men for his pietie and observance toward you, as also for your fatherly regard of him; and departed he is as from some banquet, before he is fallen into drunkennesse and follie, which hee could not have eschewed, but would have ensued upon olde age: and if the saying of ancient Poets and Philosophers be true, as it seemeth verily to be, namely: That good men and those that devoutly serve God, whensoever they die, have honour and preferment in the other world, and a place allotted them apart, where their soules abide and converse; surely you are greatly to hope very well, that your sonne is canonized and placed in the number of those blessed saints; concerning the state of which happie wights deceased, *Pindarus* the Lyricke Poet, writeth in his canticles after this maner:

*When we have heret the shade night,
The shining sunne to them gives light:
The meadowes by their citie side*

With

*With roses red are beautified,
Shaded with trees which please the sense,
With golden fruits and sweet incense:
Some, horses ride for exercise,
Disporting in most comely wise;
Others delight in harmonie,
In musicke and in symphonie.
They live where plentie everie houre
Of all delights doth freshly flowe;
Where affairs of the gods do sune
In every coast, with sweet perfume,
Of odors all most redolent,
Burning in fire farre resplendent,
Which is mainteind continually:
Thus they converse right pleasantly.*

And a little after he proceedeth to another lamentable dittie, wherein speaking of the soule, he uttereth these words:

*Happie is their condition,
Whom death from all vexation
Exempted hath: all bodies die
Perforce, there is no remedie:
The soule, of perperitie
The image, from divinitie
Onely deriv'd, doth live away,
And is not knowne for to decay:
Whiles limmes to make and worke are prest,
She takes her sleepe and quiet rest,
And doth by many dreames present
To those who sleepe, * her owne judgement,
Aswell of things which her displease,
As of such as do her well please.*

Or thus:

** the due judgement,
Aswell for vertuous deeds well done,
As for soules fautes which be undone.*

And as for that divine Philosopher *Plato*, he hath disputed much, and alledged many reasons in his * treatise of the soule, as touching the immortallitie thereof, like as in his books of policie, in the dialogue intituled *Menon*, in that also which beareth the name of *Gorgias*, and in divers places of many others: But as concerning those discourses which he hath expressly made in his dialogue, I will give you an extract thereof apart by it selfe, according to your request; and for this present I will deliver those points which are to the purpose, and expedient to the matter in hand, to wit, what *Socrates* said to *Callicles* the Athenian, a familiar friend and scholar of *Gorgias* the Rhetorician. Thus therefore saith *Socrates* in *Plato*: Give care then, and listen unto a most elegant speech, which you (I suppose) will thinke to be a mere fable or tale, but I esteeme an undoubted truth, and as a true report I will relate it unto you: So it was, that (according to the narration of *Homer*) *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, parted betweene themselves, the empire which fell unto them from their father: now this law there was concerning men, during the reigne of *Saturne* (which also stood in force time out of minde, and remaineth even at this day among the gods) That looke what man soever lead a just & holy life, after his death he should take his way directly to certain fortunate islands, there to remain in blisse & happinesse, freed from all misery and infelicitie; but contrariwise, he that lived unjustly, without feare and reverence of the gods, should goe to a certaine prison of justice and punishment, named *Tartarus*, that is to say, Hell: now the judges who sat judiciously, and gave their doome of such persons, aswell in *Saturnes* daies, as in the beginning also of the reigne of *Jupiter*, were those men alive, who gave sentence and judgement of other men living, even upon that very day wherein they were to depart this life: by reason whereof there passed many judgements, not good, until such time as *Pluto* & other procurators or superintendents of those fortunate Isles came and made report unto *Jupiter*, that

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there were thither sent such persons as were not woorthy. unto whom *Jupiter* made this answer: I will take order from henceforth, and provide that it shall be so no more: for the cause of this disorder and abuse in judgement is this; that they who are to be tried, come clad and arrayed unto the barre, for to receive their doome, whiles they are yet living yea, many of them haply having fillicie foules, are apparelled (as it were) with faire and beautifull bodies, with nobilitie of birth and parentage, yea, and adorned with riches; and whiles they stand before the tribunall to be judged, many there be who come to depose and give testimonie in their behalfe, that they lived well: the judges therefore (being dazzeled and amazed with these witnesss and depositions, being themselves also likewise arrayed) do give sentence, having before, their minds, their eyes, eares, teeth, and whole bodie covered; no marvell therefore if these be impediments to impeach sound and sincere judgement, to wit; as well their owne vesture, as the raiment of the judges. First and foremost therefore, good heed would be had, that men may know no more before hand the houre of their death; for now they foresee the terme and end of life: whereupon let *Prometheus* have first in charge, that from henceforth men may have no fore-knowledge of their dying day; and then all judgements hereafter shall passe indifferently of them that be all naked. For which purpose it were requirrit that they be all first dead, as well the parties in question, as the judges themselves; so that they come to heare causes, and sit in judgement with their foules onely, upon the foules likewise of those who are departed; even so loone as they are separated from the bodies, being destitute now and forlorne of all kinsfolke and friends to assist them, as having left behind them upon earth, all the vesture and ornaments which they were wont to have; by which meanes, the judgement of them may passe more just and right: which I knowing well enough, before you were acquainted therewith, have ordained mine ownnes to be judges; namely for *Asia* two, *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*; and one for *Europe*, to wit, *Aacus*: These therefore after they be dead, shall sit in judgement within a meadow, at a quartefour or crosse-way, whereof the one leadeth to the fortunate isles, the other to hell: *Rhadamanthus* shall determine of them in *Asia*; *Aacus* of those in *Europe*; and as for *Minos* I will grant unto him a preeminence in judgement above the rest; in case there happen some matter unknowne to one of the other two, and escape their censure, he may upon weighing and examining their opinions, give his definitive sentence, and so it shall be determined by a most sincere and just doome, whether way each one shall goe. This is that *O Callicles* which I have heard, and beleeve to be most true; whereout I gather this conclusion in the end; that death is no other thing than the separation of the soule from the body. Thus you see (*O Apollonius* my most deere friend) what I have collected with great care and diligence, to compole for you sake a consolatorie oration or discourse, which I take to be most necessarie for you, as well to assuage and rid away your present griefe, to appeale likewise, and cause to cease this heavinesse and mourning that you make, which of all things is most unpleasant and troublefome; as also to comprise within it that praise and honour which (me thought) I owed as due unto the memoriall of your sonne *Apollonius*, of all others exceedingly beloved of the gods: which honour in my conceit is a thing most convenient and acceptable unto those, who by happie memorie, and everlasting glorie are consecrated to immortallitie. You shall doe your part therefore, and verie wisely, if you obey those reasons which are therein contained; you shall gratifie your sonne likewise, and doe him a great pleasure, in case you take up in time and returne from this vaine affliction (wherewith you punish and undoe both bodie and mind) unto your accustomed, ordinarie and naturall course of life: for like as whiles he lived with us he was nothing well appeied, and tooke no contentment to see either father or mother sadde and desolate; even so now, when he converseth and solaceth himselife in all joy with the gods, doubtlesse he cannot like well of this state wherein you are. Therefore plucke up your heart, and take courage like a man of worth, of magnanimitie, and one that loveth his children well: releafe your selfe first, and then the mother of the young gentleman together with his kinsfolke and friends from this kind of miserie, and take to a more quiet & peaceable maner of life, which will be both to your sonne departed, and to all us (who have regard of your person, as it becometh us) more agreeable.

A

A CONSOLATORIE LETTER, OR DISCOURSE

SENT UNTO HIS OWNE WIFE,
AS TOUCHING THE DEATH
OF HER AND HIS
DAUGHTER.

The Summarie.

Plutarch being from home, and farre absent, received newes concerning the death of a little daughter of his, a girle about two yeeres old, named Timoxene, a childe of a gentie nature, and of great hope: but fearing that his wife would apprehend such a losse, too neere unto her heart; he comforteth her in this letter, and by giving testimonie unto her of vertue and constancie sheweth the death of other children. of hers more forward in age than she was; he exhorteth her likewise to patience and moderation in this newe occurrence and triall of hers; condemning by sundry reasons the excessive sorrow and unworthy fashion of many fond mothers, shewing withall, the inconveniences, that such excessive heavinesse doth bring after it. Then continuing his consolation of her, he declareth with what care we ought to regard our selves and children aswell before, as during and after life; how happie they be, who can content themselves and rest in the will and pleasure of Gods; that the blessing of god, ought to dulce and mitigate the calamities present, to stay us also, that we proceed not to that degree and height of importunitee, as to make account onely of the misadventures and discomforts hapning in this our life. Which done, he answereth to certaine objections which his wife might propoale and set on foot; and therewith delivereth his owne advice as touching the incorruption and immortallitie of mans soule (after he had made a medly of divers opinions which the ancient Philosophers held as touching that point); and in the end concludeth: That it is better and more expedient to die betimes, than late: which position of his, he confirmeth by an ordinance precisely observed in his owne countrey, which expressly forbad to mourne and lament for those who departed this life in their childehood.

A CONSOLATORIE LETTER or Discourse, sent unto his owne wife, as touching the death of her and his daughter.

PLUTARCH unto his wife: Greeting.



He messenger whom you sent of purpose, to bring me word as touching the death of our little daughter, went out of his way (as I suppose) and so missed of me, as he journeyed toward *Athena*; howbeit, when I was arrived at *Tanagra*, I heard that she had changed this life. Now, as concerning the funerals and enterring of her, I am verily perswaded, that you have already taken sufficient order. So as that the thing is not to doe; and I pray God, that you have performed that dutie in such sort, that neither for the present, nor the time to come, it worke you any grievance & displeasure: but if haply you have put off any such complements (which you were willing enough of your selfe to accomplish) untill you know my minde and pleasure, thinking that in so doing, you should with better will and more patiently beare this adverse accident; then I pray you, let the same be performed without all curiositie and superstition; and yet I must needs say, you are as little given that way as any woman that I know: this onely I would admonish you,

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deare heart, that in this case, you shew (both in regard of your selfe and also of me) a constancie and tranquillitie of minde: for mine owne part, I conceive and measure in mine owne heart, this losse, according to the nature and greatnesse thereof, and so I esteeme of it accordingly; but if I should finde, that you tooke it impatiently, this would be much more grievous unto me, and wound my heart more, than the calamitie it selfe that causeth it; and yet am not I begotten and borne either of an oake or a rocke; whereof you can beare me good witnesse, knowing that wee both together have reared many of our children at home in house, even with our owne hands; and how I loved this girle most tenderly, both for that you were very desirous (after foure sonnes, one after another in a row) to beare a daughter, as also for that in regard of that fancie, I tooke occasion to give her your name: now, besides that naturall fatherly affection, which men commonly have toward little babes, there was one particular propertie that gave an edge thereto, and caused me to love her above the rest; and that was a speciall grace that she had, to make joy and pleasure, and the same without any mixture at all of curtnesse or frowardnesse; and nothing given to whining and complaint; for she was of a wonderfull kinde and gentle nature, loving the was againe to those that loved her, and marvellous desirous to gratifie and pleasure others; in which regards, she both delighted me, and also yielded no small testimonie of rare debonairtie that nature had endued her withall; for shee would make pretie meanes to her nourse, and seeme (as it were) to intreat her to give the breest or pap, not onely to other infants, like her selfe, her play-felers, but also to little babies and puppets, and such like gauds as little ones take joy in, and wherewith they use to play; as if upon a singular courtisie and humanitie shee could finde in her heart to communicate and distribute from her owne table, even the best things that shee had, among them that did her any pleasure. But I see no reason (sweet wife) why these lovely qualities and such like, wherein we tooke contentment and joy in her life time, should disquiet and trouble us now, after her death, when we either thinke or make relation of them: and I feare againe, left by our dolour and griefe, we abandon and put cleane away all the remembrance thereof, like as *Clymene* desired to doe, when she said:

*I hate the bow sight of Cornel tree:
All exercise abroad, farewell for me.*

as avoiding alwaies and trembling at the remembrance and commemoration of her sonne, which did no other good but renew her griefe and dolour; for naturally we seeke to flee all that troubleth and offendeth us. We ought therefore to doe to demaene our selves, that as whilst she lived, we had nothing in the world more sweet to embrace, more pleasant to see, or delectable to heare than our daughter; so the cogitation of her, may still abide and live with us all our life time, having by many degrees our joy multiplied more than our heavinesse augmented: if it be meet and fit that the reasons and arguments which wee have often times delivered to others, should profit us when time and occasion requirerth, and not lie still and idle for any good wee have by them, nor challenge and accuse us, for that in stead of joies past, we bring upon our selves many more griefs by farre. They that have come unto us, report thus much of you, and that with great admiration of your vertue, that you never put on mourning weed, nor so much as changed your robe, & that by no meanes you could be brought to disfigure your selfe or any of your waiting maidens and women about you, nor offer any outrage or injurie to them in this behalfe; neither did you fet out her funerals with any sumptuous panegyricall pompe, as if it had bene some folemne feast, but performed every thing soberly and civilly, after a still manner, accompanied onely with our kinsfolke and friends. But my selfe verily made no great wonder (that you who never tooke pride and pleasure to be seene, either in theater or in oblique procession, but rather alwaies esteemed all such magnificence so vaine, and sumptuousitie superfluous, even in those things that tended to delight) have observed the most safe way of plainnesse and simplicitie, in these occasions of sorrow and sadnesse. For a vertuous and chaste matrone ought not onely to keepe herselfe pure and inviolate in Bacchanall feasts; but also to thinke thus with herselfe, that the turbulent stormes of sorrow, and passionate motions of anguish had no lesse need of continencie to resist and withstand, nor the naturall love and affection of mothers to their children, as many thinke, but the intemperance of the mind. For we allow and graunt unto this naturall kindnesse, a certaine affection to bewaile, to reverence, to with for, long after, and to beare in minde those that are departed; but the excessive and insatiable desire of lamentations, which forceth men and women to loud out-cries, to knocke, beat, and mangle their owne bodies, is no lesse unseemely and shamefull, than incontinence in pleasures: howbeit, it seemeth by good right to deserve excuse and pardon, for that in this undecencie, there is griefe

griefe and bitternesse of sorrow adjoined, whereas in the other, pleasure and delight: for what is more absurd and senselesse, than to seeme for to take away excesse of laughter and mirth; but contrariwise to give head unto streames of teares which proceed from one fountain, and to suffer folk to give themselves over to weeping and lamentation as much as they will; as also that which some use to doe, namely, to chide and rebuke their wives for some sweet pastimes, odoriferous pomanders, or purple garments, which they are desirous to have; and in the meane while permit them, to teare their haire in time of mourning, to shave their heads, to put on blacke, to sit unseemely upon the bare ground, or in ashes, and in most painfull manner to crie out upon God and man; yea and that which of all others is woofst, when their wives chastise excessively, or punish unjustly their servants, to come betwene and staie their hands; but when they rigorously and cruelly torment themselves, to let them alone and neglect them in those crosse accidents, which contrariwise had need of facilitie and humanitie? But betwene us twaine, sweet heart, there was never any need of such fraie or combat, and I suppose there will never be. For to speake of that frugalitie which is seene in plaine and simple apparell, or of sobrietie in ordinary diet, and tending of the bodie; never was there any philosopher yet conversing with us in our house, whom you put not downe and stricke into an extraordinary amaze, nor so much as a citizen whom you caused not to admire (as a strange and wonderfull fight, whether it were in publicke sacrifices, or in frequent theaters, and solemne processions) your rare simplicitie: seemably, heretofore you shewed great constancie upon the like com-
20 sick and accident at the death of your eldest sonne; and againe when that gentle and beautiful *Charon* departed from us untimely, in the prime of his yeeres; and I remember very well that certaine strangers who journeyed with me along from the sea side, (at what time as word was brought of my sonnes death) came home with others to my house, who seeing all things there seeld, nothing out of order, but all silent and quiet (as they themselves afterward made report) began to thinke that the said newes was false, and no such calamitie had hapned; so wisely had you composed all matters within house, when as iwis, there was good occasion given that might have excused some disorder and confusion; and yet this sonne you were nurse unto your selfe, and gave it suck at your owne pappes; yea, and endured the painfull incision of your breast, by reason of a cancerous hard tumour that came by a confusion. Oh, the generositie of a ver-
30 tuous dame, and behold the kindnesse of a mother toward her children! whereas you shall see many other mothers to receive their young babes at the hands of their nurses, to dandle & play withall forsooth, in mirth & pastime; but afterwards the same women (if their infants chance to die) give themselves over to a vain mourning, & bootelesse sorrow, which proceedeth not doubtlesse from good will indeed; (for surely heartie affection is reasonable, honest and considerate) but rather from a foolish opinion mingled with a little naturall kindnesse; and this is it that engendreth savage, furious, & implacable sorrows. And verily *Aelope* (as it should seeme) was not ignorant hereof, for he reporteth this narration: That when *Jupiter* made a dole or distribution of honors among the gods and goddesses; *Sorrow* came afterwards and made suite likewise to be honored, and so he bestowed upon her, teares, plaints, and lamentations; but for them
40 onely who are willing thereto, and ready to give her intertainment. And I assure you, this they commonly doe at the very beginning; for everie one of his owne accord bringeth in and admitteth sorrow unto him, who (after she is once entertained, and in processe of time well seeld, so that she is become domestical and familiar) will not be driven out of dores nor be gone, if a man would never loe faime; and therefore resistance must be made against her, even at the verie gate, neither ought we to abandon our hold, and quit the fort, renting our garments, tearing or shearing our haaires, or doing other such things, as ordinarily happen every day; causing a man to be confused, shamefull, and discouraged, making his heart bale, abject and shut up, that he cannot enlarge it, but remaine poore and timorous; bringing him to this passe, that he dare not be merrie, supposing it altogether unlawfull to laugh, to come abroad and see the sunne light,
50 to converse with men, or to eate or drinke in companie; into such a captivitie is he brought through sorrow and melancholie: upon this inconvenience after it hath once gotten head, there followeth the neglect of the bodie, no care of annoointing or bathing, and generally a retchlesse and contempt of all things belonging to this life; whereas contrariwise and by good reason, when the mind is sicke or amisse, it should be helped and sustained by the strength of an able and cheerefull body: for a great part of the foules griefe is allaid, and the edge thereof as it were dulled, when the bodie is fresh and disposed to alacritie, like as the waves of the sea be laid even, during a calme and faire weather: but contrariwise, if by reason that the bodie be evill

evill entreated, and not regarded with good diet and choise keeping, it become dried, rough, and hard, in such sort, as from it there breathe no sweet and comfortable exhalations unto the soule, but all smooke and bitter vapors of dolour, griefe, and sadnesse annoy her; then is it no easie matter for men (be they never so willing and desirous) to recover themselves, but that their soules being thus seized upon by so grievous passions, will be afflicted and tormented still. But that which is most dangerous and dreadfull in this case, I never feared in your behalfe, (to wit) That foolish women should come & visit you, and then fall a weeping, lamenting, and crying with you; a thing (I may say to you) that is enough to whet sorrow, and awaken it if it were asleepe, not suffering it either by it selfe, or by meanes of helpe and succour from another, to passe, fade, & vanish away; for I know verie well what adoe you had, & into what a conflict you entred about the sister of *Theon*, when you would have afflicted her & resisted other women who came into her with great cries & loud lamentations, as if they brought fire with them, in al haste to maintaine & encrease that which was kindled already. True it is indeed, that when a friends or neighbors house is seene on fire, every man runneth as fast as he can to helpe for to quench the fame; but when they see their soules burning in griefe and sorrow, they contrariwise bring more fuel & matter still to augment or keepe the said fire al so if a man be diseased in his sides, he is not permitted to handle or touch them with his hands, especially if they be bloud-shotten, and possessed with any inflammation; whereas he who sits mourning and forrowing at home in his house, offereth and presenteth himselfe to the first commet, and to every one that is willing to irritate, stirre, and provoke his passion, (as it were a flood or streame that is let out and set a running) in so much as where before the grievance did but itch or smart a little, it now begins to shoot, to ake, to be fell and angrie, so that it becometh a great and dangerous maladie in the end: but I am verily perswaded (I say) that you know how to preserve your selfe from these extremities. Now over and besides, endeavour to reduce and call againe to mind the time when as we had not this daughter, namely, when she was as yet unborn; how we had no cause then to complaine of fortune; then see you joine (as it were with one tenor) this present, with that which is past, setting the case as if we were returned againe to the same state wherein we were before: for it will appeere (my good wife) that we are discontented that ever she was borne, in case we make shew that we were in better condition before her birth, than afterwards; not that I wish we should abolish out of our remembrance the two yeeres space between her nativitie and decease, but rather count and reckon it among other our pleasures and blessings, as during which time, we had the fruition of joy, mirth, and pastime, and not to esteeme that good which was but little and endured a small while, our great infortunitie; nor yet seeme unthankfull to fortune, for the favour which she hath done unto us, because she added not thereto that length of life which we hoped and expected. Certes to rest contented alwaies with the gods, to thinke and speake of them reverently as it becometh; not to complaine of fortune, but to take in good woorth whatsoev' it pleaseth her to send, bringeth evermore a faire and pleasant fruite: but he who in these cases, putteth out of his remembrance the good things that he hath, transporting and turning his thoughts and cogitations from obscure and troublefome occurrents, unto those which be cleere and resplendent; if he doe not by this meanes utterly extinguish his sorrow, yet at leastwise by mingling and tempering it with the contrary, he shall be able to diminish or else make it more feeble: for like as a sweet odor and fragrant ointment delighteth and refresheth alwaies the sense of smelling, and besides is a remedie against stinking favours; even so the cogitation of these benefits which men have otherwise received, serveth as a most necessarie and present succour in time of adversitie unto as many as refuse not to remember and call to minde their joies passed, and who never at all for any accident whatsoever complaine of fortune, which we ought not to doe in reason and honestie, inlesse we would seeme to accuse and blame this life which we enjoy, for some crosse or accident, as if we cast away a booke if it have but one blur or blot in it, being otherwise written throughout most cleane and faire; for you have heard oftentimes sayd, that the beatitude of those who are departed, dependeth upon the right and sound discourses of our understanding, and the same tending to one constant disposition; as also, that the changes and alterations of fortune beare no great sway, to inferre much declination or casualitie in our life: but if we also as the common sort, must be ruled and governed by externall things without us, if we reckon and count the chaunces and casualties of fortune, and admit for judges of our felicitie our miserie, the base and vulgar sort of people; yet take you no heed to those teares, plaints, and moanes that men or women make who come to visit you at this present, who also (upon a foolish custome & as it were of course) have them ready at command for every

every one; but rather consider this with your selfe; how happie you are reputed, even by those who come unto you, who would gladly and with all their hearts be like unto you, in regard of those children whom you have, the house and family which you keepe, & the life that you leade; for it were an evill thing to see others desire to be in your estate and condition for all the sorrow which now afflicteth us, and your selfe in the meane time complaining and taking in ill part the same, and not to be so happy and blessed, as to find and feele (even by this crosse that now pincheth you, for the losse of one infant) what joy you should take, and how thankfull you ought to be for those who remaine alive with you: for heerein you should resemble very well, those Critics, who collect and gather together all the lame and defective verses of *Homer*, which are but few in number; and in the meane time, passe over an infinite sort of others, which were by him most excellently made. In this manner (I say) you did, if you would search narrowly, and examine every particular mishap in this life, and finde fault therewith; but all good blessings in grose, let go by, and never once respect the same; which to doe, were much like unto the practise of those covetous misers, worldlings and peni-fathers, who care and care, punish both bodie and minde, untill they have gathered a great deale of good together, and then enjoy no benefit or use thereof; but if they chance to forgo any of it, they keepe a pitcous wailing and wofull lamentation.

Now if haply you have compassion and pittie of the poore girle, in that she went out of this world a maiden unmarried, and before that she bare any children; you ought rather on the contrary side, to reioice and take delight in your selfe above others, for that you have not failed of these blessings, nor bene disappointed either of the one or the other: for who would holde and maintaine; that these things should be great to those who be deprived of them; and but small to them, who have and enjoy the same? As for the child, who doubtlesse is gone into a place where the feeleth no paine, surely she requireth not at our hands that we should afflict & grieve our selves for her sake: for what harme is there befallen unto us by her, if she her selfe now feele no hurt? And as for the losses of great things indeed, surely they yeeld no sence at all of dolor, when they are come once to this point, that there is no more need of them, or care made for the. But verily, thy daughter *Timosena* is bereft, not of great matters, but of small things; for in truth, she had no knowledge at all, but of such, neither delighted she in any, but in such: seeing then, that she had no perceivance nor thought of those things, how can she properly and truly be said to be deprived thereof?

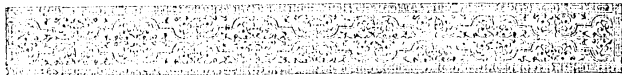
Moreover, as touching that which you heard of others, who are wont to perswade many of the vulgar sort, saying: That the soule once separate from the bodie, is dissolved and feeleth no paine or dolor at all: I am assured, that you yeeld no credit and beliefe to such positions; as well in regard of those reasons and instructions which you have received by tradition from our ancestors, as also of those sacred and symbolical mysteries of *Baculus*, which we know wel enough, who are of that religious confraternitie, and professed therein. Being grounded therefore in this principle, and holding it firmly for an undoubted truth: That our soule is incorruptible and immortal; you are to thinke, that it fareth with it, as it doth with little birds that are caught by the fowler alive, and came into mens hands: for if it have bene kept and nourished daintily a long time within the bodie, so that it be inured to be gentle and familiar unto this life, to wit, by the management of sundry affaires and long custome, it returneth thither againe, and reent'reth a second time (after many generations) into the bodie; it never taketh rest nor ceaseth, but is inwrapped within the affections of the flesh, and entangled with the adventures of the world, and calamities incident to our nature: for I would not have you to thinke that olde age is to be blamed and reproched for riuels and wrinkles, nor in regard of hoarie white haies, ne yet for the imbecillitie and feeblenesse of the body; but the worst and most odious thing in it, is this: That it causeth the soule to take corruption by the remembrance of those things whereof it had experience whilst it staid therein, and was too much addicted and affectionate unto it, whereby it bendeth and boweth, yea, and retaineth that forme or figure which it tooke of the bodie, by being so long devoted thereto; whereas that which is taken away in youth, pretendeth a better estate and condition, as being framed to a gentler habit, more soft, tractable and lesse compact, putting on now a naturall rectitude, much like as fire, which being quenched, if it be kindled againe, burneth out, and recovereth vigor incontinently: which is the cause that it is faire better

Betimes to yeeld up vital breath,

And come to passe the gates of death,

before that the soule have taken too deepe an imbibition or liking of terrene things here below, and

and ere it be made soft and tender with the love of the bodie, and (as it were) by certeine medicines and forcible charmes united and incorporate into it. The trueth herof may appeare yet better, by the fashions and ancient customes of this countrey; for our citzens (when their children die yong) neither offer mortuaries, nor performe any sacrifices & ceremonies for them, as others are wont to do for the dead: the reason is, because they have no part of earth nor earthly ly affections; neither doe they keepe about their tombs and sepulchres, nor lay forth the dead corps abroad to be seene of men, nor fit neere unto their bodies: for our lawes and statutes doe not permit and suffer any mourning at all for those that so depart in their minority, as being a custome not holy and religious; for that wee are to thinke they passe into a better place and happier condition. Which ordinances and customes, since it is more dangerous not to give credit unto, than beleue, let us carie and denicane our selves according as they command, for outward order; as for within, all ought to be more pure, wile and uncorrupt.



HOW IT COMMETH, 20 THAT THE DIVINE IUSTICE DEFERRETH OTHER-WHILES THE PUNISHMENT OF WICKED PERSONS.

The Summarie.

Inasmuch as the order of all considerate justice importeth and requireth, that goodmen should be maintained and cherished, but contrariwise wicked persons repressed and punished for their lewd acts: the Epicureans (drunken & intoxicated with false supposalls, seeing in the conduct of this worlds affaires, some that be honest and veruous, distressed and oppressed by devils deuers and practices; whereas others againe, who be naught and vicious, exatime in repose, without any chisment at all for their misdemeanors) would needs take from God the dispose and government of humane affaires, holding and maintaining this point: That all things roll and run at a venture, and that there is no other cause of the good and euill accidents of this life, but either fortune or els the will of man. Now among other arguments which they haue to confirme themselves in this mishap and in our opinion, the patience and long suffering of the diuine justice, is one of the principalls; concluding thereby very feebly, that (considering mal-factors are thus supported and seene to escape all chisment) there is no Deitie or Godhead at all, which regardeth men, either to reward them for vertue, or to punish and do vengeance for their iniquity and transgression. Plutarch therefore, having to deale in his time with such dangerous spirits, comforteth them in this treatise, which of all others is most excellent, and deferreth to be read and perused over againe in these wretched daies, wherein Epicurisme beareth up the head as high as at any time ere before. True it is (I confess) that Theologie and Diuinitie maketh suruise to with reasons and answers more firme and effectfull (without comparison) than all the Philosophie of Pagans whatsoever: howbeit, for all that, there is here sufficient to be found (as touching this point) for to stoppe the mouthes of those who haue any remnant of shame, honestie or conscience left in them. This present treatise may very well be diuided into two principall parts: in the former, Epicurus being brought in to dispute against diuine providence, and so departing without stay for answer, other Philosophers deliberate to be refuted of this point in his absence: and before that they state his objection, two of them doe amplifie and exaggerate the same at large: which done, our author taketh the question in hand, and by seven forcible arguments or firme answers, refuteth the blasphemie of the Epicureans, proving by sound arguments enriched with similitudes, sentences examples and notable histories, that wicked persons neuer continue unpunished, but that the vengeance of God accompanieth quickly

quickly and criminally their misdeeds. In the second part, they debate a certeine question depending of the precedent objection, to wit, Wherefore children be chastised for the sinnes of their fathers and ancestors? and there was a certeine Philosopher named Timon, who handled this matter, raising after an oblique manner, the iustice of Gods which Plutarch maintaineth and defendeth, shewing by diuers reasons, that whatsoever Timon had alledged, was meere false; and that God did no iniurie at all unto those children, in withdrawing his grace and fauour from them, and chastising them so, together with their parents, finding them likewise culpable for their part. But in this place, our author answereth not sufficiently and to the purpose; as being ignorant of originall sinne, and the universall corruption of Adams children, which enuere appeth them all in the same condemnation, although some are farther gone in sinfull life, according as they be grown to more yeeres, and so augment their punishment; inasmuch as we may well marvell at this; that a poore Plutarch both so farre proceeded in this point of Theologie; and Christians haue so much greater occasion to looke unto themselves, in the midst of this light which directeth them, considering how this man could see so cleere in darknesse, which appeareth sufficiently in the end of this discourse; where he intermedleth certeine fables as touching the state of our soules after they be parted from the bodies.

HOW IT COMMETH, THAT 20 the diuine justice deferreth otherwhiles the punishment of wicked persons.



After that Epicurus had made this speech (*ô Cyne*) and before that any one of us had answered him, by that time that we were come to the end of the gallerie or walking place, he went his way out of our sight, and so departed; and we wondering much at this strange fashion of the man, stood still a pretie while in silence, looking one upon another, and so we betooke our selves to our walking againe, as before: then *Parocles* began first to mooue speech and conference, saying in this manner: How now my masters! if you thinke so good, I will discusse this question, and make answer in his absence, to those reasons which he hath alledged, aswell as if he were present in place: hereupon Timon tooke occasion to speake, and said: Certes it were not well done of us, to let him escape so without revenge, who hath left his dart sticking in us; for captaine *Brasidas* (as it appeareth in the Chronicles) being wounded with the shot of a iuelin, drew it out of his bodie his owne selfe, and therewith smote his enemy who had hurt him, so as he killed him outright: as for us, we need not so greatly to be revenged of those who have let lie among us, some rash, foolish and false speeches; for it will be sufficient, to shake the same off, and send them backe againe, before our opinion take holde thereof. And what was it, I pray you (quoth I) of all that which he delivered, that moved you most? for the man handled many things confusedly together, and nothing at all in good order, but kept a prating and babbling against the providence of God, facing and inveighing most bitterly and in reprochfull tearmes, as if he had bene in a fit of anger and rage. Then *Parocles*: That which he uttered as touching the long delay and slacknesse of diuine justice in punishing the wicked, in my conceit was a great objection and troubled me much, and to say a truth, their reasons and words which he delivered have imprinted in me a new opinion, so as now I am become a novice, and to begin againe to learne. True it is that long since I was discontented in my heart to heare *Euripides* speake in this wise;

*He putteth off from day to day,
Gods nature is, thus to delay.*

For it were not meet and decent, that God should be slow in any action whatsoever, and least of all in punishing sinners; who are themselves nothing slothfull, nor make delay in perpetrating wicked deeds, but are caried most speedily and with exceeding violence of their passions, pricked forward to do wrong and mischief. And verily when punishment ensueth hard after injury and violence committed; there is nothing as (*Thucydides* faith) that so soone stoppeth the passage against those who are most prone and ready to runne into all kinde of wickednesse; for there is no delay of payment that so much casebleth the hope, and breaketh the heart of a man wronged and offended, nor causeth him to be so insolent and audacious, who is disposed

disposed to mischief, as the deferring of justice and punishment: whereas contrariwise the corrections, & chastisements, that follow immediately upon leud acts, and meet with the malefactor's betimes, are a means both to repress all future outrage in offenders, and also to comfort and pacify the heart of those who are wronged. For mine owne part the saying of *Bias* troubleth me many times, as often as I thinke upon it, for thus he spake unto a notorious wicked man: I doubt not but thou shalt one day smart for this geere, and pay for thy leudnesse; but I feare I shall never live to see it. For what good unto the Messenians being slaine before, did the punishment of *Aristocrates*, who having betrayed them in the battell of *Cyprus*, was not detected and discovered for his treason in twentie yeeres after, during which time, he was alwaies king of *Areadia*, and being at the last convicted for the said treacherie, suffered punishment for his deserts? meane while, those whom he had caused to be massacred, were not in the world to see it. Or what comfort and consolation received the Orchomenians, who lost their children, kinsfolke, and friends, through the treason of *Lysiclus*, by the maladie which long after seized upon him, eating & consuming al his bodie? who ever as he dipped and bathed his feet in the river water, kept a swearing and cursing, that he thus rotted and was eaten away, for the treachery which most wickedly he had committed? And at *Athens* the childrens children of those poore wretches who were killed within the privileged place of sanctuary, could never fee the vengeance of the gods which afterwards fell upon those bloudie and sacrilegious caittives, whose dead bodies and bones being excommunicate, were banished, and cast out beyond the confines of their native countrey. And therefore me thinkes *Enripides* is very absurd, when to divert men from wickednesse he useth such words as these:

*Iustice (seare not) will not thee overtake,
To pierce thy heart, or deepe wound ever make
In liver thine; nor any mortall might
Besides, though leud he be, and doe no right.
But slow she goes, and silent to impeach
And chastise such, if ever then she reach.*

For I assure you it is not like, that wicked & ungracious persons use any other perswasions, but even the very same to incite, move and encourage themselves to enterprise any leud and wicked acts, as making this account and reckoning, that injustice will quickly yeeld her frute ripe in due time, and the same evermore certaine: whereas punishment cometh late and long after the pleasure and fruition of the said wickednesse. When *Paracles* had discoursed in this wise, *Olympicus* tooke the matter in hand and said unto him: Marke moreover (O *Paracles*) what inconvenience and absurditie followeth upon this slownesse of diuine justice, and prolonging the punishment of malefactors? for it causeth unbelief in men, and namely, that they are not persuaded that it is by the providence of God that such be punished; & the calamitie that cometh upon wicked ones, not presently upon every sinful act that they have committed, but long time after, is reputed by them infelicitie, and they call it their fortune, and not their punishment; whereupon it cometh to passe, that they have no benefite thereby, nor be any whit better, for howsoever they grieve and be discontented at the accidents which befall unto them, yet they never repent for the leud acts they have before committed. And like as in punishment among us, a little pinch, stripe, or lash given unto one for a fault or error, presently upon the doing thereof, doth correct the partie, and reduce him to his dutie; whereas the wrings, scourgings, knocks, and fouding thumps, which come a good while after, seeme to be given upon some occasion beside, and for another cause rather than to teach; and therefore well may they put him to paine and griefe, but instruction they yeeld none; even so faultinesse rebuked and repressed, by some present chastisement, every time that it trespasseth and transgresseth, howsoever it be painfull at first, yet in the end it becometh it selfe, learneth to be humbled, and to feare God as a severe iusticier, who hath an eye upon the deeds and passions of men, for to punish them incontinently, and without delay; whereas this justice and revenge which cometh so slowly, and with a soft pace (as *Enripides* saith) upon the wicked and ungodly persons, by reason of the long intermission, the inconstant and wandering incertitude, and the confused disorder resembling chance and adventure more than the desiggnie of any providence: in so much as I cannot conceive or see what profit can be in these grindstones (as they call them) of the gods, which are so long a grinding; especially, seeing that the judgement and punishment of sinners is thereby obscured, and the feare of sinne made slight, and of no reckoning. upon the deliverie of these words, I began to studie and muse with my selfe: then *Timon*: Would you (quoth he)

he) that I should cleere this doubt once for all, and so make an end of this disputation? or permit him first to dispute and reason against these oppositions? And what need is there (answered I) to come in with a third wave for to overflow and drowne at once our speech and discourse, if he be not able to refute the former objections, nor to escape and avoid the chalenges already made. First and foremost therefore to begin at the head, and (as the manner is, to say) at the goddesse *Vesta*, (for the reverent regard and religious feare that the Academicke philosophers profess to have unto God, as an heavenly father) we utterly disclaime, and refuse to speake of the Deitie, as if we knew for certaintie what it is: for it were a greater presumption in us who are but mortall men, to enterprise any speech or discourse as touching gods or demi-gods, than for one who is altogether ignorant in long, to dispute of musick, or for them who never were in campe, nor saw so much as a battell fought, to put themselves forward to discourse of armes and warfare; taking upon us, (unskillfull as we are, and void of art) a fantastick knowledge, grounded only upon some light opinion, and conjecture of our owne, as if we were right cunning workemen and artificers: for it is no this part, who is not studied in the arte of Physick, to gesse at the reason and consideration that the physician or chirurgian had, why he made incision no sooner in his patient, but staid long ere he proceeded thereto? or wherfore he bathed him not yesterday, but to day? seembably, it is neither easie nor safe for a mortall man to speake otherwise of the gods, than of those who knew well enough the due time and opportunitie to minister a meet and convenient medicine, unto vice and sinne; and exhibit punishment to every trespass, as an appropriate drouge, or confection to cure and heale each maladie; notwithstanding that the same measure and quantitie be not common to all delinquents, nor one onely time and the same, is alwaies meet therefore. Now that the physicke or medicine of the soule, which is called Right and Justice, is one of the greatest sciences that are; *Pindarus* himselfe besides an infinit number of others, beareth witness; when he calleth the Lord and governour of the world, to wit, God, a most excellent and perfect artificer, as being the author and creator of justice, unto whom it appertaineth to define and determine, when, in what manner, and how far forth, it is meet and reasonable to chastise and punish each offender. *Plato* likewise saith: That *Amos* the sonne of *Jupiter* (was in this science) the disciple of his father; giving us hereby to understand, that it is not possible for one to carie himselfe well in the execution of justice, nor to judge a right of him that doth as he ought; unless he have before learned that science, and be thoroughly skillfull therein. Furthermore, the positive lawes which men have established, seeme not alwaies to be grounded upon reason, or to found and accord in all respects with absolute equitie and justice; but some of their ordinances be such, as in outward appearance may be thought ridiculous, and worthy of mockerie; as for example, At *Lacedaemon* the high controllers called *Ephori*, so soone as they be entalled in their magistracie, cause proclamation to be published by sound of trumpet, that no man should weare mustaches, or nourish the haire on their upper lips; also that willingly every man should obey the lawes, to the end that they might not be hard or grievous unto them. The Romans also, when they enfranchise any slave, and make him free; cast upon their bodies a little small rodde or wand: likewise when they draw their last wils or testaments, institute some for their heires, whom it pleaseth them, but to others they leave their goods to sell; a thing that carrieth no sense nor reason with it. But yet more absurd and unreasonable is that statute of *Solons* making, wherein it was provided: That what citizen soever, in a civil sedition, ranged not himselfe to a side, nor tooke part with one or other faction, should be noted with infamie, and disabled for being capable of any honorable dignitie. In one word, a man may alledge an infinit number of absurdities besides, contained in the civill lawes; who neither knoweth the reason of the lawgiver that wrot them, nor the cause why they were set downe. If then it be so difficult to conceive and understand the reasons which have mooved men thus to doe, is it any marvell that we are ignorant of the cause, why God chastiseth one man sooner and another later? howbeit, this that I have said, is not for any pretence of starting backe and running away, but rather for to crave leave and pardon, to the end that our speech having an eye thereto, (as unto an haven and place of refuge) might be the more hardie, with boldnesse to range forth still in probabilities, to the matter in doubt and question: But I would have you to consider first, that (according to the saying of *Plato*) God having set himselfe before the eyes of the whole world, as a perfect pattern and example of all goodnesse, doth unto as many as can follow and imitate his divinitie, infuse humane vertue, which is in some sort conformable and like unto him; for the generall nature of this universall world, being at the first a confused and disorderd *Chaos*, obtained this principle

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and

and element, for to change to the better, and by some conformance and participation of the Idea of diuine vertue, to become this beautifull frame of the world: And even the verie same man faith moreover: That nature hath raised our eie-sight on high, and lightned the same, that by the view and admiration of those celestiaall bodies which mooue in heaven, our soule might learne to embrace and be accustomed to love that which is beautifull and in good order, as also to be an enemy unto irregular and inordinate passions; yea, and to avoid doing of things rashly and at adventure, which in truth is the very source of all vice and sinne; for there is nothing in the world wherein a man may have a greater fruition of God, than by the example and imitation of his good and decent qualities, to become honest and virtuous: wherefore if we perceive him to proceed slowly, and in tract of time to lay his heauie hand upon the wicked, and to punish to them, it is not for any doubt or feare that he should doe amisse, or repent afterward if he chastised them sooner, but by waining us from all beastly violence, & hastinesse in our punishments, to teach us not immediately to flie upon those who have offended us, at what time as our blood is most up, and our choler set on a light fire,

When furious ye in hart so leapes and boiles,

That wit and reason beare no sway the whiles.

making haste as it were to satiate some great hunger, or quench exceeding thirst, but (by imitating his clemencie, and his manner of prolonging and making delay) to endeavor for to execute justice in all order, at good leisure, and with most carefull regard; taking to counsell Time, which feldome or never is accompanied with repentance: for as *Socrates* was wont to say: Lett harme and danger there is, if a man meet with troubled and muddie water, and intemperately take and drinke thereof, than whiles his reason is confounded, corrupt, and full of choler and furious rage, to be set altogether upon revenge, and runne hastily upon the punishment of another bodie, even one who is of his owne kinde and nature, before the same reason be seled againe, clesned and fully purified. For it is nothing so as *Thucydides* writeth: That vengeance the neerer it is unto the offence, the more it is in the owne kind; but cleane contrary, the farther off it is, and longer delayed, the better it apprehendeth and judgeth of that which is fit and decent. For according as *Melantius* saith:

When anger once dislodged hath the wit,

Soule worke it makes, and our rage doth commir.

even for reason performeth all iust and honest actions, when it hath chased and removed out of the way, ire and wrath: and therefore men are mollified, appeased, and become gentle by examples of men, when they heare it reported, how *Plato*, when hee lifted up his staffe against his page, stood so a good while, and forbore to strike; which hee did (as he said) for to repress his choler. And *Arcbitas*, when he found some great negligence and disorder at his ferme-house in the country, in his household servants, perceiving himselfe moved and disquieted therewith, inso much as he was exceeding angry, and readie to flie upon them, proceeded to no act, but onely turning away and going from them, said thus: It is happie for you, that I am thus angry with you. If then it be so, that such memorable speeches of ancient men, and woorthy acts reported by them, are effectuaall to repress the bitterness and violence of choler; much more probable it is, that we (seeing how God himselfe, although he standeth not in feare of any person, nor repenteth of any thing that he doth, yet putteth off his chastisements, and laeth them up a long time) should be more wary and confidate in such things, and esteeme, that clemencie, long susterance and patience is a diuine part of vertue that God doth shew and teach us, which by punishment doth chastise and correct a few, but by proceeding thereto slowly, doth instruct, admonish and profit many. In the second place, let us consider, that iudicall and exemplarie proceesse of justice practised by men, intendeth and aimeth onely at a counterchange of paine and griefe, resting in this point: That he who hath done evil, might suffer likewise; proceeding no farther at all: and therefore baying and barking (as it were) like dogges at mens faults and trespasses, they follow upon them, and pursue after all actions by tract and footing: but God (as it should seeme, by all likelihood) when hee setteth in hand in justice to correct a sinfull & disedicte soule, regardeth principally the vicious passions thereof, if haply they may be bent & wrought so, as they will incline & turne to repentance; in which respect he staeth long before that he inflict any punishment upon delinquents, who are not altogether past grace incorrigible; for considering withall, and knowing as he doth, what portion of vertue, soules have drawn from him in their creation, at what time as they were produced first and came into the world; as also how powerfull and forcible is the generositie thereof, and nothing weak and feeble

ble in it selfe; but that it is cleane contrary to their proper nature, to bring forth vices, which are engendered either by ill education, or els by the contagious haunt of leaud company; and how afterward, when they be well cured and medicined (as it falleth out in some persons) they soone returne unto their owne naturall habitude, and become good againe: by reason hereof, God doth not make haste to punish all men alike, but looke what he knoweth to be incurable, that he quickly riddeth away out of this life, and cutteth it off, as a very hurtfull member to others; but yet most harmefull to it selfe, if it should euenmore conuerse with wickednesse; but to such persons in whom (by all likelihood) vice is bred and ingendred, rather through ignorance of goodnesse, than upon any purpose and will to chuse naughtinesse, hee giveth time and respite for to change and amend: howbeit, if they persist still, and continue in their leaud waies, hee paineth them himselfe likewise in the end, and never feareth that they shall escape his hands one time or other, but suffer condigne punishment for their deserts. That this is true, consider what great alterations there happen in the life and behaviour of men, and how many have beene reclaimed and turned from their leaudnesse; which is the reason that in Greeke our behaviour and conversation is called partly *Tragos*: that is to say, A conversion; and in part *Agros*: the one, because mens manners be subiect to change and mutation; the other, for that they be ingendred by life or custom; and the impression thereof being once taken, they remaine firme and sure: which is the cause also (as I suppose) that our ancients in olde time attributed unto king *Ceopros* a double nature and forme, calling him Double; not for that (as some said) of a good, clement and gracious prince, he became a rigorous, fell and cruell tyrant, like a dragon; but contrariwise, because (having bene at the first perverse, crooked and terrible) he proved afterward, a milde and gentle lord: and if we make any doubt hereof in him, yet we may be sure (at leastwise) that *Gelon* and *Hiero in Sicilie*, yea, and *Pisistratus* the sonne of *Hippocrates* all usurpers (who attained to their tyrannicall dominion by violent and indirect meanes) used the same vertuously: and howsoever they came unto their soveraigne rule by unlawfull and unjust meanes, yet they grew in time to be good governours, loving and profitable to the common weale, and likewise beloved and deare unto their subjects; for some of them having brought in and established most excellent lawes in the country, and caused their citizens and subjects to be industrious and painfull in tilling the ground; made them to be civill, sober and discrete, whereas before, they were given to be ridiculous, as noted for their laughter and lavish tongues; to be true labourers also, and painfull, who had bene idle and playfull. And as for *Gelon*, who had most valiantly warred against the Carthaginians, and defeated them in a great battell; when they craved peace, would never grant it unto them, unless he might be comprised among the articles and capitulations: That they should no more sacrifice their children unto *Saturne*. In the citie also of *Megapolis* there was a tyrant named *Lydiades*, who in the mids of his usurped dominion repented of his tyrannie, and made a conscience thereof, detesting that wrongfull oppression wherein he held his subjects, in such sort, as he restored his citizens to their ancient lawes and liberties, yea, and afterwards died manfully in the field, fighting against his enemies in the defence of his country. Now if any one had killed *Mitriades* at the first, whiles he exercised tyrannie in *Chersonesus*; or if another had called judicially into question *Cimon*, ending him for keeping his owne sister, and so being condemned of incest, had caused him to be put to death; or disfranchised and banished *Themistocles* out of the citie, for his loose wantonnesse and licentious insolencie shewed publickly in the Common place, as *Alcibiades* afterwards was served and proscribed; for the like excess and riot committed in his youth:

Where had bene then that famous victorie

Achieved on the plaines of Marathon?

Where had bene that renowned chivalrie

Performed nere the freames Eurymedon?

Or at the mount, faire Artemision?

Where Athens youth (as poet Pindare said)

Free dome first, the glorious ground worke laid?

For so it is, that great natures and high minds can bring forth no meane matters; nor the vehement force of action which is in them remaine idle, so lively and subtile it is, but they wave to and fro continually, as if they were tossed by tempest and winde upon the sea, untill such time as they come to be settled in a constant firme, and permanent habitude of manners: like as therefore, he who is altogether unskillfull of husbandrie and tillage, maketh no reckoning at all of a ground which he seeth full of rough bushes and thickets, beset with savage trees, and overpred

with ranke weeds; wherein also there be many wilde beasts, many rivers, and by consequence, great store of mudd and mire: but contrariwise, an expert husband, and one who hath good judgement, can discern the difference of things, knoweth these and all such signess, to be-taken a fertile and plentiful soile; euen so great wits and haucie spirits, doe produce and put forth at the first, many strange, absurd, and leud pranks, which we not able to endure; thinke, that the roughnesse & offensive pricks thereof, ought immediately to be cropt off and cut away: but he who can judge better (considering what proceedeth from thence good and generous) at-tendeth and expecteth with patience, the age and season, which is cooperative with vertue and reason, against which time, the strong nature in such, is for to bring forth and yeeld her proper and peculiar frute. And thus much may suffice of this matter.

But to proceed forward: Thinke you not that some of the Greeks have done well and wisely, to make a transcript of a law in *Egypt*, which commandeth; that in case a woman who is attaint and convicted of a capital crime, for which in justice she ought to die, be with childe, she should be kept in prison untill she were delivered? Yes verily, they all answered? Well then (quoth I) Set case there be some one who hath no children conceived in his wombe to bring forth; but breedeth some good counsell in his head, or conceiveth a great enterprise in his minde, which he is to bring to light, and effect in time, either by discovering an hidden mischief, or setting abroad an expedient and profitable counsell, or inventing some matter of necessarie consequence: Thinke you not that he did better, who deferred the execution of such an ones punish-ment & stay untill the utilitie that might grow by him were seene, than he who inconsiderately 20 & in all haste proceedeth to take revenge, & prevent the opportunitie of such a benefite? Certes, for mine owne part, I am full y of that minde: and even we no lesse, answered *Patrocleus*. Well then (quoth I) it must needs be so; for make thus much: If *Dionysius* had bene punished for his usurped rule, in the beginning of his tyrannie; there should not one Grecian have remained inhabitant in *Sicilie*, for the Carthaginians would have held the same and driven them all outlike as it must needs have befallen to the cite *Apollonia*, to *Anactorium*, and the *Chersonese* or de-mide island *Leucadia*, if *Pericles* had suffered punishment at first, and not a long time after, as he did. And I suppose verily that the punishment and revenge of *Cassander* was put off and prolonged of purpose, untill by that meanes the cite of *Thebes* was fully reedified and peopled againe. And many of those mercenary soldiers and frangers, who seized and held this temple 30 wherein we are, during the time of the sacred warre, passed under the conduct of *Timoleon* into *Sicilie*, who after they had defeated in battell, the Carthaginians, and withall suppressed & abol-ished sundrie tyrannies, they came to a wretched end, wicked wretches as they were. For God in great wisdom and providence; otherwhiles maketh use of some wicked persons, as of butchers and common executioners, to torment and punish others, as wicked as they or worse, whom afterwards he destroyeth; and thus in mine opinion he dealeth with most part of tyrants. For like as the gall of the wild beast *Hyena*, and the rendles or rennet of the Sea-calf, as also other parts of venomous beasts and serpents, have one medicinable propertie or other, good to heale sundry maladies of men; even so God seeing some people to have need of bitte and bridle, and to be chastised for their enormities, sendeth unto them some inhumane tyrant, or 40 a rigorous and inexorable lord to whip and scourge them, and never giveth over to afflict and vex them, untill he have purged and cleared them of that maladie wherewith they were infected. Thus was *Phalaris* the tyrant a medicine to the Agrigentines: thus *Narvis* was sent as a remedie to cure the Romans; as for the Sicyonians, even god himselfe *Apollo* foretold them by oracle: That their cite had need of certaine officers to whippe and scourge them, at what time as they would perforce take from the Cleoneans, a certain yong boy named *Teletus*, who was crowned in the solemnitie of the Pythian games, pretending that he was their citizen, and borne among them, whom they haled and pulled in such sort, as they dismembred him: But these Sicyonians met afterwards with *Orthagoras* that tyrannized over them; and when he was gone, they were plagued also with *Myron* and *Clithenes*, and their favorites, who held them in 50 so short, that they kept them from all outrages, and staid their insolent follies: whereas the Cleoneans, who had not the like purgative medicine to cure them, were subverted and through their mildmeane or come to nothing. Marke well therefore that which *Homer* in one place saith:

*His sonne he was, and in all kind of colour did surmount
His father farre, who was (to say a truth) of base account.*

And yet this sonne of *Copreus* never performed (in all his life) any memorable act, becomming a man

man of worth and honour: whereas the offspring of *Sisyphus*, the race of *Antolchus*, and the posteritie of *Phlegyas* flourished in glorie, and all manner of vertue among great kings and prin-ces. At *Athens* likewise, *Pericles* descended from an house excommunicate and accursed: And so at *Rome* *Pompeius* surnamed *Magnus*, that is, the Great, had for his father one *Strabo*, a man whom the people of *Rome* so hated, that when he was dead, they threw his corps out of the biere wherein it was caried forth to buriall, and trampled it under their feet. What absurditie then were it if as the husbandman never cutteth up or stocketh the thorne or bush, before he hath gathered the tender sprouts and buds thereof: nor they of *Libya* burne the boughes of the plant *Ladonum*, untill they have gotten the aromaticall gumme or liquor out of it called *Ladanum*, 10 even so God never plucketh up by the root, the race of any noble and roiall familie (wicked and wretched though they be) before it hath yeilded some good and profitable frute: for it had bene farre better and more expedient for the men of *Phocis*, that ten thousand beets and as many hor-ses of *Iphitus* had died; that the Delphians likewise had lost much more gold and silver by farre, than that either *Ulysses* or *Aesculapius* should not have bene borne; or others in like case, whose parents being wicked and vicious, were themselves honest and very profitable to the common-wealth. Are we not then to thinke, that it were far better to punish in due time and manner con-venient, than to proceed unto revenge hastily and out of hand? Like as that was of *Callippus* the Athenian, who making semblance of friendship unto *Dion*, stabbed him at once with his dag-ger, and was himselfe afterwards killed with the same, by his friends? as also that other of *Mitrus* 20 the Argive, who was murdered in a certaine commotion and civill broile: for it hapned so, that in a frequent assembly of the people, gathered together in the market place, for to behold a so-lenne shew, a statue of brasse fell upon the murderer of *Mitrus*, and killed him outright. And you have heard (I am sure) of *Patrocleus* (have you not?) what befell unto *Bessus* the Poonian, and *Arifon* the Oetian, two colonels of mercenary and foren souldiers? No verily (quoth he) but I would gladly know: This *Arifon* (quoth I) having stollen and caried away out of this temple, certaine jewels and costly furniture of queene *Eriphyle*, which of long time had there bene kept safe, by the grant and permission of the tyrants who ruled this cite, carried them as a present to his wife; but his sonne being on a time (upon some occasion) displeased and angrie 30 with his mother, set fire on the house, and burnt it with all that was within it. As for *Bessus*, who had murdered his owne father, he continued a good while not detected, untill such time, as being one day at supper with certaine of his friends that were frangers, with the head of his speare he pierced and cast downe a swallowes nest, and so killed the yong birds within it: and when those that stood by, seemed (as good reason there was) to say unto him: How cometh this to passe, good sir? and what aile you, that you have committed so leud and horrible an act? Why (quoth he againe) doe these birds erie aloud and beare false witnesse against me, testifying that I have murdered mine owne father? hee had no sooner let fall this word, but those who were present tooke holde thereof, and wondering much thereat, went directly to the king, and gave informa-tion of him; who made so diligent inquisition, that the thing upon examination was discov-ered; and *Bessus* (for his part) punished accordingly for a parricide. Thus much (I say) have we related, that it may be held as a confessed truth and supposition, that wicked men otherwhiles 40 have some delay of their punishment: as for the rest, you are to thinke that you ought to hearken unto *Hesiodus* the Poet, who saith not as *Plato* did, that the punishment of sinne doth fol-low sinne hard at the heeles, but is of the same time and age, as borne and bred in one place with it, and springing out of the very same root and stocke: for these be his words in one place:

*Bad counsell who deviseth first,
Unto himselfe shall finde it worst.*

And in another:

*Who doth for others mischief frame,
To his owne heart contrives the same.*

50 The venomous flies *Cantharides* are said to containe in themselves a certaine remedie, made and compounded by a sortarie or antipathie in nature, which serveth for their owne counter-poison; but wickednesse ingendering within it selfe (I wot not what) displeasure and punish-ment, not after a sinfull act is committed, but even at the very instant of committing, it begin-neth to suffer the paine due to the offence: neither is there a malefactor, but when he seeth o-thers like himselfe punished in their bodies, beareth forth his owne crosse; whereas mischievous wickednesse frameth of her selfe, the engines of her owne torment, as being a wonderfull artisan of a miserable life, which (together with shame and reproch) hath in it lamentable calamities,

many terrible frights, fearefull perturbations and passions of the spirit, remorse of conscience, desperate repentance, and continuall troubles and unquietnesse. But some men there be, who for all the world resemble little children, that beholding many times in the theater, leaud and naughtie persons arrayed in cloth of golde, rich mantles, and robes of purple, adorned also with crownes upon their heads, when they either dance or play their parts upon the stage, haue them in great admiration, as repring them right happie, untill such time as they see them how they be either pricked and pierced with goads, or sending flames of fire out of their gorgeous, costly and sumptuous vestments. For to say a truth, many wicked persons, who dwell in tightly houses, are descended from noble parentage, sit in high places of authoritie, beare great dignities and glorious titles, are not knownen (for the most part) what plagues and punishments they susteine, before they be seene to haue their throats cut, or their necks broken, by being cast downe headlong from on high; which a man is not to terme punishments simply, but rather the finall end and accomplishment thereof. For like as *Herodicus of Scythia*, being fallen into an incurable phthisicke or consumption, by the ulcer of his lungs, was the first man (as *Plato* saith) who in the cure of the said disease, joined with other Physicke, bodily exercise, and in so doing, drew out and prolonged death, both to himselfe and to all others who were likewise infected with that maladic; even so may we say, that wicked persons (as many as seeme to haue escaped a present plague, and the stroke of punishment out of hand) suffer in truth, the paine due for their finfull acts, not in the end onely and a great time after, but susteine the same a longer time: so that the vengeance taken for their finfull life is nothing slower, but much more produced and drawn out to the length; neither be they punished at the last in their olde age, but they was olde rather in punishment, which they haue endured all their life. Now when I speake of long time, I meane it in regard of our selues; for in respect of the gods, the whole race of many life (how long soeuer it be thought) is a matter of nothing, or no more than the very moment and point of the instant. For say, that a malefactor should suffer the space of thirtie yeres for some hainous fact that he hath committed, it is all one, as if a man should stretch him upon the racke, or hang him upon a gibbet in the evening toward night, and not in the morning sometimes; especially, seeing that such an one (all the while that he liueth) remaineth close and fast shut up (as it were) in a prison pson or cage, out of which he hath no meanes to make an escape and get away. Now if in the meane while they make many feasts, manage sundry matters, and enterprize diuers things; if they give presents and largesses abroad; and say they give themselves to their sports and pleasures; it is even as much, and all one, as when malefactours (during the time they be in prison) should play at dice or cockall game, having continually ouer head the rope hanging, which must strangle them: for otherwise, we might as well say, that prisoners condemned to die, suffer no punishment all the whiles they lie in hard and colde yrons, nor untill the executioner come and strike the head from the shoulders; or that he who by sentence of the judges hath drunke the deadly potion of hemlocke, is not punished, because he walketh still, and goeth up and downe alive, waiting untill his legs become heauie, before the generall colde and congelation surpriseth him, and extinguish both sense and vitall spirits, in case it were so, that we esteeme and call by the name of punishment, nothing but the last point and extremity thereof, letting passe and making no reckoning at all of the passions, feares, painfull pangues, expectation of death, pricks and sorrowes of a penitent conscience, wherewith every wicked person is troubled and tormented: for this were as much as to say, that the fish which hath swallowed downe the hooke, is not caught, untill we see the said fish cut in pieces, or broiled, roasted and foden by the cooke. Certes every naughty person is presently become prisoner unto iustice, so soone as he hath once committed a finfull act, and swallowed the hooke together with the bait of sweetnesse and pleasure, which he taketh in leaudnesse and wrongfull doing; but when theremore of conscience imprinted in him, doth pricke, he feelth the very torments of hell, and can not rest;

*But as in seate the Tunny fish doth swiftly crosse the waves,
And trauersers still while tempest lasts, so he with anguish raves.*

For this audacious rashnesse and violent insolence (proper unto vice) is verie puissant, forward, and readie at hand, to the effecting and execution of finfull acts; but afterwards, when the passion (like unto a winde) is laied, and begins to faile, it becometh weake, base and feeble, subiect to an infinite number of feares and superflitions; in such sort, as that *Sieichorus* the Poet seemeth to haue deuised the dreame of queene *Clytemnestra*, very conformable to the truth, and answerable to our daily experience, when he bringeth her in, speaking in this manner:

At

*Me thought I saw a dragon come apace,
Whose crest aloft on head with blood was stain'd.
With that anon there did appear a prince:
Plithenides the king, who that time reign'd.*

For the visions by night in dreames, the fantastical apparitions in the day time, the answers of oracles, the prodigious signes from heaven, and in one word, whatsoever men think to be done immediately by the will and finger of God, at woe unto strike great troubles and horrors into such persons so affected, and whose consciences are burdened with the guilt and priuie of sinne. Thus the report goeth of *Apollonius*, that he dreamed upon a time, how he saw himselfe first slayed by the Scythians, then cut as small as flesh to the poe, and so boiled; he thought also that his heart spake softly fro out of the cauldron, and uttered these words: I am the cause of all these thy evils: and againe, he imagined in his sleepe, that his own daughters, all burning on a light flaming fire, ran round about him in a circle. Semblably *Hipparchus* the sonne of *Pisistratus*, a little before his death, dreamed that *Venus* out of a certaine viall sprinkled blood upon his face. The familiar friends likewise of king *Ptolemus*, surnamed *Ceraunus*, that is to say, Lightning, thought verily in a dreame that they saw *Scleucus* accule and indite him judicially before wilde wolves, and greedie geires that were his judges, where he dealt and distributed a great quantitie of flesh among his enemies. *Paulinus* as also at *Bizantium*, sent for *Clemente*, a virgin and gentlewoman free borne, of a worshipfull house; intending perforce to lie with her all night, and abuse her body; but being halfe a sleepe when she came to his bed, he awakened in a fright, and suspecting that some enemies were about to surpriseth him, killed her outright; whereupon ever after he dreamt ordinarily, that he saw her, and heard her pronounce this speech:

*To judgement seat, approach thou neere I say,
Wrong dealing is to men most hurtfull ay.*

Now when this vision as it should seeme ceased not to appeere unto him night by night; he embarked and sailed into *Heraclea*, to a place where the spirits and ghosts of those that are departed be raised and called up, where after he had offered certain propitiatorie sacrifices, and powdered forth funerall effusions, which they use to call upon the tombes of the dead; he wrought so effectually, that the ghost of *Clemente* appeared; and then she said unto him, that so soone as he was arrived at *Lacedemon*, he should haue repose and an end of all his troubles: and so in very truth, no sooner was he thither come, but he ended his life and died. If therefore the soule had no sense after it is departed out of the bodie, but cometh to nothing; and that death were the final end and expiration as well of thankfull recompenses, as of painfull punishments, a man might say of wicked persons who are quickly punished, and die soone after that they haue committed any misdeeds; that God dealth very gently and mildly with them: For if continuance of time, and long life bringeth to wicked persons no other harme; yet a man may at leastwise say thus much of them, that having knowne by prooffe, and found by experience, that iniustice is an unfruitfull, barren and thanklesse thing, bringing forth no good thing at all, nor ought that deserueth to be esteemed after many travels and much paines taken with it; yet the verie feeling and remorse of conscience for their finnes, disquieteth and troubleth the mind, and turneth it upside downe. Thus we reade of king *Lysimachus*, that being forced through extreame thirst, he deliuered his owne person, and his whole armie into the hands of the Getes; and when being their prisoner, hee had drunke and quenched his thirst, he said thus: O what a miserie is this, and wretched case of mine, that for so thourt and transitorie a pleasure, I haue deprived my selfe of so great a kingdome, and all my roiall estate. True it is, that of all things it is an exceeding hard matter to resist the necessitie of a naturall passion; but when as a man for covetousnesse of money, or desire of glorie, authoritie, & credit among his countenmen and fellow-citizens, or for fleshly pleasures, falleth to commit a foule, wicked, and execrable fact, and then afterwards in time, when as the ardent thirst and furious heat of his passion is past, seeing that there

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of

offavors, thanks, and benefits, evermore emptie; even so wicked men, when they come to examine and peruse aright the vice that is in themselves, they finde it presently (for one pleasure which is accompanied with a little vaine and glosing delight) void altogether and destitute of hope; but fully replenished with feares, cares, anxieties, the unpleasant remembrance of misdemeanors past, suspicion of future events, and distrust for the present: much after the manner as we do heare *Ladie Noe* in the theatres, repenting of those foule facts which she had committed, and speaking these words upon the stage:

*How should I now, my friends and ladies deere
Begin to keepe the house of Athamas,
Since that all whiles that I have lived here,
Nought hath bene done by me that decent was?*

Or thus:

*How may I keepe, ô Ladies deere alas,
The house againe of my lord Athamas,
As who therein had not committed ought
Of those lewd parts which I have done and wrought.*

For sensibly it is meet that the minde and soule of every finfull and wicked person should ruminate and discourse of this point in it selfe after this manner: After what sort should I forget and put out of remembrance the unjust and lewd parts which I have committed? how should I cast off the remore of conscience from me? and from henceforth begin to turne over a new leafe, & lead another life: for surely with those in whom wickednesse beareth sway, & is predominant, there is nothing assured, nothing firme & constant, nothing sincere and sound; unless haply we will say and maintaine that wicked persons and unjust, were some Sages and wise philosophers. But we are to thinke, that where avarice reigneth & excessive concupiscence, and love of pleasure, or where extreme envie dwelleth, accompanied with spight and malice; there if you mark and looke well about, you shall finde superstition lying hidden among, sloth and unwillingnesse to labour, feare of death, lightnesse and quick mutabilitie in changing of minde and affection, together with vaine glory proceeding of arrogance: those who blame them, they feare, such as praise them, they dread and suspect; asking well how they are injured and wronged by their deceitful semblance, and yet be the greatest enemies of the wicked, for that they commend so readily, and with affection, those whom they suppose, and take to be honest: for in vice and sinne (like as in bad iron) the hardnesse is but weak and rotten, & the stiffnesse also brittle & easie to be broken: and therefore wicked men (learning in processe of time, better to know themselves what they are) after they come once to the full consideration thereof, are displeased, and discontented, they hate themselves, and detest their owne lewd life: for it is not likely that if a naughty person otherwise (though not in the highest degree, who hath regard to deliver againe a pawne or piece of money left in his hands to keepe; who is ready to be suretie for his familiar friend, & upon a braverie and glorious minde, hath given largesses, and is prest to maintaine & defend his countrey, yea, and to augment and advance the good estate thereof) soone repent and immediately be grieved for that which he hath done, by reason that his mind is so mutable, or his will so apt to be seduced by an opinion or conceit of his: considering that even some of those who have had the honor to be received by the whole bodie of the people in open theater, with great applause and clapping of hands, incontinently fall to fight to themselves, and groane againe, so soone as avarice returneth fiercely, in place of glorious ambition; those that kill and sacrifice men to usurpe and set up their tyrannies, or to maintaine and compasse some conspiracies, as *Apollodorus* did; circumvent and defraud their friends of their goods and monies, which was the practise of *Glaucon*, the sonne of *Epicides*, should never repent their misdeeds, nor grow into a detestation of themselves, nor yet be displeased with that they have done: For mine owne part, I am of this opinion (if it be lawfull so to say) That all those who commit such impieties and misdemeanors, have no need either of God or man to punish them; for their owne life is onely being so corrupt, and wholly depraved and troubled with all kind of wickednesse, is sufficient to plague and torment them to the full: But consider (quoth I) whether this discourse seeme not already to proceed farther, and be drawn out longer than the time will permit. Then *Timon* answered: It may well so be, if peradventure we regard the length and prolixitie of that which followeth and remaineth to be discoursed; as for my selfe, I am now ready to rise as it were out of an ambush, and to come as a fresh and new champion with my last doubt and question, forasmuch as me thinks, we have debated enough already upon the former: for this would I have

have you to thinke, that although we are silent and say nothing, yet we complaine as *Euripides* did, who boldly challenged and reproched the gods, for that

*The parents sinne and their iniquitie,
They turne on children and posteritie.*

For say that themselves, who have committed a fault, were punished, then is there no more need to chastise others, who have not offended, considering it were no reason at all to punish twise for one fault the delinquents themselves: or be it so, that through negligence they having committed the punishment of wicked persons and offenders, they would long after make them to pay for it who are innocent; surely they do not well, by this injustice to make amends for the said negligence. Like as it is reported of *Aeolus*, who in times past came hither to this city, being sent from king *Cresus* with a great summe of golde, for to sacrifice unto god *Apollo* in magnificent wise, yea, and to distribute among all the citizens of *Delphos*, * foure pounds a piece: but it * *was his misfortune* so, that he fell out with the inhabitants of the city upon some occasion, and was exceedingly angry with them, inasmuch as he performed in deed the sacrifice accordingly, but the rest of the money which he should have dealt among the people, he sent backe againe to the city of *Sardis*, as if the *Delphians* had not bene worthy to enjoy the kings liberality; whereupon they taking great indignation, laied sacrifice to his charge, for detaining (in such sort) that sacred money; and in truth, after they had condemned him thereof, they pitched him downe headlong from that high rocke, which they call *Hyampia*: for which act of theirs, god *Apollo* was so highly displeased, that he sent upon their land sterilitie and barrenesse, besides many and sundry strange and unknown diseases among them, so as they were constrained in the end, to goe about in all the publicke feasts and generall assemblies of the Greeks, of purpose, to make proclamation by sound of trumpet: That whosoever hee was (kinsman or friend of *Aeolus*) that would require satisfaction for his death, should come forth, and exact what penaltie he would desire: and thus they ceased not continually to call upon them; untill at length, and namely, in the third generation after, there presented himselfe a certaine Samian, named *Iadon*, who was nothing at all of kin to *Aeolus*, but only one of their posteritie, who at the first had bought him for a slave in open market, within the isle of *Samos*; and the *Delphians* having in some measure made satisfaction and recompense unto him, were immediately delivered from their calamities: and it is said, that from that time forward, the execution of sacrilegious persons, was translated from the foresaid rocke *Hyampia*, unto the cliffe of *Troas*. And verily, even those, who of all others most admire *Alexander the Great*, & celebrate his memorial, of which number we also confesse our selves to be, can in no wise approve that which he did unto the *Branchides*, when he rased their citie to the very ground, & put all the inhabitants thereof to the sword, without respect either of age or of sex, for that their ancestors in olde time had betrayed and delivered up by treason, the temple of *Miletum*. And *Agathocles*, the tyrant of *Syracusa*, who laughed and scoffed at the men of *Corchu*: for when they demanded of him the occasion why hee forraied their isle, made them this answer: Because (quoth hee) your forefathers in times past, received and entertained *Ulysses*. Sensibly, when the islanders of *Ithaca* made complaint unto him of his soldiery, for driving away their sheepe: Why? (quoth he) your king, when he came once into our island, not onely tooke away our sheepe, but also put out the eie even of our shepheard. Think you not then that *Apollo* dealt more absurdly and unjustly than all these, in destroying the *Phenecotes* at this day, in stopping up the mouth of that bottomlesse pit that was wont to receive and soake up all the waters which now doe overflow their whole countrey; because that a thousand yeeres agoe (by report) *Hercules* having taken away from the *Delphians*, that sacred treasure, from which the oracles were delivered, brought the same to the citie *Pheneum*? And as for the *Sybarites*, he answered them directly: That their miseries should then cease, when they had appeased the ire of *Juno Lencadia*, by three hundred mortalities. Certes, long agoe it is not, since that the *Locrians* defiled and gave overfending every yeere their daughters, virgins, un-

*To Truce,
Who there went bare-foot; and did serve
all day from morn to night,
In habit of poore wretched slaves,
In no apparell dight;
No cosse, no cule, nor honest veile,
were they allow'd to weare
In decent wise for womanhood;*

*though aged now they were:
Resembling such as neuer rest,
but Dallas temple sweep,
And sacred altar daily cleane,
where they do awaie keepe.*

and all for the lasciuious wantonneffe and incontinence of *Ajux*. How can this be either iust or reasonable, considering that we blame the very Thracians, for that (as the report goes) they use still (even at this day) to beat their wives in revenge of *Orpheus* death? Neither do we commend the barbarous people, inhabiting along the river *Po*, who (as it is said) do yet moune and weate blacke, for *Phaeton* his fall. Yet (in my conceit) it is a thing rather sottish and ridiculous, that whereas the men who lived in *Phaeton* his time, made no regard of his ruine: those that came five (yea, and ten) ages after his wofull calamitie, should begin to change their raiment for his sake, and bewaile his death: for surely, herein there is nothing at all to be noted, but meere folly; no harme, no danger or absurditie (otherwise) doth it containe. But what reason is it, that the wrath and judgement of the gods, hidden (upon a sudden) at the very time of some hainous fact committed (as the property is of some rivers) should breake out, and shew it selfe afterwards, upon others, yea, and end with some extreme calamities? He had no sooner paused awhile, and staied the current of his speech: but I doubting whereto his words would tend, and fearing lest he should proceed to utter more absurdities and greater follies, presently made this replye upon him: And thinke you, sir, indeed, that all is true that you have said? What if all (quoth he) be not true, but some part thereof only, thinke you not yet, that the same difficultie in the question still remaineth? Even so peradventure (quoth I) it fareth with those who are in an extreme burning fever, who whether they have more or lesse clothes upon them, feele evermore within them the same excessive heat of the ague; yet for to comfort and refresh them a little, and to give them some ease, it is thought good to diminish their clothes, and take off some of them. But if you are not so disposed, lett alone, you may do your pleasure; howbeit, this one thing I will say unto you, that the most part of these examples resemble fables and fictions, devised for pleasure: Call to mind therefore and remembrance, the feast celebrated of late in their honour, who sometime received the gods into their houses, and gave them intertainment; also that beautifull & honorable portion set by apart, which by the voice of an herald was published for that becometh for the posterity descended from *Pindarus*, and record with your selfe how honorable and pleasant a thing this seemeth unto you. And who is there (quoth he) that would not take pleasure to see this preeminence and preference of honour so naturall, so plaine, and so ancient, after the manner of the old Greeks, unless he be such an one, as (according to the same *Pindarus*)

*Whose heart all black of metal forged was
And by cold flame, made stiffe and hardened is.*

I omit (quoth I) to speake of the like solemne commendation published in *Sparta*, which ensued ordinarily after the Lesbian song, or canticle in the honor and memoriall of that ancient *Terpander*: for it seemeth, that there is the same reason of the matter both: But you who are of the race of *Opheles*, and thinke your selfe worthy to be preferred before all others, not *Bæotians* only, but *Phocæans* also; and that in regard of your stock-father *Daiphantus*, have assisted and seconded me, when I maintained before the *Lycormians* and *Satiliains* (who claimed the privilege and honor of wearing coronets due by our lawes and statutes unto the progenie of *Hercules*) That such dignities and prerogatives ought inviolably to be preserved and kept for those indeed who descend in right line from *Hercules*, in regard of his beneficiall demerites which in times past he heaped upon the Greeks, and yet during his life, was not thought worthy of reward and recompence: You have (quoth he) revived the memorie of a most pleasant question to be debated, and the same marvelous well becoming the profession of Philosophie: But I pray you my very good friend (quoth I unto him,) forbear this vehement and accusatorie humour of yours, and be not angry, if haply you see that some because they be borne of old and wicked parents, are punished; or else doe not reioice so much, nor be ready to praise, in case you see nobilitie also of birth to be so highly honored: for if we stand upon this point, and dare avow, that recompence of vertue ought by right and reason to continue in the line and posteritie; we are by good consequence to make this account, that punishment likewise should not stay and cleave together with misdeeds committed, but reciprocally fall upon those that are descended of misdoers and malefactors: for he who willingly seeth the progenie of *Cimon*, honored

nourished at *Athens*, and contrariwise is offended and displeased in his heart, to see the race of *Lachares*, or *Arifon* banished & driven out of the cities (he I say) seemeth to be too soft, tender, and passing effeminate, or rather to speake more properly, over-contentious and quarrelsome, even against the gods, complaining and murmuring of the one side; if the children, & childrens children of an impious & wicked person do prosper in the world: and contrariwise is no lesse given to blame and find fault, if he doe see the posterity of wicked and ungracious men to be held under, plagued, or altogether destroyed from the face of the earth; accusing the gods if the children of a naughty man be afflicted even as much as if they had honest persons to their parents: But as for these reasones alledged, make you this reckoning, that they be bulwarks and rampars for you, opposed against such bitter & sharpe accusers as these be. But now taking in hand again the end (as it were) of a clew of thread, or a bottom of yecare, to direct us as in a darke place, and where there be many cranks, turnings and windings to and fro (I meane the matter of gods secret judgements) let us conduct and guide our selves gently and warily, according to that which is most likely & probable, considering that even of those things which we daily manage, and doe our selves, we are not able to set downe an undoubted certaintie: as for example; who can yeeld a sound reason, wherefore we cause and bid the children of those parents who died either of the phthisick and consumption of the lungs, or of the dropick, to fit with their feet drenched in water, until the dead corps be fully burned in the funeral fire? For an opinion there is, that by this meanes the said maladies shall not passe unto them as hereditarie, nor take hold of their bodies: as also, what the cause should be, that if a goat hold in her mouth the herbe called *Eryngites*, that is to say, Sea-holly, the whole flocke will stand still, untill such time as the goat-herd come and take the said herbe out of her mouth? Other hidden properties there be, which by secret influences and passages from one to another, worke strange effects, and incredible, as well speedily, as in longer tract of time: and in very truth, we wonder more at the intermission and stay of time betwene, than we doe of the distance of place, and yet there is greater occasion to marvell thereat: as namely, that a pestilent maladic which began in *Aethiopia*, should raigne in the citie of *Athens*, and fill every street and corner thereof, in such sort, as *Pericles* died, and *Thucydides* was sicke thereof; than that when the *Phocæans* and *Sybarites* had committed some hainous sins, the punishment therefore should fall upon their children, & go through their posteritie? For surely these powers and hidden properties have certaine relations and correspondences from the last to the first; the cause whereof, although it be unknown to us, yet it causeth not secretly to bring forth her proper effects. But there seemeth to be verie apparent reason of iustice, that publicke vengeance from above should fall upon cities many a yecare after; for that a citie is one entire thing, and a continued body as it were, like unto a living creature, which goeth not beside or out of it selfe for any mutations of ages, nor in tract and continuance of time, changing first into one, and then into another by succession, but is alwaies uniforme and like it selfe, receiving evermore, and taking upon it, all the thanks for well doing, or the blame for misdeeds, of whatsoever it doth or hath done in common, so long as the society that linketh & holdeth it together maintaineth her unitie: for to make many, yea & innumerable cities of one, by dividing it according to space of time, were as much as to go about to make of one man many, because he is now become old, who before was a yong youth, & in times past also a very stripling or springall: or else to speake more properly, this resembleth the deviles of *Epicharmus*, whereupon was invented that manner of Sophisters arguing, which they call the Croissant argument; for thus they reason: He that long since borrowed or tooke up money, now oweth it not, because he is no more himselfe, but become another: & he that yesterday was invited to a feast, cometh this day as an unbidden guest, considering that he is now another man. And verily, divers ages make greater difference in each one of us, than they do commonly in cities and States: for he that had seene the citie of *Athens* thirtie yecres agoe, and came to visit it at this day, would know it to be altogether the very same that then it was; inasmuch as the manners, customs, motions, games, pastimes, serious affaires, favours of the people, their pleasures, displeasures and anger at this present, resemble wholly those in ancient time: whereas if a man be any long time out of sight, hardly his very familiar friend shall be able to know him, his countenance will be so much changed; and as touching his manners and behaviour, which alter and change so soone upon every occasion, by reason of all sorts of labour, travell, accidents and lawes, there is such varietie and so great alteration, that even he who is ordinarily acquainted and conversant with him, would marvell to see the strangenesse and noveltie thereof; and yet the man is held and reputed still the same, from his nativitie unto his dying day: and in like case, a citie

citie remaineth alwaies one and the selfe same; in which respect we deeme it great reason, that it should participate aswell the blame and reproch of offences, as enjoy their glorie and punishment, unless we make no care to call all things in the river of *Heraclitus*, into which (by report) no one thing entrench twise, for that it hath a propertie to alter all things and change their nature. Now if it be so, that a citie is an united and continued thing in it selfe, we are to thinke no lesse of a race and progenie, which descendeth upon one and the same stocke, producing and bringing forth a certaine power and communication of qualities, and the same doth reach and extend to all those who descend from it: neither is the thing engendered of the same nature that a piece of worke is, wrought by art, which incontinently is separate from the workman, for that it is made by him, and not of him; whereas contrariwise, that which is naturally engendered, is formed of the very substance of that which ingendered it, in such sort as it doth carie about it some part thereof, which by good right deserueth either to be punished or to be honoured even in it selfe. And were it not, that I might be thought to jest & speake in game and not in good earnest, I would aue and pronounce assuredly, that the Athenians offered more wrong and abuse unto the brazen statue of *Cassander*, which they caused to be defaced and melted; and likewise the dead corps of *Dionysius* suffered more iniurie at the hands of the Syracusians, which after his death they caused to be carried out of their confines, than if they had proceeded in rigor of iustice against their of spring and posterity; for the said image of *Cassander* did not participate one whit of his nature; and the soule of *Dionysius* was departed a good while before out of his bodie: whereas *Nisemus*, *Apollodorus*, *Amipater*, *Philop* & all such other, descended from vicious & wicked parents, retained still the chiefe and principall part which is in them inbred, and remaineth not quiet, idle and doing nothing, but such as whereby they live and are nourished, whereby they negotiate, reason and discourse: neither ought it to seeme strange and incredible, that being of their issue, they should likewise retaine their qualities and inclinations. In summe, I say and asseuer, that like as in Physicke, whatsoever is wholesome and profitable, the same is also iust; and woorthily were he to be laughed at and mocked, that calleth him unjust, who for the *Sciatica* or disease of the huckle-bone, would cauterize the thumbe; or when the liver is impostumate, scarifie the bellie; and if kine or oxen be tender and soft in the clees, anoint the extremities and tips of their hornes; even so hee deserueth to be scorned and reproved as a man of a shallow conceit, who in chastisement of vice, esteemeth any other thing iust, than that which may cure and heale the same; or who is offended and angry, if a medicine be applied, or a course of Physicke used into some parts for curing others; as they do who open a veine for to heale the inflammation of the eyes: such an one (I say) seemeth to see and perceive no further than his owne outward senses leade him, and remembereth not well, that a schoolemaster often times in whipping one of his scholars, keepeth all the rest in awe and good order; and a great captain and general of the field, in putting to death for exemplarie iustice, one souldier in every ten, reformeth all besides, and reduceth them to their duetie; and even so there happen not onely to one part by another, but also to one soule by another, certaine dispositions, aswell to worse and impairing, as to better and amendment, yea, and much more than to one body by the means of another; for that there, to wit, in a bodie, there must (by all likelihood) be one impression and another alteration; but here, the soule (which often times is led and caried away by imagination, either to be confident, or distrustfull and timorous) fareth better or worse accordingly. And as I was going forward to speake, *Olympicus* interrupting my speech: By these words of yours (quoth he) you seeme to set downe as a supposall, a subiect matter of great consequence and discourse, to wit, the immortallitie of the soule, as if it remained still after the separation from the body: Yea many (quoth he) & even this have I inferred by that which you do now grant, or rather have granted heretofore; for our discourse hath bene from the beginning prosecuted to this presupposed point: That God dealeth & distributeth to every of us according as we have deserved. And how (quoth he) doth this follow necessarily, that in case God doth behold all humane affaires, & dispose of every particular thing here upon earth, the soules therefore should become either immortal & incorruptible, or els continue in their entire estate long after death? O good sir (quoth *J*) be content; is God (thinke you) to be bemindred, or imploied in so small & trifling matters, and having so little to do, that (when we have no diuine thing in us, nor ought that in any sort resemble him, or is firme and durable, but that we continually decay, fade and perish like unto the leaves of trees (as *Homer* saith) and that in a small time) he should all on a sudden make so great account of us (like to those women, who cleeth and keepe the gardens (as they say) of *Adonis* within brittle pots and pannes of earth) as to make our soules, for one day to flourish and looke greene

greene within our fleshy body, which is not capable of any strong root of life, and then within a while after, suffer them to be extinguished and to die upon the least occasion in the world? But if you please, let us passe other gods, and consider wee a little this our God onely, him I meane, who is honoured and invocated in this place, namely, whether hee (knowing that the soules of the dead are, presently exhaled and vanished away to nothing, like unto a vapour or smoke, breathing forth of our bodies) doth ordeine incontinently oblations to be offered, and propitiatorie sacrifices to be made for the departed? and whether he demand not great honors, worship and veneration in the memoriall of the dead? or whether hee doth it to abuse and deceive those that beleeve accordingly? For I assure you, for my part I will never grant that the soule dieth, but remaineth still after death, unless some one or other (as by report *Heraclitus* did in old time) come first and take away the propheticall stoule or respect of *Pythia*, and destroy that oracle for ever rendering any more answers, as it hath delivered even unto these our daies, such as by report was given in old time to *Corax* the Naxian in these words:

Impietie great it is for to beleeve,

That soules doe die, and was for ever liue.

Then *Patroclus*: VVhat prophetic (quoth he) was this? and who was that *Corax*? for surely the thing it selfe, & that very name, be both of them strange and unknowne to me: That cannot be (quoth I) but thinke better of the matter; for it is long of me who have used his surname in stead of his proper names; for I mean him who slew *Archilochus* in battell, whose name indeed was *Calionides*, but men surnamed him *Corax*: This man was at the first rejected by the prophetesse *Pythia*, as a murderer who had killed a worthy personage consecrated & devoted unto the Muses; but afterwards having used certaine humble prayers & requests, together with divers allegations of excuse, pretending to iustifie his fact, in the end he was enioined by the oracle, to go to the house & habitation of *Tettix*, & there by certaine expiatorie sacrifices & oblations, to appeale & pacifie the ghost of *Archilochus*; now this house of *Tettix* was the cape or promontory *Tenarus*; for it is said, that *Tettix* the Cadian, arriving with his fleet in times past, at the head of *Tenarus* there built a citie, & inhabited it, neere unto the place where the manner was to congregate, & raise the ghosts of those that were departed: The semblable answer being made to those of *Sparta*, namely, that they should make meanes to pacifie the soule of *Pausanias*, they sent as farre as into *Italy* for sacrificers exorcists, who had the skill to conjure spirits, & they with their sacrifices chased his ghost out of the temple: This is one reason therefore (quoth I) that doth confirme and prove, that both the world is governed by the providence of God, and also, that the soules of men do continue after death: neither is it possible that we should admit the one, & denie the other: If it be so then that the soule of man hath a subsistence & being after death; it is more probable & foundeth to greater reason, that it should then either taste of paine for punishment, or enjoy honor for reward: for during this life here upon earth, it is in continuall combat in manner of a champion; but after all combats performed & finished, then she receiveth according to her defects. Now as touching those honors or punishments which it receiveth in that other world, being alone by her selfe, and separate from the bodie, the same concern and touch us nothing at all, who remaine alive; for either we know them not, or give no beleeve thereto; but such as be either conferred or inflicted upon their children or posteritie, for that they be apparent and evident to the world, those doe containe and curbe wicked men, that they doe not execute their malicious designs: And considering that there is no punishment more ignominious, or that cometh neerer to the quicke, and toucheth the heart more, than for men to see their ofspring, or those that depend upon them, afflicted for their sake & punished for their faults; & that the soule of a wicked person, enemy to God and to all good lawes, seeth after his death, not his images & statues, or any ensignes of honor overthrowne, but his owne children, his friends & kinsfolk ruinate, undone & persecuted with great miseries & tribulations, suffering grievous punishment for it; there is no man I thinke, but would chuse rather to forgoe all the honors of *Jupiter*, if he might have them, than to become again either unjust or intemperate & lascivious. And for the better testimonie & truth hereof, I could relate unto you a narration which was delivered unto me not long since, but that I am afraid you will take it for a fabulous tale, devised to make sport: In regard whereof I hold it better to alledge unto you nothing but substantiall reasons, and arguments grounded upon very good likelihood and probability. Not so (quoth *Olympicus*) in any case; but rehearte unto us the narration which you speake of: And when others also requested the same at my hands: Suffer me yet first (quoth I) to set abroad those reasons which carie some good shew of truth, and then afterwards, if you thinke well of it, I will recite the fa-

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bleaffo, if so be it is a fable: As for *Bion* when he saith, that God in punishing the children of wicked men and sinners for their fathers, is much more ridiculous than the physician, who for the maladic of father or grandfire, goeth about to minister medicine unto the child or nephew; surely this comparison faulteth herein, that things be partly fensible and in part diuers and unlike; for if one be cured of a disease by medicinable meanes, this doth not by and by heale the maladic or indisposition of another: For neuer was there man yet being sicke of a feauer, or troubled with bleedred and impostumate eies, became cured by seeing an ointment applied, or a salve laid unto another: But contrariwise, the punishment or execution of justice upon malefactors, is for this cause done publicly before all the world, that justice being ministered with reason and discretion, should effect thus much, namely to keepe in, and retaine some by the chastisement and correction of others: But that point wherein the foreaid comparison of *Bion* answereth to our matter in question, himselfe neuer understood; for many times it falleth out, that a man being fallen sicke of a dangerous disease, howbeit not incurable, yet through his intemperance and disorder afterwards, suffreth his bodie to grow into greater weaknesse and decay, untill at last he dieth: whereupon his sonne after him being not actually surprised with the same disease, but onely disposed thereto, a learned physician, some trustie friend, or an expert annointer, and master of exercises, perceiving so much, or rather indeed a kind friend and gentle master & governor, who hath a carefull eie over him, taketh him in hand, bringeth him to an exquisite manner of austere diet, cutteth off all superfluitie of viands, deintie cates, & banquetting dishes, debarreth him of unsafonable drinkings, and the company of women, purgeth him continually with soveraigne medicines, keepeth his body downe by ordinarie labour and exercise, and so doth dissipate and disperse the first beginning and small inclination to a dangerous disease, in not permitting it to have head & to grow forward to any greatnesse: And is not this an usual practise among us to admonish those who are borne of sickly and diseased parents, to take good heed unto themselves, and not to neglect their indisposition, but sometimes and even at the very first to endeavor for to remove and rid away the root of such inbred maladies, which they bring with them into the world? for surely it is an easie matter to expell and drive out, yea and to conquer and overcome the same, by prevention in due time: Yes verily answered they all. Well then (quoth I) we commit no absurditie, nor doe any ridiculous thing, but that which is right, necessarie and profitable, when we ordeine and prescribe for the children of those who are subject to the falling sicknesse, to madnesse, phrenesie and the gout, exercises of the bodie, diets, regiments of life, and medicines appropriate for those maladies, not when they are sicke thereof, but by way of precaution, to prevent that they should not fall into them: for the bodie ingendred of a corrupt and diseased bodie, neither needeth nor deserueth any punishment, but physike rather by good medicines and careful attendance; which diligence and heedfull regard, if any one upon wantonnesse, nicetie and delicacie doe call chastisement, because it depriveth a man of pleasures and delights, or haply inferreth some pricke of dolour and paine, let him goe as he is, we passe not for him. Now if it be expedient to cure and medicine carefully one body afflicted and descended from another that is corrupt, is it meet and convenient to let go the resemblance of an hereditarie vice, which beginneth to bud and sprout in a young man, to stay and suffer it (I say) to grow on still, burgen and spread into all affections, untill it appeare in the view of the whole world? for as *Pindarus* saith:

*The foolish heart doth bring forth from within,
Her hidden fruit, corrupt and full of sin.*

And thinke you not that in this point God is wiser than the Poet *Hesiodus*, who admonisheth us and giveth counsell in this wise:

*No children get, if thou be newly come
From dolefull grave or heauie funeral:
But spare not when thou art returned home
From solemn feast of Gods celestiall.*

as if he would induce men to beget their children, when they be iocund, fresh and merry, for that the generation of them received the impression, not of vertue and vice onely, but also of joy, sadness, & all other qualities: howbeit, this is not a worke of humane wisdom (as *Hesiodus* supposeth) but of God himselfe, to discern & foreknow perfectly either the conformities or the diversities of mens natures, drawn from their progenitors, before such time as they breake forth into some great enormities, whereby their passions & affections be discovered what they are: for the young whelps of beares, wolves, apes & such like creatures, shew presently their naturall inclination,

on, even whiles they be very yong, because it is not disguised or masked with any thing: but the nature of man casting it selfe, and setting upon maners, customes, opinions & lawes, concealeth often times the ill that it hath, but doth imitate & counterfeit that which is good and honest in such sort as it may be thought either to have done away cleane all the staine, blemish & imperfection of vices inbred with it, or els to have hidden it a long time, being covered with the vail of craft & subtiltie, so as we are not able, or at leastwise have much adoe to perceive their malice, by the sting, bit & pricke of every several vice. And to say a truth, herein are we mightily deceived; that we thinke men are become unjust then only and not before, when they do iniurie; or dissolute, when they play some insolent and loose part; cowardly minded, when they run out of the field; as if a man should have the coe eie, that the sting in a scorpion was then bred & not before; when he gave the first pricke; or the poison in vipers was ingendred then only, when they bit or stung; which surely were great simplicitie and incre childlike: for a wicked person becometh not then such an one, even when he appeareth so, and not before; but hee hath the rudiments and beginnings of vice and naughtinesse imprinted in himselfe, but hee sheweth it selfe the same, when he hath meanes, fit occasion, good opportunities, and might answerable to his minde; like as the thiefe spieth his time to robbe, and the tyrant to violate and breake the lawes. But God, who is not ignorant of the nature and inclination of every one, as who searcheth more into the secrets of the heart and minde than into the body, never waiteth and sleeth untill violence be performed by strength of hand; impudencie bewaied by malepart speech; or intemperance and wantonnesse perpetrated by the naturall members and privie parts, ere he punish: for he is not revenged of an unrighteous man, for any harme and wrong that he hath received by him; nor angry with a thiefe or robber, for any forcible violence which he hath done unto him; never hateth an adulterer, because he hath suffered abuse or injury by his meanes; but many times he chastiseth by way of medicine, a person that committeth adulterie; a covetous wretch and a breake of the lawes; whereby otherwhiles he hideth them of their vice, and preventeth in them (as it were) the falling sicknesse before the fit surprise them. Wee were ere while offended and displeased, that wicked persons were over late and too slowly punished; and now discontented we are, & complaine, for that God doth reprove & chastise the evil habit and vicious disposition of some, before the act committed: never considering and knowing, that so full often a future mischiefe is worse and more to be feared, than the present; and that which is secret and hidden, more dangerous than that which is open and apparent. Neither are we able to comprehend and conceive by reason, the causes wherefore it is better otherwhiles to tolerate and suffer some persons to be quiet, who have offended and transgressed already; and to prevent or stay others, before they have executed that which they intend: like as (in very truth) wee know not the reason, why medicines and physickal degrees (being not meet for some who are sicke) be good and holisome for others, though they are not actually diseased, yet haply in a more dangerous estate than the former. Hereupon it is, that the gods turne not upon the children and posterity, all the faults of their fathers and ancestors: for if it happen, that of a bad father there descend a good sonne, like as a sickly and crasse man may beget a sound, strong and healthfull childe, such an one is exempt from the paine and punishment of the whole house and race, as being translated out of a vicious familie, and adopted into another: but, that a yong sonne (who shall conforme himselfe to the hereditarie vice of his parents) is liable to the punishment of their sinfull life, as well as he is bound to pay their debts by right of succession and inheritance. For *Antigonus* was not punished for the finnes of his father *Demetrius*; nor (to speake of leasd persons) *Phileas* for *Angon*, ne yet *Tesfor* for *Nelrus* his sake; who albeit they were descended from most wicked fathers, yet they proved themselves right honest: but all such, as whole nature loved, embraced and practised that which came unto them by descent and parentage; in those (I say) diuine justice is wont to persecute and punish that which resemblen the vice and sinne: for like as the warts, blacke moales, spots and freckles of fathers, not appearing so at all upon their owne childrens skinnie, begin afterwards to put forth and shew themselves in their nephews, to wit, the children of their sonnes and daughters: And there was a *Grecian* woman, who having brought forth a blacke infant, and being troubled therefore, and judicially accused for adulterie, as if shee had bene conceived by a blacke moore, shee pleaded and was found to have bene herselfe descended from an Aethiopian, in the fourth degree removed: As also it is known for certaine, that of the children of *Pythia* the Nisibian who was descended from the race and line of those old Spartans, who were the first lords and founders of *Thebes*, the youngell, and he that died not long since, had upon his body the print and forme of a

spcare, the very true and naturall marke of that auncient line; so long and after the revolution of so many yeeres; there sprang and came up againe as it were out of the deepe, this resemblance of the flocke and kintred: even so it falleth out many times, that the first generations and defectes, doe liue and after a sort drowne those qualities and affections of the minde which are affected and appropriate to some kintred; but afterwards, at one time or other, put them forth, and drive them outward to appeere in those that follow, and the same doe represent that which is proper to each race, as well in vertue as vice. Now when I had finished this speech, I held my peace; and with that *Olympicus* smiled and said: Wee would not have you to thinke (quoth he) that we commend you, as having sufficiently proved your discourse by demonstration, I left we might seeme to have forgotten or to neglect the tale or narration which you promised to relate unto us: Mary then will we give our sentence and opinion thereof, when we shall likewise have heard the same. Thus therefore I began againe to enter into speech, and follow my intended purpose. There was one *Thebesius*, of the city of *Soli* in *Cilicia*, a great friend and familiar of *Protegenes*, who sometime here conversed with us, who having led his youthful daies very loosely, within a small time had wasted and consumed all his goods, whereby he was fallen for a certaine space to extreme want and necessitie, which brought him also to a leud life, inso much as he proved a very badde man; and repenting his former follies and dispenfe, began to make shifts, and seeke all meanes to recover his state againe; much like unto those loose and lascivious persons, who making no account of their lawful and espoused wives, nor caring at all for them whiles they have them; afterwards, when they have cast them off, and put them away, seeing them wedded unto others, sollicite them to yeeld their bodies, & give the attempt to force and corrupt them: most wickedly: Thus he forbore no leud, indirect, and shamefull practises, so they turned to his gaine and profit, and within a little while, he gat together not great store of goods, but procured to himselfe a bad name of wicked dealing, much shame, and infamie: But the thing that made him famous, and to much spoken of; was the answer delivered unto him from the oracle of *Amphilocheus*, for thither had he sent, as it should seeme, to know whether he should live the rest of his life better than he had done before? Now the oracle returned this answer: That it would be better with him after he was dead; which in some sort hapned unto him not long after: For being fallen from an high place with his head forward, without any limbe broken, or wound made; onely with the fall, the breath went out of his body, and there he lay for dead; and three daies after, preparation being made for his funerals, caried forth he was to be buried; but behold all on a sudden, he revived, and quickly came to himselfe againe; whereupon there ensued such a change and alteration in his life, that it was wonderfull; for by the report and testimonie of all the people of *Cilicia*, they never knew man of a better conscience in all his affaires and dealings, whiles he did negotiate and dwell among them; none more devout and religious to God-ward, none more fast and sure to his friends, none bitterer to his enemies, inso much, as they who were most inward with him, and had kept his company familiarly a long time, were very desirous & earnest with him, to know the cause of so strange and sudden alteration; as being perswaded that to great amendment of life (so loose & dissolute as it was before) could not come by mere chance and casualtie, (as in truth it did,) according as himselfe made relation unto the said *Protegenes*, and other such familiar friends of his, men of good worth & reputation; for thus he reported unto them & said: That when the spirit was out of his bodie, he fared at the first (as he thought himselfe) like unto a pilot, flung out of his ship, and plunged into the bottome of the sea; so woonderfully was he astonied at this change; but afterwards when as by little & little he was raised up againe and recovered, so that he was ware that he drew his breath fully, and at libertie, he looked round about him, for his soule seemed as if it had bene one eie fully open; but he beheld nothing that he was wont to view, onely he thought that he saw planets and other starres of an huge bignesse, distant an infinit way a funder, and yet for multitude innumerable, casting from them a woonderfull light, with a colour admirable, and the same glittering and shining most replendent, with a power and force incredible, in so much sort, as the said soule being gently and easily caried, as in a chariot, with this splendor and radiant light, as it were upon the sea in a caline, went quickly whether soever the world; but letting passe a great number of things woorthy there to be seene; he said that he beheld how the soules of those that were departed this life, as they rose up and ascended, resembled certaine small fire bubbles, and the aire gave way and place unto them as they mounted on high; but anon when these bubbles by little and little brast in funder, the soules came forth of them, and appeared in the forme and shape of men and women, very light and nimble, as discharged

from all poise to beare them downe: howbeit, they did not move and bestir themselves all alike and after one sort; for some leaped with a wonderful agilitie, and mounted directly and plumb upright; others turned round about together like unto bobins or spindles, one while up and another while downe, so as their motion was mixt and confused, and so linked together, that unlesh for a good while and with much adoe, they could be staid and severed asunder. As for these soules and spirits, many of them he knew not (as hee said) who they were; but taking knowledge of two or three among them who had bene of his olde acquaintance, hee pressed forward to approach neere and to speake unto them: but they neither heard him speake, nor in deed were in their right senses; but being after a sort astonied and beside themselves, refused once to be either seene or felt, wandering and flying, so and fro apart at the first; but afterwards, encountering and meeting with a number of others disposed like unto themselves, they closed and clung unto them, and thus linked and coupled together, they moved here and there disorderly without discretion, and were carried every way to no purpose, uttering I wot not what voices, after a manner of yelling or a blacke fadoes, not significant nor distinct, but as if they were cries mingled with lamentable plaints and dreadfull fears. Yet there were others to be seene aloft in the upmost region of the aire, jocund, gay and pleasant, so kinde also an courteous, that often times they would seeme to approach neere one unto another, turning away from those other that were tumultuous and disorderly; and as it should seeme, they shewed some discontentment, when they were thronged and huddled close together; but well appaied and much pleased, when they were enlarged and severed at their liberty. Among these (by his owne saying) he had a sight of a soule belonging to a kinsman and familiar friend of his, & yet he knew him not certainly, for that he died whiles himselfe was a very child; howbeit, the said soule comming toward him, saluted him in these termes: God save you *Thebesius*: whereat he marvelled much, and said unto him: I am not *Thebesius*, but my name is *Arictus*: True in deed (quoth the other) before-time you were so called, but from henceforth *Thebesius* shall be your name; for dead you are not yet, but by the providence of God and permission of Destinie, you are hither come, with the intellectuall part of the soule; and as for all the rest, you have left it behinde, sticking fast as an anchor to your bodie: and that you may now know this and evermore hereafter, take this for a certaine rule and token: That the spirits of those who are departed and dead indeed, yeeld no shadow from them; they neither wincke nor yet open their eies. *Thebesius* hearing these words, began to plucke up his spirits so much the more, for to consider and discourse with himselfe: looking therefore every way about him, he might perceiue that there accompanied him a certaine shadowy and darke lineature, whereas the other soules thone round about, and were cleere and transparent within forth, howbeit, not all alike; for some yeelded from them pure colour, uniforme and equall, as doth the full moone when she is at the cleereest; others had (as it were) scales or cicatrices, dispersed here and there by certaine distant spaces betwene; some againe, were woonderfull hideous and strange to see unto, all to be specked with blacke spots, like to serpents skinnies; and others had lightifications and obscure tings, upon their visage. Now this kinsman of *Thebesius* (for there is no danger at all to rearme soules by the names which men had whiles they were living) discoursed severally of each thing, saying: That *Adrastia* the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Demestrie*, was placed highest and above the rest, to punish and to be revenged of all sorts of crimes and hainous finnes; and that of wicked and sinfull wretches, there was not one (great or small) who either by force or cunning could ever save himselfe and escape punishment: but one kinde of paine and punishment (for three sorts there be in all) belonged to this gaoler or executioner, and another to that; for there is one which is quicke and speedie, called *metus*, that is, Penaltie, and this taketh in hand the execution and chastisement of those, who immediately in this life (whiles they are in their bodies) be punished by the bodie, after a milde and gentle manner; leaving unpunished many light faults, which require onely some petie purgation; but such as require more ado to have their vices and finnes cured, God committeth them to be punished after death to a second tormentresse, named *Dies*, that is to say, Revenge; many those who are so laden with finnes, that they be altogether incurable, when *Dies* hath given over and thrust them from her, the third ministrisse of *Adrastia*, which of all other is most cruell, and named *Erinyes* runneth after, chafing and pursuing them as they wander and runne up and downe; these I say the courtesie and hunteth with great miserie and much dolor, untill such time as the have overtaken them all and plunged them into a bottomlesse pit of darknesse inenarrable and invivible. Now of these three sorts of punishments, the first which is executed by *Pene*, in this life relem-

bleth that which is used in some barbarous nations: for in *Perſia*, when any are by order of law and judicially to be punished, they take from them their copped caps or high pointed turbans, and other robes, which they plucke and pull haire by haire, yea, and whip them before their faces, and they themselves shedding teares and weeping, cry out piteously and beleeche the officers to cease and give over; semblably, the punishments inflicted in this life in bodie or goods, are not exceeding sharpe nor come very nere to the quick, neither do they pierce & reach unto the vice and sinners selfe, but the most part of them are imposed according to a bare opinion only, and the judgement of outward naturall sense. But if it chance (quoth he) that any one escape hither unpunished, and who hath not bene well purged there before, him *Dice* taketh in hand all bare and naked as he is, with his soule discovered and open, as having nothing to hide, 10 palliate and maske his wickednesse, but lying bare and exposed to the view thorowout, and on every side, she presenteth and sheweth him first to his parents, good and honest persons (if happily they were such) declaring how abominable he is, how dextenerate and unworthy of his parentage; but if they also were wicked, both he and they susteine to much more grievous punishment, whiles he is tormented in seeing them, and they likewise in beholding him how he is punished a long time, even untill every one of his crimes and finnes be dispatched and rid away with most dolorous and painful torments, surpassing in sharpnesse and greatnesse, all corporall griefs, by how much a true vision indeed is more powerfull and effectuall than a vaine dreame or fantastical illusion: whereupon, the wales, marks, scarres and cicatrices of sinne and vice remaine to be seene, in some more, in others lesse. But observe well (quoth he) and consider the diuers colours of these soules of all sorte; for this blackish and soule dusky hue, is properly the tincture of avarice and niggardie; that which is deepe red and fierie, betokeneth cruelty and malice; whereas, if it stand much upon blew, it is a signe that there, intemperance and loosenesse in the use of pleasures, hath remained a long time, and will be hardly scowred off, for that it is a vile vice: but the violet colour and sweetish withall, proceedeth from envie, a venomous and poisoned colour, resembling theinke that commeth from the cuttle fish, for in life, vice when the faile is altered and changed by passions, and withall doth turne the body, putteth 20 fourth sundry colours: but heere it is a signe that the purification of the soule is fully finished, when as all these tinctures are done away quite, whereby the soule may appear in her native hew, all fresh, neat, cleare and lightsome: for so long as any one of these colours remaineth, there will be evermore some recidivation and returne of passions and affections, bringing certaine tremblings, beatings as it were of the pulse, and a panting in some but weake and feeble, which quickly staeth, and is soone extinguished; and in other more strong, quicke, and vehement: Now of these soules, some there be which after they have bene well and thoroughly chastised, and that sundry times, recover in the end a decent habitude and disposition; but others againe are such, as the vehemence of their ignorance, and the flattering shew of pleasures and lustfull desire, transportheth them into the bodies of brute beasts; for the feeblenesse and defect of their understanding, and their sloth and slacknesse to contemplate and discourse by reason, maketh them to incline and creepe to the active part of generation; but then they find and perceive them selves destitute of a lascivious organ or instrument, whereby they may be able to 40 execute and have the fruition of their appetite, and therefore desire by the means of the bodie to enjoy the same: forasmuch as here there is nothing at all but a bare shadow, and as one would say, a vaine dreame of pleasure, which never commeth to perfection and fulnesse, When hee had thus said, he brought and lead me away, most swiftly, an infinit way; howbeit, with ease, and gently, upon the raies of the light, as if they had bene wings, unto a certaine place, where there was a huge wide chinke, tending downward still, and thither being come, he perceived that he was forlorne and forsaken of that powerful spirit that conducted and brought him thither; where he saw that other soules also were in the same case; for being gathered and flocked together like a sort of birds, they flic downward round about this gaping chawne, but enter into it directly they durst not now the said chinke resembled for all the world with, the caves of *Bacchus*, 50 so raptified and adorned they were with the verdure of great leaves and branches, together with all varietie of gay flowers, from whence arose and breathed forth a sweet and milde exhalation, which yielded a delectable and pleasant savour, woonderfull odoriferous, with a most temperate aire, which no lesse affected them that smelled thereof, than the sent of wine contenteth those who love to drinke: in such sort as the soules feeding and feasting themselves with these fragrant odors, were very cheerefull, jocular, and merrie; so as round about the said place, there was nothing but pastime, joy, solace, mirth, laughing and singing, much after the manner of men

men that reioice one with another, and take all the pleasure and delight that possibly they can. And he said moreover, that *Bacchus* by that way mounted up into the societie of the gods, and afterwards conducted *Semele*; and withall, that it was called, the place of *Lethe*, that is to say, Oblivion: Whereupon he would not let *Thespheus*, though he were exceeding desirous, to stay there, but drew him away perforce; instructing him thus much, and giving him to understand, that reason and the intelligible part of the minde is dissolved, and as it were melted and moistened by this pleasure; but the unreasonable part which favourth of the bodie, being watered and incarnate therewith, reviveth the memorie of the bodie; and upon this remembrance, there groweth and ariseth a lust and concupiscence which haleth and draweth unto generation (for 10 so he called it) to wit, a consent of the soule thereto, weighed downe and aggravated with overmuch moisture: Having therefore traversed another way as long as the other, he was ware that he saw a mightie standing boll, into which diuers rivers seemed to fall and discharge themselves, whereof one was whiter than the foime of the sea, or driven snow, another of purple hue or scarlet colour, like to that which appeereth in the raine-bow; as for others, they seemed a farre off to have every one of them their distinct lustre, and severall tincture: But when they approached nere unto them, the foresaid boll, after that the aire about was disuffled and vanished awaie, and the different colours of those rivers no more seene, left the more flourishing colour, except 20 onely the white: Then he saw there three Demons or Angels, sitting together in triangular forme, meddling and mixing the rivers together, with certaine measures. And this guid of *Thespheus* soule said moreover, that *Orpheus* came so farre when he went after his wife; but for that he kept not well in minde, that which he there saw, he had sowne one false tale among men; to wit: That the oracle at *Delphi* was common to *Apollo*, and the Night, (for there was no commerce or fellowship at all betwene the night and *Apollo*) But this oracle (quoth he) is common to the moone and the night; which hath no determinate and certaine place upon the earth, but is alwaies errant and wandering among men, by dreames and apparitions; which is the reason that dreames compounded and mingled as you see, of fallhood and truth, of varietie and simplicitie, are spread and scattered over the world. But as touching the oracle of *Apollo*, neither have you seene it (quoth he) nor ever shall be able to see; for the terrene substaice or earthly part of the soule, is not permitted to arise & mount up on high, but bendeth downward, being 30 fastened unto the bodie: And with that he approached at once neerer, endeavoring to shew him the shining light of the threefoot or three-footed stoele, which (as he said) from the bosome of the goddesse *Thetis*, reached as farre as to the mount *Parnassus*: And having a great desire to see the same, yet he could not, his eyes were so dazzled with the brightness thereof; howbeit, as he passed by, a loud and shrill voice he heard of a woman, who, among other things delivered in metre, uttered also as it should seeme by way of prophesie, the very time of his death: And the Demon said, it was the voice of *Sibylla*; for the being caried round in the globe and face of the moone, did foretell and sing what was to come; but being desirous to heare more, he was repelled and driven by the violence of the moone as it were with certaine whirle-puffs; cleane a contrary way; so he could heare and understand but few things, and those very short; namely the accident about the hill * *Vesuvius*, and how *Dicarchia* should be consumed and burnt by 40 casual fire, as also a clause or peece of a verse, as touching the emperour who then reigned, to this effect:

*Agracious prince he is, but yet must die,
And empire leave by force of maladie.*

After this they passed on forward to see the paines and torments of those who were punished; and there at first they beheld all things most piteous and horrible to see to; for *Thespheus* who doubted nothing lesse, mette in that place with many of his friends, kinsfolke, and familiar companions, who were in torment, and suffering dolorous paines, and infamous punishment, they moved themselves, lamenting, calling and crying unto him; at the last he had a sight of his owne father, rising out of a deepe pit, full he was of prickes, gashes, and wounds, and stretching forth his hands unto him, was (mauger his heart) forced to breake silence, yea and compelled by those who had the charge and superintendence of the said punishments, to confesse 50 with a loud and audible voice, that he had bene a wicked murderer of certaine strangers; and guests whom he had lodged in his house; for perceiving that they had silver and gold about them, he had wrought their death by the means of poison: and albeit he had not bene deterred thereof in his life time, whiles he was upon the earth, yet there was he convicted and had been steined already part of his punishment, and expected to endure the rest afterwards. Now *Thespheus*

* Or *Libius*.

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his durst not make sute nor intercede for his father, so affrighted he was and astonished; but desirous to withdraw himselfe and be gone, he lost the sight of that courteous and kind guide of his, which all this while had conducted him, and he saw him no more: but hee might perceiue other horrible and hideous spirits, who enforced and constrained him to passe farther, as if it were necessarie that he should traueise still more ground: so he saw those who were notorious malefactours, in the view of every man (or who in this world had bene chastised) how their shadow was here tormented with lesse paine, and nothing like to others, as having bene feeble and imperfect in the reasonlesse part of the soule, and therefore subject to passions and affections; but such as were disguised and cloaked with an outward apparence and reputation of vertue abroad, and yet had liued covertly and secretly at home in wickednesse, certaine that were about 10 them, forced some of them to turne the inside outward, and with much paine and griefe to lay themselves open, to bend and bow, and discouer their hypocritical hearts within, even against their owne nature, like unto the scolopenders of the sea, when they have swallowed downe a hooke, are wont to turne themselves outward: but others they staied and displaied, discouering plainly and openly, how faulty, peruerse and vicious they had bene within, as whose principal part of the reasonable soule, vice had possessed. He said moreover, that he saw other souls wound and entangled one within another, two, three and more together, like to vipers and other serpents, and these not forgetting their olde grudge and malicious ranker one against another, or upon remembrance of losses and wrongs sustained by others, fell to gnawing and deuouring each other. Also, that there were three parallel lakes ranged in equall distance one from the other; the one seething and boiling with golde, another of lead exceeding cold, and a third, most 10 rough, consisting of yron: and that there were certaine spirits called Demons, which had the overlooking and charge of them; and these, like unto metall-founders or smithes, with certaine instruments either plunged in, or els drew out, soules. As for those who were given to filthie lucre, and by reason of insatiable avarice, committed wicked parts, those they let downe into the lake of melted golde, and when they were once set on a light fire, and made transparent by the strength of those flames within the said lake, then plunged they were into the other of lead; where after they were congealed and hardened in manner of haile, they transported them anew into the third lake of yron, where they became exceeding blacke and horrible, and being cracked and broken, by reason of their dinnesse and hardnesse, they changed their forme, and then at last 30 (by his saying) they were thrown againe into the foresaid lake of gold, suffering by the means of these changes and mutations, intolerable paines. But those soules (quoth he) who made the greatest moane unto him, and seemed most miserably (of all others) to be tormented, were they, who thinking they were escaped and past their punishment, as who had suffered sufficiently for their delicts at the hands of vengeance, were taken againe, and put to fresh torments; and those they were, for whose sinnes their children and others of their posteritie suffered punishment: for whensoever one of the soules of these children or nephews in lineall descent, either met with them, or were brought unto them, the faine fell into a fit of anger, crying out upon them, shewing the marks of the torments and paines that it sustained, reproching and hitting them in the teeth therefore; but the other making haile to flie and hide themselves, yet were 40 not able so to doe; for incontinently the tormentors followed after and pursued them, who brought them backe againe to their punishment, crying out, and lamenting for nothing so much, as that they did foresee the torment which they were to suffer, as having experience thereof already. Furthermore, he said that he saw some, and those in number many, either children or nephews, hanging together fast, like bees or bats, murmuring and grumbling for anger, when they remembered and called to minde what forrowes and calamities they sustained for their sake. But the last thing that he saw, were the soules of such as entred into a second life and new natiuitie, as being turned and transformed forcibly into other creatures of all sorts, by certaine workemen appointed therefore, who with tooles for the purpose and many a stroke, forged and framed some of their parts new, bent and wrestled others, tooke away and abolished a 50 third sort; and all, that they might sort and be suitable to other conditions and liues: among which he espied the soule of *Nero* afflicted already grievously enough otherwise, with many calamities, pierced thorow every part with spikes and nailes red hote with fire: and when the artificers foresaid tooke it in hand to transforme it into the shape of a viper, of which kind (as *Pindarus* saith) the yong ones gnaweth thorow the bowels of the dam to come into the world, and to deuoure it, he said that all on a sudden there shone forth a great light, out of which there was heard a voice giving commandement that they should metamorphose and transfigure it into the

the forme of another kinde of beast, more tame and gentle, forging a water creature of it, chanting about standing lakes and marishes; for that he had bene in some sort punished already for the sinnes which hee had committed, and besides, some good turne is due unto him from the gods, in that of all his subjects, he had exempted from taxe, tallage and tribute, the best nation and most beloved of the gods, to wit, the Greeks. Thus farre forth, he said, he was onely a spectator of these matters; but when he was upon his returne, he abid all the paines in the world, for very feare that he had; for there was a certaine woman, for vilage and stately bignesse, admirable, who tooke holde on him, and said: Come hither, that thou maiest keepe in memorie all that thou hast seene, the better: wherewith she put forth unto him a little rod or wand all seried, 10 such as painters or enamellers use, but there was another that staied her; and then he might perceiue himselfe to be blown by a strong and violent winde with a trunk or pipe, so that in the turning of an hand he was within his owne bodie againe; and so began to looke up with his eyes in manner, out of his grave and sepulchre.



THAT BRUTE BEASTES HAVE USE OF REASON;

A discourse in maner of a dialogue,
named GRULLUS.

The Summarie.

30 **T**hey who have given out that man is a liuing creature endued with reason, haue in few words expressed that which every one of us ought principally to consider in him: But for want of declaring what this word reason doth import, themselves for the most part haue not well understood this definition, but as much as in them is, reduced the condition of men to worse estate, than that of brute beasts: For albeis mans bodie 40 moored and governed by his immortall soule, hath many excellent advantages above beasts; yet if reason the guide of the soule haue no other helpe than of her selfe, erries, it may be well and truly said, that man is the most miserable creature in the world: And herein it is, that Philosophers destitute of the light of gods word, are become and so remaine farre short, as being ignorant of Adams fall, originall sinne, and the hereditarie source and spring of so many defects and imperfections which proceed from the understanding and the will, so much deprauate and corrupt in us by sinne, that when we are to rounge and reduce reason, to her true deuiotie and dutie in deed; namely, to know and serve God, according as he commandeth, she is stark blinde, yea and a very enemy herselfe to that good 50 grace which is offered unto her. By reason therefore, which maketh the difference betwene us and brute beasts, we are to understand the true knowledge of God, for to serve and glorifie him according to the tenour of his word all the daies of our life; this is called true religion, of which if man be destitute, according to the existence of our Saviour: It booteth not him to haue gained the whole world, if he lose his owne soule: as also; That it were better for a scoundrelous man, and him by whom offence cometh, neuer to haue bene borne or at least wise soune exterminate and rooted out: Likewise, that whosever is proud of himselfe, and forgetteth his God, is no more a man, but resembleth brute beasts, whose soule perisheth together with the bodie. But to enter no farther into this Theological discourse we see in this present dialogue somewhat thereof; & that the intention of Plutarch was as to shew that the intelligence and cogitation of God, is the onely true priuiledge prerogative and advantage which men haue above beasts: howbeit, left he hush this worke imperfect, even in that very point, which of all other is hardest, and impossible to be prooued by him or his like: for what sound understanding, apprehension, or conceit could they haue of God, who knew not at all the true God? So then, it may be said

said that this parcel or remnant of the disputation, containeth a forme of proceffe against all Pagans and Atheists, to prove that brute beasts excell them, and be in more happy estate than they. As touching the discourse it selfe, to the end that it might not be odious, in case he had handled it as his owne invention, he helpeth himselfe with the fabulous tale of Circe, who transformed into beasts the companions of Ulysses: By which allegorie, the Philosophers and Poets imple and teach thus much, that world pleasure doth make all persons brutish, save onely the wise, who use & enjoy goods, honors, & delights, with a stande and spirit selfe, & which never misseth nor cometh short or wide of the marke that it shooteth at: He bringeth in therefore Ulysses, conferring by the leave and permission of Circe, with a Creeke named Gryllus, the transformed and turned into a swine: and the chiefe point of their disputation is this: Whether the life of man is better to be esteemed than that of beasts? 16 Gryllus for to uphold and maintain his cause, treateth of severall points principally: First of the vertue in general; secondly of the valor and fortitudes; in the third place of the temperance; and last of all, the wisdom of beasts; proving against Ulysses, and that by divers arguments set out and marked in order, that beasts have the start and advantage of men in all these points; and leaving the Reader to make the conclusion; he leaveth sufficiently, that if men have no other approach to rest upon, than a naturall habitude of an earthly vertue, and can assure the repose of their consciences upon nothing but upon humane valiance, temperance, and wisdom, they doe but goe in the companies of beasts, or rather come behind them. Thus you see why our author maketh Ulysses to enter into a discourse as touching the knowledge of God: But whether it were that his other affaires and occupations or the iniquitie of time hath deprived us of the rest, this treatise or dialogue hath bene cut off in that very place, where it desired and required to be more thoroughly and lively presented: And this which remaineth and is come unto our hands, may serve all men in good stead for their instruction and learning, not to glory and vaunt themselves, but in the mercie of him, who calleth them to a better life, wherein be many beasts, created onely for our use, and for the present life, with which they perishe for ever have no part nor portion at all.

THAT BRUTE BEASTES have use of reason.

The personages that discourse in this Dialogue,
ULYSSES, CIRCE, GRYLLUS.



ULYSSES.
E thinks dame Circe that I have sufficiently conceived, and firmly imprinted these matters in my memorie. Now would I gladly aske the question, and know of you, whether among those men which be transformed into wolves and lions, you have any Greeks or no?

CIRCE.
Yes many have I, and those very many, deere heart Ulysses; but wherefore demand you this question?

ULYSSES.
Because I am perswaded, it will be greatly for mine honour among the Greeks, if by your gracious favour I may obtaine thus much, as at your hands to receive them men againe, and save them, strangers though they be, as well as my companions; nor so neglect their state, as to suffer them against nature to age and waxe old in the bodies of wilde beasts, leading a life to miserable, ignominious, and infamous.

CIRCE.
See the simplicitie of this man; he would through his folly, that his ambitious minde should procure damage and calamity not to himselfe onely and his friends, but also to those who are meerely aliens, and nothing belonging to him?

ULYSSES.
I perceive very well (O Circe) that you are about the tempering and brewing of another cup and potion of words, to bewitch me; for certainly you should make a very beast of me in deed, if I would suffer my selfe to be perswaded, that it were a detriment or losse to become a man againe of a brute beast.

CIRCE.

CIRCE.

Why? have you not already done worse for your selfe than so, and committed greater absurdities? considering that letting goe a life immortal, and not subject to old age, which you might enjoy if you would make your abode and dwell with me; you will needs goe in all the haste to a woman mortall, and (as I dare well say) very aged by this time, and that through ten thousand dangers, which yet you must endure, promising your selfe, that you shall thereby be better regarded, more honored and renowned from hence forth, than now you are; and in the meane while you consider not that you seeke after a vaine felicitie, and the image or shadow onely for the thing indeed.

ULYSSES.

Well Circe, I am content that it be so as you say; for why should we so often contest and debate thus about the same still? But I pray you of all loves, unbinde and let loose these poore men for my sake, and give them me.

CIRCE.

Nay, that I will not, I sweare by *Hecate*: You shall not come so easily by them; for I tell you they be no meane persons, and of the common sort: But you were best to aske them first if they themselves be willing thereto or no? And if they answer nay? then, like a noble valiant gentleman as you are, deale with them effectually, and induce them thereto: But in case you cannot with all your reason bring them to it, and that they be able to convince you by force of argument, let it suffice you that you have advised your selfe and your friends but badly.

ULYSSES.

Is it so indeed good lady? and are you about to mocke and make a foole of me? For how can they either yeeld or receive reason in conference, so long as they be asses, swine and lions, as they are.

CIRCE.

Goe to sir, most ambitious man that you are, let that never trouble you; for I will uphold them sufficient both to heare and understand whatsoever you shall alledge unto them, yea, and able to reason and discourse with you: Or rather, I passe not much if one of them for all his fellows shall both demand and answer: Lo heare is one, deale with him as it pleaseth you.

ULYSSES.

And by what name shall we call him, Circe? or who might he be, when he was a man?

CIRCE.

What matters that? and what maketh it to the disputation and question in hand? Howbeit, name him if you thinke good, Gryllus: And to the end that you should not thinke, that for to gratifie or doe me a pleasure, he may seeme to reason crosse and against your minde, I will for the time retire my selfe out of the place.

GRYLLUS.

God save you Ulysses.

ULYSSES.

And you also gentle Gryllus.

GRYLLUS.

What is your will with me, and what would you demand of me?

ULYSSES.

I wot well that you and the rest were sometimes men, and therefore I have great ruth and pitié to see you all in this estate, but as good reason is, it grieveth me most for the Greeks, that they are fallen into this calamity: But so it is, that even now I requested Circe, to loosen as many of you as be willing thereto, and after she hath restored them to their aunient shape, to give them leave to goe with me.

GRYLLUS.

Peace Ulysses, and say not a word more I beseech you; for we all have you in contempt now, seeing that you have bene taken and named all this whiles for a singular man, and seemed far to surpass all others in wisdom, whereas there is little or no cause thereof in that you have bene afraid even of this, to change from the worse to the better; and never considered, that as children abhorre the medicines and drogues that Physicians ordeine, and refuse to learne those sciences and disciplines, which of sickly, diseased and foolish, might make them more healthie, sound, & wise; even so you have rejected & cast behind you this opportunitie to be transformed and changed from one to another; and even still you tremble and dare not venture to keepe company

companie and lie with *Circes*, for dread and feare, lest ere you be aware, she should make of you either a swine, or a wolfe; and you would perfwade us, that whereas we live now in abundance, and enjoy the affluence of all good things, we should quit the same, and withall, abandon and forsake her who hath procured us this happinesse, and all to goe away with you, when we are become men againe; that is to say, the most wretched creatures in the world.

U L Y S S E S.

It seemeth *Gryllus* that the potion which you dranke at *Circes* hands, hath not onely marred the forme and fashion of your bodie, but also spoiled your wit and understanding; having intoxicated your braine, and filled your head with corrupt, strange, and monstrous opinions for ever; or els some pleasure that you have taken by the acquaintance of this body so long, hath cleane bewitched you.

G R Y L L U S.

Nay wis, good sir, it is neither so nor so, if it please you. I am king of the Cephallentians; but if you be disposed to argue with reason, rather than to wrangle with opprobrious rearmes, we will soone bring you to another opinion, and prove by found arguments, upon the experience which we have of the one life and the other, that there is great reason why we should love and embrace this present state above the former.

U L Y S S E S.

For mine owne part I am ready to give you the hearing.

G R Y L L U S.

And I as willing likewise to deliver my minde: But first and foremost, begin I will to speake of vertues, upon which I see you stand so much, and in regard whereof, you woondrously please your selves, as who would be thought in justice, in wisdom, in magnanimitie and other vertues, to excell and farre surpass all brute beasts: Answer me therefore I beseech you, the wisest man of all other, to this point: For I have heard say, that upon a time you made relation unto *Circes* of the Cyclopes countrey, how the soile there is naturally so good and fertile, that without plowing, sowing, or planting at all, it bringeth forth of it selfe all sorts of fruit: Tell me I say, whether you esteeme better of it (so fruitfull as it is) or of *Itaca* a rough and mountainie region, good only for to breed goats in, and which hardly and with great labour yeeldeth unto those that till it, (small store (God wot) of poore and leane frutes, which will not quit for the cost and paines? But take heed it grieve you not to answer contrarie to your minde, for the love that you beare unto your native countrey.

U L Y S S E S.

I love verily (for I must not lie) yea, and I embrace and holde most deare, mine owne countrey and place of nativitie: howbeit, I praise and admire that other region of theirs.

G R Y L L U S.

Why then belike, the case stands thus, and this we are to say, that the wisest man is of opinion, that there be some things which are to praise and commend, and other things to chuse and love: and verily, I thinke that your judgement is the same of the soule; for the like reason there is of it and a land or plot of ground, namely, that the soule is better, which without any travell or labour, bringeth forth vertue, as a fruit springing and growing of it selfe.

U L Y S S E S.

Well: be it so as you say.

G R Y L L U S.

You grant then and confesse already, That the soule of brute beasts is by nature more kinde, more perfect and better disposed to yeeld vertue, considering that without compulsion, without commandment, or any teaching, which is as much to say, as without tillage and sowing it bringeth forth and nourisheth that vertue which is meet and convenient for every one.

U L Y S S E S.

And what vertue is that (my good friend *Gryllus*) whereof beasts be capable?

G R Y L L U S.

Nay, what vertue are they not capable of? yea, and more than the wisest man that is. But first, consider we (if you please) valour and fortitude, whereupon you beare your selfe and vaunt so highly, neither are you abashed and hide your selfe for feare, but are very well pleased when as men surname you, Hardie, Bolde, and a VVinner of cities; whereas you have (most wicked wretch that you are) circumvented and deceived men, who know no other way of making war, but that which is plaine and generous, and who were altogether unskillfull of fraud, guile and

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lesing, by your wily shifts and subtill pranks, attributing the name of vertue unto cunning casts, the which in deed knoweth not what deceit and fraud meaneth. But you see the combats of beasts allwell against men as when they fight one against another, how they are performed without any craftinesse or sleight, onely by plaine hardinesse and cleane strength, and as it were upon a native magnanimitie, they defend themselves, and are revenged of their enemies: and neither by enforcement of lawes, nor for feare to be judicially reprooved and punished for cowardise, but onely through instinct of nature avoiding the shame and disgrace to be conquered, they endure and holde out fight to the very extremitie, and all to keepe themselves invincible: for say they be in body the weaker, yet they yeeld not for all that, nor are faint-hearted and give over, but chuse to die in fight: and many of them there be, whose courage and generosity, even when they are ready to die, being retired into some one corner of their bodie, and there gathering it selfe, resisteth the killer, it leapeth and fretteth still, untill such time as, like a flame of fire, it be quenched and put out once for all: they can not skill of praying and intreating their enemies, they crave no pardon and mercy; and they were strange in any of them, to confesse that they are overcome; neither was it ever seene that a lion became a slave unto a lion, or one horse unto another in regard of fortitude, like as one man to another, contenting himselfe and willingly embracing servitude as next cousin and a surname appropriate unto cowardise. And as for those beasts which men have surprised and caught by snares, traps, subtill sleights and devices of engines, such if they be come to their growth and perfect age, reject all food, refuse nourishment, yea, and endure thirst, to such extremitie, that they chuse to die and seeke to procure their owne death, rather than to live in servitude; but to their young ones and whelps, which for their tender age be tractable, pliable, and easie to be led which way one will, they offer so many deceitfull baits to entice and allure them with their sweetnesse, that they have no sooner tasted thereof, but they become enchanted and bewitched therewith: for these pleasures, and this delicate life, contrary to their nature, in tract of time causeth them to be soft and weake, receiving that degeneration (as it were) and effeminate habit of their courage, which folke call tamenesse; and in deed but basenesse and defect of their natural generositie: whereby it appeareth, that beasts by nature are bred and passing well disposed to be audacious and hardie; whereas contrariwise, it is not kindly for men to be so much as bolde of speech and resolute in speaking their mindes. And this you may (good Ulysses) learne and know especially by this one argument: for in all brute beasts, nature swaith indifferently, and equally of either side, as touching courage and boldnesse, neither is the female in that point inferior to the male, whether it be in sustaining paine and travell for getting of their living, or in fight for defence of their little ones. And I am sure you heard of a certaine Cromyonian swine, what soule worke she made, being a beast of the female sex, for *Thelemus*, & how she troubled him; as also of that monstrous Sphynx, which kept upon the rocks *Phicion*, and held in awe all that tract underneath and about it: for surely all her craft and subtilty in devising riddles, and proposing darke questions, had bootied her nothing, in case she had not bene withall, of greater force and courage than all the Cadmicians. In the very same quarter was (by report) the fox of *Telmessus*, a wily and craftie beast: And it is given out, that whereunto the said place, was also the fell dragon which fought in single fight hand to hand with *Apollo*, for the Seignorie of the oracle at *Delphi*. And even your greatking *Agamemnon* tooketh that brave mare *Aethes*, as a gift, of an inhabitant of *Sycion*, for his dispensation and immunity, that he might not be prest to the warres: wherein he did well and wisely in mine opinion, to preferre a good and courageous beast, before a coward and dastardly man; and you your own selfe (Ulysses) have seene many times lionesses and the libbards, how they give no place at all to their males in courage and hardinesse, as your lady *Penelope* doth; who gives you leave to be abroad in warlike, whilst she sits at home close by the hearth; and by the theefe side, and dares not do so much as the very swallows, in repelling those back who come to destroy her and her house, for all she is a Laconian woman borne: What should I tell you of the Carian, or of the Maeonian women? for by this that hath bene said already, it is plaine and evidently that men naturally are not endued with prowesse, for if they were, then should women likewise have their part with them in vertue and valour: And thereupon I inferre and conclude: that you and such as you are, exercise a kind of valiance (I must needs say) which is not voluntarie nor naturall, but constrained by force of lawes, subiect and servile to (I wot not what) customes reprehensions; and you meditate I say and practise for vain-glorious opinion, fortitude, gaily set out with trim words; you sustaine travells and perils, not for that you see light by them, nor for any hardinesse and confidence in your selves, but because you are afraid lest others should gob

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some qualitie thereof, before it doth us any harme, and otherwise it troubleth not us at all, as it doth you, whom it forceth to mixe and compound together for perfumes, cinnamon, nard, spike, lavender camell, the sweet leafe malabathum, and the aromaticall calamus, or cane of *Arabia*, medling and incorporating one within another, by the exquisite skilling and cunning of the apothecarie and perfumer, forcing drogues and spices of divers natures to be blended and confectioned together, and buying for great summes of money one pleasure, which is not becoming men, but rather fit for fine wenches and daintie damocels, and nothing at all profitable: And yet being thus corrupt as it is, it merveth not onely all women, but also the most part of you that are men, in so much as you will not otherwhiles, lie with your owne elpoused wives, unless they be perfumed and besmeared all over with sweet oiles and ointments, or els bestrewned with odoriferous powders, when they come to companie with you: Whereas contrariwise among us, the fow allureth the bore, the doe or she goat draweth unto her the buck, & other females the males of their kinde, by their owne sent and smell, casting from them the pure and neat favour of the medowes, and the verdure of the fields, and so comming together as in marriage for generation, with a kinde of mutuall love and reciprocal pleasure; neither doe the females hold off and make it daintie, disguising and covering (as it were) their owne lust as harlots doe, with looking strange and coie at the matter, pretending colourable excuses, or making semblance of refusal, and all to enchant, entice, and draw on the rather; nor the males when they come unto them, being pricked with the furious instinct of lust to generation, doe buie either for moiney or for great paine and travell, or for long subjection and servitude, the act of generation; but yet they performe the same unfeignedly, and without deceit in due time and season, without any cost, when as nature in the spring stirreth up and provoketh the generative concupiscence of all living creatures, even as it putteth forth the buds and sprouts of plants, and anon delateth as it were and quencheth the same; for neither the female after she is once sped and hath conceived, seeketh after the male, nor the male wooeth her any more, nor followeth after her; of so little regard and small price is this pleasure among us; but nature is all in all, and nothing doe wee against it: Heereof also it is, that there hath not bene knowne unto this day, any lust so faine to transpire brute beasts, as that males should joine in this act with males, or females with females; whereas among you, there be many such examples, even of such as otherwise were accounted great and woorthie personages, for I let those passe who were of no woorth or note to speake of: Even *Agamemnon* went through all *Baetia*, chasing and hunting after * *Argynus*, who fledde secretly from him; meane while he pretended colourable, yet false excuses of his abode there, to wit, the sea and the windes, and afterwards this faire and goodly knight, bathed himselfe gently in the poole of *Copais*, as it were there to quench the heat of his love, and to deliver himselfe from this furious lust. Semblable *Hercules* pursuing after a yong beardedlesse Genymade whom he loved, was left behind the other gallants and brave knights that enterprised the voiage for the golden fleece, and so not imbarquing with them, betrayed the fleet. Likewise upon a scutchan of the lower or valted route of *Apollos* temple, surnamed *Proina*, there was one of you, who secretly wrote this inscription; *Achilles* the faire; even after that *Achilles* himselfe had begotten a sonne; and I heare say, that these letters remaine there to be seene even at this day: Now if it chauce that a dunghill cocke tread another cocke, when there is no henne at hand; he is burnt quicke, for that some wizard, soothsayer, or interpreter of such strange prodigies, will pronounce that it is omenous, and presageth some evil lucke: Thus you see, how men themselves are forced to confesse, that beasts are more continent than they; & that to satisfie & fulfill their lusts, they never violate nor abuse nature; whereas in you it is otherwise: For nature (albeit she have the helpe and aide of the law) is not able to keepe your intemperance within the limits and bounds of reason; but like unto a violent streame which runneth forcibly, often times and in many places it worketh much outrage, causing great disorder, scandall and confusion against nature, in this point of carnall love and fleshly lust: for there have bene men who attempted to meddle and deale with these goats, with fowes and mares; as also women who have bene as wood and raging mad after certaine beasts of the male kinde: and verily, of such copulations as these, are come your Minotours and Aegipanes; yea, and as I verily thinke, those Sphinxes and Centaures in time past, have bene bred by the same meanes. True it is (I confesse) that otherwhiles, upon necessity and extreame famine, a dogge hath bene knownen to have devoured a man or a woman, yea, and some fowle hath tasted of their flesh, and begun to eat it; but there was never found yet any brute beast to have lusted after man or woman, to engender with them; whereas men both in this lust and in many other pleasures, have often

* Or, *Argem.*

often times perpetrated outrage upon beasts. Now if they be so unbridled, so disordinate and incontinent in these appetites, much more disolute they are knowne to be than beasts in other desires and lusts that be necessarie, to wit, in meats and drinks, whereof we never take pleasure, but it is with some profit but you seeking after the tickling pleasure and delight in drinke and eating, rather than the needfull nourishment to content and satisfie nature, are afterwards well punished for it by many grievous and long maladies, which proceed all from one source, to wit, inseite and repletion, namely, when you stuffe and fill your bodies with all sorts of flatulent humors & ventosities, which hardly are purged & excluded forth: for fitt & forme too, ech sort of beasts hath a severall food and peculiar kinde of nourishment; some feed upon grasse, others upon roots, and some there be againe which live by fruits: as for those that devour flesh, they never touch any other kinde of pasture, neither come they to take from the weaker and more feeble kinde, their proper nouriture, but suffer them to graze & feed quietly. Thus we see that the lion permitteth the stag and hinde to graze; and the wolfe likewise the sheepe, according to natures ordinance and appointment: but man (being thorough his disordinate appetite of pleasures, and by his gluttonie, provoked to all things, tasting and assaying whatsoever he can meet with or heare of, as knowing indeed no proper and naturall food of his owne) is of all creatures living, he alone that eateth and devoureth all things; for fitt, he feedeth upon flesh, without any need or necessitie enforcing him thereto, considering that he may alwaies gather, presse, cut and craepe from plants, vines and feeds, all sort of fruits, one after another in due and convenient seasons, until he be weary againe, for the great quantity thereof; and yet for to content his delicate tooth, and upon a lothsome fulnesse of necessarie sustenance, he seeketh after other victuals, neither needfull nor meet for him, ne yet pure and cleane, in killing living creatures, much more cruelly than those savage beasts that live of ravin: for bloud and carnage of murdered carcasses is the proper and familiar food for a kite, a wolfe, or a dragon; but unto man it serveth in stead of his daintie dish: and more than so, man in the use of all sorts of beasts, doth not like other creatures that live of prey, which abstaine from the most part, and waite with some small number, even for very necessity of food; for there is neither fowle flying in the aire, nor (in maner) any fish swimming in the sea, nor (to speake in one word) any beast feeding upon the face of the earth, that can escape those tables of yours, which you call gentle, kinde and hospitall. But you will say, that all this standeth in stead of sauce to season your food: be it so: why then doe you kill the same for that purpose, and for to furnish those your milde and countre tables?

* But the wisdom of beasts, farre different; for it giveth place to no arte whatsoever, that is vaine and needlesse; and as for those that be necessarie, it enterreineth them not as comming from others, nor as taught by mercenarie masters for hire and money; neither is it required, that it should have any exercise to glue (as it were, and joine after a slender maner) ech rule, principle and proposition, one to another; but all at once of it selfe, it yeildeth them all as native and inbred therewith. We heare say, that all the Aegyptians be Physicians; but surely every beast hath in it selfe not onely the art and skill to cure and heale it selfe when it is sicke, but also is sufficiently instructed how to feed and nourish it selfe, how to use her owne strength, how to fight, how to hunt, how to stand at defence, yea, and in very musick they are skillfull, ech one in that measure as is requisite and besitting the owne nature: for of whom have we learned, finding our selves ill at ease, to goe into the rivers for to seeke for crabbes and crasshes? who hath taught the tortoises, when they have eaten a viper, to seeke out the herbe *Organ* for to feed upon? who hath shewed unto the goats of *Candie*, when they be shot into the bodie with arrowes, to finde out the herbe *Dissanum*, for to feed on it, and thereby to cause the arrow head to come forth and fall from them? For if you say (as the truth is) that nature is the schoole-mistresse, teaching them all this, you refferre and reduce the wisdom and intelligence of dumbe beasts unto the fagelt and most perfect cause or principle that is; which if you thinke you may not call reason, nor prudence, ye ought then to seeke out some other name for it, that is better and more honourable: and to say a truth, by effects thes sheweth her puissance to be greater and more admirable, as being neither ignorant nor ill taught, but having learned rather of it self, not by imbecillitie and feeblenesse of nature, but contrariwise, through the force and perfection of naturall vertue, letting go, and nothing at all esteeming that beggerly prudence which is gotten from other by way of apprenticeship. Nevertheless, all those things which men either for delicacie or in mirth and pastime, do present unto them for to learne and to exercise their conceit and wit withall, howsoever they be against the naturall inclination of their bodies: yet such is their capacitie and the excellencie of their spirits, that they will reach thereto and compasse the

* It seemeth that some-what is here wanting.

fame thorowly. If any nothing how whelps follow and trace beats by the foot, or how colts practise to set their feet forward in their pace by measures: but how crows and ravens will talk and prattle, how dogs will leape and dance upon wheeles as they turne round about: also howes and oxen we see in the theaters, how they being taught to couch and lie downe, to dance, to stand upright on their hinder feet, so wonderfully, that men themselves have much ado to performe the like dangerous gestures, and yet this they doe after they have once learned it from others, yea, and remember the feat thereof, onely for a prooffe, if there were nothing else, that docible they be and apt to learne whatsoever a man would have them, since that all this serveth for nothing else in the whole world. Now if you bee hard of beliefe, and will not be perswaded that we learne the arts, I will say more than so; namely, that we can teach the same: for the old rowen partridges teach their young ones how to runne awaie from before the fowler, and to escape by lying upon their backs, and holding up with their feet a clod of earth to hide themselves under it; and see we not daily upon the tops of our houses, how the old storks standing by their little ones, traine and teach them how to flie; semblable the nightingales instruct their young birds in song, in so much as those which be taken unsledged out of the nest, and are nourished by mans hand, never afterwards sing so well, because they be had away before their time from schoole, and want their master of musick. For mine owne part after that I was entred into this bodie, I marvelled much at those reasons and discourses of sophisters, who maintained and perswaded me before time, that all living creatures besides man were without reason and understanding.

U L Y S S E S.

You are indeed *Gryllus* now much changed, and you can shew unto us by found demonstration, that a sheepe is reasonable, and an asse hath wit, can you not?

G R Y L L U S.

Yes iwis, good *Ulysses*, for even by these very arguments, a man may principally collect and gather, that the nature of beasts is not altogether void of the use of reason and intelligence: Like as therefore among trees, there is not one more or lesse destitute of foule, (I meane that which is sensitive) than another, but they be all indifferently & equally void thereof, and not one of them is one jot endued therewith; even so in sensible beasts, there would not be one found more flow and unapt to learne things of wit and understanding than another, if they were not all partakers of reason and intelligence, although some have the same in more or lesse measure than others; and say there be some very blockish and exceeding dull of conceit, consider withall, how the wily sleights and craftie conceits of others may be put in balance against the same, namely, when you shall compare the fox, the wolfe, or the bees with the sheepe and the asse; it is all one as if you should set *Polyphemus* to your selfe; or that *Homer* of *Corinth* to your grandfather *Autolycus*: And yet I thinke verily, that there is not so great difference and distance betweene beast and beast, as there is odds in the matter of wisdom, discourse of reason, and use of memorie betweene man and man.

U L Y S S E S.

But take heed of one thing *Gryllus*, that it be not a strange and absurd position, founding of no probability at all, to attribute any use of reason unto those who have no sense or knowledge at all of God.

G R Y L L U S.

What *Ulysses*, shall we not say that you being so wise and excellent as you are, were descended from the race of *Sisyphus*, &c.



WHETHER

WHETHER IT BE LAWFULL TO EAT FLESH OR NO.

The former Oration or Treatise.

The Summarie.

Loquence was highly esteemed in times past among Greeks and Romans, and therefore their children were trained and framed betimes in the schooles to discourse well, in good rearmes, and proper phrases, yea, and with pregnant and sound reasons of divers matters; to the end that when they were come to more yeeres, they might make prooffe of their sufficiency in courts and public assemblies of cities, in private consultations and familiar conferences, as it appeareth very plainly by the histories of all ages: Now after that young children had learned of their schoole masters the rules and precepts named *Progymnasmata*, or the first exercises, they were brought into the auditories of some great professor in Rhetorick; where there were proposed unto them certaine themes, gathered out of poets, historians, or philosophers, upon which they exercised their stile to write pro & contra, in the defence or confutation of this or that opinion, according to the measure of their spirit and capacite, more or lesse: Those who were more forward, and farther proceeded than the rest, could by heart that which they had penned, and pronounced the same afterward in the presence of those that came to heare them: Some of them who were grown to a greater measure of knowledge, and as it were in the highest forme of such exercises, were wont to stand fourth and answer to all questions propounded, disputing and discoursing in the praise or dispraise of one and the same thing, as *Gorgias*, *Carnaeades*, and an infinite number of others, are able to make good and verifie. This manner of exercise, named *Declamations*, was practised in *Plutarchs* time, as may be collected out of divers places of his works: and as these two treatises immediately following do sufficiently declare, the which are named, and imperfect at the very beginning, in the mids and toward the end, especially the second: for it may be easily scene that they are fragments of certaine declamations which he wrote for his owne exercise when he was a young man. Now albeit they be so corrupt and defective in manner all throughout, yet the remnant which is left unto us, doth sufficiently discover the honest occupation and employment of learned men in those daies, and the carefull industrie that they had to examine & dispute all things thorowly, to the end that by a diligent conference thereof, the truth might the better appeare and be known. And if otherwhiles they maintained certaine paradoxes and strange opinions, it was not upon any craftie and disingenuous spirit to defend obstinately all that came into their fantasticall braine, but for to arguent and encrease in themselves an earnest desire to apprehend and understand things better: And howsoever our author seemeth to be of minde for to defend the opinion of *Pythagoras*, as touching the transmigration of soules, and the prohibition to eat flesh; yet by other treatises written with more deliberate, mature and staide judgement, he giveth us to understand, that he is of a contrarie opinion; but his principall scope that he sheweth at, seemeth to be cutting off and abridging of the great excess and superfluitie in purveying, buying, and spending of viands, which in his time began to grow out of all measure; a disorder and inordinat which afterwards encreased much more. For to gaine and compass this point, hee would seeme to perswade men to the opinion of *Pythagoras*, which mightily cutteth the wings of all riot and wastfull dissolation. Moreover, this ought not to be taken so, as if it favoured and seconded the error of certaine fantastical persons, who have condemned the use of Gods good creatures: for in the schoole of *Christ* we are taught good lessons, which refuse sufficiently the dreames of the *Pythagoreans*, and resolve assuredly the good conscience of all those that make use of all creatures (meets for the sustentation of this life) soberly and with thanksgiving, as knowing them to be good, and their use cleane and pure unto those whom

whom the spirit of regeneration hath sanctified, for to make them partakers of that realme which is not shut up and inclosed in meats and drinks. As touching this present treatise for the maintenance of Pythagoras his paradox, he allegeth five reasons: to wit, That the eating of flesh, is a testimonie and signe of inhumanitie; That we ought to forbear it, considering we are not driven upon necessity to feed thereupon; That it is an unmanly thing; That it hurte the soule and body: and for a conclusion, That men will never come themselves and converse modestly together, if they learne not first to be pitiful and kinde even to the very dumbe beasts.

WHETHER IT BE LAW- full to eat flesh or no.

The former Oration or Treatise.



U^lt you demand of mee, for what cause *Pythagoras* absteined from eating flesh? And I againe do marvell, what affection, what maner of courage, or what motive and reason had that man, who first approached with his mouth unto a flaine creature, who durst with his lips once touch the flesh of a beast either killed or dead; or how he could finde in his heart to be served at his table with dead bodies, and as a man may say, very idols, to make his food and nourishment of those parts and members which a little before did blea, low, bellow, walke and see. How could his eyes endure to beholde such murder and slaughter, whiles the poore beasts were either flitcked or had the throats cut, were flamed and dismembred? how could his nose abide the smell and sent that came from them? how came it that his taste was not cleane marred and overthrowen with horreur, when he came to handle those uncouth fores and ulcers, or receive the bloud and humours, issuing out of the deadly wounds.

The skinner now flayed, upon the ground did spraule,

The flesh on spits did bellow still and low:

Rosk, sod and raw, did erie as well as crule,

And yeeld a voice of living oxen or cow.

But this, you will say, is a loud lie, and a meere poetical fiction; howbeit, this was certainly a strange and monstrous supper, that any man should hunger after those beasts, and desire to eat them whiles they still kept a lowing; to prescribe also, and teach men how they should feed of those creatures which live and erie still; to ordaine likewise, how they ought to be dressed, boiled, roasted, and served up to the board.

But he who first invented these monstrousities, ought to be inquired after, and not hee who last gave over and rejected the same. Or a man may well say, that those who at the first began to eat flesh, had all just causes so to do, in regard of their want and necessity: for surely, it was not by reason of disordinate and enormous appetite which they used a long time, nor upon plenty and abundance of necessary things, that they grew to this insolencie, to seeke after strange pleasures, & those contrarie to nature. But verily, if they could recover their senses and speech againe, they might well say now, Oh how happie and well beloved of the gods are you, who live in these daies! in what a world and age are you borne! what affluence of all sorts of good things do you enjoy! what harvests, what store of fruits yeeldeth the earth unto you! how commodious are the vintages! and what riches do the fields bring unto you! what a number of trees and plants do furnish you with delights and pleasures, which you may gather and receive, when you so thinke good! you may live (if you list) in all maner of delicacie, without once fouling your hands for the matter; whereas our hap was to be borne in the hardest time and most terrible age of the world, when as we could not chuse but incur (by reason of the new creation of all things) a great want and straight indigence of many necessities: the face of the heaven and skie was still covered with the aire; the starres were dusked with troubled and instable humors, together with fire and tempestuous winde: the sunne was not yet settled and established, having a constant and certaine race to holde his course in,

From

*From East to West, to make both even and morne
Distinct, nor by returne from Tropiques twaine;
The seasons chang'd from those that were before,
Bedight with leaves, with flowers, with fruits and graine.*

The earth suffered wrong by the inordinate streames and inundations of rivers, which had neither certaine chanelles nor banks: much of it lay waste and deformed, with loughs, marshes, and deepe bogges; much also remained savage, being over-spread with wild woods and fruitlesse forests: it brought forth no fruits ripe and pleasant; neither were there any tooles and instruments belonging to any arte; nor so much as any invention of a witty head. Hunger never gave us ease or time of repose; neither was there any expectation or waiting for the yearly seasons of fecundesse; for there was no sowing at all. No marvell therefore, if we did eat the flesh of beasts and living creatures even contrary to nature; considering that then the very mosses and barke of trees served for food; & well was he who could find any greene grasse or quicke coich, or so much as the root of the herbe * *Phleas*: but whensoever men could meet with acornes and mast to taste and feed upon, they would dance and hop for joy about an oak or beech tree; and in their rusticall songs call the earth their bountifull mother; and their kinde nourish: and such a day as that onely, they accounted festivall: all their life besides was full of vexation, sorrow and heaviness. But now, what rage, what furie and madnesse inciteth you to commit such murders and carnage? seeing you have such store and plenty of all things necessarie for your life? you believeth the earth, and most unthankfully dishonour her, as if there could not luteine and nourish you? why do you violate the divine power of *Ceres* the inventresse of saced lawes, and shame sweet and gracious *Bacchus*, as if these two deities gave you not sufficient whereupon you might live? what! are you not abashed to mangle at your tables pleasant frutes with bloudie murder? You call lions and libards savage beasts; meane while your selves are stained with bloudhied, giving no place to them in crueltie, for where as they doe worie and kill other beasts; it is for verie necessity and need of food; but you doe it for daintie fare, for when wee have flaine either lions or wolves in defence of our selves, we eat them not but let them lie: But they be the innocent, the harmlesse, the gentle and tame creatures, which have neither teeth to bite, nor pricke to sting withall, which we take and kill, although nature seemeth to have created them, onely for beautie and delight: [Much like as if a man seeing *Nilus* overflowing

his banks, and filling all the country about with running water, which is generative and fructifull, would not praise with admiration the propertie of that river, causing to spring and grow many faire and goodly frutes, and the same so necessarie for mans life; but if he chance to espie a crocodill swimming, or an aspick creeping and gliding downe, or some venomous flie, hurtfull and noisome beasts all, blameth the said river upon that occasion, and saith that they be causes sufficient, that of necessity he must complaine of the thing: Or verily, when one seeing this land and champion country overspread with good and beautifull frutes, charged also and replenished with eares of corne, should perceive casting his eye over those pleasant corne fields, here & there an eare of danel, choke-crill, or some such unhappie weed among, should therefore upon forbear to reape and carie in the said corne, and forgoe the benefit of a plentiful harvest, & find fault therewith: Semblably standeth the case when one seeth the plea of an orator in anie cause or action, who with a full and forcible streame of eloquence, endeavourth to save his client out of the danger of death, or otherwise to proove and verifie the charges and imputations of certaine crimes; this oration (I say) or eloquent speech of his, running not simple and nakedly, but carrying with it many and sundrie affections of all sorts, which he imprinteth in the minds and hearts of the hearers or judges, which being many also, and those divers and different, he is to turne, to bend and change, or otherwise, to dulce, appeale and staie if he I say should anon passe over and not consider the principall issue, and maine point of the cause, and buse himselfe in gathering out some by-speeches besides the purpose, or haply some phrases improper and impertinent, which the oration of some advocate with the flowing course thereof, hath caried downe with it, lighting thereupon, and falling with the rest of his speech.] But we are nothing moved either with the faire and beautifull colour, or the sweet and tunable voice, or the quicknesse and subtiltie of spirit, or the neat and cleane life, or the vivacitie of wit and understanding, of these poore feeble creatures; and for a little peece of flesh we take away their life, we bereave them of the sunne and of light, cutting forth that race of life which nature had limited and prefixed for them; and more than so, those lamentable and trembling voices which they utter for feare, we suppose to be inarticulate or insignificant sounds, and nothing lesse than pitiful

full

full praier, supplications, pleas & justifications of these poore innocent creatures, who in their language, euerie one of them cry in this manner: If thou be forced upon necessitie, I beseech thee not to save my life: but if disordinate lust moove thee thereto, spare me: in case thou hast a mind simply to eat on my flesh, kill me: but if it be for that thou wouldst feed more delicately, hold thy hand and let me live. O monstrous cruelty! It is an horrible sight to see the table of rich men onely, stand served and furnished with viands, set out by cooks and victuallers that dresse the flesh of dead bodies; but most horrible it is to see the same taken up, for that the reliques and broken meats remaining, be fared more than that which is eaten: To what purpose then were those silly beasts slaine? Now there be others, who making spare of the viands served to the table, will in no hand that they should be cut or sliced; sparing them when as they be nothing els but bare flesh; whereas they spared them not whiles they were living beasts: But forasmuch as we have heard that the same men hold and say: That nature hath directed them to the eating of flesh; it is plaine and evident, that this cannot accord with mans nature: And first and formost this appeareth by the very fabrick and composition of his bodie; for it resembleneth none of those creatures whom nature hath made for to feed on flesh, considering they have neither hooked bil, no haunke-pointed tallans, they have no sharpe and rough teeth, nor stomack so strong, or so hot breath and spirit, as to be able to concoct and digest the beauny masse of raw flesh: And if there were naught else to be alledged, a nature her-selfe by the broadnesse and unte equality of our teeth, by our small mouth, our soft tooing, the imbecillitie of naturall hear, and spirits serving for concoction, sheweth sufficiently that the approoveh not of mans usage to eat flesh, but disfavoreth and disclaimeth the same: And if you obstinately maintaine and defend, that nature hath made you for to eat such viands; then, that which you minde to eat first kill your selfe, even your owne selfe (I say) without using any blade, knife, bat, club, axe, or hatchet: And even as beares, lions, and wolves, slay a beaist according as they meane to eat it; even so kill thou a beeste, by the bit of thy teeth; slay me a swine with the helpe of thy mouth and jawes; teare in peeces a lambe or an hare with thy nailes; and when thou hast fo done, eat it up while it is alive, like as beasts doe; but if thou stailest untill they be dead ere thou eate them, and art abashed to chafe with thy teeth the life that presently is in the flesh which thou eatest; why dost thou against nature eat that which had life? and yet, when it is deprived of life, and fully dead, there is no man hath the heart to eat the same as it is; but they caule it to be boiled, & to be roasted; they alter it with fire, and many drogues and spices, changing, disguising, and quenching (as it were) the horror of the murder, with a thousand devices of seasoning; to the end that the sense of tasting being beguiled and deceived by a number of sweet saucies and pleasant conditure, might admit and receive that which it abhorreth, and is contrary unto it. Certes it was a pretie conceit which was reported by a Laconian, who having bought in his Inne or hostellie, a little fish, gave it, as it should seeme, to the Inkeeper for to be drest; but when hee called unto him for vinegar, cheefe, and oyle to doe it withall: If (quoth the Laconian) I had that which thou demandest of me, I would never have bought this fish. But we contrariwise, for to please our delicate tooth, are so delighted in slaughter and carnage, that flesh we call our viand; and yet then we have need of other viands for the very dressing of flesh it selfe, mixing and adding thereto, oile, wine, honie, the pickle or sauce *garum* and vinegar, embalming (as it were) and burying a dead corps with Syriack spices and Arabicke saucies. And verily, when our flesh meate after this manner be mortified, made tender, and in some sort purified, our naturall heat hath much adoe to concoct the same, and being not able in deed to digest them perfectly, it ingendereth in us dangerous heaviness and crudities apt to breed diseases. *Diogenes* upon a time was so rash, that he durst eat a polype or porcupine fish all raw, because he would have taken away the use and helpe of fire in dressing such meates: and there being certene priests and many other men standing about him, when he covered his head with his cloake, and put the flesh of the said polype to his mouth, he said unto them all; For your sake it is that I hazard my selfe thus as I doe, and adventure this jeopardie. Now by *Jupiter*, this was a proper peccall in deed, and a doutie danger, was it not? for this Philosopher heere exposed not himselfe to any perillous hazard, as *Pelopides* did, for recovery of the Thebans libertie; nor as *Armodius* and *Arispogiton*, for the freedome of *Athens*: who thus wrestled with a raw polype fish in his stomacke, and all to make the life of man more beaustlike and savage. Well then, plaine it is that the eating of flesh is not onely unnatural in regard of the bodie, but also by repletion, fullnesse and fauencie, it maketh the foule fat and grosse: for the drinking of wine and feeding upon flesh meates to the full, howsoever it may seeme to cause the bodie to be more able and strong, yet

surely the minde it doth enfeeble and weaken. And left I should be thought a professed enemy to those who practise the exercise of the bodie named *Athletice*, I will use the domestical examples of mine owne country: for the inhabitants of *Africa* doe teame us of *Beotia*, fat-backs, grosse and senselesse, yea, and blockish fots, principally for our ranke and large feeding; like as one said:

*Ofstrueth these men, in judgement mine,
Be nothing els but franked wine.*

And as *Menander* wrote in one place:

*With fat their cheeks be puffed and swollen:
See, see their chaps how they be boloe.*

As also *Pindarus*:

*They plie their jawes, they feed amaine,
That even their cheeks do swaine againe.*

But according to *Heraclitus*, the drie foule seemeth to be the wisest: for know thus much moreover; that emptie, tunnes, pipes, or barrels, rebound when they be knocked upon; whereas if they be full, they answer not againe to the knocks or stroaks given them: brasse pannes or coppers which be thin & slender, render sounds, and ring all about untill such time as one come and with his hand seeme to stop and dull the stroke that otherwise went round about: The eie filled with superfluous humiditie, becometh dim and darke, neither hath it the full strength and power to performe his office. When we behold the sunne through a moist aie, and a number of thick mists, and grosse undigested vapors, we see him not in his owne nature pure, cleere, and brights; but as it were in the bottome of a cloud, all duskyish, and casting forth thicke wandering and dispersed beames: And even so through a bodie troubled with vapors, full fedde and overcharged with nutriments, of unkind and strange viands, it cannot chuse but all the light and shining brightnesse of the foule which is naturall, should become dusked and troubled, having no radiant settled splendour, able to pierce thoroughly to the ends and externities of subtile and fine objects, hardly to be discerned, but the fame is wandering, unsteadie and dispersed.

But setting all these matters aside, is it not, thinke you, a right commendable thing to be acquainted and accustomed to humanitie? for who would ever finde in his heart to abuse & wrong a man, who is affectionate, gentle, and milde, to the very beasts which are of a strange kind from us, and have no communication of reason with us? Three daies agoe, I alledged and cited in my disputation a testimonie of *Xenocrates* to this purpose; and namely: How the Athenians condemned him to pay a round fine, who had slaine a quick ramme: And in very truth, he that tormenteth and putteth to paine one that is living, is not in my conceit worfe than he that taketh the life away and killeth him: Howbeit, as farre as I can see, more sense and feeling we have of such things as be unusual and against custome, than unnatural and contrarie unto kinde: But those reasons which I then delivered, smell haply of some grossenesse, and were too triviall; for I feare and am loth to touch and set abroad in these my discourfes, that great and high principle, that deepe and mytticall cause of this our position: That we ought not to eat flesh; for that I lay the hidden secret and original thereof is so incredible to base and timorous persons, as *Plato* saith, and to such as favour of nothing but of earthly and mortall matters; and heerein I fare much like unto the pilot and master of the ship, who in a tempest is afraid to put his ship to sea; or unto a poet, who dareth not set up his fabrick or engin in the theater, all while the stage or pagant is turned and caried round about: And yet peradventure it were not amisse in this place to rebound and pronounce aloud those verses of *Empedocles*. * * *. For under covert teames he doth allegorize and give us to understand; that the foules heere, are tied and fastened to mortall bodies, by way of punishment, for that they have bene murderers: have eaten flesh, devoured one another, and bene fed by mutual slaughter and carnage: And yet this seemeth to be an opinion more ancient than *Empedocles*: for those fictions of Poets as touching the dismembering of *Bacchus*, and the outrageous attempts of the Tyrans against him, and how they tasted of flesh murdered, as also of their punishment, and how they were smitten with lightning, they be mere fables: the hidden mythologie whereof, tendeth to that renovation of birth or resurrection: for surely that brutish and reasonlesse part of our foule which is violent, disordered, and not divine, but divelish and daemonicke, the ancient philosophers called *Tyrans*; and this is that which is tormented, and suffereth judgement: all punishment.



OF EATING FLESH.

The second Declamation.

The Summarie.



Pr author pursuing in this second Treatise his matter and proposition, which he broched and began in the former declamation; and acknowledging how commandise, gluttony, and evil custome be dangerous counsellors; yet granteth and agreeth in the end, that a man may eat flesh, upon certaine conditions which he doth specify, condemning withall, the cruell excesse and riot of many in their fure. After this, having shewed by the example of Lycurgus, that we ought to cut off the first occasions of all superfluties, he conferreth the opinions of Pythagoras and Empedocles, with those of other philosophers, and therewith setteth downe his owne conceit and advice. Afterwards when he had in one word touched, from whence, and whereupon men become so bold and hardie to eat flesh; he declareth a fresh and prooveth, that this manner of feeding doth woonderfully prejudice both bodie and soule. And in conclusion, he confuteth the Stoicks, opposite enemies to the doctrine of Pythagoras; leaving this resolution unperfected, were it that himselfe never finished it, or that the malice and iniquitie of the time hath deprived us thereof: Like as many other fragments missing in these works.

OF EATING FLESH.

The second Declamation.



Reason would, that we should be fresh disposed, and readie in will, in mind and thought, to heare the discourse against this mustie and unfavore custome of eating flesh: For hard it is, as Cato was wont to say, to preach unto the belly that hath no eares; and besides we have all drunke of the cup of custome, resembling that of *Cere* which

*Compounded is of dolor, griefes and paines,
Of sorrows, woes, and of deceitfull traines.*

Neither is it an easie matter for them to calt up againe the hooke of the appetite to eat flesh, who have swallowed it downe into their entralls, and are transported and full of the love of pleasures and delights: But well and happie it were for us, if, as the manner is of the Aegyptians, so soone as men are dead, to paunch them, and when their belly and bowels be taken forth, to mangle, cut and slice the same against the sunne, and then to fling them away, as being the cause of all finnes that they have committed: so we would first cut away from our selves all our gourmandise, gluttonie, and murdering of innocent creatures, that we might afterwards lead the rest of our life pure and holy; considering that it is not the belly it selfe that by murder defileth us; but polluted it is by our intemperance. But say, it is not in our power to effect thus much, or be it, that upon an inveterate custome; we are ashamed in this point to be innocent and faultlesse; yet let us at leastwise commit sinne in measure, and transgresse with reason: Let us I say eat flesh, but so, as we be driven thereto for verie hunger, and not drawn to it by a licorous tooth, to satisfie our necessitie, and not to feed our greedie and delicate humour: kill we a beast, howbeit with some griefe of heart, with some commiseration and pittie; and not of a proud and insolent spirit, ne yet of a murderous minde;

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as men doe now adaise, after many and divers sorts: For some in killing of swine or porkets, thrust them in with red-hot spits; to the end that the blood being shed and quenched as it were by the tincture of the firc iron, running through the body, might cause the flesh forthwith to be more tender and delicate: ye shall have others leape upon the udders and paps of the poore sowes ready to farrow, and trample upon their bellies and teats with their feet, that the bloud, the milke, and the congealed bag of the yoong pigges, knit within the dammes wombe, being all jumbled, confused and blended together, even amidst the painfull pangs of farrowing (O *Jupiter Placularis*) they might make (I would not els) a most deintie dish of meat, and devoure the most corrupt and purified part of the poore beast: many there are who have a device to stich and fow up the eies of cranes and swannes, and when they have so done, to mew them up in a darke place, and so feed them, trammung them with strange compositions and pastes made of dried figges; but wot you why? because their flesh should be more deintie and pleasant: whereby it appeareth evidently, that it is not for need of nourishment, nor for want and necessitie; but even for facietie, wantonnesse, sumptuous curiositie, and superfluous excesse, that of horrible injustice and wickednesse, they make their pleasure and delight: and like as the filthy lecherous person, who is unsatiable in the pleasure of women, after he hath assaied many, runneth on headlong still, roving and ranging every way, and yet his unbridled and untamed lust is not yet satisfied, but hee falleth to perpetrate such horrible villanies as are not once to be named; even so intemperance in meats, when it hath passed once the bounds of nature, and limits of necessitie, proceedeth to outrage and crueltye, searching all meanes how to varie and change the disordinate appetite; for the organs and instruments of our senses, by a fellow-feeding and contagion of maladies, are affected one by another, yea, and runne into disorder and sinne together, through intemperance, when they rest not contented with the measure assigned them by nature: Thus the hearing being out of frame and sicke, or not guided by reason, marcheth muffled; the feeling when it is degenerate into an effeminate delicacie, seeketh filthily after wanton ticklings, touchings, and fricitious handling of women: the same vice of intemperance hath taught the eiesight not to be contented with beholding morisks, pyrrhick, or wastlike dances, nor other lawdable and decent gestures, ne yet to see and view faire pictures and goodly flames, but to esteeme the death and murder of men, their mortall wounds, bloudie fights, and deadly combats, to be the best sights and spectacles that can be devised. And hereupon it is, that upon such excessive fare & superfluitie at the table, there ensue ordinarily wanton loves, upon lecherie and filthy venterie, there followeth beastly talke; these bawdie ballads and stirring rales, be accompanied commonly with hideous fights, & monstrous shewes; lastly, these horrible spectacles have attending upon them, cruelte and inhumane impassibilitie, even in the cases of verie mankind. Heereupon it was that *Lycurgus* the divine law-giver, in those three ordinances of his which he called *Rhetoræ*, commanded that the dories, routes & finials of houses, should be made with the saw & the ax onely, & no other instrument besides thereto employed, which he did not, I assure you, for any hatred at all that he conceived against augers, wimbles, twibils, or other tooles for joyners or carvers worke; but he knew well enough, that a man would never bring among such simple frames a gilded bedstead, nor venture to carrie into an house so plainly built, silver tables, hangings, carpets and coverings of rich tapestrie dyed with purple, or any precious stones; and he wist full well, that with such an house, with such bedsteads, tables and cups, a frugall supper and a simple dinner would agree and fortbest. For to say a truth, upon the beginning and foundation of a disordinate diet, and superfluous kind of lifest, all manner of delicacie and costly curiositie useth to follow

Like as the sucking soule, alway

Runnes with the damme, and doth not stay.

What supper then, is not to be counted sumptuous, for which there is evermore killed some living creature or other: for doe we thinke little of the dispende of a soule? and suppose we; that the losse of life is not costly? I do not now say, that it was peradventure the soule of a mother; a father, some friend, or a sonne, as *Empedocles* gave it out; but surely a soule endued with sense, with seeing, hearing, apprehension, understanding, wite and discretion, such as nature hath given to each living creature, sufficient to seeke and get that which is good for it, and likewise to avoid and shun whatsoever is hurtfull and contrary unto it. Consider now a little, whether those philosophers that teach and will us to eat our children, our friends, our fathers and wives when they are dead, doe make us more gentle and fuller of humanitie, than *Pythagoras*

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was and Empedocles, who accustometh and acquaint us to be kind and just, even to other creatures. Well, you mock and laugh at him that maketh conscience to eat of a mutton; and shall not we (say they) laugh a good and make sport when we see one cutting and chopping pieces of his father or mother being dead, and sending away some thereof to his friends who are absent, and inviting such as be present and neere at hand, to come and make merrie with the rest, causing such joints and pieces of flesh to be served up to the table, without any spare at all? But it may be, that we offend now, and commit some fault in handling these books, having not beforehand clenched our hands, mundified our eyes, purified our feet, and purged our eares; unless perhaps this be their cleansing and expiation, to devile & discourse of such things with sweet & pleasant words, which as Plato saith, with away all salt & brackish hearing: but if a man should set these books & arguments in parallell opposition or comparison one with another; he would judge that some of them were the Philosophie of the Scythians, Tartarians, Sagidians, and Melanchlanians, of whom when Herodotus writeth, he is taken for a liar; and as for the sentences and opinions of Pythagoras and Empedocles, they were the very lawes, ordinances, statutes, and judgements of the ancient Greeks, according to which they framed their lives, to wit: That there were betwene us and brute beasts certaine common rights: who were they then, that afterwards otherwise ordered?

*Even they who first of iron and Steele,
mischievous swords did forge:
And of poore labouring ox: at plough,
beg into cut the gorge.*

For even thus also began tyrants to commit murders; like as at the first in old time, they killed at Athens one notorious and most wicked sycophant, named Epitadeus; so they did by a second, and likewise a third: now the Athenians being thus acquainted to see men put to death; saw afterwards Niceratus the sonne of Nicias murdered; Theramenes also the great commander and capitaine generall; yea and Pericles the philosopher. Scemably, men began at first to eat the flesh of some savage and hurtfull beast, then some fowles and fish were snared and caught with nets, and consequently, crueltye (being fleshed as it were, exercised and inured in these and such like slaughters) proceeded even to the poore labouring ox, to the filly sheepe that cloth clad and trimme our bodies, yea, and to the house-cocke: and thus men by little and little augmenting their insatiable greedinesse, never staid untill they came to manslaughter, to murder, yea, and to bloudie battels. But if a man can not proove nor make demonstration by sound reasons, that soules in their resurrections and new natiuities meet with common bodies; so as that which now is reasonable, becommeth afterwards reasonlesse, and likewise that which at this present is wild and savage, cometh to be by another birth and regeneration, tame and gentle againe; and that nature transmuteth and translateth all bodies, dislodging and replacing the soule of one in another,

*And eladding them with robes unknowne,
Of other flesh, as with their owne.*

Are not these reasons yet at leastwise sufficient to reclaim and divert men from this unbridled intemperance of murdering dumb beasts? namely, that it breedeth maladies, crudities, heaviness and indigestion in the bodies, that it marreth and corrupteth the soule, which naturally is given to the contemplation of high and heavenly things? to wit, when we have taken up a wont and custome, not to feast a friend or stranger who cometh to visit us, unless we shed blood; and cannot celebrate a marriage dinner, or make merrie with our neighbours and friends without committing murder? And albeit the said prooffe and argument of the transmigration of soules into sundrie bodies, be not sufficiently declared, so as it may deserve to be credited and beleaved; yet surely the conceit and opinion thereof, ought to work some scruple and feare in our hearts, and in some sort hold us in & stay our hands. For like as when two armies encounter one another in a night battell; if one chauce to light upon a man fallen upon the ground, whose bodie is all covered and hidden with armour, and present his sword to cut his throat, or runne him through, and therewith heare another crying unto him, that he knoweth not certainly, but thinketh and supposeth that the partie lying along is his brother, his sonne, his father, or tent-fellow; whether were it better, that he giving eare and credit to this conjecture and suspicion (false though it be) should spare and forbear an enemy for a friend, or rejecting that which had no fine and evident prooffe, kill one of his friends in stead of an enemy? I suppose there

there is not one of you all but will say, that the later of these were a most grosse and leud part, Behold moreover Merope in the tragedy when she lieth up her ax for to strike her own sonne, taking him to be the murderer of her sonne, and saying withall:

*Have at thy head, for now I throw,
I shall thee give a deadly blow.*

what a stirre and trouble she maketh over all the theater? how she causeth the haire to stand upright upon the heads of the spectators, for feare lest she should prevent the old man who was about to take hold of her arme, and so wound the guiltlesse yong man her sonne? But if peradventure in this case there should have stood another aged man fast by, crying unto her: Strike hardly for it is your enemy, and a third contrariwise, saying: Strike not in any wife, it is your owne sonne; whether had beene the greater and more grievous sinne, to let goe the revengement of her enemy for doubt that he was her sonne, or to commit filicide and murder her sonne indeed, for the anger she bare unto her enemy? When as therefore there is neither hatred nor anger that driveth us to doe a murder; when neither revenge, nor feare of our owne safetie and life mooveth us, but even for our pleasure we have a poore sheepe lying under our hand with the throat turned upward, a philosopher of the one side should say: Cut the throat, for it is a brute beast, and another admonish us on the other side, saying: Stay your hand and take heed what you doe; for what know you to the contrary, whether in that sheepe be the soule lodged of some kinsman of yours, or peradventure of some God? Is the danger (before God) all one and the same, whether I refuse to eat of the flesh, or beleeve not that I kill my child or some one of my kinsfolke?

But surely the Stoicks are not equally matched in this fight for the defence of eating flesh: For what is the reason that they so band themselves, and be so open mouthed in the maintenance of the belly and the kitchen? what is the cause that condemning pleasure as they doe, for an effeminate thing, and not to be held either good or indifferent, no nor so much as familiar and agreeable to nature, they stand so much in the patronage of those things that make to the pleasure and delight of feeding? And yet by all consequence, reason would, that considering they chase and banish from the table, all sweet perfumes and odoriferous ointments, yea, and all pastie worke, and banquetting junkets, they should be rather offended at the sight of blood and flesh. But now, as if by their precise philosophicall rules, they would controule our day-books and journals of our ordinarie expences, they cut off all the cost bestowed upon our table in things needlesse and superfluous; meane while they finde no fault with that which favoureth of bloudshed and crueltye in this superfluitie of table furniture: We doe not indeed, (say they) because there is no communication of rights betwene beasts and us; but a man might answer them againe verie well: No more is there betwene us and perfumes or other forraigne and exoticall sauces, and yet you would have us to abstaine from them, rejecting and blaming on all sides, that which in any pleasure is neither profitable nor needfull. But let us I pray you consider upon this point a little neerer, to wit, whether there be any communicative in right and justice, betwene us and unreasonable creatures or no? and let us doe it not subtilly and artificially, as the captious manner is of these sophisters in their disputations;

but rather after a gentle and familiar sort, having an eye unto our owne passions and affections, let us reason and decide the matter with our selves.



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THAT



THAT A MAN CANNOT LIVE PLEASANTLY ACCORD- ING TO THE DOCTRINE OF EPICURUS.

The Summarie.

CRest disputations there have beene bolden among the Philosophers and Sages of the world, as touching the soveraigne good of man, as it may appeere even at this day by the books that are extant among us; and yet neither one nor other, have hit the true mark wherewith they shot, to wit: The right knowledge of God: Howbeit, some of them are a great deale further out of the way than others; and namely the Epicureans, whom our author doth perswinge in many places, as holding a doctrine cleane contrary unto theirs, according as his writings doe testifie. And forasmuch as Epicurus and his disciples placed and established this soveraigne good, in pleasure of the bodie: this their opinion is here examined and confuted at large: for in forme of a dialogue Plutarch rehearseth the communication or conference which he had with Aristodemus, Zeuxippus, and Theon, as they walked together immediately after one lecture of his upon this matter, who having shewed in general termes the absurdities of this Epicurian doctrine, maintaineth in one word: That it is no life at all for to live according to the same. Then he explaineth and sheweth what the Epicureans mean by this word To live: and from thence proceedeth forward to refute their imagination, and whatsoever dependeth thereupon, and that by sound and weighty arguments, intermingling many pretie conceits and pleasant jests, together with certaine proper similitudes for the purpose: After he had proved that they were deceived themselves, and seduced their disciples; he holdeth moreover this point: That even they deprive themselves of the true good, which consisteth in the repose and contentment of the mind, rejecting (as they doe) all Histories, Mathematicall arts and liberall sciences, and among the rest, Poetrie and Musickes shewing throughout all this discourse that such persons are deprived of common sense. Passing forward, he holdeth and maintaineth that the soule taketh joy in contentment proper to it selfe: and after wards in discomfiting of the pleasure that active life doth bring; he refuteth more and more his adversarie, adverting to this purpose, a certaine conference and comparison betwene the pleasures of bodie and soule; whereby a man may see the miserie of the one, and the excellencie of the other. This point he enricheth with divers examples; the end whereof sheweth: That there is nothing at all to be counted great or profitable in the schoole of Epicurus, whose scholars never durst approve his opinion, especially in death: also: That vertuous men have without all comparison much more pleasure in this world, than the Epicureans, who in their afflictions know not how to receive any joy or comfort by remembrance of their pleasures past. And this is the very summe of the dialogue during the time that the above named persons did walke; who after they were set, began the disputation afresh, and spake in the first place of Gods providence, condemning by divers reasons the atheisme of the Epicureans, who are altogether inexcusable, even in comparison of the common sort given to superstition: continuing and holding on this discourse, he depicteth very lively the nature of the Epicureans, and cometh to reprove and set down the contentment that men of honor have in their religions; where also he holdeth this point: That God is not the author of evil; and that the Epicureans are sufficiently punished for their impiety, in depriving themselves of that pleasure which cometh unto us by meditation of the divine wisdom, in the conduct and management of all things. Consequently he sheweth that this their prophane philosophie overtroweth and confoundeth all persons, as well in their death, as during their life: whereupon he proceedeth to treat of the immortality of the soule, and of the life to come, describing at large the miserie of the Epicureans: and for a small conclusion, he compriseth in fower or five lines the summery of all their error, and so shutteth up and concludeth the whole disputation.

THAT

THAT A MAN CANNOT live pleasantly according to the do- ctrine of Epicurus.



Colotes one of the disciples, and familiar followers of Epicurus, wrote and published a booke, wherein he endeavoured to prove and declare: That there was no life at all to speake of, according to the opinions and sentences of other Philosophers. Now as touching that which readily came into my minde for the answer of his challenge and the discourse against his reasons in the defence of other Philosophers, I have before-time put downe in writing: but forasmuch as after the lecture and disputation of this matter ended, there passed many speeches in our walke against that sect; I thought it good to collect and gather the same, yea, and to reduce them into a written treatise; if for nothing els, yet for this cause, to give them at leastwise to understand who are so ready to note, censure and correct others, that a man ought to have heard and read with great heed and diligence (and not superficially) the works and writings of those whom he taketh upon him to reprove and refute, and not to pick out one word here & another there, or to take hold of his words delivered by way of talke & conference, and not couched and set down precisely in writing, thereby to repell and drive away the ignorant and such as have no knowledge of those things. For when as we walked forth, after the lecture (as our manner was) out of the schoole into the common place of exercise, Zeuxippus moving speech, began in this wise: Me thinks (quoth he) that this discourse hath bene delivered much more mildly and gently, than becoming such franknesse and libertie of speech becoming the schooles; which is the reason that Heraclides and his followers be departed from us, as discontented and displeased, yea, and much more bitterly nipping and checking us (without any cause given on our part) than either Epicurus or Metrodorus. Then Theon: Why said you not (quoth he) that Colotes (in comparison of them) is the most modest and fairest spoken man in the world? For the most foule and reprochfull tearmes that can be devised for to raile and slander withall, to wit, of facilitie, curiulities, vanities of speech, talkative, babbling, glorious and vinting arrogance, whoremonging, murders, counterfeiting hypocrites, confusers, curled creatures, heave-headed, brattishke, tedious and making their braines ake who read them: these (I say) they have raked up together, and discharged as it were haile-shot upon Aristotle, Socrates, Pythagoras, Protagoras, Theophrastus, Heraclides, Hipparchus, and whom not of all the most renowned and principall Philosophers? In such sort, that how well and wisely soever they have carried themselves otherwise, yet in regard of their foule mouthes, slanderous speeches, and beastly backbitings, they deserve to be sequed fired farre off, and put out of the range and number of wise men and Philosophers: for envie, emulation and jealousy ought not to enter into this divine dance and heavenly quire, being to weak and impotent, that they can not diffemble and hide their grudge and discontent. Hereafter Aristodemus: Heraclides (quoth he) who by profession is a Graemian; in the behalfe of all the poetical rabble (for so it pleaseth the Epicureans to blasse them) and for all the foolish and fabulous vanities of Homer, hath well required Epicurus; or because Metrodorus writ so many places of his writings hath reviled and abused that prince of poets: but as for them (O Zeuxippus) let them goe as they are: and whereas it was objected in the beginning of the speech against those men: That there was no living at all after their precepts and rules; why doe not we our selves, alone by our selves, taking unto us Theon for our associate (because this man here is wretched) goe in hand to prosecute the same thorowly? Then Theon made him this answer:

This combat hath before us, beene
Performed by others, well I weene.

And therefore propounding to our selves (if it please you) another marke and scope to aime at, let us (for to be revenged of the injurie done unto other philosophers) proceed after this sortie of proceffe, and assay to prove and shew (if it be possible) that according to the doctrine even of these Epicureans, men can not live in joy and pleasure. Say you so? (quoth I then, and laughed heartily withall) now surely, me thinks you are leapt upon their bellies, and be ready to

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trample them with both your feet: certes, you will enforce these men to fight for their verie owne flesh if you bereave them of pleasure, who doe nothing els but crye out and sing this note:

*We are in deed no champions brave,
In fight with fits no grace we have,*

neither are we eloquent orators, wife magistrates or prudent governours and rulers of cities or States,

*But for to feast and make good cheer,
To eat and drinke, we have no peere.*

We love (I say) to banquet alwaies and make merie, to give our selves contentment and all the delightfull motions and pricks of the flesh, if haply any pleasure and joy thereby may be transmitted and sent into the soule: so as you see me to menot to deprive these men of joy and solace onely, but also of their very life, in case you doe not leave them a pleasant and iocund life: How then? (quoth *Theon*) if you thinke so well of this subject matter, why do not you set in hand to it at this present. For mine owne part (said he again) content I will be to heare you, and; answer againe, if you request so much; but begin you first to set us in the traine thereof, for I will yeele unto you the superiority and preidence of this disputation. Now when *Theon* seemed to pretend some small excuse, *Aristodemus*: O what a commendous, ready, faire & plaine way (quoth he) have you cut us of, for to come unto this point, in not permitting us first to make inquisition unto this Epicurean sect, and to put them to their triall as touching vertue and honestie! for it is no easie matter, nay it is impossible to drive these men from a pleasant and voluptuous life, so long as they suppose and set downe this: That the supreme end of all humane felicitie lieth in pleasure; whereas, if we could once have brought this about: That they lived not honestly; presently and withall, they had bene put by their pleasant life; for they themselves confesse, and say: That a man can not live in joy, unless he be honest; for that the one may not stand without the other. As touching that point (quoth *Theon*) we will not stick in the progreffe of our discourse, to handle it, but for the present, we will take that which they grant, and make our use of it; this therefore they holde: That the sovereign good whereof we speake, consisteth in the bellie and the parts thereof, as also in those other passages and conduits of the bodie, thorow which, pleasure entereth into it; & no pain at all: and they are of opinion that all the fine devices, subtil and witty inventions in the world were put in triall and practised, for to please and content the bellie, or at leastwise, for the good hope that the should enjoy contentment, according as the wife Philosopher *Metrodorus* hath said and written. And verily, by this their first supposition, without going any farther, it is easie to be known and scene (my good friend) what a slender, poore, rotten and unsteadie foundation they have laied, to ground upon it the sovereign good; considering that even those pores & conduits abovesaid (by which they bring in their pleasures) lie as well open to admit grievous paines; or to say more truly, there be very few waies in the bodie of man, by which, pleasure entereth; whereas there is no part or member thereof, but receiveth dolor and paine. For be it granted, that all pleasures have their seat in the natural parts, about joints, sinewes, feet and hands; why, even in these very places are bodded 40, and feared also the most cruell and grievous passions that be; to wit, of gonie fluxes and rheumaticke ulcers, of gangrenes, tetters, wolvcs, cancerous sores, which corrode, eat, mortifie and putrifie the parts that they possesse. If you present unto the bodie the sweetest odours and the most pleasant favours that be, you shall finde but few places therein (and seeke them wont) affected therewith mildly and gently to their contentment; whereas all the rest often times are grieved and offended thereby: nay there is no part at all of the bodie, but subject it is to feele and suffer the smart dolors inflicted by fire, by sword, by sting, biting, scourging and whipping; the ardour of heat, the rigor of colde entereth and pierceth into all parts, like also as doth the fever; but pleasures verily are much like unto prettie puffs and gentle gales of winde, blowing after a smiling manner, some upon one extremitie that breatheth out of the bodie, and some upon others, 50 as if it were upon the rocks lying forth in the sea, they pass away, blow over and vanish incontinently, their time and continuance is so short: much like unto those meteors or fire-lights in the night, which represent the shooting of stars as if they fell from heaven, or traversed the skie from one side to the others; soone are the pleasures on a light fire, and as soone againe gone out and quenched at one instant in our flesh; but contrariwise, how long paines and dolors do endure, we cannot alludge a better testimony than that of *Philozetes* in *Aetichylos*, who speaking of the paine of his ulcer, saith thus:

That

*That dragon fell, doth never leave his hold,
By day or night, since first thy foot he caught:
The stinging smart goes to my heart full colde,
Byposone & tooth which from his mouth it raight.*

Neither doth the anguish of paine lightly runne over and glide, after a tickling manner, upon other superficial parts and extremities of the bodie; but contrariwise, like as the graille or seed of the Sea-claver or Trefoile *Medica*, is written and full of points and angles, whereby it taketh hold of the earth and sticketh fast, and there (by reason of those points so rough and rugged) continueth a long time; even so dolor and paine, having many crooked and hooked points of roots, which it putteth forth and spreadeth here and there, inserteth and hieeth itselfe false within the flesh, and there abideth, not onely for a night and a day, but also for certaine seasons of whole yeeres, yea, and some revolutions of Olympiades, so that hardly and with much adoe at the last departeth, being thrust out by other paines, like as one nail is driven forth by another stronger than it. For what man was ever known to have drunke or eaten to long a time, as that he endure thirst who are sicke of an ague, or abide hunger who are benighted; and where is that solace and pleasure in the companie and conversation of friends, that lasteth so long as tyrants cause them to abide torture and punishment, who fall into their hands; and all this proceedeth from nought els but the inability and untowardnesse of the bodie, to leade a voluptuous life; for that in truth, made it is more apt to abide paine and travell, than to joy in delights and pleasures; to endure laborious dolors, it hath strength and power sufficient; whereas to enjoy pleasures and delights, it sheweth presently how feeble and impotent it is, in that to foote it hath 20 enough and is wearie thereof: by occasion whereof, when they see that we are minded to discoure much as touching a voluptuous life, they interrupt and breake incontinently our purpose, confounding themselves; that bodily and fleshly pleasure is very small and feeble, or (to say a truth) transitorie, and such as passeth away in a moment; unless haply they are disposed to lie and speake otherwise than they thinke; like as *Menodotus* did, when he said: That often times we fight against the pleasures of the bodie; and *Epicurus*, when he writeth: That a wife man being sicke and diseased, laugheth and rejoiceth in the middles of the greatest and most excellent paines of his corporall malady. How is it possible then, that they who so lightly and easily beate the anguish of bodily paines, should make any account of pleasures? for admit that they give 30 no place to paines, either in greatnesse or continuance of time; yet they have at leastwise some reference and correspondence unto them, in that *Epicurus* hath given this general limitation and common definition to them all; to wit, Indolence or a subtraction of all that which might cause and move paine; as if nature extended joy to the easement onely of dolor, and suffered it not to proceed further in augmentation of pleasure; but when it came once to this point, namely, to feele no more paine, it admitted onely certaine needlesse varieties. But the way to come 40 to with an appetite and desire to this estate, being indeed the full measure of joy and pleasure, is exceeding brieve and short; whereupon these Epicureans perceiving well, that this place is verie lean and hard, do translate and remove their sovereign good; which is the pleasure of the bodie, as it were out of a barren soile, into a more fruitful and fertile ground, and namely, to the soule, as if therein we should have alwaies orchards, gardens and meadows covered over with pleasures and delights; whereas according to the saying of *Telchides* *his* to *Homer*:

*In Ithaca there is no spacious place,
Affording plaine as large to runne or race.*

And even so in this poore fleshly body of ours, there is no fruition of pleasure united, plaine and smooth, but altogether rugged and rough, intermingled and delated for the most part, with many agitations that be feverous and contrary to nature. Hereat *Zeuxippus* taking occasion to speake: Thinke you not then (quoth he) that these men doe very well in this; that they begin with the body; wherein it seemeth that pleasure engendreth first, & afterwards end in the soule, as in 50 that which is more constant & firme, reposing therein all absolute perfection? Yes I was (quoth I) and my thinks I assure you that they doe passing well, and according to the direction of nature, in case they still search after and find that which is more perfect, and accomplish the like as those persons do, who give themselves to contemplation and politike life; but it afterwards you hear them protest and crye with open mouth, that the soule joiceth in no worldly thing; nor doth content and repose, but onely in corporall pleasure, either present and actual, or else in mere expectation thereof, and that therein alone consisteth their sovereign good; thinke you not that they use the soule as a receptorie for the bodie, and in this translating the pleasure of

of

of the body into it, they doe as those who powre and fill wine out of one vessell that leakeh and is naught, into another that is more compact and will hold better, for to preserve and keepe it longer, as supposing thereby, to make the thing faire better, and more honourable; and verily time doth keepe well and mend the wine that is thus powred out of one vessell into another. But of pleasure, the soule receiving the remembrance onely; as the odour and smell thereof, retaineth nothing else; for that so soone as pleasure hath wrought or boiled as it were one warme in the flesh, it is soone quenched and extinguished, and that remembrance remaining thereof passeth soone away as a shadow, smoke, or fuming vapour; much like as if a man should gather and heape together a number of fantasies and cogitations of whatsoever he had eat or drunke before time, and so make his repast and food thereof, for default of other wines and viands fresh and present in place: yet see how much more modestly the Cyrenaick philosophers are affected, although they have drunke out of the same bottle with *Epicurus*; for they are of opinion, that the wanton sports of *Venus* should not be exercised openly, and in the day light, but would have the same to be hidden and covered with the darknesse of the night; for feare lest our cogitation receiving cleerly by the cleight the representations of this laid act, might effloones inflame and stirre up the lust and appetite thereto: whereas these men contrariwise doe hold, that heerein consisteth the perfection of a wife mans felicitie, for that he remembereth certainly, and retaineth surely all the evident figures, gestures, and motions of pleasures past. Now whether such precepts and rules as these, be unworthy the name of those who make profession of wisdom, namely thus to suffer such scourgings and filthy ordures of their pleasures to remain in the soule, as it were in the smoke and draught of the bodie, I purpose not to discourse at this time. But surely that impossible it is for such matters to make a man happie, or to live a joyous life, may hereby appeere most evidently: For the pleasure of remembering delights past, cannot be very great unto those, who had but a small fruition thereof when they were present; and unto those likewise, who find it expedient for them, to have the same presented in a measure, and soome to retire & withdraw themselves from them, it cannot be profitable to think thereupon long after; considering that even with those persons who of al other be most sensual & given to fleshly pleasures, the joy & contentment abideth not at al after they have once performed the action; only there remaineth with them a certaine shadow, and the illusion (as it were in a dremce) of the pleasure that is flown away, continueth a while in their minde, for to mainteine and kindle still the fire of their concupiscence: much like unto those who in their sleepe dremage that they are drinking, or enjoying their loves; and verily such imperfect pleasures and imaginarie joys doe nothing els but more eagerly whet and provoke lascivious life: neither (I assure you) is the remembrance of those pleasures which these men have enjoied in times past, delectable; but only out of the small reliques remaining of their pleasure, which are but weak, slender and feeble, the same remembrance doth renew and stirre up againe a furious appetite, which pricketh and provoketh them evidently, and giveth them no rest. Againe, no likelihood there is, that even those who otherwise be sober, honest, and continently given, doe amuse themselves and blisfie their heads in calling to minde such matters, and to reade and count them out of a joornall register or day-booke and Kalender, according as the ridiculous jest goes of one *Carneades* who *As* was wont to do so, namely: How often have I lien with *Media* or with *Leontium*? In what and how many places have I drunke Thasian wine? At how many set feasts at three weeks or, twentie daies end, have I bene merie and made great and sumptuous chere? For this passionate affection of the minde, and disordinate forwardnesse, thus to call to remembrance and represent delights past, doth argue and bewray most evidently an outrageous appetite and beastly furious heat after pleasures either present, or expected and looked for: and therefore my conceit is this: That even these men themselves perceiving what absurdities doe follow hereupon, have had recourse to indolencie and the good state and disposition of the body; as if to live in joy and happiness, were to think and imagine upon such a complexion, that either shall be or hath bene in some persons. For this firme habit and compact constitution of the flesh (say they) and the assured hope that it will continue, bringeth an exceeding contentment, and a most sound permanent joy unto as many as can discourse and thinke thereupon in their minds: For the better proove thereof, consider first and formost their behaviour, and what they do, namely, how they remove, toss, and transport up and downe this pleasure, indolency, or firme disposition of the flesh, (call it what you will) transferring it out of the bodie into the soule, and againe from the soule to the bodie, for that they cannot holde and stay it, being apt to slide and run from them; whereupon they are forced to tie and fasten it to some chiefe head and principle; and thus they do

do stay and susteine the pleasure of the bodie with the joy of the minde, and reciprocally determine and accomplish the joy of the minde in the hope and expectation of bodily pleasure. But how is it possible, that the foundation being thus moveable and inconstant, the rest of the building upon it, should not likewise be unsteadfast? or how can the hope be fast, and the joy assured, being founded upon a ground-work exposed so much unto wavering and to so many mutations as these be, which compasse and environ ordinarily the bodie, subject to a number of necessarie injuries, hurts and wounds from without, and having within the very bowels thereof, the sources and springs of many evils and maladies, which the discourse of reason is not able to avert and turne away? For otherwise it could not be, that these men (prudent and wise as they are) should have bene afflicted and tormented with the diseases of painfull strangurie or pissing drop-meale, the suppression and difficultie of urine, bloody fluxes, dysenteries and dolorous wrings in the guts, plithicks, and consumptions of the lungs or dropies; of which maladies *Epicurus* himselfe was plagued with some, *Polyenus* with others, *Nicacles* also and *Agathobolus* had their part and were much troubled therewith, which I speake not by way of reproch unto them; for I know very well, that *Pherecrates* and *Heracitus*, two singular personages, were likewise incumbered with grievous maladies: but we would gladly require and request of them (if they will acknowledge their owne passions and accidents which they endure, and not, upon a vaine bravery of words, to win a popular favour and applause of the people, incur the crime of insolent arrogance, and be convict of leasing) either not to admit the firme and strong constitution of the flesh, for the element and principle of all joy or els not to beare us in hand and affirm, that those who be fallen into painfull anguish and dolorous disease, doe laugh, disport, and be wantonly merie: for well it may be, that the body and flesh may be many times in good plight and in a firme disposition; but that the hope should be assured and certaine that the same will continue, never yet could enter into a man of stated minde and sound judgement. But like as in the sea, according to the Poet *Aeschylus*,

*The night abyates, even to a pilor wife,
Breeds woe, for feare lest tempests should arise.*

So doth a calme

For why? who knows what will ensue? and future time is ever uncerteine. Impossible it is therefore, that a soule which placeth and reposeth her soveraigne good in the sound disposition of the bodie, and in the hope of continuance therein, should hold long without feare and trouble; for that the bodie is not onely subject to stormes and tempests without, as the sea is; but the greatest part of troublesome passions, and those which are most violent, the breedeth in herselfe; and more reason there is for a man to hope for faire weather in Winter, than to promise himselfe a constitution of bodie exempt from paine and harme, to persevere and remaine so long: for what els hath given Poets occasion and induced them to call the life of man a day-flower, unstable, unconstant and uncerteine; or to compare it unto the leaves of trees, which put out in the Spring season, fade and fall againe in Autumne; but the imbecillitie and feeblenesse of the flesh, subject to infinit infirmities, casualties, hurts and dangers? the best plight whereof, and 40 the highest point of perfection, physicians themselves are wont to admonish us for to suspect, feare, diminish, and take downe. For according to the Aphorisme of *Hippocrates*: The good constitution of a body when it is at the height, is dangerous and slipperie: and as *Euripides* the poet said verie well:

*Whose body strong, whose fast and brawny flesh,
Did shew ere while a colour gay and fresh,
Soone gone he was, and extinct sodainly,
As flares that seeme to shoot and fall from sky.*

Nay, that which more is; a common received opinion it is, that those persons who are most faire and in the flower of their beautie, if they be cie-bitten, or looked wistly upon by a witching or envious cie, sustaine much hurt and damage thereby; because the perfection and highest degree of vigour in the bodie, is most subject to a sudden alteration, by reason of very weakness and frailtie; and that there is small or no assurance at all that a man should leade his life without paine and sorrow, may evidently appeere by that which they themselves doe saie unto others; for they affirme: That whosoever commit wickednesse and transgresse the lawes, live all their daies in miserie and feare; for howsoever they may perhaps live undetected, yet impossible it is that they should promise themselves assured securitie, never to be discovered; inasmuch as the doubt and feare of future punishment, will not give them leave to take joy, or assuredly to live

use the benefit of present impunity; in delivering these speeches to other, they perceive not how they speake against themselves: For seembly well it may be, that oftentimes they may have their health, and carrie able bodies about them; but to be assured that they shall continue so alwaies, or a long time, is a thing that cannot be performed; for needs they must evermore stand in doubt and distrust of their bodie for the time to come; like as women great with child, are ever grunting and groning, in the time of their travell: otherwise, let them say, why they attend still a sure and confident hope of that which hitherto they never could attaine unto. Moreover, it is not sufficient to worke assured confidence, for a man to forbear sinne and wrong-doing, or not at all to offend the lawes, considering that to be afflicted justly, and to desert, is not the thing to be feared, but simply to endure paine, is fearful and terrible. For if it be a griefe and trouble to be touched and vexed with a mans owne finnes and trespasses; he cannot chuse but be molested and disquieted also with the enormities and transgressions of others: And verily if the outrageous violence and crueltie of *Lachares* was not more offensive and troublesome to the Athenians; and likewise the tyrannie of *Dionysius* to the Syracusanes; yet I am sure at leastwise it was full as much as to their owne selves; for whiles they vexed them, tormented they were and molested themselves, and they looked to suffer punishment one time or other for their wrongs and outrages, for that they offered the same before unto their citizens and subjects who fell into their hands. What should a man alledge to this purpose, the furious rage of the multitude, the horrible and bloudie crueltie of thieves and rovers, the mischievous pranks of proud and presumptuous inheritors, plague and pestilence by contagion and corruption of the aire, as also the fell outrage of the angry sea, in a gulf whereof *Epicurus* himselfe writeth, he had like to have bene swallowed up as he failed to the citie *Lamphaca*? It may suffice to relate in this place the nature onely of our body and fraile flesh, which hath within it selfe the matter of all maladies, cutting (as we say merrily in the common proverb) out of the verie ox, leather thongs; that is to say, taking paines and torments from it selfe, thereby to make life full of anguish, fearful, and dangerous, as well to good persons as to bad; in case they have learned to rejoice, and to found the confidence and fury of their joy upon nothing else but the flesh and the hope thereof, according as *Epicurus* himselfe hath left written, as in many other of his bookes, so in those especially which hee entitled, *Of the sovereigne end of all good things*. We may therefore directly conclude, that these men doe hold for the foundation of a joyfull & pleasant life, not a principle that is not onely unstable, tottering, and not to be trusted upon, but also base, vile, and every way contemptible; if so be that to avoid evils, be their onely joy and the sovereigne felicitie that they seeke for; and in case they say: That they respect and regard naught else; and in one word: That nature herselfe knoweth not where else to lodge and bestow the said happinesse, but onely there, from whence is chased and driven away, that which might annoy and offend her; and thus hath *Metrodorus* written in his treatise against sophisters: so that according to their doctrine, we are to make this definition of sovereigne good, even the avoidance of evil; for how can one lodge any joy, or place the said good, but onely there, from whence paine and evil hath bene dislodged & removed: To the same effect writeth *Epicurus* also, to wit: That the nature of a good thing is ingendered and ariseth from the eschuing & 40 shunning of evil; as also that it proceedeth from the remembrance, cogitation, and joy which one conceiveth, in that such a thing hapned unto him. For surely it is an inestimable and incomparable pleasure (by his saying) to wit, the knowledge alone that one hath escaped some notable hurt or great danger: And this (quoth he) is certainly the nature and essence of the sovereigne good; if thou wilt directly apply thy selfe thereto, as it is meet, and then anon rest and stay therein, without wandering to and fro, heere and there, prating and babling: I wot not what concerning the definition of the said sovereigne good. O the great felicitie and goodly pleasure which these men enjoy, rejoicing as they doe in this, that they endure none evil, feele no paine, nor suffer for aill: Have they not (thinke you) great cause to glorifie, & to say as they doe, calling themselves immortal, and gods fellows? Have they not reason for these their grandeur, and 50 exceeding subtilities of their blessings, to cry out with open mouth, & as if they were possessed with the franticke furie of *Bacchus* priests, to breake forth into lowd exclamation for joy, that surpassing all other men in wilddome and quicknesse of wit, they onely have found out the sovereigne, celestiall, and divine good, and that which hath no mixture at all of evill? So that now their beatitude and felicitie is nothing inferior to that of swine and sheepe, in that they repose true happinesse in the good and sufficient estate of the flesh principally, and of the soule likewise in regard of the flesh; of hogges I say and sheepe; for to speake of other beasts which are

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of a more civill, gentle, and gallant nature; the height and perfection of their good, standeth not upon the avoiding of evil, considering that when they are full, and have stored their crawes, some fall to singing and crowing, others to swimming; some give themselves to sleepe, others to countermelike all kinds of notes and founds, disposing for joy of heart and the pleasure that they take; they use to plaie together, they make pastime, they hoppe, leape, skippe, and daunce one with another, shewing thereby, that after they have escaped some evil, nature inciteth and stirreth them to seeke forward, and looke after that which is good, or rather indeed that they reject and hindred them, all that which is dolorous and contrary to their nature, as if it stood in their way, and hindered them in the pursuit of that which is better, more proper & natural unto them; 10 for that which is necessarie is not straight waies simple good; but surely the thing that in truth is desirable and woorthie to be chosen above the rest, is situate farther, and reacheth beyond the avoidance of evil; I meane that which is indeed pleasant, and familiar to nature, as *Plato* said; who forbade expressly to call or once to esteeme the deliverance of paine and sorrow, either pleasure or joy, but to take them as it were for the rude Scio-graphic or first draught of a painter, or a mixture of that which is proper and strange, familiar and unnatural, like as of blacke and white. But some there be, who mounting from the bottom to the mids, for want of knowledge, what is the lowest and the middle, take the middle for the top and the highest pitch, as *Epicurus* & *Metrodorus* have done, who defined the essentiall nature and substance of the sovereigne good, to be the deliverance and riddance from evil, contenting themselves with the joy of slaves and 20 captives, who are enlarged and delivered out of prison, or eased of their irons, who take it to be a great pleasure done unto them in case they be gently washed, bathed, and annoied after their whipping, chere, and when their flesh hath bene torne with scourges; meane while they have no taste at all of knowledge of pure, true, and liberal joyes indeed, such as be sincere, cleane and not blemished with any fcarres or caiticities, for those they never saw, nor came where they grew; for say that the scurfe, scabbe, and manginess of the flesh, say that the bleedrednesse or gummy watering of rheumatike eyes, be trouble some infirmitie, and such as nature cannot away withall, it followeth not hereupon that the scraping and scratching of the skinned, or the rubbing and cleansing of the eyes should be such woonderfull matters, as to bee counted felicitie: neither if we admit, that the superstitious feare of the gods, and the grievous 30 anguish and trouble arising from that which is reported of the devils in hell be evil; we are not to inferre by and by that to be exempt and delivered therefro, is happinesse, felicitie, and that which is to be so greatly wished and desired: ceases, the asigne a very straight roome and narrow place for their joy, wherein to turne, to walke, too some & tumble at ease, so farre forth onely, as not to be terrified or dismayed with the apprehension of the paines and torments described in hell, the onely thing that they desire. Lo, how their opinion which lo farre passeth the common sort of people, setteth downe for the final end of their singular wilddome, a thing, which it seemeth the very brute beasts hate even of themselves: for as touching that firme constitution and indolence of the body, it makes no matter, whether of it selfe or by nature, it be void of paine and sicknesse; no more in the tranquillitie and repose of the soule; skilleth it 40 much, whether by the owne industrie or benefit of nature, it be delivered from feare and terror: and yet verily a man may well say, and with great reason, that the disposition is more firme and strong, which naturally admitteth nothing to trouble and torment it; than that which with judgement and by the light and guidance of learning doth avoid it: But let the case, that the one were as effectuall and powerfull as the other; then verily it will appeare at leastwise, that in this behalfe, they have no advantage and preeminence above brute beasts; to wit, in that they feele no anguish nor trouble of spirit, for those things which are reported either of the devils in hell, or the gods in heaven; nor feare at all paines and torments, expecting when they shall have an end. That this is true, *Epicurus* verily himselfe hath put downe in writing: If (quoth he) the suspitions and imaginations of the metecores and impressions which both are and doe appeare 50 in the aire and skie above, did not trouble us; nor yet those of death and the pangs thereof; we should have no need at all to have recourse unto the naturall causes of all those things; no more than those dumbe beasts who entertaine no evil suspitions or firmities of the gods, nor any opinions to torment them, as touching that which shall befall unto them after death: for they neither beleeve and know, nor so much as once thinke of any harme at all in such things. Furthermore, if in the opinion that they holde of the gods, they had reserved and left a place for divine providence, beleeving that thereby the world was governed, they might have bene thought

thought wife men as they are, to have gone beyond brute beasts for the attaining of a pleasant and joyfull life, in regard of their good hopes; but seeing all their doctrine as touching the gods tendeth to this end, namely, to feare no god, and otherwise to be fearelesse and carelesse altogether, I am perswaded verily, that this is more firmly settled in those, having no sense and knowledge at all of God, than in these who say they know God, but have not learned to acknowledge him for a punishing God, and one that can punish and doe harme: for those are not delivered from superstition; and why? they never fell into it, neither have they laid away that fearefull conceit and opinion of the gods; and no marvel, for they never had any such: the fame may be said as touching hell and the infernall spirits; for neither the one nor the other have any hope to receive good from thence; marie suspect, feare and doubt what shall betide them after death: those must needs, lesse, who have no fore-conceit at all of death, than they in whom this persuasion is imprinted beforehand, that death concerneth us not: and yet thus fare forth it toucheth them, in that they discourse, dispute, and confider thereupon; whereas brute beasts are altogether freed from the thought and care of such things as doe nothing pertaine unto them: true it is, that they thinne stroaks, wounds and slaughter; and thus much (I say) of death they feare, which also even to these men is dreadfull and terrible. Thus you see what good things wisdom (by their owne saying) hath furnished them withall: but let us now take a sight and survey of those which they exclude themselves fro and are deprived of. As touching those diffusions of the soule, when it dilateth and spreadeth it selfe over the flesh, and for the pleasure that the flesh feelth, if the same be small or meane, there is no great matter therein, nor that which is of any consequence to speake of; but if they passe mediocrity, then (besides that they be vaine, deceitfull and uncerteine) they are found to be combersome and odious, such as a man ought rather to reame, not spiritual joies and delights of the soule, but rather sensuall and grosse pleasures of the bodie, fawning, flattering and smiling upon the soule, to draw and entice her to the participation of such vanities: as for such contentments of the minde which deserve indeed and are worthy to be called joies and delights, they be purified cleane from the contrary, they have no mixture at all of troublefome motions, no thing that pricketh them, nor repentance that followeth them, but their pleasure is spirituall, proper and naturall to the soule; neither is the good therein borrowed abroad, and brought in from without, nor absurd and void of reason, but most agreeable and fortifying thereto, proceeding from that part of the mind which is given unto contemplation of the truth, and desirous of knowledge, or at leastwise from that, which applyeth it selfe to doe and execute great and honourable things: now the delights and joies aswell of the one as the other, hee that went about to number, and would straine and force himselfe to discourse how great and excellent they be, he were never able to make an end: but in briefe and few words, to helpe our memorie a little as touching this point: Histories minister an infinit number of goodly and notable examples, which yeeld unto us a singular delight and recreation to passe the time away, never breeding in us a tedious fatietie, but leaving alwaies the appetite that our soule hath to the truth, insatiable and desirous still of more pleasure and contentment; in regard whereof, untruths and very lies therein delivered, are not without their grace; for even in fables and fictions poetically, although we give no credit unto them, there is some effect: Actual force to delight and perswade: for thinke (I pray you) with your selfe, with what heat of delight and affection we reade the booke of *Plato* entitled *Atlantius*, or the last books of *Homer's Ilias*? consider also with what griefe of heart we misse and want the residue of the tale behind, as if we were kept out of some beautiful temples, or faire theaters, (but fast against us) for surely the knowledge of truth in all things, is so lovely and amiable, that it seemeth, our life and very being, dependeth most upon knowledge and learning; whereas the most unpleasant, odious and horrible things in death, be oblivion, ignorance and darknesse; which is the reason (I assure you) that all men in a manner fight and warre against those who would bereave the dead of all sense, giving us thereby to understand, that they do measure the whole life, the being also, and joy of man, by the sense onely and knowledge of his minde; in such sort, that even those very things that are odious and offensive otherwise, we heare otherwhiles with pleasure; and often times it falleth out, that though men be troubled with the thing they heare, so as the water standeth in their eies, and they be ready to weepe and cry out for griefe, yet they desire those that relate the same to say on and speake all: as for example, *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*.

THE MESSENGER.

Alas, my lord, I see that now I shall

Relate

Relate the thing which is the worst of all.

OR D I P U S.

*Woe is me likewise: to heave it I am prest,
There is no helpe; say on, and tell the rest.*

But peradventure this may be a current and streame of intemperate pleasure and delight, proceeding from a curiositie of the minde and will, too forward to heare and know all things, yea, and to offer violence unto the judgement and discourse of reason: howbeit, when as a narration or historie containing in it no hurtfull and offensive matter, besides the subject argument, which consisteth of brave adventures and worthy exploits, is penned and couched in a sweet stile, with a grace and powerfull force of eloquence; such as is the historie of *Herodotus* as touching the Greeke affaires, or of *Xenophon* concerning the Persian acts, as also that which *Homer* with an heavenly spirit hath endited and delivered in his verses, or *Eudoxus* in his peregrinations and description of the world, or *Aristotle* in his treatise of the founding of cities and governments of State, or *Aristoxenus* who hath left in writing, the lives of famous and renowned persons; in such (I say) there is not onely much delight and contentment, but also there ensueth therupon no displeasure nor repentance. And what man is he, who being hungry, would more willingly eat the good and delicate meats? or athirst, desire and chuse to drinke the daintie and pleasant wines of the Phocacians, rather than reade that fiction and discourse of the voiage and pilgrimage of *Ulysses*? and who would take more pleasure to lie with a most faire and beautiful woman, than to sit up all night, reading either that which *Xenophon* hath written of ladie *Antea*, or *Aristobulus* of dame *Timoclea*, or *Theopompus* of faire *Thibis*? These be the pleasures and joies indeed of the minde: but our Epicureans reject likewise, all those delights which proceed from the fine inventions of the Mathematicall sciences: and to say a truerth, a historie runneth plaine, even, simple and uniforme; whereas the delectation that we have in Geometrie, Astronomie and Musicke, have besides (I wot not what) forcible bait of variety, so attractive, that it seemeth men are charmed and enchanted by them; so forcibly they allowe, and so mightily they holde men with their delineations and descriptions, as if they were so many forceries, spells and incantations: so that whosoever hath once tasted thereof, so he be practised and exercised therein, he may go all about well enough, chanting these verses of *Sophocles*:

*The furious love of Atifenes
Hath heart and minde possessed mine:
Thus ravished, fast I me lie
To crest and cape of mountaine hie:
Melodious songs, and sound withall
Of pleasant harpe, me forth doth call.*

Certes, *Thamyras* exercised his poetical head about nothing els; no more verily did *Eudoxus*, *Aristarchus* and *Archimides*. For seeing that studious and industrious painters toke so great pleasure in the excellency of their works, that *Nicias* when he was painting *Homer's Nipha* (that is to say, the calling forth and raising the ghosts of folke departed) being so affectionate to it, forgot himselfe and asked his servitors estoones about him, whether he had dined or no: and when *Phalaris* king of *Aegypt* sent unto him threecore talents for the said picture after it was finished, he refused the same, and would never sell, or part with his handy-worke. What pleasure canst thou (thinke you) and how great delight tooke *Euclides* in Geometrie and Astrologie, when he wrote the propositions of Perspective; and *Philop* when he composed the demonstrations of the divers formes and shapess appearing in the Moone? *Archimedes* also, when by the angle called *gonia*, he found out, that the Diameter of the Sun is just so bigge a part of the greatest circle, as the angle is of foure right lines; *Apollonius* likewise and *Aristarchus*, who were the inventors of the like propositions; the contemplation and knowledge whereof, even at this day bringeth exceeding pleasure and woonderfull generositie & magnanimity unto those who so intend to study upon them. And verily those base and abject pleasures of the kitchen and brothell-houle, we ought not so much as to compare with these, and thereby to contaminate and disgrace the sacred Muses and their mountaine *Helicon*,

*Where shepheards none durst tend his flocke,
On hill above or vale below:
Nor edged tooles was knowne to shocke
Or cut one tree that there did grow.*

But these pleasures are indeed the intemperate & undefiled pastures of the gentle bees; whereas those

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those other resemble properly, the itching lusts of swine and goats, which over and besides the bodie, fill with their filthie ordure the sensuall part of the soule, subject to all passions and perturbations. True it is, that lust and desire to enjoy pleasures, is a passion adventurous and hardie enough to enterprise many and sundrie matters; yet was there never any man found so amorous, who for joy that he had embraced his paramour, sacrificed a beete; nor ever was there knowne so notorious a glutton, who wished in his heart and desired, so he might first fill his belly with delicate viands and princely banquetting dishes, to die presently: and yet *Eudoxus* made this prayer, that he might stand nere unto the sunne, for to learne the forme, the magnitude and the beauty of that planet, upon condition to be burnt presently, as *Phaëron* was, with the beames thereof. *Pythagoras* for the prooffe of one proposition or figure which he had invented, sacrificed an ox, as *Apollodorus* hath recorded in this Dysticon:

*No sooner had Pythagoras this noble figure found,
But solemnly he sacrific'd an ox, even in that sound.*

Whether it were that slope line in Geometric, called *Hypotenuse*, which answering directly to the right angle of a triangle, is as much in effect as the other two that comprehend and make the said angle; or rather that lineare demonstration or proposition, whereby he measured the plot in a parabolicke section of a Cone or round pyramidd figure. As for *Archimedes*, he was so intentive and busie in drawing his Geometrical figures, that his servants were faine by force to pull him away to be washed and anointed; and even then he would with the strigill or bath-combe (which served to currie and rub his skin) draw figures even upon his very bellic: and one day above the rest, having found out whiles he was bathing, the way to know, how much golde the goldsmith had robbed in the fashion of that crowne which king *Hiero* had put forth to making, he ran forth suddenly out of the baine, as if he had beene frantike, or inspired with some fanaticall spirit, crying out; *Hieroca, Hieroca*, that is to say, I have found it, I have found it, iterating the same many times all the way as he went. But we never heard of any glutton fo given to gourmandise & belly cheere, who went up and downe crying *Bebroeca*, that is to say, I have eaten, I have eaten; nor of a wanton & amorous person, who having enjoied his love, would set up this note, *Ephlefa*, that is to say, I have kist, I have kist. Notwithstanding there have beene & are at this day, a thousand millions, even an infinite number of lascivious & loose persons: But contrariwise, we detest and abhorre those, who upon an affection, braverie and pride, make recheafall what feasts they have beene at, as persons who highly account of fo base and unworthy pleasures, which men ought indeed to have in contempt. Whereas in reading the works of *Eudoxus*, *Archimedes*, and *Hipparchus*, we are ravished and transported as it were with some heavenly and divine delight; believing that saying of *Plato* to be true, who writeth: That the Mathematicall arts, howsoever they be contemned, by those that be ignorant, and for default of knowledge and understanding neglected; yet for the grace and delight that they yeeld, be more and more in request, even in despite of those blind and blockish persons: All which pleasures fo great and fo many in number, running alwaies as a river; these men heere doe turne and derive another way, for to empeach and hinder those who approach unto them, and give care unto their doctrine, that they should not once taste thereof, but command them to set up and spread all their maine sailes, and flie away as fast as they can. Yea, and that which more is, all those of this sect, both men and women, pray and request *Pytholes* (for *Epicurus* sake) not to make any account of those arts which we name liberrall: And in praising our *Aspelles*, among other singular qualities, that they attribute unto him, they set downe this for one: That from his first beginning he had forborne the studie of the Mathematicks, and by that means kept himselfe unpolluted and undefiled: As for histories (to say nothing, how of all other sciences they have neither heard nor seene any) I will cite onely the words of *Metradorus* writing of Poets: Tush (quoth he) be not abashed nor thinke it a shame to confesse that thou knowest not, of whether side *Hecfor* was, of the Greeks part or of the Trojans; neither thinke it a great matter if thou be ignorant what were the first verses of *Homers* Poeme, and regard thou as little those in the mids.

Now forasmuch as *Epicurus* wist well inough, that the pleasures of the body (like unto the aniversalie Etesian mists) doe blow over and passe away, yea and after the flower of mans age is once gone, decay sensibly, and cease altogether; therefore he mooveth a question: Whether a wife man, being now farre slept in yeeres, and not able any more to keepe company with a woman, taketh pleasure still in wanton touching, feeling or handling of faire and beautifull persons: Wherein verily he is farr from the minde and opinion of *Sophocles*; who rejoiced and thanked God, that hee had escaped from this voluptuous and fleshly love, as from theyokes

chaine,

chaine, or clogge of some violent and furious master. Yet rather ought these sensuall and voluptuous persons, seeing that manie delights and pleasures corporall, doe fade and decie in old age,

*And that with aged folk in this,
Dame Venus much offended sit.*

(as saith *Euripides*) to make provision then most all, of other spirituall pleasures, and to be stored before-hand, as it were against some long siege, with such drie victualls as are not subject to putrefaction and corruption: Then I say should they hold their solemne feasts of *Venus*, & goodly morrow-minds, to passe the time away by reading some pleasant histories, delectable poemes, or pretie speculations of musick or geometrie: And verily they would not fo much as thinke any more of those blind feelings and bootlesse handlings (as I may tearme them) which indeed are no more but the pricks and provocations of dead wantonnesse, if they had learned no more but as *Aristotle*, *Heraclides*, and *Dicaearchus* did, to write of *Homer* and *Euripides*: But they being never careful and provident to purvey such victualls, and seeing all the rest of their life otherwise to be unpleasant, and as drie as a kex, (as themselves are wont to say of vertue) yet willing to enjoy still their pleasures continually, but finding their bodies to fayn way, and not able to performe the same to their contentment, they bewray their corruption in committing foule and dishonest acts out of season, enforcing themselves (even by their owne confessions) to awaken, stirre up, and renew the memorie of their former pleasures in times past, and for want of fresh and new delights, making a shift to serve their turne with the old & itale, as if they had beene long kept in salt-pickle, or compass, untill their goodnesse and life were gone; desirous they are to stirre, kindle, and quicken others that lie extinct in their flesh, as it were raked up in dead and cold ashes long before, cleane against the course of nature; and all for default that they were not provided before of some sweet thing laid up in their foule, proper unto her, and delightfull according to her worthinesse: As for other spirituall pleasures we have spoken of them already, as they came into our minde: but as touching musick, which bringing with it so many contentments, & fo great delights, men yet reject & flie fro, no man I row would willingly passe it over in silence, considering the absurd and impertinent speeches that *Epicurus* giveth out for in his questions he maintaineth: That a wife man is a great lover of shews & spectacles, delighting above all others to hear and see the pastimes, sports, & fights, exhibited in theatres during the feast of *Bacchus*; yet will not he admit any musycal problems, any disputations or witty discourses of Criticks in points of humanitie & learning, so much as at the very table, in dinner and supper time; but giveth counsell unto kings and princes that be lovers & favorers of literature, to abide rather the reading & hearing of military narrations & stratagemes at their feasts & banquets, yea, and scurrill talke of buffons, pleafants, and jesters, than any questions propounded or discussed, as touching musick or poetrie: for thus much hath he delivered in his booke entitled: Of *Royaltie*: as if hee had written the same to *Sardanapalus* or *Naratus*, who was in times past a great potentate and lord of *Babylon*. Certes, neither *Hiero* nor *Attalus*, ne yet *Archelaus*, would ever have bene perswaded to remove and displace from their tables such as *Eraichelus*, *Simonides*, *Melanippides*, *Crates* or *Diodorus*, for to set in their rooms *Cardax*, *Ariantes* and *Callias*, knowne jesters and notorious ribaids; or some parasiticall *Thrasimides* and *Thrasileons*, who could skill of nothing els but how to make folke laugh, in counterfeiting lamentable yellings, groanes, howlings, and all to move applause and clapping of hands. If king *Ptolemus* the first of that name, who also first erected a librarie, and founded a colledge of learned men, had light upon these goodly rules and royall precepts of his putting downe, would not he have exclaimed and said unto the Samians:

*O Muses faire, & ladies deere,
What envie, and what spite is here!*

For, beseeinging it is not any Athenian thus maliciously to be bent unto the Muses, and be at so warre with them: but according to *Pindarus*;
*Whom Jupiter doth not vouchsafe
His love and favour for to have.
Amaz'd they stand and quake for feare,
When they the voice of Muses heare.*

What say you, *Epicurus*? you goe early in the morning by breake of day unto the Theater, to hear musicians playing upon the harpe and lute, or founding shawmes and hautboies: if then it fortune at the table, in time of a banquet, that *Theophrastus* discourseth of Symphonies and

musical accords? or *Aristoxenes*, of changes and alteration of tunes? or *Aristophanes* of *Homers* works, will you stop your cares with both hands because you would not heare, for that you so abhorre and detest them? Surely there was more civillity yet and honestie (by report) in that barbarous king of *Seythia*, *Ateas*, who when that excellent minstrell *Amintas*, being his captive, taken prisoner in the warres, played upon the flute before him as hee sat at dinner, swaie a great oath, that he tooke more pleasure to heare his horse neigh. Doe not these men (thinke you) confesse and grant (when they be well charged) that they have given defiance to vertue and honestie, proclaiming mortall and irreconcilable warre, without all hope of truce, parley, composition and peace? for surely, setting pleasure onely aside, what other thing is there in the world (be it never so pure, holy and venerable) that they embrace and love? Had it not bene more reason, for the leading of a joyfull life, to be offended with sweet perfumes, and to reject odoriferous oiles and ointments, as beetles, jeyres and vultures doe, than to abhorre, detest and shun the talke and discourses of Humanitians, Criticks, Grammarians and Musicians? for, what manner of flute or hautboies, what harpe or lute how well forever set, tuned, and studd for song,

*What quire resounding loud and shrill
From pleasant mouth and breast so sweet,
A song to parts, set with great skill,
When cunning men in musick meet?*

so greatly delighted *Epicurus* and *Metrodorus*, as the discourses, the rules and precepts of equires and carols, the questions and propositions concerning flutes and hautboies, touching proportions, consonances & harmonical accords would affect *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Metrodorus* and *Dicæarchus*? as for example, what is the reason, that of two pipes or flutes (otherwise even and equal) that which hath the straighter and narrower mouth, yeeldeth the bigger and more base sound? also, what might be the cause, that the same pipe when it is lifted and set upward, becometh loud in all the tones that it maketh; but holde it downward once, it foundeth as low? so doth one pipe also when it is set close unto another, give a base sound; but contrariwise, if it be disjointed and put asunder, it foundeth higher and more shrill. As also, how it cometh to passe that if a man fow chaffe or cast dust thicke upon the stage or scaffold in a Theater, the people there assembled be deafe and cannot heare the plaiers or minstrels? Scemably, when king *Alexander* the Great was minded to have made in the citie of *Pella* the forepart of the stage in the Theater, all of brasse; what mooved his workman or Architect not to permit him so to doe, for feare it would drowne and dull the voice of the plaiers? Finally, why among sundry kinds of Musicke, that which is called Chromaticall, delighteth, enlargeth and joiethe the heart, whereas the Harmonicall contracteth and draweth it in, making it sad and dumpish? Moreover, the manners and natures of men which Poets represent in their writings, their wittie fictions, the difference and varietie of their stile, the solution of darke doubts and quaint questions, which (besides a delightfome grace and beautifull elegance) carie with them a familiar and perswasive power, wherewith each one may reape profit; in so much as they are able (as *Xenophon* saith) to make a man forget even love it selfe, so effectually is this pleasure and delight. Howbeit, the Epicureans here have no feeling and experience; nay, which is worse, they desire to have none, as they say themselves; but employing the whole contemplative part of the soule, in thinking upon nothing els but the bodie, and plucking it downward together with sensuall and carnall lusts, as fishers nets with little rols and plummetts of lead, they differ nothing at all from horsekeepers or shepherds and other herdmen, who lay before their beasts, hay, straw, or some kinde of grasse and herbs, as the proper fodder & forage for the cattell which they have in charge: for do they not even so intend to feed the soule fat (as men franke up swine) with bodily pleasures; in that they would have her to be glad for the hope shee hath that the body shall shortly enjoy some pleasure, or els in the remembrance of those which it hath enjoyed in times past; as for any proper delight or partiall pleasure of her owne, they suffer her to receive none from herselfe, nor so much as to feede thereafter.

And verily, can there be any thing more absurd & beside all appareance and shew of reason, than (whereas there be two parts whereof man is compounded, to wit, soule and body, of which the soule is more woorth, and placed in the higher degree) to say and asseme, that there is in the bodie some good thing, proper, peculiar, familiar, and naturall unto it, and none in the soule; but that she sits still tending the bodie, and looking onely to it: that she smileth upon the passions and affections thereof, joying and taking contentment with it onely; having of herselfe

selfe originally no motion, no election, no choise, no desire nor pleasure at all? Now surely they should either by putting off their maske and discovering themselves, have gone roundly to worke, making man flesh, and nothing else but flesh; as some there be who flatly denie, that there is any spiritual substance in him; or else leaving in us two different natures, they ought to have let either of them alone by it selfe, with their severall good and evill; that I say which is familiar or contrarie unto it: like as among the five senses, evrie one is destined & appropriated to one object sensible, although all of them by a certaine wonderfull sympathy be affected oneto the other. Now the proper sensative organ or instrument of the soule is, the understanding; and to say that the same hath no peculiar subject to worke upon, no proper spectacle to behold, no familiar motion, no naturall and inbred passion or affection, in the fruition whereof it should take pleasure and delight, is the greatest absurditie of all others: And verily this is the saying of these men; unlesse haply some there be, who ere they be aware, charge upon them some slanderous and false imputations. Heereat began I to speake and say unto him: Not so sir, if we may be judges; but I pray you let be, all action of inquirie, and proceed hardely to finish and make an end of your discourse. And why (quoth he) should not *Aristodemus* succeed after me, if you haply refuse flatly, or beloth to speake? You say true indeed, (quoth *Aristodemus*) but that shall not be untill you be wearie of speeche, as this man is; and for the present, since you are yett fresh and in heart, I beseech you my good friend, spare not your selfe, but use your facultie, lest you be thought for very sloth and idleness to draw back and goe out of the lists. 20 Certes (quoth *Theon* then) it is but a small matter, and the same very easie which is behind; for there remaineth no more but to shew and recount how many joies and pleasures there be in active life, and that part of the soule which is given to action? First and foremost, even they themselves in some place graunt and confesse; that it is a greater pleasure to doe good, and to benefit others, than to receive a benefit from another; as for good turnes, a man I confesse may doe them in bare words and sayings; but surely the most and greatest are performed by acts and deeds, and thus much doth the verie word of benefit or weldoing import; and even they themselves tell us no lesse: For but a while since, we heard this man report, what words and speeches *Epicurus* delivered; what letters he wrote and sent unto his friends, in extolling, praising, and magnifying *Metrodorus*; how bravely and valiantly he went downe from the citie of *Athens* to the port *Pyreum*, for to aid and succour *Cyathus* the Syrian, albeit *Metrodorus* did no service at all in that fall: VVhat manner of pleasures then, and how great ought wee to esteeme those which *Plato* enioyed, when *Dion* a scholar of his & one of his bringing up, rose up to put downe the tyrant *Dionysius*, & to deliver the state of *Sicily* from servitude? what contentment might *Aristotle* find, when he caused the citie of his nativitie which was ruinate and rased to the ground to be reedified, and his countreymen & fellow-citizens to be called home who were banished? what delights and joies were those of *Theophrastus* and *Phidias*, who deposed and overthrew those tyrants who usurped the lordly dominion of their country? and for private persons in particular, how many they relieved, not in sending unto them a strike or a bushell of corne and meale, as *Epicurus* sent unto some; but in working and effecting, that those who were exiled out of their native country, driven from their owne houses, and turned out of all their goods, might returne home againe and reenter upon all; that such as had bene prisoners and lien in irons, might be delivered and set at large; as many also as were put from their wives and children, might recover and enjoy them againe: What need I make rehearse all unto you, who know all this well enough? But surely the impudence and absurditie of this man, I cannot (though I would) passe over with silence, who debasing and casting under foot the acts of *Themistocles* and *Miltiades* as he did, wrote of himselfe to certaine of his friends in this sort: Right nobly, valiantly, and magnificently, have you shewed your endeavour and care of us, in provision of corne to furnish us withall; and againe you have declared by notorious signes, which mount up into heaven, the singular love and good will which you beare unto me. And if a man observe the manner of this stile and writing, he shall find, that if he take out of the misteries of this great philosopher, that which concerneth a little corne, all the words besides are so curiously couched and penned, as if the epistle had bene written purposely as a thanksgiving for the safety of all *Greece*, or at leastwise, for delivering, setting free, and preserving the whole citie and people of *Athens*.

What should I busie my head to shew unto you, that for the delights of the bodie, nature had need to be at great cost and expences; neither doth the chief pleasure which they seeke after, consist in course bisket-bread, in pease pottage, or lentile broth; but the appetites

of these voluptuous persons, call for exquisite and dainty viands, for sweet and delicate wines, such as those be of *Tiboras*, for sweet odours, pleasant perfumes, and precious ointments, for curious junkets and banquetting dishes, for tarts, cake-bread, marchpanes, and other pastic works, well wrought, beaten and tempered with the sweet liquor gathered by the yellow-winged Bee: over and besides all this, their mind stands also to faire and beautiful young damosels, they must have some pretie *Leontium*, some fine *Borichon*, some sweet *Hedra*, or daintie *Nedion*, whom they keepe and nourish of purpose within their gardens of pleasure, to be ready at hand. As for the delights and joies of the mind, there is no man but will confesse and say: That founded they ought to be upon the greatnesse of some noble actions, and the beautie of worthy and memorable works, if we would have them to be not vaine, base and childeish; but contrariwise, reputed grave, generous, magnificent and manlike; whereas to vaunt and glory of being let loose to a dissolute course of life and the fruition of pleasures and delights, after the manner of sailors and mariners when they celebrate the feast of *Venus*; to boast also and please himselfe in this: That being desperately sicke of that kinde of drop sicke which the Physicians call *Asites*, he forbore not to feast his friends still, and keepe good companie, neither spared to adde and gather more moisture and waterish humours still unto his drop sicke: and teinembring the last words that his brother *Neocles* spake upon his death-bed, melted and consumed with a speciall joy and pleasure of his owne, tempered with teares; there is no man (I trow) of sound judgement and in his right wits, who would tearme these fortifish follies, either found joies or perfect delights; but surely, if there be any Sardonian laughter (as they call it) belonging also to the soule, it is feasted (in my conceit) even in such joies and mirths mingled with teares as these, which do violence unto nature: but if any man shal say, that these be solaces, let him compare them with others, and see how faire these excell and go beyond them which are expressed by these verses:

*By sage advice I have affected this,
That Spartaes martiall fame eclipsed is.*

Allo:

*This man, o friend and stranger both,
was while he lived here,*

*The great and glorious starre of Rome,
his native citie deere.*

Likewise:

*I woe not what I should you call,
An heavenly God and man mortall.*

And when I set before mine eyes the noble and worthy acts of *Thrasibulus* and *Pelopidas*; or behold the victories either of *Aristides* in that journey of *Plataea*, or of *Miltiades* at the battell of *Marathon*, I am even ravished and transported besides my selfe, and forced to say with *Herodotus*, and deliver this sentence: That in this active life, there is more sweetnesse and delectation, than glorie and honour: and that this is so, *Epaminondas* will beare me witnesse, who (by report) gave out this speech, that the greatest contentment which ever he had during his life, was this: That his father and mother were both alive to see that noble Trophee of his, for the victorie that he won at *Leuctres*, being generall of the Thebans against the Lacedaemonians. Compare we now with this mother of *Epaminondas*, *Epicurus* his mother, who took so great joy to see her sonne keeping close in a dainty garden and orchard of pleasure, where he and his familiar friend *Polyemus* gat children in common, upon a trull and courtesan of *Cyzicum*: for, that both mother and sister of *Metrodorus* were exceeding glad of his marriage, may appeare by his letters missive written unto his brother, which are extant in his books; and yet they goe up and downe everie where crying with open mouth: That they have lived in joy, doing nought els but extoll and magnifie their delicate life, firing much like unto slaves when they solemnize the feast of *Saturne*, supping and making good chere together, or celebrate the Bacchanales, running about the fields; so as a man may hardly abide to heare the utas and yelling noiseth they make, when upon the insolent joy of their hearts, they breake out into many fooleries, and utter they care not unto whom, as vaine and fond speeches, in this manner:

*By sit! thou still, thou wretched lout,
Come let us drinke and quaffe about:
The ments upon the boord set are,
Be merie man, and make no spare;*

No

*No sooner are these words let fall,
But all at once they hout and cry;
They pot; then walke, one fills out wine,
Another brings a garland fine
Of flowers full fresh, his head to crowne,
And decks the cup, whiles wine goes downe:
And then the minstrell, Phcebus knight,
With faire greene branches of Laurel digb,
Sets out his rude and rustie broate,
And sings a fitt bie tunelesse note:
With that one thrusts the pipe him fro,
And sounds his wench and beedfello.*

Do not (thinke you) the letters of *Metrodorus* resemble these vanities, which he wrote unto his brother in these tearmes? There is no need at all, *Timocrates*, neither ought a man to expose himselfe into danger for the safetie of *Greece*, or to straine and busie his head to winne a coronet among them, in testimonie of his wisdom; but he is to eat, and drinke wine merily, so as the bodie may enjoy all pleasure, and susteine no harme. And againe in another place of the same letters he hath these words: Oh how joyfull was I, and glad at heart! Oh what contentment of spirit found I, when I had learned once of *Epicurus*, to make much of my bellie, and to gratifie it as I ought! For to say a truth to you, O *Timocrates*, that art a Naturalist: The soveraigne good of a man lieth about the bellie.

In summe, these men doe limit, set out and circumscribe the greatnesse of humane pleasure within the compasse of the bellie, as it were within center and circumference; but surely impossible it is, that they should ever have their part of any great, roial and magnificall joy, such as indeed causeth magnanimitie and hautesse of courage, bringeth glorious honour abroad, or tranquillitie of spirit at home, who have made choise of a close and private life within doores, never shewing themselves in the world, nor meddling with the publicke affaires of common weale; a life (I say) sequestred from all offices of humanitie, farre removed from any instinct of honour, or desire to gratifie others, thereby to deserve thanks, or winne favour: for the soule (I may tell you) is no base and small thing, it is not vile and illiberal, extending her desires onely to that which is good to bee eaten, as doe these pouls or pourcuttle fishes which stretch their cleies as farre as to their meat and no farther; for such appetites as these, are most quickly cut off with satietie, and filled in a moment; but when the motions and desires of the minde tending to vertue and honestie, to honour also and contentment of conscience, upon virtuous deeds and well doing, are once grown to their vigor and perfection, they have not for their limit, the length and tearme onely of mans life: but surely, the desire of honor, and the affection to profit the societie of men, comprehending all eternitie, striveth still to goe forward in such actions and beneficiall deeds as yeeld infinit pleasures that cannot be expressed; which joies, great personages and men of worth can not shake off and avoid though they would: for sicut they from them what they can, yet they environ them about on every side, they are ready to meet them whersoever they goe, when as by their beneficence and good deeds they have once refreshed and cheered many other: for of such persons may well this verse be verified:

*To towne when that he comes, or there doth walk:
Men him behold as God, and so doe talk.*

For when a man hath so affected and disposed others, that they are glad and leape for joy to see him, that they have a longing desire to touch, salute, & speak unto him; who seeth not (though otherwise he were blinde) that he findeth great joies in himselfe, and enjoiet most sweet contentment: this is the cause that such men are never wearie of well dooing, nor thinke it a trouble to be employed to the good of others; for we shall evermore heare from their mouths these 50 and such like speeches:

*By father thee begat and brought to light,
That thou one day might'st profit many a might.*

Againe,

*Let us not cease, but shew a minde,
Of doing good to all mankind.*

What need I to speake here of those that bee excellent men, and good in the highest degree? for if to any one of those who are not extremely wicked, at the very point and instant of death;

he

he in whose hands lieth his life, be he a god or some king, should graunt one howres respite, and permit him to employ himselfe at his owne choise, either to execute some memorable act, or else to take his pleasure for the while, so that immediately after that howre past, he should goe to his death: How many thinke you would chuse rather during this small time, to lie with that courtiane and famous trumpet *Lais*, or drink liberally of good Ariusian wine, than to kill the tyrant *Archias* for to deliver the citie of *Thebes* from tyrannicall servitude? For mine owne part verily, I suppose, that there is not one: for this I observe in those sword-fencers, who fight at sharpe a combat to the utterance, such I meane as are not altogether brutish and savage, but of the Greekeish nation, when they are to enter in place for to performe their devoir, notwithstanding there be presented unto them many deintie dishes, and costly eates, chuse rather at this very time to recommend unto their friends, their wives and children, to manumise and enfranchise their slaves, than to serve their bellies and content their sensuall appetites: But admit that these bodily pleasures be great matters, and highly to be accounted of, the same are common also even to those that leade an active life, and manage affaires of State: For as the Poet saith:

*Wine muscadell they drinke, and likewise eat
Fine manchet bread, made of the wheatest wheat.*

They banquet also, and feast with their friends, yea, and much more merrily (in my conceit, after they be returned from bloodie battels or other great exploits and important services) like as *Alexander* & *Agesslaus*, *Plesion* also and *Epaninondas* were wont to do) than these who are appointed against the fire, or carried easily in their litters: and yet such as they, mocke and scorne those, who indeed have the fruition of other greater and more deintie pleasures for what should a man speake of *Epaninondas*, who being invited to a supper unto his friends house, when he saw that the provision was greater and more sumptuous than his state might well beare, would not stay and suppe with him, but said thus unto his friend: I thought you would have sacrificed unto the gods, and not have bene a wastefull and prodigall spender: and no marvel; forking *Alexander* the Great refused to entertaine the exquisite cooks of *Ada* Queene of *Caria*; saying: That he had better about him of his owne to dresse his meat, to wit, for his dinner or breakfast, early rising and travelling before day-light; and for his supper, a light and hungry dinner. As for *Philoxenus* who wrote unto him concerning two most faire and beautiful boies, to this effect, whether he should buy them for to send unto him or no: he had like to have lost the place of government under him, for his labour: and yet to say a truth, who might have better done it than *Alexander*? But like as of two paines & griefs (as *Hippocrates* saith) the lesse is dulled and dimmed (as it were) by the greater; even so, the pleasures proceeding from vertuous and honourable actions, do darken and extinguish (by reason of the minds joys, and in regard of their exceeding greatnesse) those delights which arise from the bodie. And if it be so as these Epicureans say, that the remembrance of former pleasures and good things, be materiall and make much for a joyfull life; which of us all will beleeve *Epicurus* himselfe, that dying (as he did) in most grievous paines and dolorous maladies, he ealed his torments or asswaged his anguish by calling to minde those delights which beforetime he had enjoyed? For surely, it were an easier matter to behold the resemblance of ones face in the bottome of a troubled water, or amid the waves during a tempest, than to conceive and apprehend the smiling and laughing remembrance of a pleasure past, in so great a disquietnesse and bitter vexation of the body; whereas the memorie of vertuous and praise-worthy actions, a man can not (would he never so faine) chafe and drive out of his minde. For how is it possible, that *Alexander* the Great, should ever forget the battell at *Arbela*? or *Pelopidas*, the defeiture of the tyrant *Leontides*? or *Themistocles*, the noble fight fought before *Salamis*? for as touching the victorie at *Marathon*, the memoriall thereof the Athenians doe solemmnize with feasts even to this day; like as the Thebans celebrate the remembrance of the famous fight at *Leutres*; and we verily (as you know well enough) make feasts for the victorie of *Dairphantus* before the citie *Hyampolis*; and not onely we, keepe yeerely holiday then, but also the whole country of *Phocis* (upon that anniversary day) is full of sacrifices and due honours: neither is there one of us that taketh so great contentment of all that hee eateth or drinketh at such a festivall time, as he doth in regard of the remembrance of those noble acts which those brave men performed: we may well gesse and consider therefore, what joy, what mirth, what gladnesse and solace of heart accompanied them all their life time after, who executed these noble feats of armes, considering that after five hundred yeeres and above, the memorie of them is fresh, and the same attended with so great cheere and rejoicing. And yet *Epicurus* himselfe doth acknowledge, that of glorie there doe arise certaine joys and pleasures;

pleasures; for how could he doe lesse, seeing that himselfe is so desirous thereof, that he is even mad withall, and fareth after a furious manner to attaine thereto; in so much, as not onely he disavoweth his owne masters and teachers, contesteth against * *Democritus* (whose opinions and doctrines he stealeth word for word) upon certaine syllables and nice points, maintaining that there never was any wife man nor learned cleauke, setting himselfe and his disciples aside: but also, which more is, he hath bene so impudent, as to say and write; that *Colotes* adored him as a god, touching his knees full devoutly, when he heard him discourse of naturall causes; and that his brother *Neoteles* affirmed and gave out even from his infancie; that *Epicurus* had never his like or fellow, for wisdom and knowledge; as also, that his mother was happie and blessed for bearing in her womb such a number of Atomes, that is to say, indivisible small bodies, who concurring all together, framed and formed so skilfull a personage. Is not this all one with that which *Callistarchides* sometime said of *Comon*: That he committed adulterie with the sea; even so a man may say that *Epicurus* (secretly by stealth and shamefully) made love unto Glory; and went about to solicit, yea, force her by violence, not being able to win and enjoy her openly; whereupon he became passionate and love-sicke: for like as a mans bodie in time of faimne, for that it hath no food and nourishment otherwise, is constrained even against nature, to feed upon the owne substance; even so ambition and thirst after glorie, doth the like hurt unto the soules of ambitious persons: for being readie to die for thirst of glorie, and seeing they can not have it otherwise, enforced they are to praise themselves. But they that be thus passionately affected with desire of praise and honour, confesse not they manifestly, that they reject, forgo and neglect great pleasures and delights; when through their feeble, lazie and base minds, they flie from publicke offices of State, forbeare the management of affaires, and regard not the favours of kings and following of great persons; from whence *Democritus* saith; there accrue unto man many ornaments to grace and commend this life? For *Epicurus* shall never be able to make the world beleeve, that (esteeming so much as he did and making so great account of *Neoteles* his brothers testimonie or the adoration of *Colotes*) he would not have bene ready to have leapt out of his skin, and gone besides himselfe for joy, if he had bene received by the Greeks at the solemnities of the Olympian games, with joyous acclamations and clapping of hands: nay, he would no doubt have shewed that gladnesse and contentment of heart with open mouth; hee would have bene aloft and flown abroad, as the Poet *Sophocles* saith:

*Like to the Downe, which being light and soft
From thistle olde, the winde doth mount aloft.*

And if it be a gracious and acceptable thing, for a man to brute that he hath a good name; it followeth consequently, that grievous it is to be in an ill name: and what is more infamous and odious, than to be friendlesse, to want employment, to be infected with Atheisme and impietie, to live loosely and abandoned to lusts and pleasures; finally, to be neglected and contemned? and verily (setting themselves aside) there is no man living, but he thinketh at these qualities and attributes to agree fitly unto this sect of theirs. True (will some man say) but they have the greater wrong. Well, the question now, is not, what is the truth, but what is the common opinion that the world hath of them: and to this purpose I meane not to cite the publicke decrees and acts of *Cities*, nor to alledge the defamatorie books written against them; for that were too odious: but if the oracles, if divination, if the praefcience and providence of the gods, if the naturall love and affectionate kindnesse of parents to their children, if the managing of politike affaires, if the conduct of armies, if magistracie and rule in common-wealth, be matters honourable and glorious, then it must needs be, that they who affirme: That no travell ought to be made for the safetie of Greece, but that we are to eat and drinke, so as the bellie may be pleased, and receive no harme and discontentment, should be infamous, and reputed for wicked persons; and such as are so taken, must needs be odious and in great disgrace, if so be they hold, honour, good name and reputation, to be things pleasant and delectable.

When *Theon* had made an end of this speech, thought good it was to give over walking; and when (as our custome and manner was) we were set downe upon the seats, we rested a pretie while in silence, ruminating (as it were) and pondering that which had bene said: And who (quoth he) shall this was not; for *Zeuxippus* thinking upon that which had bene said: And who (quoth he) shall goe through with that which remaineth behind, considering that me thinks we are not as yet come to a full point and finall conclusion? for seeing that erewhile he hath made mention by the way of Divination, and likewise put us in minde of Divine providence two maine points, I may tell you whereupon these men doe greatly stand, and which by their saying yeeld them not the

* To wit, in
denying both
the one and
the other.

the least pleasure, contentment, repose of spirit, and assurance in this life; * therefore I hold it necessary that somewhat were said as touching the same. Then *Aristodemus* taking the matter in hand: As for the pleasure (quoth he) which they pretend in this case, me thinks (by all in manner that hath bene spoken) that if their reasons should goe for current, and bring that about which they purpose & intend, well may they free and deliver their spirit of (I not what) feare of the gods, and a certaine superstition; but surely they imprint no joy, nor minister any comfort and contentment to their minds at all, in any regard of the gods: for to be troubled with no dread of the gods, nor comforted by any hope from them, worketh this effect, and maketh them so affected towards the gods, as we are to the fishes of the Hyrcan sea, expecting neither goodnesse nor harme from them. But if we must adde somewhat more to that which hath bene said abroad; thus much I take it wee may be bold to set downe, as received and granted by them: First and formost, that they impugne them mightily, who condemne and take away all heavynesse, sorrow, weeping, sighes, and lamentations for the death of friends: and they affirme, that this indolence tending to a kinde of impossibilitie, proceedeth from another evill, greater and worse than it, to wit, cruell inhumanitie, or else an outrageous and furious desire of vain-glory and ostentation; and therefore they hold it better to suffer a little sorrow, and to grieve moderately, for a man runne not all to teares and marre his eyes with weeping, nor shew all manner of passions as some doe by their deeds and writings, because they would be thought affectionate and heartie lovers of their friends, and withall of a gentle and tender nature: For thus much hath *Epicurus* delivered in many of his books, and namely in his letters where he maketh mention of the death of *Hegeusimachus*, writing unto *Dositheus* the father, and *Pyllos* the brother of the man departed: For long it is not since by fortune those letters of his came to my hands, which I perused, and in imitating their manner of arguing, I say: That Atheisme and impietie is no lesse sinne, than the crueltie or vaine and arrogant ostentation abovesaid; unto which impietie they would induce us with their perswasions, who take from God both favor and also anger: For, better it were, that to the opinion and belief which we have of the gods, there were adjoined and engrafted an affection mixed and compassed of reverence and feare, than in flying thereto, to leave unto our selves neither hope nor pleasure, no assurance in prosperitie, ne yet recourse unto the goodnesse of the gods in time of adversitie: True it is, that we ought to ridde away from the opinion that we have of the gods, all superstition, if it be possible, as well as from our eyes all gummie and glutinous matter, offending the sight; but if this may not be, we are not therefore to cut away quite, or to put out the eyes cleane of that faith and belief, which men for the most part have of the gods; and this is not a severe, feareful and austere conceit as these imagine, who traduce and slander divine providence, to make it odious and terrible, as folke doe by little children, whom they use to feare with the fantasticall illusion, *Empusa*, as if it were some infernall furie, or tragical vengeance seizing upon them: but some few men there be, who in that sort doe feare God, as that it is better and more expedient for them so to doe, than otherwise not to stand in awe of him: for in dreading him as a gracious and propitious lord unto the good, and an enemy unto the wicked, by this one kinde of feare which maketh them that they have no need at all of many others, they are delivered from those baits which many times allure and entice men to evill, and thus keeping vice short, and not giving it head, but holding it neere unto them, and within their reach, that it cannot escape and get from them, they be lesse tormented than those who be so hardie as to empiole the same, and dare put it in practise, but soone after, fall into fearefull fits, and repent themselves: But as touching the disposition toward God in the common sort of men, who are ignorant, unlettered, and of a grosse conceit for the most part; howbeit not very wicked, nor farke naught: true it is, that as together with the reverence and honour that they beare to the gods, there is intermingled a certaine trembling feare, which properly is called superstition; so likewise there is an infinit deale more of good hope and true joy, which causeth them to praise unto the gods continually for their owne good estate, and for happie successe in their affaires, and they receive all prosperitie as sent unto them from heaven above; which appeereth evidently by most notable and significant arguments: for surely no exercises recreate us more, than those of religion and devotion in the temples of the gods; no times and seasons are more joyous, than solemne feasts in their honour; no actions, no sights, more delight and joy our hearts, than those which we doe and see our selves, either singing and dawning solemnly in the presence of the gods, or being assitant at their sacrifices, or the ceremonious mysteries of divine service; for at such times our soule is nothing fadde, cast downe, or melancholike, as if he had to deale with some terrible tyrant, or

bloudie butchers; where good reason were, that she should bee heavie and dejected; but looke where she thinketh and is perswaded most that God is present, in that place especially, she casteth behinde her all anguishes, agonies, sorrows, feares and anxieties; there I say she giveth herselfe to all manner of joy, even to drinke wine most liberally, to play, disport, laugh and be merie: As the poet said in love and wanton matters:

*Both grey-beard, old and aged troe
when they the sports remember,
Of lovely Venus, leape for joy,
no cares their heart encomber.*

- 10 So verily in these solemne pompes, processions and sacrifices, not onely the aged husband and the old wife, the poore man that liveth in low and private estate, but also

*The fat legd wench well under laid
Which to the mill bestirs full yerne,
Her good wound stumps, and well appaid
To grinde her grief, doth turne the querne.*

- the houshold hines and servants, and the mercenary day-labourers, who get their living by the sweat of their browes, doe altogether leape for mirth and joy of heart: Kings and princes keepe great cheere in their roiall courts, and make certeine roiall and publike feasts for all commers; but those which they hold in the faced temples, at sacrifices and solemnities of the gods, 20 performed with fragrant perfumes and odoriferous incense; where it seemeth that men approach neere unto the majestie of the gods, & thinke they even touch them, and be conversant with them in all honour and reverence: such feasts (I say) yeeld a more rare joy and singular delectation, than any other; whereof he hath no part at all who denieth the providence of God: for it is not the abundance and plentie of wine there drunke, nor the store of roast & foddren meat there eaten, which yeeldeth joy and contentment at such solemne feasts; but the assured hope and full perswasion that God is there present, propitious, favourable and gracious; and that he accepteth in good part the honour and service done unto him. For some feasts and sacrifices there be, where there is no musike at all of flutes and hauboes, ne yet any chaplets and garlands of flowers used at all; but a sacrifice, where no god is present, like as a temple without a sacred feast or holy banquet, is * profane, unseftivall, impious, irreligious, and without divine inspiration and devotion; and to speake better, wholly displeasing and odious to himselfe that offereth it; for that he counterfeith by hypocritie, prayers and adorations, onely in a shew and otherwise than he meaneth, for feare of the multitude, and pronounceth words cleane contrary unto the opinions which he holdeth in Philosophie: when he sacrificeth, he standeth by the priest as he would by a cooke or butcher, who cutteth the throat of a sheepe; and after he hath sacrificed, he goes his way home, saying thus to himselfe: I have sacrificed a sheepe as men ordinarily do unto the gods, who have no care and regard of me. For so it is that *Epicurus* teacheth his scholars, to set a good countenance of the matter, and neither to envie nor incur the hatred of the common sort, when they are disposed to be merie, but seeming others in practise, and 40 themselves inwardly in being displeased with things done: for according as *Ennius* saith:

*What things are done perforce by us,
Displeasing be and odious.*

- Hereupon it is, that they themselves do say and holde: That superstitious persons are present at sacrifices and religious ceremonies, not for any joy or pleasure they take there, but upon a feare that they have: and verily, herein no difference is betweene them and superstitious folke, in case it be so, that they doe the same things for feare of the world, which the other do for feare of the gods; may rather they be in a worse condition than those, in that they have not so much hope of good as they, but onely stand alwaies in dread and be troubled in mind, lest they should be detected and discovered, for abusing and deceiving the world by their counterfeite hypocritie; in regard of which feare, they have themselves written books and treatises of the gods and of deities, 50 so composed; that they be full of ambiguities; and nothing is therein soundly or cleerely delivered, they do so maske, disguise and cover themselves; and all to cloake and hide the opinions which indeed they hold, doubting the furie of the people. Thus much concerning two sorts of men, to wit, the wicked and the simple or common multitude: now therefore let us consider of a third kinde, such as be of the best make, men of worth and honour, most devout and religious in deed; namely, what sincere and pure pleasures they have, by reason of the perswasion that they hold of God; believing firmly, that he is the ruler and director of all good persons, the author

thour and father from whom proceed all things good and honest; and that it is not lawfull to fay or beleeeve, that he doth evil, no more than to be perswaded that he suffereth evil: for good he is by nature; and looke whatsoever is good, conceiveth no envie to any, is fearefull of none, neither is it moved with anger or hatred of ought: for like as heat can not coole a thing, but alwaies naturally maketh it hot; so that which is good can not hurt or do ill. Now, anger and favour be farre remote one from the other: so is choler and bitter gall much different from mildnesse and benevolence; as also malice and frowardnesse are opposite unto bountie, meeknesse, and humanitie; for that the one sort ariseth from vertue and puissance; the other from weaknesse and vice. Now are we not to thinke that the divine power is given to be wrathfull and gracious alike; but to beleeeve rather, that the proper nature of God is alwaies to be helpful and beneficiall; whereas to be angry and to doe harme, is not so naturall; but that mightie *Jupiter* in heaven, he descendeth from thence first downe to the earth, to dispose and ordeine all things: after him, other gods, of whom the one is surnamed, The Giver; another, Mild and Bounteous; a third, Protectour or Defender: as for *Apolla*, as *Pindarus* saith:

*Who doth in winged chariot sit,
Amidst the starres in azure skie,
To every man in his affaire,
Reputed is most debonaire.*

Now as *Diogenes* was wont to say, all things are Gods, and likewise among friends, all things are common, and good men are Gods friends; even so, impossible it is, that either he who is devout and a lover of God, should not be withall happie; or that a vertuous, temperate, and just man should not likewise be devout and religious. Thinke yet then, that these who denie the government of Gods providence, need other punishment, or be not punished sufficiently for their impietie, in that they cut themselves from so great joy and pleasure as we finde in our selves, we (I say) who are thus well given and religiously affected toward God? The greatest joy that *Epicurus* stood upon and bare himselfe so boldly, were *Metrodorus*, *Polyemus*, *Aristobolus* and such; and those he was alwaies employed about, either in curing and tending them when they were sicke, or in bewailing them after they were dead: whereas *Lycurgus* was honoured even by the prophetesse *Pythia* in these tearmes:

*A man whom Jupiter did love,
And all the heavenly founts above.*

As for *Socrates*, who had a familiar spirit about him, whom he imagined to speake and reason friendly with him, even of kindnesse and good will: and *Pindarus* likewise, who heard god *Pan* chant one of those canticles which himselfe had composed, thinke wee that they tooke small pleasure and contentment of heart thereby? Or what may we judge of *Phormio*, when he lodged in his house, *Castor* and *Pollux*; or of *Sophocles*, for entreteining of *Aesculapius*, as both himselfe was perswaded, and as others beleeeved, for the manifest apparitions presented unto them? It were not amisse and beside the purpose, to rehearse in this place, what a faith and beleefe in the gods, *Heromogenes* had, and that in those very words and tearmes which he setteth downe himselfe: The gods (quoth he) who know all things, and likewise can doe all, are so friendly unto me, that for the care they have of my person and my affaires, are never ignorant day or night, either of that action which I purpose to doe, or of that way which I intend to goe: and for that they foresee the issue and event of whatsoever I enterprife and undertake; they advertise me thereof before hand, by presage of omens, voices, dreames, auguries and bird-flights, which they send as messengers to me of purpose. Moreover, meet it is, that we should have this opinion of the gods, that whatsoever proceedeth from them is good; but when we are perswaded that the goods which we receive from them, be sent unto us, upon speciall favor and grace, this is a wonderfull contentment to the minde, this worketh much confidence, breedeth a marvellous courage, and inward joy, which seemeth as it were to smile upon good men: whereas, they who are otherwise minded and disposed, hinder themselves of that which is most sweet in prosperitie, and leave no refuge or retiring place in time of adversitie; for when any misfortune lighteth upon them, no other haven or retrait have they than the dissolution or separation of body and soule; nothing I say but the depriving of all sense: as if in a storme or tempest at sea, a man should come and say for the better comfort and assurance of the passengers, that neither the ship had a pilot, nor the luckie fire-lights (*Castor* and *Pollux*) appeared to allay the surging waves, or still the boisterous and violent winds, and yet for all that, there was no harme toward, because forsooth the shippe should soone sinke and bee swallowed up of the sea; or that

that she would quickly turne side, or runne upon some rock for to be split and broken in pieces: for these be the proper reasons which *Epicurus* useth in grievous maladies and extreme perils: Hopest thou for any good at Gods hand with all thy religion? thou art much deceived: for the essence and nature of God being happie & immortal; is neither given to anger, nor yet inclined to pitié: Dost thou imagine a better state or condition after thy death, than thou hast in thy life? surely thou dost, and art mightily beguiled; for that which is once dissolved, loseth presently all manner of sense; & if it be senselesse, what is that to us? it toucheth not us, whether it be good or ill. But heare you (my good friends): How is it that you exhort me to eat, to drink, and make good chere? Marie because the tempest is so bigge, that of necessitie shipwracke must soone ensue, and the extreme perill at hand will quickly bring thee to thy death: and yet the poore passenger (after that the shippe is broken all to pieces, or that hee is flung or fallen out of it) beareth himselfe upon some little hope, that he shall (by one good fortune or other) reach unto the shore and swimme to land; whereas by these mens philosophic, there is no evasion for the soule:

*To any place without the sea
With frothing some all boare and grey.*

For that immediately she is dissolved, periseth and dieth before the bodie; inasmuch as shee feelth excessive joy, by having learned and received this most wile and divine doctrine: That the end of all her adversities and miseries, is to perish for ever, to corrupt and come to nothing. But it were (quoth he, casting his eye upon me) a great follie to speake any more of this matter, (considering that long since we have heard you discourse in ample manner) against those who hold; that the reasons and arguments of *Epicurus* make us better disposed and ready to die, than all that *Plato* hath written in his treatise concerning the soule. What of that? (quoth *Zeuxippus*) shall this present discourse be left unperfected and unfinished because of it? and feare we to alledge the oracle of the gods, when we dispute against the Epicureans? No (quoth I againe) in any wise, for according to the sentence of *Empedocles*:

*A good tale twice a man may tell,
And heare it told as oft full well.*

And therefore we must intreat *Theon* againe; for I suppose he was present at the said disputation, and being (as he is) a young man, he need not feare that young men will charge him for oblivion, or default of memorie. Then *Theon* seeming as if he had bene forced and overcome by constraint: Well (quoth he) since there is no other remedie, I will not do as you *Aristodemus* did; you were afraid to repeat that which this man had delivered; but I will not sticke to make use of that which you have said: for in mine opinion you have done very well, in dividing men into three sorts; the first, of those, who are leud and wicked; the second of them that bee simple, ignorant, and the common people; the third, of such as be wile, honest, and of good worth. As for those who be wicked & naughty persons (in fearing the pains and punishments propoed in general unto all) they will be afraid to commit any more sinne, and by this meanes not breaking out, but restraining themselves, they shall live in more joy, & with lesse trouble and disquietnesse. For *Epicurus* thinketh, that there is no other meanes to divert men from evil doing, than feare of punishment; & therefore he thinketh it good policie, to imprint in them the frights occasioned by superstition, to mask them with the terrors of heaven & earth, together with fearfull earthquakes, deepe chinks, and openings of the ground, and generally all sorts of feares and suspitions; that being terrified thereby, they might live in better order, and carie themselves more modestly; for more expedient it is for them, not to commit any hainous fact for feare of torments which they were to suffer after their death, than to transgresse & break the lawes, and thereby live all their life time in danger, and exceeding perplexitie and distrust: As touching the meane people and ignorant multitude (to say nothing of the feare of that which such men beleeeve to be in hell) the hope of eternitie, whereof the poets make so great promises, and the desire to live alwaies (which of all other desires is the most ancient and greatest) surpasseth in pleasure and sweet contentment, all childish feare of hell; inasmuch as forgoing and losing their children, their wives and friends, yet they with rather they should still bee somewhere, and continue (though they endured otherwise all manner of paines and calamities) than wholly to bee taken out of the universall world, and brought to nothing: yea, and willing they are, and take pleasure to heare this spoken of one that is dead: How he is departed out of this world into another, or gone to God; with other such like manner of speeches, importing, that

Ecc

death

death is no more but onely a change or alteration, but not a totall and entire abolition of the soule. And thus they use to speake:

*Then shall I call even there to mind,
The sweet acquaintance of my friend.*

Also:

*What shall I say from you to Hector bold?
Or husband yours, right deere, who liv'st a foole?*

And herof proceeded and prevailed this error: that men supposed they are well eased of their sorrow, and better appaied when they have interred with the dead, the armes, weapons, instruments and garments which they were wont to use ordinarily in their life time; like as *Atius* 10 buried together with *Glaucon*:

*His Candior pipes, made of the long-shanke bones
Of dapple doe or hinde, that lived once.*

And if they be perswaded, that the dead either desire or demand any thing, glad they are and willing to fend or bestow the same upon them. And thus did *Periander*, who burnt in the funerall fire together with his wife, her apparell, habilliments, and jewels, for that he thought the called for them; and complained that she lay a cold. And such as these are not greatly afraid of any judge *Aeneas*, of *Acalphus*, or of the river *Acheron*; considering that they attribute unto them daunces, theatricall plaies, and all kinde of musicke, as if they tooke delight and pleasure therein: and yet there is not one of them all, but is ready to quake for feare, to see that face of death, so terrible, so unpleasant, so glum and grizly, deprived of all sense, and grown to oblivion and ignorance of all things; they tremble for very horrour, when they heare any of these words: He is dead, he is perished, he is gone, and no more to be seene: grievously displeased and offended they be, when these and such like speeches are given out:

*Within the earth as deepe as trees do stand,
His hap shall be to rot, and turne to sand:*

*No feast he shall frequent nor heare the lute
And harpe, ne yet the sound of pleasant flute.*

Again:

*When once the ghost of man from corpes is fled,
And pass'd the ranks of teeth yet thicke in head;
All meanes to catch and fetch her are but vaine,
No hope there is of her returne againe.*

But they kill them stone dead, who say thus unto them:

*We mortall men have bene once borne for all,
No second birth we are for to expect,
We must not looke for life that is eternall,
Such thoughts, as dreames, we ought for so reject.*

For, casting and considering with themselves, that this present life is a final matter, or rather indeed a thing of nought, in comparision of eternitie; they regard it not, nor make any account to enjoy the benefit thereof; whereupon they neglect all vertue and the honourable exploits of action, as being utterly discouraged and discontented in themselves, for the shortnesse of their life so uncerteine and without allurance; and in one word, because they take themselves unfit and unworthy to performe any great thing. For, to say that a dead man is deprived of all sense, because (having bene before compounded) that composition is now broken and dissolved: to give out also, that a thing once dissolved, hath no Being at all; and in that regard toucheth us not: howsoever they seeme to be goodly reasons, yet they rid us not from the feare of death, but contrariwise, they doe more confirme and enforce the same: for this is it in deed which nature abhorreth, when it shall be said, according to the Poet *Homer's* words:

*But as for you, both all and some,
Soone may you earth and water become.*

meaning thereby, the resolution of the soule into a thing that hath neither intelligence nor any sense at all; which *Epicurus* holding to be a dissipation thereof into (I wot not what) emptinesse, or voidnesse & small indivisible bodies, which he termeth *Atomi*, by that meanes cutteth off (so much the rather) all hope of immortalitie: for which (I dare well say) that all folke living, men and women both, would willingly be bitten quite thorow and gnawen by the hel-dog *Cerberus*, or

or carry water away in vessels full of holes in the bottome, like as the *Danaides* did, so they might onely have a Being, and not perish utterly for ever, and be reduced to nothing. And yet verily, there be not many men who feare these matters, taking them to be poeticall fictions and tales devised for pleasure, or rather bug-beares that mothers and nouris use to fright their children with; and even they also who stand in feare of them, are provided of certeine ceremonies and exortatorie purgations, to helpe themselves withall: by which (if they be once cleansed and purified) they are of opinion, that they shall goe into another world to places of pleasure, where there is nothing but playing and dauncing continually among those who have the aire cleere, the winde milde and pure, the light gracious, and their voice intelligible: whereas the privation 10 of life troubleth both yong and old, for we all (even every one of us) are ficke for love, and exceeding desirous

*To see the beauty of sunnes light,
Which on the earth doth shine so bright;*

as Euripides saith: neither willing are we, but much displeased to heare this, as Euripides saith: neither willing are we, but much displeased to heare this,

*And as he saith, that great immortalitie
Which giveth light thorow the fabricke wide
Of this round world, waste huse and fast did he*

With chariot swift, cleane out of sight to ride.

Thus together with the perswasion: and opinion of immortalitie, they becom the common 20 people of the greatest and sweetest hopes they have. What thinke wee then of those men who are of the better sort, and such as have lived justly and devoutly in this life? Surely, they looke for no evil at all in another world, but hope and expect there the greatest and most heavenly blessings that be: for first and foremost, champions or runners in a race, are never crowned so long as they be in combat or in their course, but after the combat ended and the victory achieved; even so, when these persons are perswaded that the prooffe of the victorie in this world is due unto them after the course of this life, wonderfull it is, and it can not be spoken, how great contentment they finde in their hearts for the privie and conscience of their vertue, and for those hopes which assure them, that they one day shall see those (who now abuse their good gifts insolently, who commit outrage by the meanes of their might, riches and authoritie, and who scorn and foolishly mocke such as are better than themselves) paie for their deserts, and 30 suffer worthily for their pride and insolencie. And forasmuch as never any of them who are enamored of learning, could satisfie (to the full) his desire as touching the knowledge of the truth, and the contemplation of the universall nature of this world; for that indeed they see as it were through a darke clond and a thick mist; to wit, by the organes and instruments of this body, and have no other use of reason, but as it is charged with the humors of the flesh, weak also and troubled, yea, and wonderfully hindered; therefore having an eie and regard alwaies upward, & endeavoring to flie forth of the bodie (as a bird that taketh her flight and mounteth up aloft, that she may get into another lightsome place of greater capacitie) they labour to make their soule light, and to discharge her of all grosse passions and earthly affections, such as be 40 bale and transitorie, and that by the meanes of their studie in philisophie, which they use for an exercise and meditation of death. And verily for my part, I esteeme death a good thing, so perfect and consummate in regard of the soule which then shall live a life indeed, sound and certaine, that I suppose the life heere is not a subsistent and assured thing of it selfe, but resembleth rather the vaine illusions of some dreames. And if it be so (as *Epicurus* saith): That the remembrance and renewing acquaintance of a friend departed out of this life is every way a pleasant thing; a man may even now consider and know sufficiently, of what joie these Epicureans deprive themselves, who imagine otherwhiles in their dreames; that they receive and enterteine, yea and follow after to embrace, the very shadows, visions, apparitions, and ghosts of their friends who are dead, and yet they have neither understanding nor sense at all; and meane 50 while they disappoint themselves of the expectation to converse one day indeed with their deere father and tender mother, and to see their beloved and honest wives; and are destitute of all such hope of so amiable company and sweet societie, as they have, who are of the same opinion, that *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and *Homer* were, as touching the nature of the soule. Certes I am verily perswaded, that *Homer* (covertly and as it were by the way) shewed, what manner of affliction theirs is in this point, when he casteth and projecteth amide the presse of those that were fighting, the image of *Aeneas*, as if he were dead indeed; but presently after, hee exhibiteth him marching alive, safe and found:

*And when his friends saw him so vigorous
And whole of limbs, and with heart generous,
To battell prest, whom earst they tooke for dead,
They leapt for joy, and banished all dread.*

leaving therefore the forehead image and fiew of him, they raunged all about him. Let us likewise (seeing that reason prooveth & sheweth unto us; that a man may in very truth converse with those that are departed; that lovers and friends may touch, handle, and keepe companie one with another, having their perfect senses) be of good cheere and shynne those, who can not believe so much, nor reject and cast behind, all such fantastickall images and outward baits and rinds onely, in which they do al their life time nothing els but grieve and lament in vaine. Moreover, they that thinke the end of this life to be the beginning of another that is better; if they lived pleasantly in this world, better contented they are to die, for that they looke for to enjoy a better estate in another; and if things went not to their mind heere, yet are they not much discontented, in regard of the hopes which they have of the future delights and pleasures behind: and these worke in them such incredible joies and expectances, that they put out and abolish all defects and offences whatsoever; these drowne (I say) and overcome all discontents otherwise of the minde, which by that meanes beareth gently, and endureth with patience what accidents soever befall in the way, or rather in a short diverticle or turning of the way: whereas contrariwise (to those who believe, that our life heere is ended and dissolved in a certaine deprivation of all sense) death (because it bringeth no alteration of miseries) is dolorous as well to them of the one fortune as the other; but much more unto those who are happie in this present life, than unto such as are miserable; for that as it cutteth these short of all hope of better estate; so from those it taketh away a certainte of good, which was their present joyfull life: And like as many medicinable and purgative drougs (which are neither good nor pleasant to the stomacke, howbeit in some respect necessarie, howsoever they ease and cure the sicke) doe great hurt, and offend the bodies of such as be in health; even so the doctrine of *Epicurus* unto those who are unfortunate and live miserably in this world, promiseth an issue out of their miseries; and the same nothing happie, to wit, a finall end, and totall dissolution of their soule: And as for those who are prudent, wise, and live in abundance of al good things, it impeacheth and hindreth altogether their alacritie & contentment of spirit, in bringing and turning them from an happie life to no life at all, from a blessed estate to no estate or being whatsoever. For first & forme of this is certeine: That the very apprehension of the losse of goods, afflicteth and vexeth a man as much, as either an assured expectance, or a present enjoying and fruition thereof rejoiceth his heart: yet would they beare us in hand, that the cogitation of this finall dissolution and perdition into nothing, leaveth unto men a most assured and pleasant good, to wit, the refutation or putting by of a certaine fearefull doubt, and suspicion of infinit and endless miseries: and this say they, doth the doctrine of *Epicurus* effect, in abolishing the feare of death, and teaching that the soule is utterly dissolved. Now if this be a singular and most sweet content (as they say it is) to be delivered from the feare and expectation of calamities and miseries without end, how can it otherwise be but irksome and grievous, to be deprived of the hope of joies sempiternally, and to lose that supream and soveraign felicitie? This you see it is good neither for the one nor the other, but this, Not-being, is naturally an enemy, and quite contrarie unto all that have Being: And as for those whom the miserie of death seemeth to deliver from the miseries of life, a poore and cold comfort they have (God wot) of that insensibility, as if they had an evasion and escaped thereby; and on the other side, those who lived in all prosperitie, and afterwards came of a sudden to change that state into nothing: me thinks I see very plainly, that these tarrie for a fearefull and terrible end of their race, which thus shall cause their felicitie to cease; for nature abhorreth not privation of sense, as the beginning of another estate and being, but is afraid of it because it is the privation of those good things which are present. For to say: That the thing which costeth us the losse of all that we have, toucheth us not, is a very absurd speech, considering, that this very cogitation and apprehension thereof concerneth us much already: for this insensibilitie doth not afflict and trouble those who have no more Being, but such as yet are, namely, when they come to cast their account, what detriment and losse they receive by being no more, and that by death they shall be reduced to nothing: for it is not the three-headed-hellhound *Cerberus*, nor the river of teares and weeping *Cocyus*, which cause the feare of death to be infinit and interminable; but it is that menacing intimation of Nullity or Not-being, &c. of the impossibility to retorne againe into a state of Being, after

after men once are gone and departed out of this life; for there is no second nativitie nor regeneration, but that Not-being must of necessitie remaine for ever, according to the doctrine of *Epicurus*: for if there be no end at all of Non-essence, but the same continue infinit and immutable, there will be found likewise an eternal and endless miserie in that privation of all good things, by a certeine insensibilitie, which never shall have end. In which point *Herodotus* seemeth yet to have dealt more wisely, when he saith: That God having given a taste of sweet eternitie, seemeth envious in that behalfe, especially to those who are reputed happie in this world; unto whom that pleasure was nothing els but a bait to procure dolor, namely, when they have a taste of those things which they must forgoe: for what joy, what contentment and fruition of pleasure is there so great, but this conceit and imagination of the soule (falling continually as it were into a vast sea of this infinitie) is not able to quell and chafe away, especially in those who repose all goodnesse and beatitude in pleasure? And if it be true as *Epicurus* saith: That to die in paine, is a thing incident to most men; then surely there is no meane at all to mitigate or allay the feare of death, seeing it haleth us even by griefe and anguish to the losse of a soveraigne good: and yet his sectaries would seeme to urge and enforce this point mainly, to wit, in making men beleve that it is a good thing to escape and avoid evil; and yet forsooth, that they should not thinke it evil, to be deprived of good. They confesse plainly, that in death there is no joy nor hope at all, but what pleasure and sweetnesse soever we had, is thereby and then cutt off; whereas contrariwise, even in that time, those who beleve their soules to be immortal and incorruptible, looke to have and enjoy the greatest and most divine blessings; and for certeine great revolutions of yeeres, to converse in all happinesse and felicity sometime upon the earth, otherwhiles in heaven, untill in that generall resolution of the universall world they come to burne together with Sun and Moone, in a spirituall and intellectuall fire.

This spacious place of so many and so great joies, *Epicurus* cutteth off and abolisheth cleane, in that he annulleth all hopes that we ought to have in the aide and favour of the gods; whereby both in contemplative life he extinguisheth the love of knowledge and learning; and also in the active, the desire of valourous acts of winning honour and glory; restraining, driving and thrusting nature into a narrow roome, of a joy which is very strait, short and unpure, to wit, from the soules delight to a fleshy pleasure; as if he were not capable of a greater good, than the avoiding of evil.



WHETHER THIS COMMON MOT, BE WELL SAID:

LIVE HIDDEN: OR, SO LIVE, AS
NO MAN MAY KNOW
THOU LIVEST.

The Summarie.

THis precept was first given by Neocles the brother of *Epicurus*, as saith *Suidas*: and (as if it had bene some golden sentence) it went current or avarily in the mouthes of all the *Epicureans*, who advised a man that would live happily, not to intermeddle in any publike affaires of State: but *Plutarch* considering well how ill this Emprise sounded, being taken in that sense and construction which they give unto it, and foreseeing the absurd and dangerous consequences ensuing upon such an opinion, doth now confute the same by seven arguments or sound reasons, to wit: That therein such foolish Philosophers discover naughtly their excessive ambition: That it is a thing dishonest and perillous for a man to retire himselfe apart from others: for that if a man be vicious, he ought to seek abroad for remedie of his malady: if a lover of goodnesse and vertue, he is likewise to make other men love the same. Item: That the *Epicureans*

life being defamed with all ordure and wickednesse, it were great reason in deed, that such men should remaine hidden and buried in perpetuall darknesse. After this, he sheweth that the good proceeding from the life of vertuous men, is a sufficient encouragement for every one to be employed in affaires: for that there is nothing more miserable than an idle life, and that which is unprofitable to our neighbors: That life, birth, generation, mans soule, yea, and man himselfe wholly as he is, teach us by their definitions and properties: That we are not set in this world, for to be directed by such a precept as this; and in conclusion: That the estate of our soules, after they be separate from the bodie, commendeth and overthroweth this doctrine of the Epicureans, and proveth evidently, that they be extremely miserable, both during and after this life. All these premises well marked and considered, instruct and teach them that be of good calling in the world, and in higher place, to endeavor and straine themselves; to in their severall vocations, to live an idle life, so farre forth that they take heed withall, they be not over curious, pragmaticall, busie and stirring, nor too ready and forward to meddle in those matters which ought to be let alone as they be; for feare lest whiles they weene to raise and advance themselves, they fall backe, and become lower than they would.

WHETHER THIS COMMON

Mot, be well said: *Live hidden: or, So live,*

as no man may know thou livest.

20



Oe how even himselfe, who was the authour of this sentence, would not be unknowne, but that all the world should understand, that he it was who said it; for expressly he uttered this very speech, to the end that it might not remain, unknowne that he had some more understanding than others, desirous to winne a glorie undeserved and not due unto him, by diverting others from glory, and exhorting them to obscurity of life. I like the man well verily, for this is just according to the old verse:

*I hate him who of wisdom beares the name,
And to himselfe cannot performe the same.*

30

We reade that *Philoxenus* the sonne of *Eryxus*, and *Gnatho* the Sicilian, (two notorious gluttons given to bellie-cheere, and to love their tooth) when they were at a feast, used to snite their noses into the very dishes and platters with meat before them; thereby to drive those in their messe, and who were set at the table, from eating with them; and by that means to engorge themselves, and fill their bellies alone with the best viands served up: Semblably, they who are excessively and out of all measure ambitious, before others as their concurrents and contrivalls, blame and dispraise glorie and honour, to the end that they alone without any competitor might enjoy the fame: And herein they doe like unto mariners sitting at the oare in a bote or gally; for howsoever their eye is toward the poupe, yet they labour to set the prow forward, in that the flowing of the water by reciprocation, caused by the stroke of the oares, comming forcibly backe upon the poupe, might helpe to drive forward the vessell; even so, they that deliver such rules and precepts, whiles they make semblant to flie from glory, pursue it as fast as they can; for otherwise if it were not so: what need had he (whosoever he was) to give out such a speech? what meant he else to write it, and when he had written it, to publish the same unto posteritie? If I say he meant to be unknowne to men living in his time, who desired to be knowne unto those that came after him? But let us come to the thing it selfe: How can it chuse but be simply naught? Live so hidden (quoth he) that no man may perceive that ever you lived; as if he had said: Take heed you be not knowne for a digger up of sepulchres, & a defacer of the tombs & monuments of the dead: But contrariwise, a foule & dishonest thing it is to live in such sort, as that you should be willing that we al, know not the manner thereof: Yet would I for my part say cleane contrary: Hide not thy life, how ever thou do, and if thou hast lived badly, make thy selfe knowne; bewiser, repent & amend: if thou be endued with vertue, hide it not, neither be thou an unprofitable member; if vicious, continue not obdurate there, but yeeld to correction, & admit the cure of thy vices; or rather at leastwise first make a distinction, & define who it is, to whom you give this precept? If he be ignorant, unlearned, wicked, or foolish, then it is as much as if you said thus: Hide thy feavers, cloke & cover thy phresie; let not the physician take

take notice of thee; goe and put thy selfe into some darke corner, where no person may have a sight of thee, or of thy maladies and passions; go thy way aside with all thy naughtinesse, sicke as thou art of an incurable and mortall disease; cover thy spight and envie; hide thy superstition; suppress and conceale (as it were) the disorderly beatings of thine arteries; take heed & be afraid how you let your pulse be felt, or bewray your selfe to those who have the meanes, & are able to admonish, correct, and heale you. But long ago, & in the old world, our ancistors were wont to take in hand and cure openly in publique place, those that were diseased in body: in those daies, every one (who had met with any good medicine, or knowne a remedie, whereof he had the prooffe, either in himselfe being sicke, or in another cured thereby) would reveale and communicate the same unto another that stood in need thereof: and thus they say: The skill of Physick arising first, and growing by experience, became in time, a noble and excellent science. And even so, requisite it is and necessarie, to discover and lay open unto all men, lives that be diseased, and the infirmities of the soule, to touch and handle them, and by considering the inclinations of every man, to say thus unto one: Subject thou art to anger, take heed thereof; unto another: Thou art given to jealousie and emulation, beware of it, doe thus and thus; to a third: Art thou amorous and full of love? I have beene so my selfe otherwise, but I repent me thereof. But now a daies it is cleane contrarie; in denying, in cloaking, covering, and hiding, men thrust and drive their vices inwardly, and more deeply still into their secret bowels. Now if they be men of woorth and vertuous, whom thou counselest to hide themselves, that the world may take no knowledge of them, it is all one as to say unto *Epaninondas*: Take no charge of the conduct of an army: orto *Lycurgus*: Amuse not your head about making lawes: and to *Thrasibulus*: Kill no tyrants: to *Pythagoras*: Keepe no schoole, nor teach in any wise: to *Socrates*: See you dispute not, nor hold any discourses of philosophie: and to your selfe *Epicurus* his first of all: Write not to your friends in *Asia*; enroll and gather no soldiers out of *Aegyptus*; have no commerce nor negotiate with them; do not protect and defend as it were with a guard from villanie and violence, the young gentlemen of *Lampiscum*; send not your books abroad to all men and women alike, thereby to shew your learning; finally, ordeine nothing about your sepulture. To what tended your publicke tables? what meant those assemblies that you made of your familiar friends and faire young boies; to what purpose were there so many thousands of verses written and composed so painfully by you in the honour of *Metrodorus*, *Asiobolus*, & *Chareddemus*, to the end that after death they should not be forgotten? VVas all this because you would ratifie and establish vertue by oblivion; arts by doing nothing, philosophy by silence; and felicitie by forgetfulness? VVill you needs bereave mans life of knowledge, as if you would take away light from a feast, to the end that me might not know that you & your followers do all for pleasure, & upon pleasure? then good reason you have to give counsell, & saie unto your selfe: Live unknowne. Certes, if I had a minde to leade my life with *Hedra* the harlot, or to keepe ordinarily about me, the trumpet *Leontium*; to detest all honestie; to repose all my delight and joy in the tickling pleasures of the flesh, and in wanton lusts: these ends verilie would require to be hidden in darknesse, and covered with the shadow of the night; these be the things that would be forgotten, and not once knowne: But if a man in the science of naturall philosophie, delight in hymnes and canticles to praise God, his justice and providence; or in morall knowledge, to set out and commend the law, humane societie, and the politike government of common weale; and therein regard honour and honestie, not profit and commodity; what reason have you to advise him for to live obscurely? Is it because he should teach none by good precept? is it for that no man should have a zealous love to vertue, or affect honestie by his example? If *Themistocles* had never bene knowne to the Athenians, *Greece* had not given *Xerxes* the foile and repulse; likewise if *Camillus* had bene unknowne to the Romanes, peradventure by this time *Rome* had bene no city at all; but after that they tooke knowledge of him once, and had committed unto him the leading of their armie, he saved the citie of *Thebes*, which had like to have bene lost, and delivered *Greece* being in danger of servitude; shewing in renowne and glorie (no less than in some cleere light) vertue producing her effects in due time: For according to the poet *Sophocles*: By use it shineth

Like

*Like iron or brasse, that is both faire and bright
So long as men doe handle it aright.
In time also, an house goes to decay,
And fallett downe, if dweller be away.*

whereas the very maners & natural conditions of a man be matted & corrupted, gathering as it were a moffe, & growing to age in doing nothing, through ignorance & obscurity. And verily a mure silence, a fedentarie life, retired a part in idleness, causeth not onely the bodie, but the mind also of man to languish & grow feeble: & like as dormant, or close & standing waters, for that they be covered, overshadowed, & not running, grow to putrification; even so, they that never stirre, nor be employed, what good parts soever they have in them, if they put them not forth, nor exercise their naturall and inbred faculties, corrupt quickly, and become old. See you not how when the night commeth on & approacheth neere, our bodies become more heave, lumps, and unfit for any worke, our spirits more dull and lazie to all actions, and the discourse of our reason and understanding more drowsie and contracted within it selfe? like unto fire that is ready to goe out; and how the same by reason of an idleness and unwillingnesse comming upon it, is somewhat troubled and disquieted with divers fantasticall imaginations; which observation advertiseth us daily after a secret and silent manner, how short the life of man is:

*But when the sunne with his beesome beames
Dispersed hath these cloudy dreames,*

after he is once risen (and by mingling together the actions and cogitations of men with his light; awakeneth and raiseth them up (as *Democritus* saith) in the morning, they make hate jointly one with another upon a forren desire, as if they were compounded and knit with a certaine mutuall bond, some one way, and some another, rising to their severall works and businesse. Certes, I am of advice, that even our life, our very nativity, yea & the participation of mankind is given us of God to this end: That we should know him; for unknowne he is and hidden in this great fabrick and universall frame of the world, all the while that hee goeth too and fro therein by small parcels and piece-meale: but when hee is gathered in himselfe, and grown to his greatnesse; then shineth hee and appeareth abroad, where before he lay covered; then is he manifest and apparent, where before he was obscure and unknown; for knowledge is not the way to his effeence, as some would have it; but contrariwise, his effeence is the way to knowledge; for that knowledge maketh not each thing, but onely sheweth it when it is done; like as the corruption of any thing that is, may not be thought a transporting to that which is not, but rather a bringing of that which is dissolved to this passe, that it appeereth no more: Which is the reason that according to the ancient lawes and traditions of our country, they that take the sunne to be *Apollo*, give him the names of *Delius* and *Pythius*; and him that is the lord of the other world beneath, whether he be a god or a divell, they call *Ades*; for that when we are dead and dissolved, we goe to a certaine * obscuritie, where nothing is to be seene:

*Even to the prince of darknesse and of night
The lord of idle dreames deceiving sight.*

And I suppose that our ancestors in old time called man *Phos*, of light, for that there is in every one of us, a vehement desire and love to know and be knowne one of another, by reason of the consanguinitie betwene us. And some philosophers there be, who thinke verily, that even the soule in her substance is a very light, whereunto they are ledde as wel by other signes & arguments, as by this, that there is nothing in the world that the soule hateth so much as ignorance, rejecting all that is obscure and unlightsome; troubled also when she is entred into dark places, for that they fill her full of feare and suspicion; the light is so sweet and delectable unto her, that she taketh no joy and delight in any thing; otherwise lovely and desirable by nature, without light or in darknesse; for that is it which causeth all pleasures, sports, pastimes, & recreations to be more joyous, amiable, & to mans nature agreeable; like as a common fauce that seasoneth and commendeth all viands wherewith it is mingled: whereas he that hath cast himselfe into ignorance, and is wrapped within the clouds of mistie blindness, making his life a representation of death, and burying it as it were in darknesse, seemeth that he is wearie even of being, and thinketh life a very trouble unto him: and yet they are of opinion, that the nature of glorie and effeence, is the place assigned for the foules of godly, religious, and virtuous folke:

*To whom the sunne shin's alwayes bright
When heere with us it is darke night:*

The

*The meadowes there, both faire and wide,
With roses red are beautified:
The fields all round about them digbt
With verdure, yeeld a pleasant sight:
All is spisse with flowers full gay,
Of fruitfull trees, that blossom ay:
Amidst this place the rivers cleere
Runne soft and still, some there, some here.*

Wherein they passe the time away, in calling to remembrance and recounting that which is past, in discourting also of things present, accompanying one another, and conversing together. Now there is a third way; of those who have lived ill; and be wicked persons, the which sendeth their foules headlong into a darke gulfe and bottomlesse pit:

*Where, from the dormant rivers bleak
Of shadowie night, thick mists doe reek,
As blacke as pitch continually
And hope all round about doe flee.*

enfoldng, whelming, and covering those in ignorance and forgetfulnesse, who are tormented there and punished: for they be not greedy geiers or vultures, that evermore eat and gnaw the liver of wicked persons laid in the earth; and why? the same already is either burned or rotted: neither be there certene heave fardels, or weightie burdens that presse downe and overcharge the bodies of such as be punished:

*For such thin ghosts and fibres small,
Have neither flesh nor bone at all.*

Ne yet are the reliques of their bodies who be departed, such as be capable of punishment; for that belongeth properly to a bodie that is solid and able to resist; but the onely way and true manner of chastising and punishing those, who have lived badly in this world, is infamie, ignorance, an entire abolition, and totall redgement to nothing, which bringeth them from the river *Lethe*, that is to say, Oblivion, into another mournfull river, where there is no mirth, no joy, nor cheerefulness, & from thence plungeth them into a vast sea, which hath neither shore nor bottom, even idleness and unaptnesse to all good, which can doe nought else but draw after it a generall forgetfulnesse and buriall (as it were) in all ignorance and infamous obscuritie.



RVLES AND PRECEPTS OF HEALTH IN MANER OF A DIALOGUE.

The Summarie.

THe conjunction of the soule with the bodie being so straight, as every man knowes it is; I can not see how it is possible that the one should commit any disorder or excessse, but the other must needs be grieved therewith immediatly: And if there be anything that ought to be deplored and lamented, it is the losse of time, especially and above all, when the same is occasioned by our own intemperance; for that at such a time when as we should attend upon our dutie, we become and continue unprofitable, hurrying many times both our selves and many others. Now for that the study of good literature requirerth a soule well composed and governed in a sound, healthfull, and vigorous bodie; it is not without good cause, that *Plutarch* interminglet among philosophical discourses certene rules & precepts as touching health. For in such a vaine endeavor & enterprise this were, and hardly could a man have his mind disposed to good things, in case the bodie be ill affected and misgoverned: But fearing lest it would be thought, that he who made

made profession of philosophie only, proceeded farther than in reason bee ought, and brake the limits and bounds of sciences, in meddling with physick heere: Before that he entred into the Dialogue, when he had touched the occasion of this conference and talke; he sheweth: that the studie of physick is agreeable to philosophie: which done, he representeth certaine questions proposed by a third person, which serve in stead of a preface to those precepts and lessons, by him set downe afterwards; not following heerein any exact or exquisite method, but making choise of that which he thought to be most meet for the time, and suting best to those persons, for whose sake this Dialogue was written. He speaketh first therefore of the use of meates, especially such as are sweet and pleasing to the tooth: also what a man is to take heed of in this behalfe: Then he treateth of the pleasures of the bodie, declaring what measure therein we ought to keepe, and discovering by a certaine similitude, the pernicious misdirection of those who love to keepe good cheere and mainteine dainty fare. Consequently heereupon, he forbiddeth us to use bodily pleasures unlesse we be in good and perfect health; condemneth fulnesse and overmuch repletion, which is the cause of most diseases that are incident to mans body, and thus he enricheth and amplifieth by another proper similitude. He is desirous also that maladies were foreseene and prevented, setting downe a speciall remedie therefore, and proving; that the body cannot enjoy any delight whatsoever, either in eating or drinking, in case it be not healthy. From this he proceedeth to make mention of diet, and of the prognostikes of diseases breeding and toward. Item, how, and wherewith the maladies of our friends ought to serve and steade as adding, thus much moreover; that for the better maintenance and preservation of health, a man is not to feed to satietie; that he ought to travel and not spare himselfe; also that he is to save his naturall seed; upon this he discourseth of the exercise and nourishment of students and scholars, describing particularly whatsoever in this point is most woorth the noting and observation, and so cleareth this question, namely; Whether it be holisome for the body to dispute either at the table, or presently upon meate: After all this he treateth of walking, of sleepe, of vomiting, of purgations of the belly, of dietes over exquisite and precise; condemning expressly idleness, as a thing contrary to the good disposition of the body. Furthermore, he sheweth when a man ought to be at quiet and rest; as also the time that he may give himselfe to pleasure: but above all, he requirerth of every man; that he learne to know his owne nature and inclination: as also the meates and drinks that be agreeable unto his stomach: exhorting in the end all students to spare their bodies, to take unto them, and make much of them, that they may have the better meanes to proceed and go forward in the knowledge of good letters, whereby they might another day be profitable members of so the common wealthe, and doe more good to the societie of men.

RULES AND PRECEPTS OF health in maner of a dialogue.

The personages speaking in this dialogue: MOS-
CHION and ZEUXIPPUS.

MOSCHION.

Nd did you then indeed, (my friend Zeuxippus) turne away Glaucus the physician yesterday; who was desirous to confere with us in philosophie?

ZEUXIPPUS.

No iwis, (good Moschion) neither did I put him away; desirous was he to doe as you say: But this was it that I avoided and feared, namely: To give him any advantage or occasion to fasten upon me, and take hold on me, knowing him as I doe to be litigious and quarrellsome: for in physick, if I may use the words of Homer:

He may well stand for many a one,
Although he be but one alone.

As for philosophie, he is not well affected thereto, but alwaies provided of some shrewd & bitter tearmes against her in all his disputations, and as then especially; for I observed how he came directly against us, crying out upon us a farre off with a loud voice, & charging us; that we had



to enterprise a great matter, and the same not very civill & honest, and in that we had broken the bounds, and plucked up (as a man would say) the very limit-marks of sciences, laying all comon, and making a confusion of them, in disputing as we did of holisome diet, and of the maner how to live in good health. For the confines and frontiers (quoth he) of Physicians and Philosophers, are (as we use to say in the vulgar proverbe, as touching Myssians and Phrygians) farre different, and removed a funder: Moreover, he had readily in his mouth certeine speeches and sentences of ours, which we delivered by way of pastime only, and yet for all that, were not impertinent or unprofitable, and those he would seeme to controule, reprove, and scorne.

MOSCHION.

But I for my part (o Zeuxippus) could be very well content, yea, and most desirous to heare, even those speeches that he mocked, as others beside, which yee had concerning this matter, if so be it might stand with your pleasure to rehearse the same.

ZEUXIPPUS.

I thinke no lesse (o Moschion) for that you are enclined naturally to philosophie, and thinke not well of that philosopher who is not well affected to physicke, but are displeased and offended with him; in case (I say) he suppose it more meet and becoming for him to be seene studying Geometrick, Logicke, or Musicke, than willing to enquire and learne

What rule at home in house, what worke there is,

How things doe stand, what goes well, what amiss?

When I say, at home, I meane in his owne body; and yet a man shall see ordinarily, what a number more there be of spectators at Theaters, where there is some publick dole or free distribution of money to those that are assembled to see the games and pastimes, as the manner is at Athens, than otherwise. Now of all the liberall sciences, Physicke is one, which as it giveth place to none whatsoever, in beautie, in outward shew, and in pleasure or delight; so it alloweth a great reward and salarie unto those that love it, even as much as their life and health comes to; and therefore we are not to accuse and charge Philosophers, who discourse and dispute of matters concerning like regiment of health, for passing beyond their bounds and confines: but rather we ought to blame them, if they thinke that they should plucke up altogether, and take away those land-marks, to labor (as it were) in some common field betwene them and Physicians, in the study & contemplation of things good and honest, aiming & seeking in all their disputations and discourses, after that which is both pleasant to know & necessarie to understand.

MOSCHION.

But let us I pray you (o Zeuxippus) leave Glaucus to himselfe, who for the gravity which he carrieth, would be accounted a man in all points accomplished without anie need at all of Philosophies helpe; and recount unto me (if you please) all those speeches which you had, especially at first, those I meane which you said were not spoken in earnest, and yet were scorned and reprov'd by Glaucus.

ZEUXIPPUS.

I will, and that right willingly. This friend of ours therefore delivered thus much; how he heard one say: That to have ones hands alwaies warme, and never suffer them to be cold, was no small meane to the preservation of health: but contrariwise, to have ordinarily the extreme parts of the body cold, drove heat inwardly into the center of the body, and brought us to a certeine familiaritie and acquaintance with a fever; as also, to turne and drive with out forth together with heat the matter thereof, and to distribute the same equally throughout the whole bodie, was an holisome thing; as we see by experience, that if we occupie our hands, and doe some worke with them, the verie motion excitech and stirreth up, yea, and maintaineth natural heat: but if we have no such businesse or employment for them, but hold them still and idle, yet for all that we are not to admit or entertaine cold in those extreme parts of the bodie: This (I say) was one of the points that Glaucus laughed at. The second (as I take it) was touching the meate that yee use to give unto sicke persons: For that hee counselled men (in time of health) to taste the same by little and little; so as they might bee acquainted therewith, to the end that they should not abhorre and lothe them (as little children use to doe) nor hate such a kind of diet; but make the same in some sort after a gentle manner, familiar unto their appetites, that (whensoever it hapned they were sicke) such viands might not go against their stomachs, as if they were Physicke drongues or medicines, out of the apothecaries shoppe: also, that we should not be offended and discontent, otherwhiles to feed upon one single dish and no more, and the same without any sauce to draw it on, or fine dressing and handling by cooks craft, to commend

commend it. For which cause he would not have men thinke it strange, to come now and then to the table, without being at the baine or hot-house before; nor to drinke sheere water, when wine is upon the board, nor to forbear to drinke our drinke hot in summer time, although there be snow fet before us to coole it. Provided alwaies, that this abstinence proceed not from any ambitious ostentation and vain-glory, or because we would vaunt and make our boast thereof afterward; but that we doe it apart by our selves, making no words thereof, and accustoming by little and little our appetite to obey reason willingly, and to be ruled by that which is good and profitable, by weaning our mindes (long before) from that scrupulous curiositie, daintie nicenesse, and waiward complaints, about these matters in time of sicknesse; when commonly we are ready to whine and lament, for that wee misse those our former pleasures, and yet 10 delights, which we were wont to enjoy, and see our selves brought to a more base kinde of diet, and a straighter rule of life. For a good saying it was: Chuse the best life simply that is; use and custome will make it pleasing and agreeable unto thee: the which by good proove and experience hath bene found profitable in all things, but principally in the regaite and care of our bodies (as touching diet,) which in time of best health ought to be ordered so by use and custome, that the same may become kinde, familiar, and agreeable to our nature; and namely by calling to minde that which others are wont to doe and say in their sicknesse, how they tune and chafe, how they fare and goe to worke when hot water is brought unto them for to drinke, or warme brothes to be supped, or drie-bread to be eaten; how they call these untoward, naughty, and unfavorie victuals, yea and name those, cursed and odious persons, who would seeme to force the same upon them for to eat or drinke. Manie there have bene, who had their bane 20 by baines, such as ailed not much at the first, and were not very sicke at the beginning; onely they had brought themselves to this passe, that they could neither eat nor drinke, unless they were first bathed, or had sweat in a stoupe: among whom, *Titus* the emperour of *Rome* was one, as they were able to tell who had the cure of him when he lay sicke. It was said moreover: That alwaies viands most simple, and such as cost least, were holisome for the bodie; also that above all things, men ought to beware of repletion, of drunkennesse and voluptuous life; especially, when there is some festivall day toward, wherein they use to make exceeding cheere, or when they purpose to invite their friends to a great dinner, or otherwise looke to be bidden themselves to some roiall feast of a king or lord generally, or else to a banker, where they shall be 30 put to quaffe and carouse in their turne, which they may not refuse to do: against such times (I say) they ought to prepare their bodies beforehand, as it were whilst the weather is calme and faire, and make it more fresh and lightsome, yea, and better able to abide the storme and tempest toward: for a very hard matter it is in such assemblies, and feasts of great lords or deere friends, for a man to stay himselfe in a meane, and maintaine his accustomed sobrietie; but he shall be thought uncivill, unmanerly, infociable, too austere and odious to all the company. To the end therefore that we should not put fire to fire (as they say) lay gorge upon gorge, surfeit upon surfeit, and wine upon wine, good it were to imitate and follow in good earnest that which was sometime merly done by king *Philip*, and that was this: A certaine man invited him upon a time to a supper, into the countrey, thinking that hee would come with a small company 40 about him; but seeing that he brought a great traine and retinue with him, and knowing well that he had prepared no more then would serve for a few guests; he was wonderfully troubled; *Philip* perceiving it, sent underhand to every one of his friends that came with him, this word: That they should keepe a roome in their stomacks for a deintie tart or cate that was coming: they beleving this message in good fadnesse, made space of other viands that stood before them, looking evermore when this deintie should be served up, in such sort, as that the meat provided was sufficient for the whole company; even so we ought before-hand to be prepared against the time that we are to be at such great feasts and meetings asore said, where we shall be put to it perforce, to drinke round in our turne, and to answer every ones challenge, to reserve (I say) a place in our bodies, both for meats and also for fine cates, and junketting dishes: yea and beleeve me, if need be, for drunkennesse, and thither to bring an appetite fresh and readie for such things. But if peradventure such constraints and compulsions surprise us upon a sudden, when we are either full and heavey, or ill at ease, for that we have a little before over-eaten and drunk our selves; in case (I say) some great lords be come to us, or in place unexpected, or haply a friend or stranger take us at unawares, and unprovided, so that we be forced for shame to keepe others company, who are well enough disposed in body, and prepared for to drinke and make merry; then must we be especially well armed against foolish bashfulnessse, and to meet with such

such bad (shamefastnesse) is the cause of so many evils among men; and namely, by alledging and saying these verses of king *Creon* in a tragedie of *Emipides*:

*Better it were for me, you to displese
My friend, than at this time, for your content,
To give my selfe to pleasure and mine ease,
But after, with great sorrow to repent.*

For to cast a mans selfe into a pleurisie or phrensie, for feare to be held and reputed rustical and uncivill, is the part of a rude clowne in deed, and of one who hath neither wit nor judgement, ne yet any skill or peece to enterteine and keepe company with men, unless they may be drunken and engorge themselves like gluttons: for the very refusall it selfe of eating and drinking, if it be handled with dexteritie and a good grace, will be no lesse acceptable to the company, than drinking square and carrowling round. And if the man who maketh a feast, abstaine himselfe, though he sit at the table (as the maner is at a sacrifice whereof he tasteth not) enter-teining his guests with a cheerefull countenance and a friendly welcome, and whilst the cups and trenchers walke about him, be disposed to mirth and cast out some pretie jokes of himselfe, he shall no lesse content and please his guests, than he that will seeme to be drunken for company, and cram his bellie with them, till it be readie to cracke. To this purpose he made mention of certaine ancient examples; and namely (among other) of *Alexander* the Great, who after he had drunk well and liberally, was abashed and ashamed to denie the challenge of *Medius*, one 20 of his captaines, who had invited him to supper; and thereupon (falling againe to drinke wine asfeth) died thereof. And of those who lived in our daies, he spake of one *Riglus*, a notable Pan-cratiast or champion at all feats of activitie, whom *Titus Caesar* the emperour, sent for one day betimes in the morning to come and bathe with him, who came indeed, and after he had bathed and had drunke a great draught, was (by report) surprisid with an Apoplexie, whereupon he died immediately. All these matters, our Physician *Glaucus* mocked and reprooved, calling them discourses of schoolemasters to children their scholars: and as he was not very willing to heare more, so were not we greatly desirous to relate and discourse farther unto him; for that he had no mind to consider each thing accordingly that was delivered. *Socrates* verily, who was the first that debated us from eating those meats which drew us on to eat more still when we were not 30 hungry nor had a stomacke thereto; and from drinking such drinks which caused us to drinke, although we were not drie and thirstie; forbod us not simply to use meats and drinks, but taught us rather to use them onely when we had need of them, joining the pleasure of them with their necessitie; like as they do, who employ the publicke money of cities (which before was wont to be spent at Theaters, in exhibiting plaies and shewes) about the charges of maintaining souldiers for the warres: for that which is sweet, so long as it is a part of our nourishment, we hold to be proper and familiar to nature; and we ought all the whilst that we be hungry, to use and enjoy necessarie nourishment, as sweet and pleasant; but otherwise not to stirre and provoke other new and extraordinarie appetites apart, after that we are delivered from those that be common and ordinarie: for like as unto *Socrates* himselfe, dancing was no unpleasant exercise; even so 40 he who maketh his whole supper or meale of junkets and banquetting dishes, catcheth lesse harme thereby: but when a man hath taken alreadie as much as is sufficient to content nature, and wherewith he is well satisfied, he ought to beware as much as in any thing els, how he putteth forth his hands to any such dainties. And we are to flee and avoid in these things, follic and ambition, no lesse than friandise or gluttonie: for these two vices induce us likewise often times to eat some thing when we are not hungrie, and to drinke also when we are not athirst; yea, and they suggest and minister unto us certaine base and extravagant imaginations, to wit, that it were great simplicitie, and a very absurd thing, not to feed liberally of a rare, deere and geason dish, if it may be had; as for example: That which is made of a sowes pappes when the is newly farrowed, Italian mushrooms, Samian cakes, or snow out of *Aegypt*; for these toies and imagi- 50 nations smelling somewhat of vain-glorie as the sent of meat coming out of a kitchen, manie times feed our teeth a watering and our stomacke on edge to use them, forcing the bodie (which otherwise would not seeke after them) to participate thereof, onely because they be much spoken of and hard to come by; to the end that we make our report and recount unto others, what we have done, and be reputed by them right happie and fortunate; for that we have enjoyed things, so deere, so singular and so geason. The like affection they carry to women also of great name and reputation: for it falleth out, that having their owne wives in bedde with them, and those faire and beautifull dames, such also as love them deerey, they lie still and stirre not; but

if they meet with any courtisan, such as *Phryne* or *Laius* was, unto whom they have paid good silver out of their purse, though otherwise their bodies be unable, dull and heave in performing the worke of *Venus*, yet doing they will be, what they can, and straine themselves upon a vaine-glorious ambition, to provoke and stirre up their lascivious lust unto fleshly pleasure: whereupon *Phryne* herselfe, being now old and decayed, was wont to say: That she sold her leese and dreggs the deerer, by reason of her reputation.

A great thing it is and wonderfull, that if we receive into our bodies as many pleasures as nature doth require or can well beare; or rather, if upon divers occasions and busineses, we resist her appetites, and put her off unto another time, and that we be loth and hardly brought to yield unto her necessities, or (according as *Plato* saith) give place, after that she hath by fine force pricked and urged us thereto, we should not suffer for all that, any harme thereby, but goe away freely without any losse or detriment: but on the other side, if we abandon our selves to the desires that descend from the soule to the bodie, so farre sooth as they force us to minister unto the passions thereof, and rise up together with them, impossible it is, but that they should leave behind them exceeding great losses and damages, in stead of a few pleasures, and those feeble and small in appearance, which they have given unto us: and this above all things would be considered, that we take heed how we provoke the body to pleasures, by the lusts of the minde; for the beginning thereof is against nature. For like as the tickling under the arme-holes, procureth unto the soule a laughter, which is not proper, milde and gentle, but rather troublesome and resembling some spasmie or convulsion; even so all the pleasures which the bodie receiveth when it is pricked and provoked by the soule, be violent, forced, turbulent, furious and unnaturall. VVhensoever therefore any occasion shall present it selfe to enjoy such rare and notable delights, it were better for us to take a glorie in the abstinence, rather than in the fruition thereof, calling to minde that which *Simonides* was wont to say: That he never repented any silence of his, but often times he bewailed himselfe for his speech; and even so we never repent that we have refused any viands, or drunke water in stead of good *Palerne* wine. And therefore we ought not onely, not to force nature, but if other-whiles we be served with such eates and meats as she craveth, we are to divert our appetite from the same, and to reduce it to the use of simple and ordinary things many times, even for custome and exercise:

*If right and law may broken be,
for any earthly thing,
The best pretence is for to win
a crowne, and be a king.*

So said *Esoacles* the Thebane, though untruly: but we may better say: If we must be ambitious and desirous of glorie in such things as these, it were most honest and commendable to use continence and temperance for the preservation of health. Howbeit, some there be, who upon an illiberall pinching and mechanicall sparing, can restraîne and keepe downe their appetites when they be at home in their owne houses; but if it chance they be bidden sooth to others, they gorge and fill their bellies with these exquisite and costly viands; much like to those, who in time of warre and hostilitie, raise booties, and prey upon the lands of their enemies what they can; and when they have so done, they goe from thence ill at ease, carrying away with them for the morrow (upon this their fullnesse and unsatisfiable repletion) crudity of stomacke and indigestion. *Crates* therefore, the philosopher thinking; that civill warres and tyrannies arise and grow up in cities, as well by reason of superfluity and excess in dainty fare, as upon any other cause whatsoever, was wont by way of mirth, to give admonition in these termes: Take heed you bring us not into a civill sedition, by augmenting the platter alwaies before the Lentil: that is to say, by dispensing more than your revenues will beare. But in deed, every man ought to have this command and rule of himselfe, as to say: Augment not evermore the platter before the Lentil, nor at any time passe beyond the Cresses and the Olive, even to fine tarts and delicate fishes, lest you bring your bodie into a domesticall dissention afterwards with it selfe; namely, to painfull colickes, lasks, and fluxes of the bellie, by over-much fullnesse and excess of feeding: for simple viands and ordinarie, containe the appetite within the bounds and compasse of nature; but the artificiall devices of cooks and cunning fellows in pastry, with their curious eates of all sorts, with their exquisite sauces and pickles (as the comicall Poet saith) set out and extend alwaies the limits of pleasure, encroching still beyond the bounds of utilitie and profit. And I wot not verily, how it comes about, that considering we so much detest and abhorre those women, who give love-drinks, and can skill of charmes and forceries to bewitch and enchant men with, we be-

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take

take thus as we do, unto mercenarie hirelings or slaves, our meats and viands, to be medicined (as it were) and no better than poisoned for to enchant and bewitch us. And admit that the saying of *Arcesilam* the Philosopher, against adulterers and other lascivious persons, may seeme somewhat with the bitterest; namely: that it made no great matter, which way one went about that beastly worke, whether before or behinde, for that the one was as bad as the other; yet important it is not, nor beside the subject matter which we have in hand. For to say a truth, what difference is there betwene eating of Ragwort, Rogket, and such hot herbs, for to stirre up the lust of the flesh, and to provoke the taste and appetite to meat by smells and sauces? like as mange and itching places have alwaies need of rubbing and scratching. But peradventure it would be better, to reserve unto another place, our discourse against dishonest fleshly pleasures, and to shew how honest and venerable a thing in it selfe, is continence: for our purpose at this present, is to debarre many great pleasures, otherwise in their owne nature honest: for I assure you, our discases doe not put us by so many actions, so many hopes, voiaiges or pattimes, as they deprive us of our pleasures, yea, and marre them quite; and therefore they who love their delights and pleasures most, had least need of any men in the world, to neglect their health. For many there be, who for all they be sicke, have meanes to studie philosophy, and discourse thereof: neither doth their sicknesse greatly hinder them, but that they may be generals in the field to leade armies, yea, and kings (beleeve me) to governe whole realmes.

But of bodily pleasures and fleshly delights, some there be which during a maladie will never breed; and such as are bred already, yield but a small joy, and short contentment, which is proper and naturall unto them, and the same not pure and sincere, but confused, depraved and corrupted with much strange stufte, yea and disguised and blemished as it were, with some storme and tempest: for the act of *Venus* is not to any purpose performed upon gourmandise and a full belly, but rather when the bodie is calme, and the flesh in great tranquillity; for that the end of *Venus* is pleasure, like as of eating also and of drinking; and health unto pleasures, is as much as their faire weather and kinde season, which giveth them secure and gentle breedings; much like as the calme time in winter affords the sea-fowles called *Alcyons*, a safe cooing, sitting and hatching of their egges. *Prodicus* is commended for this pretie speech: That fire was the best pleasure: and a man may most truly say: That health is of all fauces most divine, heavenly and pleasant: for our viands how delicate soever they be, boiled, roasted, baked or stewed, doe no pleasure at all unto us, so long as wee are diseased, drunken, full of surfeit, or queasie stomachacked, as they be who are sea-sicke; whereas a pure and cleane appetite causeth all things to be sweet, pleasant, and agreeable unto sound bodies, yea, and such as they, will be ready to snatch at, as *Homer* saith. But like as *Demades* the oratour, seeing the Athenians without all reason, desirous of armes and warre, said unto them: That they never treated and agreed of peace, but in their blacke robes, after the losse of kinsfolke and friends; even so wee never remember to keepe a spary and sober diet, but when we come to be cauterized, or to have cataplasmes and plasters about us: we are no sooner fallen to those extremities, but then we are ready to condemn our faults, calling to minde what errors we have committed in times past; for until 40 then, we blame one while the aire, as most men doe; another while the region or countrey, as unfound and unhomely; we finde fault that we are out of our native soile, and are wonderfull loth to accuse our owne intemperance and disordinate appetites. And as king *Lysimachus* being constrained and enforced within the countrey of the *Gates* for very thirst to yield himselfe prisoner, and al his armie captivate unto his enemies; after he had taken a draught of cold water, said: Good God, what a great felicitie have I forgone and lost, for a momentarie and transitory pleasure! even so we may make use thereof, and apply the same unto our selves when wee are sicke, saying thus: How many delights have we wanted quite? how many good actions have we fore-let? what honest pattimes have we lost? and all by our drinking of cold water, or bathing unseasonably, or else for that we have over-drunke our selves for good fellowship: for the bite & 50 sting of such thoughts as these, toucheth our remembrance to the quick, in such sort as the fcarre remaineth still behind, after that we are recovered, and maketh us in time of our health more staid, circumspect, and sober in our diet: for a bodie that is exceeding found and healthy, never bringeth forth vehement desires, and disordinate appetites, hardly to be tamed or withstood; but we ought to make head against them, when they beginne to breake forth and sling out for to enjoy the pleasures which they are affected unto; for such lusts, some complaints, pule, and crie for a little, as wanton children doe, and no sooner is the table taken awaie, but they be quiet and still; neither finde they fault and make complaint of any wrong or injurie

FFF 2

offred

offred unto them: but contrariwise, they be pure, jocund, and lightfome, nor continuing hea-
vie, nor ready to heave and cast, the next day to an end: like as by report, captaine *Timothe-
us* (having upon a time bene at a fober and frugal scholars supper, in the academic with *Plato*)
said: That they who supped with *Plato* were merry and well appaied the next day after. It is re-
ported also, that king *Alexander* the Great when he turned backe those cooks which queene
Admetus sent unto him, said: That he had about him all the yecre long better of his owne, namely,
for his breakfast or dinner, rising betimes, and marching before day light; and for his supper,
eating little at dinner. I am not ignorant that men otherwhiles are very apt to fall into an ague
upon extreme travell, upon excessive heats also and colds: but like as the odors and fents of
flowers be weak & feeble of themselves; whereas if they be mixed with some oile, they take force
and vigor; even so fullnesse and repletion is the ground, which giveth (as a man would say) bodie
and substance unto the outward causes, and occasions of maladies; and of a great quantity of su-
perfluous humours there is no danger, because all such indispositions and crudities are some
dissolved, dissipated, and dissolved, when some fine or subtile blood, when some pure spirit (I
say) receive their motion: but where there is a great repletion indeed, and abundance of su-
perfluities, (as it were a deepe and mire puddle all troubled and stirred) then there arise from
thence many maligne accidents, such as be dangerous and hard to cure: and therefore we are
not to doe like some good masters of ships who never thinke their vessels beecfully fraught
and charged throughly; and when they have taken in all that ever they can, doe nothing else
but woe at the pompe, void the sinke, and cast out the sea water which is gotten in; even so
when we have well filled and stuffed our bodies, fall to purge and cleanse them with medicines
and clysters: but we ought rather to keepe the bodie alwaies neat, nimble, and light, to the end,
that if it chance otherwise at any time to be pressed and held downe, it might be eene above
for lightnesse like unto a piece of cork floating aloft upon the water: but principally we are to
beware of the very precedent indispositions, which are forerunners of maladies: for all disea-
ses walken not (as *Hippocritus* saith) in silence and say nothing when they come,

*As whom wise Jupiter hath bereft
Of voice, and tongue to them none left.*

But the most part of the have their vane currents as it were, their messengers, & trumpets; name-
ly crudities of stomack, wearinesse and heavinesse over all the bodie. According to the Apho-
risme of *Hippocrates*; lassitudes and laborious heavinesse of the bodie, comming of themselves
without any evident cause, prognosticate and fore-signifie diseases; for that as it should seeme,
the spirits that should passe unto the nerves and sinewes, are obstructed, stopped, and excluded,
by the great repletion of humours: and albeit the bodie it selfe tendeth as it were to the contra-
rie, and pulseth us to our bedde and repose, yet some there be, who for very gluttony and dis-
ordinate lust, put themselves into baines & hot-houses, making haste from thence, to drinking
square with good fellows, as if they would make provision before-hand of victuals against
some long siege of a citie, or feare that the feaver should surprize them fasting, or before they
had taken their full dinner: others somewhat more honest yea & civill than they, are not this way
faultie, but being ashamed (fooles as they are) to confesse that they have eaten or drunke over-
much, that they feele any heavinesse in head or cruditie in stomack, loth also to be known for
to keepe their chamber all the day long in their night gownes, whiles their companions goe to
tennis and other bodily exercises abroad in publicke place, and call them forth to beare them
company, rise up and make them ready to goe with them, cast off their clothes to their naked
skinnie, with others, and put themselves to doe all that men in perfect health are to performe.
But the most part of these (induced and drawn on, by hope perswaded) are bold to arise, and to
doe halcyon after their wonted manner, assisted by a certaine hope, grounded upon a proverbe;
as an advocate to defend gourmandise, and wanton life, which advieth them that they should
expell wine with wine; drive or digest one surfeit with another. Howbeit, against all such hope,
we are to oppose the warie and considerat caution, that *Cato* speaketh of (which as that wise
man saith) loth diminish and lessen great things; and as for small matters it reduceth them to
nothing: also that it were better to endure want of meat, and to keepe the bodie empty and in
quiet, than so to hazard it, by entering into a baine, or running to an high ordinarie to dine and
sup: for if there be some disposition to sicknesse, hurtfull it will be that we have not taken heed,
nor contained our selves, but be enfeebled: if none, dangerous it will not be that we have held
in and restrained our selves, and by that restraint made our body so much more pure and cleare.
But that childlike foole who soever he be, that is afraid to let his friends and those of his owne
house

house know that he is amisse or ill at ease, for that he hath eaten overmuch, or fasted with
strong drinke, as being ashamed to confesse this day his indigestion, shall be forced to morrow
even against his will, to bewray either an inordinate catarrh and fluxe, or an ague, or else some
wringes and torments of the belly: thou takest it for a great shame to be known that thou didst
want or were hungry: but farre greater shame it is to avow cruditie and rawnesse, to bewray hea-
vinesse, proceeding from full diet, and upon repletion of the bodie to be drawn, neverthelesse
into a baine, as if some rotten vessell or leaking hippe, that would not keepe out water, should
be shot into the sea. Certes such persons as these, resemble some sailers or sea-faring men, who
in the tempestuous time of winter, be ashamed to be seene upon the shore doing nothing: but
when they have once weighed anchor, spread saile, and launched into the deepe, and open sea,
they are very ill appaied, crying out piteously, and ready to cast up their gorge: even so,
they that doubt some sicknesse, or finde a disposition of the bodie ready to fall into it, thinke it
a great shame and discredit, to stand upon their guard, one day to keepe their beds and forbear
their ordinarie table and accustomed diet: but afterwards with more shame, they are faine to lie
by many daies together, whiles they be driven to take purgations, to apply many cataplas-
mes, to speake the physicians faire, and fawne upon them, when they would have leave of them
to drinke wine or cold water; being so base minded, as to doe absurdly, and to speake many
words impertinently, feeling their hearts to faint, and be ready to faint, for the paine they en-
dure alreadie, and the feare they are in to abide more. Howbeit, very good it were to teach and
admonish such persons (as otherwise cannot rule and containe themselves, but either yeeld, or
be transported and carried away by their lusts) that their pleasures take the most and best part
of the bodie for their share. And like as the Lacedaemonians after that they had given vinegar
and salt to the Cooke, willed him to seeke for the rest in the beast feedstuffs; even so in a bodie
which one would nourish, the best sauces for the meat are these, which are presented unto it,
when it is found in health and cleane. For that a dish of meat is sweet or deere, is a thing by it
selfe, without the bodie of him who taketh it, and eateth thereof: but for the pleasantnesse or
contentment thereof, we ought to have regard unto the body that receiveth it; also for to de-
light therein, it should be so disposed as nature doth require; for otherwise, if the body were trou-
bled, ill affected, or overcharged with wine; the best devices and sauces in the world will lose
their grace, and all their goodnesse whatsoever: and therefore it would not be so much looked
upon, whether the fish be new taken, the bread made of pure and fine flowre, the bath hot, or
the harlot faire and beautifull; as considered precisely, whether the man himselfe have not a
lothing stomack, apt to heave and vomit, be not full of crudities, error, vanity, and trouble:
else it will come to passe, that the shall incur the same fault and absurditie that they doe, who
after they are drunken, will needs goe in a maske, to plaie and daunce in an house, where they
all mourne for the death of the master thereof lately deceased: for in stead of making sport
and mirth, this were enough to set all the house upon weeping, and piteous wailing. For even
so, the sports of love or *Venus*, exquisite uiands, pleasant baines, and good wines, in a bodie ill
disposed and not according to nature, doe no other good, but stirre, trouble, feame and
choler in them, who have no seled and compact constitution, and yet be not altogether
corrupt; as also they trouble the body, and put it out of time more than any thing else, yeelding
no joy that we may make any reckoning of, nor that contentment which we hoped and ex-
pected. True it is, that an exquisite diet observed straightly and precisely according to rule, and
missing not one jot, causeth not onely the bodie to be thinn, hollow, and in danger to fall into
many diseases; but also dullerh all the vigor, and daunteth the cheerefulness of the verie mind,
in such sort, as that the suspecteth all things, and feareth continually to stay long as well in de-
lights and pleasures, as in travels and paines yea, and generally in every action enterprising
nothing assuredly and with confidence: whereas we ought to deale by our body, as with the saile of
a ship (that is to say) neither to draw it in & keepe it down too straight in time of calme & faire
weather, nor to spread and let it out over slacke and negligently, when there is presented some su-
spicion of a tempest; but as occasion shall require, to spare it, and give some ease and remissi-
on, that afterwards it may be fresh and lightfome, as hath bene said already, and not to slacke
the same, and stay untill we sensibly feele, crudities, lakes, inflammations; or contrariwise, stupa-
dities and mortifications of members, by which signes (being as it were messengers, and ushers
going before a feaver, which is hard at the doore) hardly will some be so much moved, as to keepe
in, and restraime themselves, (no not when the very access and fit is readie to surprize them) but
rather long before to be provident, and to prevent a tempest:

*So soone as from some rocks we finde
The puffing gales of northern winde.*

For absurd it is, and to no purpose, to give such careful heed unto the crying wide throates of crows, or to the crawing and cackling of hennes, or to wine, when in a rage they toss and fling straw about them (as *Democritus* saith) thereby to gather presages, & prognostications of wind, raine, and stormes; and in the meane time not to observe the motions, troubles, and fiering indispositions of our bodie, nor prevent the same, ne yet to gather undoubted signes of a tempest ready to rise and grow even out thereof. And therefore we ought, not only to have an eie unto the bodie, for meat and drinke, and for bodily exercises, in observing whether we fall unto them more lazily and unwillingly than our manner was before time; or contrariwise whether our hunger and thirst be more than ordinary; but also we are to suspect and feare, if our sleeps be not milde, and continued, but broken & interrupted: we must besides, regard our very dreames; namely, whether they be strange and unsuall: for if there be represented extraordinary fancies and imaginations, they testifie and shew a repletion of grosse, viscusous or slimy humours, and a great perturbation of the spirits within. Otherwhiles also it hapneth, that the motions of the soule it selfe, doe fore signifie unto us, that the bodie is in some neere danger of disease: for many times men are surprisid with timorous fittes of melancholy, and heartlesse distrusts without any reason or evident cause, the which suddenly extinguish all their hopes: you shall have some upon every small occasion apt to fall into cholerick passions of anger; they become eager and hasty, troubled, pensive and offended with a little thing, inso much as they will be ready to weepe and runne all to teares, yea and languish for griefe and sorrow: And all this cometh, when evil vapours, fowre and bitter fumes ingendred within, doe arise and steeme up, and so (as *Plato* saith) be intermingled in the waies and passages of the soule. Those persons therefore who are subject to such things, ought to thinke and consider with themselves; that if there be no spirituall cause thereof, it cannot chuse but some corporall matter had need either of evacuation, alteration, or suppression.

Expedient also it is and very profitable for us, when we visit our friends that be sicke, to enquire diligently the causes of their maladies, not upon a cavilling curiosity or vaine ostentation, (to dispute sophistically, and discourse thereof only, or to make a shew of our eloquence, in talking of the instances, the insults, the interferences, communities of diseases, and all to the what books we have read, & that we know the words & rearmes of physick;) but to make search and enquire in good earnest, and not slightly or by the way, as touching their slight common and vulgar points, namely; whether the sicke partie be full or emptie? whether he overtravellid himselfe before, or no? and whether he slept well or ill? but principally, what diet he kept? and what order of life he followed, when he fell (for examples sake) into the ague: then (according as *Plato* was wont to say unto himselfe, whensoever he returned from hearing and seeing the faults that other men committed:) Am not I also such an one? so you must compose and frame your selfe to learne by the harmes and errors of neighbours about you, for to looke well unto your owne health, and by calling them to mind, to be so wary & provident, that you fall not into the same inconveniences, and forced to keepe your bed, and there extol & commend health, within & desiring (when it is too late) for to enjoy so pretious a treasure; but rather (seeing another to have caught a disease) to marke and consider well, yea, and to entreine this deepe impression in your heart; how deere the said health ought to be unto us, how careful we should be to preserve, and chary to spare the same. Moreover, it would not be amiss for a man, afterwards to compare his owne life with that of the forecald patient: for if it fall out so, that (notwithstanding we have used over-liberall diet both in drinks and meats, or laboured extremely, or otherwise committed error in any excessse and disorder) our bodies minister unto nature no suspension, nor threaten any signe of sickness toward; yet ought we nevertheless, to take heed and prevent the harme that may ensue; namely; if we have committed any disorder in the pleasures of Venus and love-delights; or otherwise bene over-travelled, to repose our selves and take our quiet rest; after drunkennesse or carrowing wine round for good fellowship, to make amends and recompence with drinking as much colde water for a time; but especially, upon a surfeit taken with eating heave and grosse meats, and namely, of flesh, or els feeding upon fundry and divers dishes, to fast or use a sparie diet, so as there be left no superfluitie in the bodie: for even these things, as of themselves alone (if there were no more) be enough to breed diseases; so unto other causes they adde matter and minister more strength. Full wisely therefore was it said by our ancients in old time, that for to mainteine our health, these three points were most expedient:

ent: To feed without satietie: To labour with alacritie: and To preserve and make share of naturall seed. For surely lascivious intemperance in venerie of all things, most decayeth and enfeebleth the strength of that naturall heat, whereby our meat and food which we receive is concocted, and so consequently is the cause of many excrements and superfluities engendred, whereupon corrupt humours are engendered and gathered within the bodie.

To begin therefore to speake againe of every of these points; let us consider first the exercises meet and agreeable to students or men of learning; for like as he who first said: That he wrot nothing of Teeth to those that inhabited the sea coasts, taught them (in so saying) the use of them; even so a man may say unto scholars and men of learning: That he writeth nothing unto them as touching bodily exercises; for that the daily practise of the voice by speech and pronunciation, is an exercise woonderfull effectuall, not only for health, but also for strength, I meane not such as is procured to wrestlers and champions by art, which breedeth brawne carnositie, and causeth the skin to be firme and fast without forth (like unto an house which to the outward shew is rough-cast or thick coated with lime or plasters), but that which maketh a tough constitution and a vigorous firmitude and strength indeed, in the noblest parts within, and the principall instruments of our life. Now, that the spirits augment & confirme the powers of our bodie, the anointers of mens bodies in the place of publicke exercise know full well, when they give order and command the wrestlers and such like, when their limmes are rubbed, to withstand such frictions in some sort, in holding their winde, observing precisely, and having an eie to ech part of the body that is handled or rubbed. The voice therefore (being a motion of the spirit (fortified, not superficially and by starts, but even in the proper fountaines and springs which are about the vitall bowels) encreaseth naturall heat) doth subtilize the blood, cleanse the veines, openeth all the arteries, not suffering any obstruction, oppilation or stopping by superfluous humours to grow upon us or remaine behinde (like unto dregs or grounds) in the bottome of those vessels which receive and concoct those viands whereof we are nourished: by reason whereof, they have need to use ordinarily this exercise, and make it familiar unto them, by speaking in publicke place and discoursing continually. But if haply they doubt that their bodies be but weak, and not able to support and endure so much travell, yet at leastwise they are to reade with a loud voice; for looke what proportion there is betweene gestation or carriage of the body, and the exercise thereof upon the very ground, the same is betweene simple reading and discoursing or open disputation: for this reading doth gently stirre and mildly carrie the voice by the chariot (as it were) and litter of another mans speech; but disputation addeth thereto a certaine heat and forcible vehemence; for that the minde and the bodie conspire and concur together in that action: howbeit, in this exercise we must beware of over-loud vociferations and clamours; for such violent strainings of the voice, and unequal extensions and intentions of the winde, many times cause some rupture of veines, or inward spasmes and convulsions. Now when a student hath either read or discoursed in this manner, good it is for him before he walke abroad, to use some unctuous, warme and gentle frictions, to handle and rub the skinn and flesh after a soft and milde manner; yea, and as much as he can, to reach into the very bowels within, that the spirits may be spread and distributed equally thoroughout, even to the verie extremities of the bodie. In these rubbings and frictions, this gage & measure would be observed, that he continue them so long and so often, as he findeth them to agree sensibly with his bodie, and bring no offence with them. He that in this wise hath appeased & settled the trouble or tension of the spirits in the center of the bodie, if haply there should remaine some superfluitie behinde, it would do him no great harme: for say, that he should forbear walking; for want of leisure or by occasion of sudden businesse, it is all one, and it maketh no matter; for why nature hath had already that which is sufficient, and standeth satisfied therewith. And therefore a man is not to pretend colourably for to excuse his silence, or forbearance of reading either navigation, when he is accompanied with other passengers at sea in one ship, or his abode and sojourning in an hostellie or common inne, although all the companie there should mocke him for it: for as it was no shame nor dishonest thing, to eat before them all; no more unseemly is it to exercise himselfe in their presence by reading. But rather more undecent it were, to be afraid or stand in awe of mariners, muliters or inne-keepers, when they laugh at you, not for playing at ball alone, or fighting with your own shadow, but for speaking before the in your speech, either teaching, or discoursing, or els learning by roat and rehearsing some good thing for your exercise. *Socrates* was wont to say: That for him who would moove and stirre his bodie by way of dancing, a little roome (that would receive seven fetles or seats) was sufficient & big enough; but

but him that mindeth to exercise his body either by singing or saying, every place will serve, whether he stand, lie or sit. Only this must we take heed of, that we straine not our voice nor set out an open throat, when we are privie to our selves that we have eaten or drunke liberally, ne yet presently after the company of a woman, or any other wearisome travel whatsoever as many of our orators & great masters of rhetoricke use to do; who enforce and give themselves to declaim and pronounce their orations too loud, even above the strength of their bodie; some for vainglory and ambition, because they would put forth themselves; others for reward and to get a fee, or els upon emulation to their concurrents. Thus did *Niger*, (a friend of ours) who professed rhetoricke in *Galatia*: this man having swallowed downe a fish-bone which stucke still in his throat (when another rhetorician travelling that way, chanced to make a publike oration; for that he was ashamed to be thought his inferior, and yet durst not deale with him in that facultie) would needs shew himselfe in open place, and declaim, whiles the said bone remained still in his throat: but by this means there ensued a dangerous and painfull inflammation; and being no longer able to endure the dolorous anguish thereof, he suffered himselfe to be launced without forth, and to have a deepe incision and a wide orifice made, whereby the bone indeed was plucked out, but the wound was so grievous, and oppressed besides with a descent and distension of the humacke humours thither, that he died thereof. But haply, better to the purpose it were, to speake of this hereafter. Well, after exercise to go presently into the bath, & to wash in colde water, were the part of a lusty wild-braine and a giddy-headed youth, who will needs in a bravery shew what he can do, rather than holtsome any way: for all the good that such colde baths bring, is this, that they seeme to harden the body, and confirme it, so as it is lesse subject to take offence by the qualities of the aire without; but surely they do more harme within, by a great deale; for that they enclose and shut up the pores of the body, causing the humors and fumesities which would evaporate and breathe forth continually, to become thicke and grosse. Furthermore, needfull it is for them that love to bathe thus in colde water, to fall into the subjection of that over-straight and exquisite diet (which we would avoid) having evermore an eye upon this, not to breake the same in any point whatsoever, for that the least fault and inallert error in the world, is presently fore chasticed and costeth full deere: whereas contrariwise to enter into the baine, and wash in hote water, pardoneth us, and holdeth us excused for many things; for it doth not so much diminish the strength and force of the bodie, as it bringeth profit another way for the health thereof; framing and applying most gently and kindly the humors to concoction: and in case there be some which can not well and perfectly be digested, (so they be not altogether cruide and raw, nor float aloft in the mouth of the stomacke) it causeth them to dissolve and exhale without any sense of paine; yea, and withall, it doth mitigate and cause to vanish and passe away the secret lassitudes of the musculous members. And yet as good as bane be, if we perceive the bodie to be in the naturall state and disposition, firme and strong enough, better it were to intermit and for-let the use of baths; and in stead thereof, I holde it holtsomer to anoint and rub the bodie before a good fire, namely, if it have need to be chafed and set in an heat; for by this means there is dispersed into it as much heat as is requisite, and no more; which cannot be against the sunne; for of his heat a man can not take more or lesse at his owne discretion, but according as he affecteth or tempereth the aire, so he affoordeth his use. And thus much may serve for the exercise of students.

To come now unto their food and nouriture: if the reasons and instructions before delivered, by which we learne to restraints, repress and mitigate our appetites, have done any good, time it were to proceed forward to other advertisements; but in case they be so violent, so insurly and untamed, as if they were newly broken out of prison, that it is an hard piece of worke to range them within the compass of reason; and if it be a difficult piece of worke to wrestle with the bellie, which (as *Cato* was wont to say) hath no cares; we must worke another feat and device with it, namely, by observing the quality of the viands, to make the quantity more light and lesse offensive: and if they be such as be solid and nourish much; as for example, grosse flesh meats, cheefe, drie figges, and hard egges, they must feed of them as little as they can; for to refuse and forbear them altogether were very hard; but they may be more bold to eat heartily of those that be thinn and light, such as are the most part of worts, or pot-herbes, birds, and fishes, that be not fatte & oileous: for in eating of such meats, a man may at once both gratifie his appetite, and also never overcharge his bodie: but above all, take heed they must of crudities and fustices, proceeding from liberal eating of flesh-meats; for besides that they lode the stomacke presently as they are taken, there remaine afterwards behind naughtie reliques: and therefore

therefore it were verie well, that they accustomed their bodies never to call for flesh, considering that the earth it selfe bringeth forth other kinds of food, sufficiently not only for the necessitie of nourishment, but also for pleasure and the contentment of the appetite; for some of them are ready to be eaten without any dressing, or the helpe of mans hand, others be mingled and compounded after divers sorts to make them more favorie and toothsome. But forasmuch as custome (after a sort) is a second nature, or at leastwise not contrarie to nature; we must not accustome our selves to feed on flesh, for to fulfill our appetites, after the manner of wolves, & lions, but use it onely as the foundation and ground of other viands; which being once laid, we are to make our principall nourishment of other eares and dishes, which as they are more appropriate to our bodies, and suitable to nature, so they do increase and dulllesse the vigor and subtiltie of the spirit, and the discounting reasonable part of the soule, which is kindled, maintained, and set to burne cleere, by a more delicate and light matter. As touching liquid things, they must use milke, not as an ordinarie drink, but as a strong meat that nourisheth exceeding much: but for wine, we are to say to it, as *Euripides* did to *Pechus*:

Welcome to me in measure and in meane,

Too much is naught: yet doe not leave me cleane.

For of all drinks it is most profitable, of medicines most pleasant, and of daintie viands most harmelesse; provided alwaies that it be well delayed and tempered with opportunity of the time, rather than with water. And verily water (not that onely wherewith wine is mingled, but also which is drunke betwene whiles, apart by it selfe) causeth the wine tempered therewith to doe the lesse harme: in regard whereof, a student ought to use himselfe to drinke twice or thrice every day a draught of sheere water, for that it will enfeeble the headinesse of the wine, & make the usuall drinking of pure water, more familiar to the stomacke: and this I would have to be done, to this end, that if they be driven perforce to drinke faire water, they might not thinke it strange, nor be ready to refuse it. For many there be, who oftentimes have recourse to wine, when twis, they had more need to runne to the waters; and namely, when they be over-hear with the sunne: yea, and contrariwise, when they be stiffe frozen with cold, or have treined themselves to speake much, or studied and sitten hard at their booke; and generally, after that they have travelled fore, till they be wearie, or have performed some vehement exploit, or violent exercise; then (I say) they thinke, that they ought to drinke wine; as if nature herselfe required and called for some contentment and refreshing of the bodie, and some change and alteration after travels: but nature verily is not desirous to have any good done to her in this sort, if you call such pleasure a doing of good; but the demandeth onely a redreiment to a meane betwene labour and rest: and therefore such persons as these, are to be cut (short and abridged of their victuals, and either to be debared quite of all wine, or else enjoined to drinke it well delayed with water: for wine being of it selfe of a violent and stirring nature, augmenteth and maketh more unquiet the stormie perturbations arising within the body, it doth irritate and distemper more and more the parts therein already offended and troubled; the which had much more need to be appeased and dulced; to which purpose water serveth passing well: for if we otherwise being not a thirst, drinke hot water after we have laboured, or done some painfull exercise, in the exceeding heats of the summer; we finde a notable cooling, refreshing, and easement in our inward bowels; the reason is; because the humiditie of water is kinde and milde, procuring no debate or disquiennesse at all; whereas the moisture of wine hath a vehement force, which never is at quiet and repose, but maketh a deepe impression, nothing agreeable nor fit to appeale the indispositions that are a breeding. Now if one doe feare the sower and sharpe acrimonies, and the bitter tastes which (by the saying of some) hunger and want of food engender in our bodies, or as little children use to do, thinke much not to fit at the table for to eat, a little before the fit of an ague, or when he suspecteth it coming: the drinking of water is as it were a confine and frontier betwene both, very fit to remedie the one and the other: and many times we offer unto *Bacchus* himselfe certaine sacrifices called *Nephelia*, for that there is no wine used therein; accustoming our selves wisely thereby not to be alwaies desirous for to drinke wine. *Mimos* tooke away from sacrifices, the flute, and the chaplets used to be worn on mens heads, in regard of griefe and sorrow: and yet we know full well, that the heavie and sorrowfull minde, is neither by flutes nor flowers, passionate; whereas there is not the bodie of a man, (how strong and stout forever he be) but if it be stirred, troubled, and enlamed, will take more harme and offence by wine if it be taken or poured into it. It is recorded in the *Chronicles*, that the *Lydians* in time of a great dearth and famine, did eat but once in

two daies, and spent the time betwene, at dice-play, and other such games and pastimes: and even so it were well beleeving a student and lover of the Muses and his booke, at such a time as he had need to make a late and short supper, to have before him, the figure serving for some Geometrical proposition, or some little booke, some harpe or lute: this will not suffer him to be ledde as prisoner to his owne belly, but by diverting and turning ordinarily his mind from the boord, to these honest pastimes and recreations: will chase away from the Muses the greedy appetite of eating and drinking, as if they were so many ravenous fowles and harpies: For a shame it were that a Scythian whilst hee is drinking, should eiesoones take his bow in hand ready bent, and twang the string, and by the sound thereof, awaken and quicken his courage, which otherwise would become drowfie, loose, and dull by wine: and that a Grecian should be ashamed or afraid of a stout or mocke, in assaying gently to refraine and bridle an unreasonable, violent, and greedy appetite, by the means of bookes and writings: for much after the same manner in a comedie of *Menander*, when there was a baud, who for to tempt certaine young men sitting at supper together, brought in amongst them certaine pretie young wenches, very faire, & richly arrayed, every one of the said young men (because they were afraid & unwilling to looke those beautiful damoysels in the face) made no more adoe, but as he saith,

Cast downe the head, and like good merrie wates,

Fall to their juckets hard, and dainty eates.

Moreover, men that are addicted to their studie, and to learning, have many other proper and pleasant means to turne away their eies, and divert their minds, if otherwise they be not able to looke oyle and to stay or hold in, this violent and dogge-like greedy appetite, when the meat standeth before them upon the boord. For as touching the speeches of some masters of wrestlers, or the words of certaine schoole-masters, who goe up and downe, saying: That to reason, argue, and discourse at the table upon points of learning, causeth the meat to corrupt within the stomacke, and breedeth head-ach, or heaviness of the braine: we may indeed feare somewhat; if we will needs (while we be at our repast) fall to resolve such a sophistical argument, as the Logicians call *Indus*: or if we be disposed to reason and dispute about the matterfull sophisme named *Eriston*: It is said, that the crowne or upmost tuft growing upon the daunce tree, called the braine thereof, is exceeding sweet and pleasant to the taste, howbeit, hurtfull to the head: howbeit, these prickie and intricate disputations in Logike at supper time; are no pleasant banquetting dithes, but offensive to the braine, tedious, and unskome, nothing more. But if those men will not permit us to discourse, to heare, reade, or talke of other matters in supper time, which together with honestie and profit, have an attractive pleasure and sweetnesse joined therewith: we will desire them to let us alone, & not trouble us, but to arise from the table, and goe their waies into their galleries and halls for wrestling, and there to hold and maintain such positions among their scholars and champions, whom they withdraw and turne away from the study of good letters; and accustoming them to spend their time all the day long in scoldes and scurrile speeches, they make them in the end (as gentle *Ariston* said) as witlesse, and without sense (yet glib and well greased) as the stone pillars which support those galleries, and places of exercise where they use to converse and keepe schoole. But we contrariwise being ruled by the physicians, who advise us alwaies to interpose some competent time betwene supper and sleepe, are not presently to go unto it, after we have filled our bellies with viands, and stuffed our spirits, even whilst the morsels of meat bee all raw, or beginning now to be concocted, thereby to hinder and staie digestion; but give some space and breathing time betwene, untill the meat bee well settled in the stomacke. And as they who give us counsell to moove and stirre the bodie after meales, will us, not to rinne our selves out of breath, nor to exercise our selves so, as that we put all the parts of our bodie to the trial, after the manner of the Pancratiasts; but either to walke faire and softly, or to daunce after a gentle and easie manner; fensibly, we are to thinke, that we ought to exercise our wits and minds after a dinner or supper, not about any affaires of deepe studie, and profound meditation, nor in sophistical disputes, tending to the ostentation of a quicke and lively spirit, or which bee litigious, and breed contention; but there be many questions besides of naturall philosophic, pleasant to be discussed, and easie to be decided; many pretie tales and narrations there are, out of which a man may draw good considerations and wise instructions, for to traine and frame our manners; and these containe that grace & facilitie in them, which the poet *Homere* calleth *Mementoes*, that is to say, yielding to anger, and in no wise crosse and resistant: Hereupon it is, that some doe pleasantly traine this exercise of mooving, propounding & resolving historical or poetical questions;

or;

ons; the second course or the service of banquetting dithes, for students and learned men. Moreover, there be other sorts of pleasant talke besides these, and namely; to heare and recite fables, devised for mirth and pleasure; discourses of playing upon the flute, harpe, or lute, which many times give more contentment and delight, than to heare the flute, harpe, or lute it selfe played upon. Now the very precise time measured as it were and marked out to be most proper and meet for such recreations; is when we feele that our meat is gently gone downe, and felted quickly in the bottome of the stomacke, shewing some signe of concoction, and that naturall heat is strong, and hath gotten the upper hand.

Now forasmuch as *Aristotle* is of opinion, that walking after supper doth stirre up and kindle (as one would say) our naturall heat: and to sleepe immediately after a man hath supped, doth dull and quench it: considering also, that others be of a contrary minde, and holds that rest and repose, is better for concoctions; that motion so soone after, troubleth and impeacheth the digestion and distribution of the meats, which is the cause that some use to walke after supper, others sit still and take their ease: me thinks a man may reconcile and satisfie verie well after a sort these two opinions; who cherishing and keeping his bodie close and still after supper, stretch his mind a walking, awakeneth it, suffering it not to be heave & idle at once by; and by; but sharpneth and quickneth his spirits, as is before said, by little and little, in discoursing, or hearing discourses of pleasant matters and delectable, such as be not biting in any wise, nor offensive and odious.

Moreover, as touching vomits or purgations of the bellie by laxative medicines, which are the curied and detestable easements and remedies of fullnesse and repletion; surely they would never be used but upon right great and urgent necessity: a contrary course to many men, who fill their gorges and bodies with an intent to void them soone after; or otherwise, who purge and empty the same for to fill them againe, even against nature; who are no lesse troubled, nay much more offended ordinarily, by being fedde and full, than fasting and empty: inso much as such repletion is an hinderance to the contentment and satisfying of their appetites and lusts; by occasion whereof, they take order alwaies, that their bodie may be evermore emptied; as if this voidance were the proper place and seat of their pleasures. But the hurt and damage that may grow upon these ordinary purgations and vomits, is very evident; for that both the one and the other, put the body to exceeding great straines and violent disturbances. As for vomiting, it bringeth with it one inconvenience by it selfe, more than the former, in that it procureth & augmenteth an unsatiabie hunger to meat: for ingendered there is by that means a violent & turbulent hunger (like as when the course or stream of a river, hath bene for a while stopped & (staid) snatching or greedy at meat; which is evermore offensive, & not alad appetitive; deed, when as nature hath need of meat; but resembling rather the inflammations occasioned by medicines or cataplasmes. Hereupon it is that the pleasures proceeding from thence, passe and slippe away incontinently, as abortive and imperfect, accompanied with inordinate pantings and beatings of the pulse, great wrings in the enjoying of them, and afterwards ensue dolorous tensions, violent oppressions or stoppings of the conduits & pores, & the reliques or retentions of ventosities; which staie not for naturall ejections and evacuations, but runne up and downe all over our bodies, like as if they were shippes furcharged, having more need to be eased of their burden, than full to be loden with more excrements. As for the troublesome motions of the belly and guts, occasioned by purgative dronques, they corrupt, spill and resolve the naturall strength of the solide parts; so that they engender more superfluites within than they thrust out and expel. And this is for all the world, like as if a man, being discontented to see within his native citie a multitude of naturall Crookes inhabitants, should for to drive them out, fill the same with Scythians or Arabian strangers. For even so, some there be, who (greatly miscounting and deceiving themselves) for to send forth of their bodie the superfluous humors, which are in some sort domesticall and familiar unto them, put into them I wot not what, Chindian graines, Scammoni and other strange dronques set from farre countries, such as have no familiar reference to the bodie, but are meere wilde and savage, and in truth have more need to be purged and chased out of the body themselves, than power and vertue to void away and expell that wherewith nature is choked and overcharged. The best way therefore is, by sobriety and regular diet, to keepe the bodie alwaies in that moderate measure of evacuation and repletion, that it may be able by proportionable temperature, to maintaine it selfe, without any outward helpe. But if it fall out otherwhiles, that there be some necessity of the one or the other, vomits would be provoked without the helpe of strange physcally dronques, and not with much ado

aduo and curiositie, that they disquiet & trouble no parts within, but onely for to avoid cruditie and indigestion, reject and cast up that gennie which is too much, and cannot be prepared and made meet for concoction. For like as linen clothes that bee scoured and made cleane with sopes, ashes, lees and other absterfivie matters, wear more and fret out sooner than such as be washed simply in faire water; even so, vomites provoked by medicines, offend the body much more, and marre the complexion. But say, the belly bee bound and costive, there is not a drouge that caseth it so mildly, or provoketh it to the siege so easily, as doe certaine meats, whereof the experience is familiar unto us, and the use nothing dolorous and offensive. Now in case the body be so heard, that such kinde viands will not worke and cause it to be follike, then a man ought for many daies together, to drinke thinne and cold water, or use to fast, or else take some clister, rather than purgative medicines, such as disquiet the body, and overthrow the temperature thereof. And yet many there be, who ever and anon are ready to run unto them; much like unto those lewd and light wanton women, who use certaine medicines to cause abortion, or to send away the fruit which they have newly conceived; to the end that they might conceive soone againe, and have more pleasure in that fleshly action. Now is it time to say no more, but to let them goe that perswade such evacuations.

As for those on the contrarie side, who interject certaine exact, precise, and criticall fastings, observed too straightly according to just periods and circuits of daies: surely they teach nature, (wherein they doe not well) to use attrition before it have need; and acquaint her with a necessary abstinence of food, which in it selfe is not necessary, even at a prefixed time, which callethe for that then, whereto it is accustomed. Better yet it were, for a man to use these clasticements of his body, freely and at his owne liberty, without any foreknowledge of suspicion: and as for other diet, (as hath bene said before) to order it so, that it may frame and be oblique to all manner of occurrences & changes that shall come betweene, and not to be tied and bound to one forme and manner of life, exactly to keepe certaine daies, just numbers, and set circuits, without failing or missing in any jot. For this course is neither sure, nor easie; it is not civill nor yet agreeable to humanitie: it resembleth rather the life of an oyster, or some stocke off a tree; to captivate himselfe, and be so subject and thrall, that he cannot change or alter his viands; he may not once varie in his fastings and abstinencies, in his motions or repose, but continue alwaies close and covert in a thadie kinde of life, idle, private to himselfe, without conversing with friends, without participation of honors, farre remote from the administration of weale publique, which wereto shut himselfe up as it were a close prisoner, a life I assure you which I cannot like nor allow: for we cannot buie our health with idleness and doing naught; which two are the principall inconveniences incident unto diseases: and all one this were, as if a man would thinke to preserve his eyes, by not employing them to see; or his voice, by speaking not at all; thus to be perswaded, that for the preservation of health it were necessary to have continuall repose, without doing ought: for a man in health, cannot doe better for to mainteine the same, than to be employed in many good duties, and commendable offices of humanitie. An absurd error therefore it is, to thinke idleness to be either healthy or hellesome, considering that it destroyeth the very end of health, which is employment: neither is it true, that the lesse men doe, the more healthfull they be. For *Xenocrates* had not his health better than *Phocion*; nor *Theophrastus* than *Demetrius*; and as for *Epicurus* and all the crew of his sectaries, they had no benefit at all for the attaining of that contentment and tranquillitie of the bodie which they make for great reckoning of, and praise so highly; by flying and avoiding all State affaires, and meddling in no publique and honorable office. Other means therefore and provision would be made, to enterteine and keepe that disposition and habitude of the bodie, which is according to nature: for this is certaine; that all sorts of life be capable, as well of sicknesses as of health. Howbeit, politicians (quoth he) and States-men are to be admonished to doe cleane contrarie unto that which *Plato* advertised his young scholars to doe. For *Plato* ever as he went out of the schoole, was wont thus to say unto them: Goe to my fennes, see you employ that leisure which you have, in some honest sports and pastimes. But we may exhort and put in minde those who deale in the administration of common wealth, to bestow their labour and travell in honest and necessary things, and not to overtoile and spend their bodies in small matters of little or no consequence; as the manner is of most men, who trouble and torment themselves about just nothing, overwatching, running to and fro, heere and there, up and downe about things which many times are neither good nor honest; but onely because they would disgrace and shame others, either upon envie that they beare unto them,

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or upon obstinate and willfull selfe-conceit, or else to pursue and maintaine some vaine and foolish opinions that they have taken. For I thinke verily it was in regard of such persons especially that *Democritus* said: If the body should call the soule judiciously into question upon an action of injurie or wrong done, and for to make satisfaction of losse and damages; the were not able to answer it, but must needs confesse the action, and be condemned. And *Theophrastus* peradventure said well and truly; when speaking by a metaphor or allegorie; he affirmed, that the soule paid a deere rent for her dwelling within the body. For (I assure you) the bodie may thinke the soule for many harmes that it sustaineth; when as the useth it not with reason, nor intreateth it according as it is meet and convenient; and looke when she hath any proper and peculiar passions of her owne, or some enterprises and actions to be performed, the maketh no spare of the poore bodie. As for the tyrant *Jason*, hee was wont (I wot not upon what reason or ground) to say: That he ought to deale unjustly in small matters, who would be just in the greatestt affaires; and even so, wee may well advise a man of State and government, to make no reckoning of trifling things, but disport, play, and solace himselfe in repose with them; if he would not have his bodie over-spent, dull, or lazie, against the time that he should employe it in great and important causes: much like to an old shippe which hath bene drawn up to land, for to be newly calked and trimmed, after it hath rested a time, it is fit to doe new service at sea; for even so, the bodie upon repose and ease, whensoever the soule shall put it to any affaires, will be ready to follow

And runne with her, as sucking sole doth go
Hard by the damme, and never parts her fro.

And therefore when occasions will permit and give leave, wee are to refresh and recreate our selves, not envying the bodies naturall sleepe, or usuall repose and refection of dinner, ne yet easement and recreation, which is of a middle nature betweene pleasure and paine, not observing a strict rule; which many men doe keepe, and in keeping it, spill and spend the bodie by sudden mutations; like as iron that is often made hot and quenched againe: for whensoever the bodie is foiled and tired with travells, then they will even melt and dissolve it in excessive and unmeasurable pleasures; and all upon the sudden againe, when it is weakened & enfeebled with the delights of *Venus*, or by drinking out of course, they will draw and drive it presently to the serious travels of the common hall or the court, to the solliciting and following of some affaires of great importance, which requieth earnest attendance and hot pursuit. *Heraclitus* the philosopher, being fallen into a dropisie, willed his physician to make drought of great raine. But most men ordinarily doe fault heerein exceeding much: now when they be wearied, toiled, and foiled with painfull labours and wants, yeeld their bodies to be melted and spent quite with voluptuous pleasures; and afterwards againe, wrest and straine them as it were upon the teinters, immediately upon the fruition of some pleasures. For nature verily neither liketh nor requieth these alterations and sudden changes by turnes: but it is the incontinencie and illiberall lasciviousnesse of the soule, and nothing else, that abandoneth her selfe inordinately unto pleasures and delights, so soone as it is out of laborious exercises; like as mariners and sailors doe at sea.

And contrariwise, immediately after sports & pleasures, betaketh it selfe to the eager pursuit of gaine, & to the management of great affaires; giving no time and space of rest to nature, to enjoy repose and quiet tranquillitie, wherof it hath need, but setteth it out of frame, and distempereth it mightily, by reason of this inequality. But wise and discreete persons are verie wary and careful in this behalfe; never presenting such pleasures to their bodies when they be out-wearied with labour and travell, for need thereof they have none at all; and besides, they doe not regard nor thinke upon them, having their mindes continually intentive upon the honestie and decency of the action or thing whereabout they are; dulling or dimming as well the joy, as the earnest sollicitude and care of their minde, by the means of other desires and appetites; as is written of *Epinomandus*, that he should say in game and meriment, of a certaine valiant man, who about the time of the Leutricque warre, died of sickness in his bedde: O *Heraclitus*, how had this man any leisure to die, amidst so many important affaires! even so it may be said truly and in good earnest of a great personage, who hath in his hand the managing of some weightie affaires in matter of government, or treatise of philosophie: How should such a man as he have time either to be drunken, or to surfeit with gluttonie, or given himselfe to fleshly pleasures of the body? But wise men indeed, when they be freed from important matters of action, can finde a time to rest and repose their bodies, discharging them of needlesse and unprofitable

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travels, but much more of superfluous and unnecessary pleasures, flying and shunning them as enemies and contrarie to nature.

I remember that upon a time I heard, how *Tiberius Caesar* was wont to say: That aman being once above three-score yeres of age deserveth to be mocked and derided, if he put forth his hand unto the physician for to have his pulse felt. For mine owne part, I take this speech of his to bee somewhat too proud and insolent; but me thinks this should be true: That every man ought to know the particularities and properties of his owne pulse, for there bee many diversities and differences in each one of us: also that it behooveth no man to be ignorant in the fewerrall complexion of his owne bodie, as well in heat as in drieesse: also to be skillfull what things be good for him, and what be hurtfull, when he useth them: for he that would learne these particularities of any other than of himselfe, or goeth to a physician to know of him, whether he be better in health in summer time than in winter; or whether hee stand better affected in taking dry things rather than moist; also whether naturally he have a strong pulse or a weak, a quick or a slow; surely hath no sense or feeling of himselfe, but is as it were deafe and blinde, a stranger he is dwelling in a borrowed body, and none of his owne: for such points as those, are good to be known and easie to be learned; for that we may make prooffe thereof every how, as having the body with us continually.

Also meet it is, among meats and drinks, to know those rather which be good and holosome for the stomack, than such as be pleasant to the toothe; and to have experience of that which doth the stomack good, more than of that which is offensive thereto; as also of those things that do not trouble and hinder concoction, than which content and tickle the taste. For to demand of a physician, what is easie of digestion, and what not; what doth loose, and what bindeth the belly; me thinks is no lesse shamefull than to aske him, what is sweet; what bitter; what sowe, tart or austere. But now we shall have many folke, that know well how to find fault with their cooks and dressers of meat, for seasoning their broths, or making sauce to their viands, being able to discern which is sweeter than it ought to be; which is over-tart or too much salted: and yet they themselves are not able to say, whether that which is put into the bodie and united therewith, be light or no; and whether it be harmlesse, not offensive, or profitable. Hereupon it is, that their portage misseeth not often, the right seasoning; whereas contrariwise, for want of well seasoning their owne felves, but daily faulting therein, they make much worke for physicians: for they esteeme not that portage best, which is the sweetest, but they mingle therewith many sharpe juices and sowe herbs, to make it somewhat tart withall; but contrariwise, they send into the bodie all manner of sweet and pleasant things, even untill it cry, Ho; partly being ignorant, and in part not calling to minde and remembrance, that nature adjoineth alwaies unto things that be good and holosome, a pleasure not mingled with displeasure and repentance. Moreover, we are likewise to remember and beare in minde, all those things that be fit and agreeable to the bodie; or contrariwise, in the changes of the seasons in the yere, in the qualities and properties of the aire, and other circumstances, to know how to accommodat and apply our diet accordingly: for as touching all the offences proceeding from nigardise, avarice and pinching, which the common sort doe incurre about the painfull minding and laborious bestowing or laying up of their corne and fruits; who by their long watchings, by their running and trudging to and fro, discover and bewray what is within the bodie, rotten, faulty & ulcerous: we are not to feare, that such accidents will befall to learned persons or students, ne yet to States-men and politicians, unto whom principally I have addrest this discourse; but they ought to beware and eschue another kinde of more eager covetousnesse and illiberall nigardise in matter of studie and literature, forcing them to neglect and not regard their owne poore bodies, which often times being to travelled and outwearied, that they can doe them no more service, yet they spare them never the more, nor give them leave to be refreshed and gather up their crummes againe; but force that which is fragile and mortall, to labour a vie with the soule, which is immortal; that (I say) which is earthly, to hold out with the spirit, that is heavenly. Well, the ox laid unto the camell his fellow-servant, who would not ease him a little of his burden: Thou wilt not helpe me now to beare somewhat of my charge; but (thorly thou shalt carie all that I carie, and me besides: which fell out so indeed, when the ox died under his burden; semblably it hapneth to the soule, which will not allow the fillie bodie (wearied and tired) some little time of rest and repose: for soone after comes a fever, head-ach, dizzinesse of the braine, with a dimnesse of the sight, which will compell her to lay aside all books, to abandon all good letters, disputations and studie; and

in the end is driven to languish and lie sicke in bed together with it for company. And therefore *Plato* wisely admonisheth us, not to move and exercise the body without the soule, nor the soule without the body, but to drive them both together equally, as if they were two steeds drawing at one spire of a chariot; and especially at such a time, when as the body is buisted with the soule, and laboureth together with her, we ought to have the most care of it, and to allow it that attendance & cherishment, which is meet and requirit, to the end, that thereby we may require it with good and desirable health; esteeming this to be the greatest benefit and most singular gift that proceedeth thereupon, in that neither the one nor the other (for default of good disposition) is impeached or hindered in the knowledge of verue and the practise thereof, as well in literature as in the actions of mans life.



OF THE ROMANS FORTUNE.

The Summarie.

FOR there were any State politike, in the rising growth and declination whereof, we are to see & acknowledge the admirable providence of God, together with the strength and wisdom of man, certes the *Romane* empire ought to be set in the foremost range. The causes of the foundation and advancement of this great Monarchie, are otherwise considered by those whom the heavenly truth (revealed in the holy Scripture) doth illuminate, than by the Pagans and Sages of this world, guided only by the discourse of their reason, corrupted with Sinne and ignorance of the true God. For when the question is, as touching the government of the universall world, although the Sovereigne Lord thereof, use often times, the spirittuall and corporal vigor both of mortall men, for to execute his will; yet we may behold above it, and before any exploit of visible instruments, this great and incomprehensible wisdom of his, who having decreed in himselfe all things, executeth every moment his deliberations; so that in regard of him, there is nothing casual, but all keepe a course according to his determinate and resolute will: but in respect of us, many things be accidentall; for that the counsels of that eternall and immutable wisdom are hidden from us, and appeare not but by little and little. Infidels and miscreants, who are not able to comprehend this secret, have imagined and set downe for governesses of mans life, Fortune and Vertue; meaning by Fortune, that which the common saying compriseth in these few words: In this world there is nothing els but good lucke and bad; but so, as if any man could skill how to manage his owne fortune, he might make it of bad, good and commodious: and this they mean by the word Vertue, which is an habitude or disposition of the mind and body, by the means whereof, he that is indued therewith, might prevent and overthrow quite all the assaults of Fortune. Some there be, who abuse the word Fortune, for to abolish the providence of God; and others have attributed so much unto Vertue, that they have set man out of those limits, in which his owne proper nature, and above all the divine truth, placed him. Others againe, have ascribed some thing unto Fortune, and yet they neither understand nor declare what it importeth, but have given out (although very irresolutely) that Fortune cannot give the check to a vertuous man. If we had this treatise following entire and perfect, all the ancient philosophie and learning, as touching this question, had bene manifestly discovered unto us. But the principall part of this discourse is left, in such sort, as *Plutarch* (having brought in Fortune and Vertue disputing upon this point: Whether of them should have the honour of the foundation and maintenance of the *Romane* empire?) hath left unto us nothing but the plea of Fortune; who by divers reasons and proofs holdeth that the wisdom & valour of the people of Rome, was not the cause of their grandeur; but Fortune, that is to say (as he expressly sheweth in one place) the guidance and helpe of God, who hath so fitted this estate for many others, and for to hold one good part of the world jointly in one body, under such a chiefe and soveraigne. As concerning the reasons alledged in the favor and maintenance of Fortune, they be marked in order, and drawn out well at Large: whereas those of Vertue are omitted, or peradventure reserved to the judgement and discretion of the reader, for to invent, devise, and apply them by himselfe.

selfe, and of them all to collect and gather one conclusion, tending to this, for to shew the great wonders of Gods providence in sustaining the Romane empire, and the notable aid of an infinit number of instruments, which the said divine providence employed in planning, raising up, and pulling downe so mighty and renowned a dominion.

OF THE ROMANS FORTUNE.



Vertue and Fortune have fought many great combats, and those oftentimes one against the other: but that which presenteth it selfe unto us at this time, is the greatest of all therest; to wit: the debate and plea which they had together as touching the empire of Rome, namely; whether of them twaine wrought that worke? and which of them brought forth so mightie a puissiance? For this will be no small testimonie on her side who shall gaine the victorie, or rather a great apologie, against the imputation charged upon the one and the other. For Vertue is accused, in that she is honest, but unprofitable: and fortune, that she is uncerteine, but yet good: it is commonly said, that as the former is fruitlesse for all her paines; so the other is faithlesse and untrulie in all her gifts. For who will not say, if the greatnesse of Rome be adjudged and awarded to one of them, that either Vertue is most profitable, in case she could doe so much for good and honest men: or Fortune most firme and constant, if she have preserved and kept so long, that which the once hath given? In the poet in those works of his which he composed without verse, and in prose, saith: That Fortune and Wisedome (two most different things, and farre unlike one to the other) produce neverthelesse most like and semblable effects: both the one and the other indifferently make men great and honorable; they advance them in dignitie, puissiance, estate and authoritie. And what need I (for to draw out this matter at length) rehearse and reckon up a number of those whom they have preferred, considering that even nature herselfe who hath borne us, and brought forth all things; some take to be Fortune, and others Wisedome. This present discourse therefore, addeth unto the citie of Rome a great and admirable dignitie, in case we dispute of her as our manner is of the earth, the sea, the heaven and the starres, namely, whether it were by Fortune or by providence, that she was first founded and had her being? For mine owne part, I am of this opinion, that howsoever Fortune and Vertue have alwaies had many quarrels and debates otherwise, yet to the framing and composition of so great an empire and puissiance, it is very like they had made truce and were at accord; that by one joint-consent also, they wrought both together, and finished the goodliest piece of work that ever was in the world. Neither think I that I am deceived in this conjecture of mine; but am perswaded, that like as (according to the saying of Plato) the whole world was not made at first, of fire and earth, as the two principall and necessarie elements, to the end that it might be visible and palpable, considering that as the earth gave massinesse, poise and firmitude; so fire conferred thereunto, colour, forme, and motion. Besides, the other two natures and elements which are betweene these two extremes (to wit, aie and water, by softning, melting, tempering and quenching (as it were) the great dissociation and dissimilitude of the said extremes) have drawn together, incorporate and united by the means of them, the first matter; even so, time and God together, intending such a stately piece of worke as Rome, tooke Vertue and Fortune, and those they tempered and coupled in one, as yoke-fellowes; to the end, that of the thing which is proper both to the one and the other, they might found, build, and reare a sacred temple indeed, an edifice benefitall and profitable unto all, a strong castle seated upon a firme ground, worke, and an eternall element, which might serve in stead of a maine pillar, to susteine the decaying state of the world, ready to reele and sinke downward; and finally, as a sure anchor-hold against turbulent tempests, and wandering waves of the surging seas, (as Democritus was wont to say.) For like as some of the naturall philosophers hold: That the world at the first was not the world, and that the bodies would not joine and mingle themselves together, for to give unto nature a common forme, composed of them all: but when the said bodies, (such as yet were small and scattered heere and there,) slid away, made meanes to escape and flee for feare they should be caught and interlaced with others; such also as were more strong, firme, and compact, even then strove mainly one against another, and kept a foule coile and strite together, in such manner, as there arose a violent tempest, a dangerous ghust and troublesome agitation,

agitation, filling all with ruine, error, and shipwracke, untill such time as the earth arose to greameffe by the tumultuarie concourse of those bodies that grew together, whereby she herselfe began first to gather a firme confidence; and afterwards yielded in her selfe, and all about her a sure seat and resting place for all other. Semblably, when the greatest empires and potentacies among men, were driven and caried to and fro, according to their fortunes, and ranne one against another, by reason that there was not one of that grandee and puissiance as might command all the rest, and yet they all desired that sovereignty: there was a wonderful confusion, a generall destruction, a strange hurlyburly, a tumultuarie wandering, and an universall mutation and change throughout the world, untill such time as Rome grew to some strength and bigneffe, partly by laying and uniting to her selfe the neighbour nations and cities neere about her; and in part, by conquering the seignories, realmes, and dominions of princes farre of, and strangers beyond sea: by which meanes the greatest and principall things in the world began to rest, and be setled as it were a firme foundation and sure seat, by reason that a generall peace was brought into the world, and the maine empire thereof reduced to one round circle, so firme as it could not be checked or impeached: for that indeed all vertues were feared in those who were the founders and builders of this mightie State; and besides, Fortune also was ready with her favour to second and accompany them; as it shall (more plainly) appeare and be shewed in this discourse ensuing. And now me thinks I see from this project, as it were from some high rocke and watch tower; Vertue and Fortune marching toward the pleading of their cause, and to the judgement and decision of the foresaid question propounded: but vertue in her part and manner of going, seemeth to be milde & gentle, in the carriage also of her eie, staied and composed; the earnest care likewise and desire the hath to mainteine and defend her honor in this contention, maketh her colour a little to rise in her face, albeit she be farre behinde Fortune, who cometh apace, and maketh all the halfe she can: now there, conduct her, and attend upon her round about in manner of a guard, a goodly traine and troupe

*Of worthies brave, who martiall captaines were,
In bloody warres, and bloody armours beare.*

All wounded in the fore-part of their bodies, dropping with blood and sweet mingled together, leaning upon the stanchions of the launces & pikes halfe broken, which they had won from their enemies. But would you have us to demand and aske who they might be? They say, that they be the *Fabrizii*, the *Camilli*, the *Lucii* surnamed *Cincinnatti*, the *Fabii Maximi*, the *Clau-dii Marcelli*, and the two *Scipios*: I see also *C. Marius* all angry and chafing at Fortune. *Mucius Scaevola* likewise is amongst them, who sheweth the stump of his burnt hand, crying aloud with all: And will you ascribe this hand also to Fortune? And *Marcus Horatius Cokes* that valliant knight, who fought so bravely upon the bridge, covered all over with the shot of Tuscan darts, and shewing his lame thigh, seemeth to speake (from out of the deep whistle-pit of the river into which he leapt) these words: And was it by chance & Fortune that my legge became broken, & I came upon it? Lo, what a company came with vertue to the trial of this controversie and matter in question!

*All warriors stout in complet armour dight:
Expert in feates of armes, and prest to fight.*

But on the other side, the gate and going of Fortune seemes quicke and fast, her spirit great, and courage proud, her hopes high and haughtie: the over-goeth vertue, and approacheth nere at hand already; not mounting and lifting up her selfe now, with her light and flight wings, nor standing a tiptoe upon a round ball or boule, commeth the wavering and doubtfull; and then goeth her way afterwards in discontentment and displeasure: but like as the Spartians describe *Venus*, saying; That after she had passed the river *Eurotas*, she layd by her mirrors and looking glasses; cast aside her daintie jewels, and other wanton ornaments, and threw away that tiffue and lovely girdle of hers; and taking speare and shield in hand, sheweth her selfe thus prepared and set out, unto *Lycurgus*; even to Fortune having abandoned the Persians and Assyrians, flew quicklie over *Macedonia*, and soone shooke off *Alexander* the great: then travailed she a while through *Aegypt* and *Siria*, carying after her kingdomes as she went; and so having ruined and overthrowen the Carthaginians state, which with much variety and change she had oftentimes upheld; she approached in the end to mount *Palatine*, and when she had passed over the river *Tiber*, even there (as it should seeme) she cast off her wings; then she put off her flying patins; her boule so inconstant turning and rolling to and fro the forlooke, and so entered Rome as to make her stay and abode there: and in this guise and manner sheweth she her selfe now,

now, and maketh her apparance for to heare justice, & have this quarrell decided: Not as a base, unknowne, and obscure person (as *Pindarus* saith) nor guiding and resting with her hand two helmes; but rather as the sister of *Eunomia*, that is to say *Aequitie*; and of *Pistis*, that is to say *Perfwasion*; and the daughter of *Promesia*, that is to say *Providence*, according as *Aleimus* the poet deriveth her genealogie and pedigree. Moreover she holdeth betwene her hands that plentifull Horne of all abundance, so much celebrated and renowned, and the same filled, not with store of frutes alwaies fresh and verdant which Autumne yeeldeth, but brim full of all those pretious and exquisite commodities

Which any land or sea doth breed,

or out of rivers spring:

Which in deepe mines by desce are found,
or hauens by vessels bring.

10

And those poweth the fourth abundantly, and giueth abroad in great largesse. There are about her also to be seene in her traine, a number of most noble and right excellent personages, to wit: *Numa Pompilius* descended from the Sabines; *Tarquinius Priscus* from the citie *Tarquiniis*; whom being aliens and meere strangers the entailed kings, and enthronized in the royal seat of *Romulus*. Also *Paulus Aemilius*, who brought backe his armie safe and found from the defaiture of *Perseus* and the Macedonians, where he archived for fortunate a victorie, that there was not seene one Romane with a weeping eye, for the losse of any friend in that warre: and when he returned in triumph magnified Fortune. Even so did that good olde knight, *Cecilius Metellus*, surnamed *Macedonicus*, as well in regard of his brave victories, as of this rare felicitie of his, that he was caried unto his sepulture by foure of his owne fomes, who had bene all consuls; namely, *Quintus Balearius*, *Lucius Diadematus*, *Marcus Metellus*, and *Caius Caprius*; there attended also upon his corps, two fomes in law of his, that married his daughters, both consular men; and as many nephews, his daughters children; men of make and name all, both for great prowesse in feats of armes, and also for their high place which they held in government of State, and commonweale. *Aemilius Scaurus* likewise (who being of a low degree and condition of life, yet came from a stocke more base than it, a new upstart and of the first head) was raised and advanced by her, and by the means of her favour, made a great lord and prince of that high court and honourable counsell, called the Senate. *Cornelius Sylla* likewise, whom the tooke out of the lap & bosome of *Nicopolis* a courtifan, for to exalt him above all the Cunbricke Trophees and Laureat Triumphs; yea, and the seven consullships of *Marius*, to raise him to that high pitch and soveraigne degree of an absolute monarch in the world, and a dictator; he (I say) openly and directly gave himselfe (as it were) by way of adoption unto Fortune, and attributed his whole estate and all his actions to her favour, crying with a loud voice with *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*:

To Fortunes court I owe all sures,
And her good sonne my selfe reputes.

Insomuch as in the Romane language he surnamed himselfe *Felix*, that is to say, *Happie*: and unto the Greeks, he wrote thus in their tongue: *Αννης Καρδία* & *Ευδαιμον* & *Ευαγγελος*, that is to say: *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, beloved of *Venus* and the Graces. And verily those trophees of his, which are to be seene in our countrey of *Cheromea*, in regard of those noble victories which he gained against the lieutenants generall of king *Mithridates*, have the like inscription, and that right worthily. For it is not the night (as *Menander* saith) but Fortune, that is best acquainted and in greatest favour with *Venus*. Should not he therefore (who is desirous to plead the cause of Fortune) doe very well to lay this for a good ground of his plea, and in the forefront and *Exordium* of his oration, bring in very fitly and properly for his himselfe to depose, the Romans themselves, who have ascribed more unto Fortune than to Vertue? Certes, late it was among them, & after many ages, ere *Scipio Numantinus* builded a temple to Vertue: & after him, *Marcus* caused to be built that chapel bearing the name, *Virtutis & Honoris*, that is to say, *Of Vertue & Honour*: like as *Aemilius Scaurus* gave order for another to be reared by the name of *Mentis*, that is to say, of understanding; even about the time of the Cunbricke warre: in which age, (when literature, and professors of learning & eloquence, flocked thicke, as it were, and resorted to the citie of *Rome*) they beganne to have in price and reputation, such matters: and yet to this very day there is not one chapell of Wisdome, Temperance, Patience & Magnanimitie, yet of Continence; whereas of Fortune there be temples so flatly, so glorious, and so ancient withall, that a man would take them to have bene edified even in manner when the first founda-

ons,

ons of the citie were laid. For first and foremost, *Anco Marcius* the nephew or daughters sonne of king *Numa*, and the fourth king of *Rome* after *Romulus*, founded one in the honour of Fortune. And peradventure he it was that surnamed Fortune, *Virilis*, and derived it of *Fortis*; for that Virility, that is to say, Manhood, and Fortitude, that is to say Prowesse and Valour, have most helpe by Fortune, to the achieving of victorie. As for that temple of Feminine Fortune, named otherwise *Muliebris*, they built it also before the daies of *Camillus*, at what time as *Marius Coriolanus* (who led under banners displayed, against the citie of *Rome*, a puissant power of the Volscians) was turned backe and retired, by the meanes and intercession of certaine noble dames that encountered him: for those ladies went in a solemne ambassage toward him, accompanied with his wife and mother; and so earnestly intreated and effectually perswaded with him, that in the end they prevailed, in so much, as for their sakes he pardoned and spared the citie, and so withdrew the forces of that barbarous nation: and then it was (by folks sayings) that the statue or image of Fortune at the dedication thereof, pronounced these words: You have (good Romane dames) according to the ordinance of the citie, consecrated me right devoutly. And verily *Furius Camillus* (at what time as he had quesied the flaming fire of the Gauls, and recovered the citie of *Rome* out of the very foles of the balance where it was to be weighed in counterpoise against a certaine quantitie of golde) erected a temple, neither to Good counsell

nor to Valour, but unto * Fame and Rumour, even in that very place by the new street, where (by report) *Marcus Caelius* as hee went by the way, heard in the night a voice, that gave warning and advertised, that shortly after they should looke for the Gauls to ware upon them. As for that temple (upon the bank of the river *Tiber*) of Fortune surnamed *Fortis*, that is to say, Strong, Martiall, Valiant, and Magnanimous, for that to her belonged generositie and the forcible power to tame and overcome all things, they built a temple to the honour of her, within the orchards and gardens that *Cæsar* (by his last will and testament) bequeathed unto the people of *Rome*; as being perswaded that himselfe (by the gracious favour of Fortune) became the greatest man of all the Romans, as himselfe doth testifie. As concerning *Julius Cæsar*, I would have bene abashed and ashamed to say, that through the favour of Fortune he was lifted up to that rare greatnesse, but that his owne selfe beareth witness thereof: for being departed from *Brindis* the fourth day of January, and imbarked for to pursue *Pompeius*, even at the very height and in the heart of Winter, he crossed the seas most safely, as if Fortune had held in the tempestuous weather of that season; and when he found *Pompeius* strong and puissant as well by sea as land, as having all his forces assembled together about him in a set and standing campe, being himselfe but weak and accompanied with a small power; for that the companies which *Antony* and *Sabinus* should have brought, lingered and staid behinde, he adventured to take sea againe; and putting himselfe into a small frigate, sailed away unknown both to the master, and also to the pilot of the said barke, in simple habit, as if he had bene some meane and ordinary servitor: but by occasion of a violent returne of the tide, full against the current of the river, & withall, of a great tempest that arose, seeing that the pilot was readie to alter his course, and turne abacke, he plucked away his garment from his head wherewith he sat hoodwinked, and discovered his face, saying unto the pilot: Holde the helme hard (good fellow) and be not afraid to set forward: be bolde (I say) hoise sailes, spread them open to the winde at adventure, and feare not, for thou hast aboard, *Cæsar* and his Fortune. So much perswaded was he, and confidently assured, that Fortune sailed with him, accompanied him in all his marches and voiaiges, assisted him in the campe, aided him in battell, conducted and directed him in all his warres: whose worke indeed it was, and could proceed from nothing els but her, to command a calme at sea, to procure faire weather and a Summer season in Winter; to make them swift and nimble, who otherwise were most slow and heave; to cause them to be courageous, who were greatest cowards and most heartlesse; and that which is more incredible than all the rest, to force *Pompey* to flee, and *Proteus* to kill his owne guest, to the end that *Pompey* might die, and yet *Cæsar* be not stained with his bloodshed. What should I allege of the testimonie of his sonne, the first emperor surnamed *Augustus*, who for the space of fiftie yeeres and foure, was absolute commander both by sea and land of the whole world? who when he sent his nephew or sisters sonne to the warres, praised and wished at Gods hands for no more, but that he might prove as valiant as *Scipio*, and as best beloved as *Pompey*, and as fortunate as himselfe; ascribing the making of himselfe as great as he was, unto Fortune; as if a man should intitle some singular piece of worke with the name of the workman or artificer: which Fortune of his, was the cause that he got the start and vantage of *Cicero*, *Lepidus*, *Pans*, *Hirtius*, and *Marcus Antonius*, by whose counsels, brave exploits

* To *Antony* as some think; to the goodly *Antony*, as others.

or gallic, is framed, wrought and set together by many a knocke and stroke, and that with great violence; whilst it feeleth the blowes of hedges and hammers, is pierced with spikes and great nailes, cut with sawes, axes and hatchets; and when it is once made and finished by the shipwright, ought to rest quiet and in repose, for a competent time, untill the braces be well settled and fastened, and the joints firmly knit and compact: for otherwise, he that should stirre it, and shoo it into the sea, whilst yet the junctures and commixtures be yet greene, fresh, loofe, and not well consolidate, all would chinke cleave and open, when it came to be never so little shaken and tossed by the boisterous billowes of the sea, so that the whole leake & take in water thorough; even so, the first prince, author and founder of the city of *Rome*, having composed it of rusticall peasants and herlemen, as it were, of rough-hewen planks and posts of tough and stubburne oake, had much adoe, and tooke no small paines, but engaged himselfe farre into sundry waies, and exposed his person and estate to manifold and great dangers, being of necessity enforced to encounter and fight with those who opposed themselves, and withstood the native (as it were) and foundation thereof, before he could bring his worke to an end; but the second king receiving the same at his hands, gave it good time and leisure to gather strength, and to confirme the growth and augmentation thereof by the favour of happie Fortune, who afforded him the means to enjoy great peace and long repose. But if at that time, some such as king *Porfenna*, had come against it, pitching his campe before it, and leading a strong armie of Tuskans to give assault thereto, whilst the walls were yet greene, soft, and ready to shake with every small thing; or if some puissant prince and potentate, or worthy warrior from among the *Martians*, upon apostasie and revolt; or els some *Lucan*, for envie or upon a troublesome spirit and desire of contention, a buif-headed person, factious and quarelsome, such an one as afterwards *Atutius* or stout *Silon* was, surnamed the Bolde; or last of all, *Telefantus*, with whom *Sylla* scuffled, an found himselfe somewhat to do; him I meane, who (as it were) with one signall could make all *Italie* rise and take armes: if one of these (I say) had come and given the alarme, environing and assailing with sound of trumpets this Sage-like prince and philosopher *Numa*, whilst he was at sacrifice, or in his devotions and prayers to the gods; surely the citie in that infancy of hers and first beginnings, had never bene able to have held out and withstood so great a forme and tempest, neither had it grown up as it did, to so goodly a number of lustie and serviceable men: whereas, it seemeth that the long peace which continued under this king, served in stead of a provision of furniture and all sorts of munition for innumerable warres ensuing; and the people of *Rome*, much like unto a champion who hath to fight a combat, having bene exercised and enured at leisure, in a peaceable time, for the space of three and forty yeeres after the warres which they had fought under *Romulus*, became strong enough, and sufficient to make head against those that afterwards assailed them: for it is for certaine recorded, that during all that time, there was neither pestilence nor famine, no unkinde barrenesse of the earth, nor unreasonable distemperature of Winter or Summer, to afflict or trouble the city of *Rome*, as if there had bene no humane providence, but only a divine Fortune which tooke the care and government of all those yeeres. In those daies likewise it was, that the two-leaved doores of the temple of *Janus* were shut up and locked fast, those (I meane) which they call the gates of warre, for that they were set open in the time of warre, and kept shut when it was peace. No sooner was king *Numa* dead, but these gates were opened for the *Alban* warre, which brake out suddenly and with great violence, and so stood open still, during an infinit number of other warres ensuing continually one after another thereupon: but in proceffe of time, namely, about foure hundred and foure score yeeres after, they were shut againe, when the first *Punicke* warre was ended, and peace concluded with the *Carthaginians*, even that yeere, wherein *C. Attilius* and *Titus Manlius* were consuls. After this, they were set open by occasion of new warres, which lasted untill the very time that *Cæsar Augustus* was that noble victorie under the Promontory *Actium*. Then had the Romans a cessation or surcease of armes, but the same continued not long; for that the tumultuous stirres of the *Biscains*, the *Galatians* and *Germanians* comming all together, so troubled the peace. And thus much may serve out of histories, for testimonies in behalfe of the felicity and good Fortune of king *Numa*.

But the Kings also that reigned in *Rome* after him, highlie honoured Fortune, as the chiefe patronesse, nurse, and the prop or pillar, as *Pindarus* saith, which supported and upheld the citie of *Rome*; as we may judge by the reasons and arguments following. There is at *Rome*, I wot well, the temple of *Virtue* highlie honored; but founded it was and built of late daies, even by *Anticellus*, who forced and won the citie of *Syracusa*. There was another also in the honor of reason,

reason, understanding, or good advice, which they called by the name of *Montis*: but *Aemilius Scaurus* was the man who dedicated it; about the time of the *Cimbricke* warres. For that by this, the learning, the artes and pleasant eloquence of the Greekes were crept already into the citie: but, to wisdom there is not yet to this day so much as one temple or chappell; neither to temperance, nor patience; ne yet to magnanimity, whereas of Fortune there be many churches and temples verie auncient, and those much frequented; and to speake in one word, celebrated with all kinds of honor; as being founded and erected amid the noblest parts, and most conspicuous places of the citie. For there is the temple of Masculine Fortune called *Fortuna virilis*, which was built by *Martius Ancus* the fourth king of *Rome*, and by him so called; for that he thought that Fortune availed as much as Fortitude to the obtaining of victorie. As for the other, entituled by the name of Fortune Feminine; otherwise called *Fortuna Muliebris*, everie man knoweth that they were the dames of the citie, who dedicated it, after they had averted and turned backe *Martius Coriolanus*, who was come with a puissant power of enemies, and presented himselfe before the citie. And *Servius Tullius* who augmented the puissance of the people of *Rome*, and brought it unto a goodlie and beautifull manner of government, no prince so much, having set downe and established a good order for the giving of suffrages and voices at the elections of magistrates, and enacting of lawes: and besides instituted the order of military discipline; having been himselfe the first censour of mens maners, and the controller or overseer of every mans life and behaviour; who seemed also to have been a right valiant prince, and most prudent withall: this man I say, whollie avowed himselfe the vassall of Fortune, and did homage to her, acknowledging all principallie to depend upon her; in such sort as men say Fortune her selfe used to come & lie with him, descending downe by a window into his chamber; which now they call the gate *Penetella*. He founded therefore within the Capitoll one temple to the honor of Fortune, called *Primigenia*, which a man may interpret, first begotten: and another to Fortune *obsequens*, which some take to be as much as obsequious, gracious and favourable. But not to stand any longer upon the *Romaine* names and appellations; I will leave them, & endeavour to reckon up and interpret in Greeke the meaning and signification of all these temples, founded and dedicated in the honor of Fortune. For in the mount *Palatine* there standeth one chappell of private Fortune, and another of gluing Fortune: which tearme may haplie seeme to be ridiculous; howbeit, by way of a metaphor it catcheth a signification verie important, as if we were to understand thus much by it: That it draweth unto it, and catcheth those things which be farre off, and holdeth fast whatsoever sticketh and cleaveth to it. Moreover, neere unto the fountaine called *Anacosta*, that is to say, mossie; there is another chappell of Fortune the virgin: as also in the mount *Esquilus*, another of *Aduerse* Fortune; upon the streete called the Long Way, an altar there is erected to Fortune Good-hope; or, as it were Hope: and neere adjoining unto the altar of *Venus Epi-tularia*, that is is to say, Foote-winged *Venus*, a chappell and image of Fortune Masculine: besides a thousand honors and denominations more of Fortune, which *Servius* for the most part instituted and ordeined; as knowing full well, that in the regiment of all humane things, Fortune is of great importance, or rather can doe all in all. And good reason he had therefore, considering that himselfe by the beneficial favor of Fortune, being defended as he was by birth from a captive, and that of an enemie nation, was raised and advanced to royall dignitie. For when the citie of the *Cornelianes* was won forcible by the *Romanes*, a certaine young damsell named *Orestia*, being taken prisoner (who notwithstanding her unfortunate captivity; was neither for beauty of face, nor comely behaviour blemished or stained) was given unto queene *Tamquil*, the wife of king *Tarquinius*, to serve her, and afterwards bestowed in marriage upon one of the retainers or dependants to the king; such as the *Romans* call *Clientes*: and from these two came this foresaid *Servius*. Others say, that it was nothing so; but that this maiden *Orestia* taking ordinarily certaine first-frutes or assaies as it were, both of viands and wine from the kings table, carried the same to the hearth of the domestick altar; and when one day above the rest she cast these primicies or libaments aforesaid (as her usual manner was) into the fire upon the hearth; beheld all on the sudden when the flame went out; there arose out of the said hearth, the genitall member of a man; whereas the yong damosell being affrighted, reported what a strange sight she had seene, unto queene *Tamquil* alone: who being a wife and wittie lady, appalled and adorned the maiden like a bride in every respect, and shut her up with the foresaid apparitions; taking it for a divine thing, presaging some great matter. Some say, that this was the domestick or tutelard god of the house, whom they call *Lar*; others *Fulcanus*, who was enamored

enamored of this young virgin: but whatsoever it was, *Ocrifia* was thereupon with child, and so was *Servius* borne. Now whiles he was but an infant, there was seene a shining light, much like unto the flash of lightning, to blaze out of his head round about. But *Valerius Antiochus* recordeth this narration otherwise: saying, that *Servius* had a wife named *Gegania*, who hapned to die, by occasion of whose death, hee grew unto a great agonie and passion of sorrow, in the presence of his mother, untill in the end for very heavinesse and melancholy, hee fell a sleepe, and as he slept, the woman of the house might perceive his head shining out in a light fire; a sufficient argument and testimonie, that engendered he was of fire; yea, and an assured presage of a kingdome unlooked for; which he attained unto after the decease of *Tarquinius*, by means of the port and favour that *Tanaquil* graced him with. For otherwise, of all the kings that were of *Rome*, he seemed to bee the man that was unlikeliest to reach unto a monarchie, and least intended, or minded to aspire thereunto: considering that when he was king, he determined to resigne up the crowne; though hee was impeached and staied for so doing: because *Tanaquil* upon her death-bed conjured and bound him by an oath to continue in his roiall estate and dignitie, and in no case to give over the politike government of the Romans, wherein hee was borne. Lo, how the regall power & kingdom of *Servius* may be wholly ascribed unto Fortune, seeing that as hee came unto it beyond all hope and expectation, so hee held it even against his will.

But to the end it may not be thought, that we withdraw our selves and retire, flying unto antiquitie, as it were into a place obscure and darke, for want of more cleere and assured proofes, let us leaveth the historie of the kings, and turne our speech unto the most glorious acts of the Romans, and their waies, which were of greatest name and renowne: wherein I will not deny, and who is there but must confesse? there did concurre

*Both boldnesse stout and fortitude,
with martiall discipline,
In warres which are cooperant
with vertue doth combine.*

according as *Timothew* the poet writeth? but the prosperous traine and happy course of their affaires, the sweet streame also, & current of their progresse into such puissance & growth of greatnesse, sheweth evidently unto those who are able to discourse with reason, and to judge aright, that this was a thing conducted neither by the hands nor counsels, ne yet by the affects, of men, but by some heavenly guidance and divine direction, even by a fore-winde and gale of Fortune blowing at the poupe, and hastening them forward, Trophies upon trophies by them were erected, one triumph met with another continually; the former bloud upon the weapons not yet cooled, but still warme was washed away by new bloudshed coming upon it: they reckoned and numbered their victories, not by the multitude of enemies slaine and heapes of spoiles, but counted them by realmes subdued, by nations conquered and brought to subjection, by isles and firme lands of the continent reduced into servitude and bondage, and all to augment the greatnesse of their empire. In one battell king *Philip* was chased out of *Macedonia*: one blow and one conflict caused *Antiochus* to abandon and forgoe *Asia*: by one defeature the Carthaginians lost *Liby*: one man alone in one expedition, and by the power of one armie, * conquered unto them *Armenia*, the kingdom of *Pontus*, the sea *Euxinus*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, the Albanians, the Iberians, all the nations even as farre as the mountaine *Caucasus*, and the Hicnians, yea and the very ocean sea which environeth the world round about; saw the same man thrice victor and conquerour: the Nomades in *Affricke* he repressed and vanquished, even to the coasts of the fourth sea: he subdued *Spain* which revolted and rebelled with *Sertorius*, as far as to the atlantike sea: the kings of the Albanians he pursued, & never left the chase until he had driven them to the Caspian sea. All these brave exploits and glorious conquests he achieved, so long as he used the publique Fortune of the citie, but afterwards he was overthrown and came to ruine by his owne private desires. Now that great *Damon* and tutelar god of the Romans, did not second them for a day as it were and no more; neither in a short time did his best and came to the height and vigor of his gracious favour, as that of the Macedonians; nor gave them his assistance upon the land onely, as he who was the patron of the Lacedemonians; or at sea alone, as the Athenians god; ne yet was long ere he would flirre, as he whom the Colophonians trusted upon; no, nor gave over quickly, as the Persians patron did: but even from the very nativitie and foundation of the citie; it began, it grow up, waxed, and went forward as it did, it managed the government of it, it continued firme and sure with it by land,

* All this is to be understood of Pontus, of Syria, of Macedonia, of Armenia.

land, by sea, in warre, in peace, against Barbarians, and against the Greeks: He it was that when *Antibal* the Carthaginian oversped all *Italy*, in manner of a land-flood, or violent brooke, wrought it so, that partly through envie, and in part through the malice of his spitefull fellow-citizens, no succours and supplies were sent to feed and mainteine him; and so by that means wasted, spent, and consumed him to nothing in the end: he it was that dispersed and kept the armies and forces of the Cimbrians, & Teutonians a great way, and a long time asunder, so as they could not meet; to the end that *Marius* might be furnished and provided sufficiently to fight with them, and to defeat them both, one after another: hee impeached the joining together of three hundred thousand fighting men at one time, all invincible soldiers; and appointed with armes insupportable, that they might not invade and over-runne all *Italy*. For this cause, and by the means of this protector, *Antiochus* sat still, and stirred not to aid *Philip*, all the whiles that the Romans made sharpe warre upon him: likewise, when *Antiochus* was in distresse and danger of his whole estate, *Philip* being discomfited before, durst not hold up his head, and died the while: hee, and none but hee procured, that whiles the Marrians warre fell all *Rome* and *Italy* on a light fire, the Sarmatian, and Bastarnian warre held king *Mithridates* occupied. Finally, through his procurement, king *Tigranes*, when *Mithridates* flourished, and was in his ruffe most puissant, upon suspicion, envie, and distrust, would not joine with him; and afterwards when the said *Mithridates* had an overthrow, combined and banded with him; that in the end he might also lose his life and perish with him for company.

What! in the greatest distresses and calamities that lay heave upon the citie; was it not the Romane Fortune that redressed all, and set it upright againe? As for example: When as the Gauls were encamped round about the mount Capitoll, and held the citie besieged:

*A plague she sent, the soldiers soone fell sick,
Throughout their host, whereof they died thicke.*

Fortune also it was, & mere chance, that revealed their coming in the night, & gave advertisement thereof, when no man in the world either knew or doubted thereof: and peradventure it would not be impertinent and besides the purpose, in this place to discourse of it more at large. After the great discomfiture and overthrow that the Romans received neere the river *Allia*; as many as could save themselves by good foot-manship, when they were come to *Rome*, filled the whole citie with a fright and troubles; insomuch as the people wonderfully amazed with this fearefull newes, fledde scattering heere and there, excepting onely a few, who put themselves within the castle of the Capitoll; resolved to keepe that pietee, and abide the extremities of the siege: others who escaped after that unfortunate battell and defeature, assembled themselves immediately in the citie. *Furius* and those for their dictator *Furius Camillus*, a man, who the people (proud & insolent upon their long prosperitie) had before time rejected, and sent away into banishment, condemning him for robbing the common treasure; but then being humbled by his affliction, and brought to a low ebb; called him backe againe, after that discomfiture; committing and putting into his hands, the absolute power and soveraigne authority; but to the end it might not be thought, that it was by the occasion of the iniquitie and infortunity of the time, and not according to order of law, that the man excepted of this high magistracie, and that in a desperate state of the citie, without all hope that ever it should rise againe, he was elected by the tumultuary suffrages of a broken armie, dispersed and wandring heere and there; his will was, that the senators of *Rome* who had retired themselves within the Capitoll afore said; should be made acquainted and advertised thereof, and that by their uniforme consent, they might approve and confirme that election of him; which the soldiers and men of warre had decreed. Now among the others, there was one named *Caius Pontius*, a valiant and hardy man, who undertooke, and promised in his owne person to goe and carry the newes of that which had beene determined, unto those who abode within the Capitoll: verily he enterprized a thing exceeding dangerous, for that hee was to passe through the middes of the enemies, who then invested the Capitoll with trenches; and a strong corps-de-guard when he was come to the river side by night, he fastened just under his breast certaine broad pieces of plates of cooke, and so committing his body to the lightnesse of such a barge, hee bare himselfe thereupon, and lulled with the course of the water, which was so good and favourable unto him, that it carried him over, and set him gently upon the banke on the other side of the river, without any danger at all; where he was no sooner landed, but hee went directly toward that place which he saw without all light, conjecturing by the darknesse and silence withall, that he should not light upon any of the watch or ward there: thus he began to climb

High

up

up the steepe rocke, whereas he could find any way to set fire footing upon the stones that stuck out, or wherefoever he found a place to yeeld better access and ascent than another; so fetching a compasse, and catching hold with his hand upon the rough craggies, and bearing himselfe as well as possibly he could, he made such shift, that in the end he crawled up to the toppe thereof; and there those Romans that kept watch and ward, and were foremost of the corps-de-guard, having espied him, helped to pull him up: then declared hee unto those within the place, what had bene set downe and agreed upon by them who were without, from whom hee had no sooner received their assent and approbation of the foresaid ordinance concluded; but the verie same night he made his returne the way that he came, unto *Camillus*: the next morning, one of the barbarous enemies, as hee walked about that place, thinking of no such thing, perceiving by very chance, partly the print of a mans tiptoes, together with the marks of unsteady footing, and partly the grasse and weeds crushed and broken, which grew heere and there in such places, where they had some little earth to mainteine them; as also the tracks and traces where he had leaned and wrestled with his bodie, either in clambering up, or striving overthwart; went forth waies and related unto his fellow-fouldiors what he had seene; who taking it thus, that the enemies themselves shewed them the way, and trode it out before them, assayed presently to doe the like, and to gaine the toppe of the rocke. In the night time therefore having observed where the place was most solitary, and void of watchmen, they mounted up, without being descied and discovered, not only by the men who were in guard and sentinell, but not so much as by the dogges, which were set a front before, for to alight the watch, so sleepe they were all, both the one and the other. Howbeit, the good Fortune of *Rome* wanted no voice to bewray so imminent a danger, and to give warning thereof; for there were within the Capitoll certaine geese consecrated unto the goddesse *Juno*, kept at the cities charges, in the honour of her, close under her temple: now is this creature of all others by nature very timorous, and at every little noise that is made, ready to be affrighted; and at that time especially, by reason that there was within the place great scarcitie of victuals, they were neglected, and for that they were kept somewhat hungry, slept not so soundly as they were wont to doe; by reason whereof, at the first, being aware of the enemies comming, even so soone as they had gotten over the battlements of the wals, they came full butt upon them, & being affrighted besides to see their bright armour, set up such a gagling note after their manner, that all the court of the castle rung with their violent and disonant noise: whereat the Romans were awakened, and suspecting deeply what the matter was, ranne incontinently to the wall, gave the enemies the repulse, and turned them downe with their heads forward: in memoriall of which accidents and occurrences, Fortune goeth as it were in triumph even at this day. For at *Rome* they are wont upon a certaine set day of the yere in a solemne procession, to have a dogge carried in a shew, crucified; and a goose borne in a gorgeous litter upon a rich cushion, most sumptuously light and set out: which spectacle representeth and sheweth unto us the puillance of Fortune, and the great meanes that she hath to effect all those things with ease and facilitie, which in mans reason seeme impossible; considering that she giveth a kinde of wittie perceivance and understanding, to brute beasts, otherwise foolish and voide of reason; yea and insulseth bold courage and strenght to those which by nature are fearefull, weak, and cowardly. For what man is there, unlesse he be altogether deprived of naturall sense and affection, who would not be astonied and ravished againe with a woonderfull admiration, to consider and discourse after a sort with himselfe, comparing the heave cheere and mournfull condition of this citie in those daies, with the felicitie and statelieport thereof at this present; to looke up (I saie) to the Capitoll, and behold the riches there, the sumptuositie and magnificence of the monuments and oblations there to bee seene; the excellent pieces of worke, wrought by most cunning artificers, striving who might doe best; the presents of cities, contending who should bee most bounteous and liberall; the crownes sent by kings and princes, and what precious things forever the earth, the sea, the islands, the firme lands of the continent, the rivers, trees, beasts, champain fields, mountaines and metall-mines doe afford; and in one word, the first fruits and choise parcels of all things in the world, which seeme all to strive one with another, to embelish, grace, adorne, enrich and beautifie this onely place; and withall, to looke backe unto those times past, and consider how it went within a very little, that all this should never have bene, or at least, wile not extant at this day; seeing that all being within the power of mercilesse fire, fearefull darknesse of the mite night, cruell and barbarous swords, and most bloudy minds and inhumane hearts of these Gaulles; the poore contemptible beasts, foolish

lith, reasonlesse and timorous, made the overture to save all, and were the principall instruments of preservation; also, how those brave gallants, valourous knights, and great captaines and commanders, the *Manlii*, the *Servii*, the *Posthumii* and *Papyrii*, the ancestours and progenitours of so many noble houes afterwards, were very neere and at the point to have bene undone for ever, and come to nothing; had not these silly geese awakened and started up to fight for their countrey, and to defend the god, patron, and protectour of the city. And if it be true that *Polybius* writeth in the second booke of his historie, as touching those Gaulles, who at that time surprised the city, and were lords of *Rome*: That when newes came suddenly unto them, how certeine of their barbarous neighbours neere at hand, were entred in armes within their owne countrey, and won all before them as they went; they had returned in hast backe, and made peace with *Camillus*, certes, without all doubt, Fortune even then had bene the cause also of the cities safetie, in distracting the enemies, or rather in withdrawing them another way contrary to all hope and expectation of man. But what need we to stand thus upon these old histories, wherein there is no certeinie to build upon delivered; considering that the state of *Rome* was then ruinate, and all their annales, records, registers and memorials either perished or confounded, according as *Livie* himselfe hath left in writing; seeing that the affaires of the Romans which happened afterward, and cary more light and perspicuitie with them, declare and testifie sufficiently the love and indulgence of Fortune? For mine owne part, I count this for one singular favor of hers, to wit, the death of *Alexander* the Great, a prince of incomparable courage, and spirit invincible, who being lifted up by many great prosperities, glorious conquests and happy victories, lanced himselfe in manner of a starre volant in the aire, leaping out of the East into the West, and beginning not to shoot the flaming beames and flashing raies of his armour as farre as into *Italy*; having for a pretense and colourable cause of this enterprise and expedition of his, the death of his kinsman *Alexander* the Milossian, who together with his army, was by the Brutians and Lucanians (neere unto the citie *Pandaphi*) put to the sword and cut in pieces: although (in trueth) that which caried him thus against all nations, was nothing els but a desire of glory and overteignity, having propoised this unto himselfe upon a spirit of zeale and emulation, to surpass the acts of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, and to go with his armie beyond the bounds of their voiaiges and expeditions. Moreover, he had heard say, that he should find the force and valour of the Romans, to be as it were a gad of Steele, to give edge unto the sword of *Italy*; and he knew well enough (by the generall voice and report abroad in the world, which was brought unto him) that famous warriours they were, and of greatest renowne, as being exercised and hardened like stout champions in warres and combats innumerable;

And verily, as I doe weene,

A bloudy fight there would have bene,

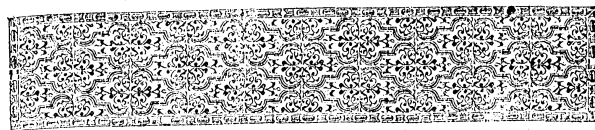
if the undanted and unconquered hearts of the Romans, had encountered in the field with the invincible armies of the Macedonians: for surely the citizens of *Rome* were no fewer at that time in number, by just computation, than a hundred and thirty thousand fighting men, able all to beare armes, and hardy withall:

Who expert were on horsebacke for to fight,

And when they saw their time, on foot to fight.

The rest of this discourse is lost, wherein we misse the reasons and arguments that Vertue alledged for herselfe in her plea.





10 THE MORALS OR
MISCELLANE WORKS
OF PLUTARCH.

The second Tome.

20 THE SYMPOSIQUES.
OR
TABLE-QUESTIONS.

The first Booke.

The Summarie.

- 1 **W**hether we may discourse of learning or philosophie at the table.
2 Whether the master of the feast ought himselfe to place his guests, or suffer them to
3 sit and take their places at their owne discretion.
4 What is the cause that the place at the board, called Consular, is held to be most ho-
5 nourable.
6 What manner of person the Symposiarch or master of the feast ought to be.
7 What is meant by this usuall speech: Love teacheth to no poetrie or musike.
8 Whether Alexander the Great were a great drinker.
9 How it is, that old folke commonly love to drinke meere wine undelaied.
10 What is the cause, that elder persons reade better asfarre off than hard-by.
11 What might the reason be, that clothes are washed better in fresh & potable water than in sea water.
12 Why at Athens, the dance of the tribe or linage Acantis, is never adjudged to the last place.

40 THE SYMPOSIQUES OR
Table-questions.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether we may discourse of learning and philosophie at the table.

50 **S**ome there be (sic *Sofius Senerio*) who say that this ancient pro-
verbe in Greeke, *Μετο πινειντα ουσιν*.

At banquet, wine, or any self,

I hate a well remembering guest.

was meant of * hostellers or rulers at feasts, who ordinarily are odi-
ous, troublefome, uncivill, faucy, and imperious at the table. For the
Dorians who in old time inhabited *Italie* (as it should seeme) were *Μoderato-*
wont to call such an one *πινειντα*. Others againe, be of opinion, that
this proverbe admonisheth and teacheth us to forget all that hath
beene done and said at the board, and among our cuppes, when we

H h h 3

have

have beene merry together. Heereupon it is, that in our country, men commonly say : That both oblivion and also the palmar, or the plant *Ferula*, that is to say, Fenel-giant, be consecrated unto *Bacchus*; which giveth us to understand, that the errours and faults which passe at the table, are either not to be remembered at all, or els defective to be chastised gently as children are. But seeing you also are of the same minde that *Enripides* was, namely : That howsoever

Bad things and filthy to forget,

Indeed, is counted wisdom great,

yet the oblivion generally of all that is spoken at the boord and when we drinke wine, is not only repugnant to this vulgar saying : That the table makes many a friend ; but also hath divers of the most renowned and excellent philosophers to beare witness to the contrary, to wit, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Aristotle*, *Speusippus*, *Epicurus*, *Prytanis*, *Hieronymus* and *Dion* the Academique, who all have thought and reputed it a thing woorth their travell, to put downe in writing, the talke that had beene held at meat & drinke in their preference. And for that you have thought it meet, that I also should collect and gather together the principall and most memorable points of learned discourses, which have passed sundry times and in divers places, both here and there ; I meane aswell at *Rome* among you, as also with us in *Greece*, when we were eating and drinking together among our friends ; I felted my selfe unto it willingly, and having sent unto you three books heretofore, containing every one of them ten questions, I will shortly send you the rest, if I may perceive that these which you have already, were not altogether thought unlearned, impertinent, and without good grace.

The first question then, which I have set abroad, is this : Whether it be a seemly and decent thing, to philosophize, that is to say : To speake and treat of matters of learning at the table? for you may remember very well, that this question being moved upon a time at *Athens* after supper : Whether it were befitting those who are come to make good cheere, for to enter into speech, or mainteine discourse, as touching philosophicall matters or no? and if it were : How far forth it might be allowed, and within what bounds it ought to be limited? *Aristotle*, one of the company there present : What (quoth he) and are there any persons indeed (tell me for the love of God) who denie philosophers and learned men a roome at the boord? Yea many are there (in my good friend, quoth I againe) who not onely doe so, but also in good earnest and great gravitie (after their ironicall manner) give out and say : That philosophie, which is (as it were) the mistress of the house, ought not to be heard speaking at the boord; where men are met to make merry; who commend also the maner of the Persians for good and wife, who never would seeme to drinke wine merrily, and untill they were drunke, nor yet to dauce with their wedded wives, but in the company of their concubines : for seembly, they would have us at our feasts and banquets, to bring in musike, dances, plaies, masks and counterfeited pleasures, but in no wise meddle with philosophies; as if the were never meet for mirth and play, nor wear such a time fit and disposed for serious study. For even so the orator *Isocrates* (say they) could never be brought to make any other answer to those that earnestly intreated him, and were very urgent, that he should make some good speech before them, when he and they were drinking wine, but this : The time sueth not now for those matters which I professe, and have skill in; and of such things as this present time requireth, I am altogether unskillfull. Then *Crato* crying out with a loud voice : Now so god *Bacchus* helpe me (quoth he) I con the man thanke, and commend him highly, for refusing and (as it were) forswearing talke at table, in case he meant those long clauises and tedious traines or periods of sentences of his, wherewith he should have driven away all the Graces from the feast. But, in my conceit, it is not all one, to banish from the boord an affected speech or rhetoricall language; & to chafe away a philosophicall discourse; for certainly, philosophie is a farre different thing, which being the arte professing to teach us how we are to live, there is no reason to shut the doores against her, at any game, sport, or pleasant pastime for our recreation whatsoever : for she ought to stand by, and be present at all, for to instruct us what time, what measure and meane we should observe : unlesse by the same rule, we will say, that we must not admit to our feasts, either Justice or Temperance, or other vertues, as seeming and scolding (forsooth) their venerable gravitie. Now, if we were to eat and drinke some where in a solemn judiciall hall or publike place of justice, as the maner is of those who feasted *Orestes*, and entertained him with all silence; somewhat it were, and peradventure it might serve for some pretence or excuse (though the same were but an untoward and unhappy precedent) to colour and cloake our ignorance and incivillitie : but in case, *Bacchus* be by right turnamed *Lysippe* or *Lydus*, that is to say, the Deliverer and Setter free of all things, and principally

pally of the tongue, from which it taketh away the bit and bridle, giving all libertie to the voice; I suppose it were meere folly and foolishness indeed, to deprive that time (which commonly is most talkative and fullest of words) of the best speeches and most fruitful discourses : It were absurd (I say) to dispute in schoole, what duties are to be observed at a feast; what is the office of a guest; how a man should be have himselfe at the table; & in what fort he ought to drinke wine; and then afterwards wholly bereave all banquets and feasts of philosophy, as if the were not able to confirme that by deed, which she prescribeth and teacheth in word. And when thereupon, you inferred and said : That it was unmeet and bootlesse to goe about for to contradict *Crato* in these points, but it behooved rather to studie what limits to appoint, and what prescript forme to set downe of philosophicall discourses at the table, to avoid that jest (which usually and not unpleasantly is cast forth at them, who are given litigiously to cavill, argue and dispute, when they should eat) taken out of this verse of *Homer* :

For this time now to supper goe wee,

That soone twist us a combat may bee.

and with all exhorted and animated me to speake mine advice, I entred into speech and said : That first and foremost I thought it a point especially to be considered, what manner of persons are meet at a feast, and what the company is? for if there be more in number of learned men than of others at the boord, such as the table was of *Agathon*, of *Socrates*, of *Phedrus*, *Paulanias*, *Eryximachus*, *Calchides*, *Charmidas*, *Anisiphones*, *Hermogenes* and others like unto them, suffer them we will to have philosophicall talke, tempering and mixing *Bacchus*, (that is to saie wine) no lesse with the muses than with the Nymphes, (that is to say waters;) for that, as these make him to enter and goe downe into the bodie milde and gentle; so the other may cause him to be as kinde, courteous, and acceptable to the minde. For if so be there are some few ignorant and unlettered persons, among many learned and skillfull clearks, yet will they like unto mule letters, and consonants betweene vowels, participate with them in a kinde of voice, not altogether articulate and insignificant, yea, and learne somewhat by those means, of their skill and knowledge : but say there be a sort of rude guests, such as can abide to hear either the crowing and singing of any bird whatsoever, or the found of any string or piece of wood, it skils not what it be, rather than the toong of a philosopher : then were it good to practise that which *Pisistratus* did; who being at some debate and difference with his owne children, and perceiving that his enemies were well enough contented therewith, and laughed thereat in their sleeves; called a solempne assemblie, wherein he delivered this speech unto the people : That desirous he had beene indeed to have drawn his children to his owne opinion, but since it would not be, and seeing how obstinate they were bent, he meant to be ruled by them, and to follow their minde; even so a learned man and a philosopher being matched with other guests, that have no list at all to give eare unto his sage sawes and wise words, will range himselfe to their side, and change his owne conceit, he will I say, daunce after their pipe, and take pleasure in their pastimes, so long as they exceed not the bounds of honestie and civillitie; as knowing thus much : That men cannot shew and exercise their eloquence but in speaking, but they may declare and practise their philosophie even in silence and saying nothing; yea, and indisperting themselves with others, giving and taking pretie scoffes interchangeably. For it is not onely a point (as *Plato* saith,) of extreme injustice, when a man is unjust, to make a semblance and shew of justice, but also a kind of sovereignty & principall wisdom to philosophie, & yet to seeme no philosopher, & by way of game & mirth, to doe the serious offices of those that are in good earnest, studious : for like as the frantike women in *Enripides* called *Bacche*, without armes or any weapon of iron and Steele, onely smiting with their little jawls or ferula stems, wounded those that set upon them; even so the pleasant words of true philosophers indeed, cast out by way of jest, yea, and the very laughers of wife men are able to moove and correct in some sort, such as are not altogether incorrigible, nor so hard as nothing will pierce and enter into them. Moreover, I suppose there be certaine narrations fit to be related at a feast where men are assembled, whereof some be drawn out of written histories, others, present occasions and occurrences do daily yeeld, and those containe examples to incite and provoke men partly to the study of philosophie, and in part to pietie, religion & devotion toward the gods : some induce us to imitate generous & magnanimous acts, others ingender a fervent zeale to performe the works of bountie and humanitie : which precedents, he that can closely and with dexterity use as documents and instructions to those that be drinking with them, so as they perceive him not, shall discharge the time which they drinke, of many vices, and those not the least, which

are

are imputed unto it: some there be, who put leaves of burrage into their wine, others be sprinkle the floores and pavements of parlours and dining-chambers with water, wherein they have infused or steeped the herbes vervain & maiden-haire; having an opinion, that these devices procure some joy and mirth in the hearts of those who are at a feast; and all to imitate *Helene*, who, as *Homer* reporteth, with certaine spices and drowgues that she had medicined and charmed (as it were) the wine that her guests should drinke; but they do not perceive, that this tale being fetched from as farre as *Aegypt*, after a great way and long circuit, endeth at the last in honest discourses, fitted and accommodated to time and place: for that the said *Helene* conceited unto them as they drunke with her at the table, the travels of noble *Ulysses*, and namely,

What things this valiant knight had done,

and what he had endured;

What wrongs also he wrought himselfe,

to which he was tured;

For this was that *Nepemhes* (if I be not deceived) a medicine which discusseth and charmeth all sorow and paine, even a discreet speech, framed aptly and in season to the affections and occasions which are presented: but men considerate, well advised, and of good judgement, howsoever they may seeme to deale in philosophie, yet they carrie their words, and place them so, that they are effectually, rather by a gentle way of perswasion, than by force and violence of demonstration. For thus you see how *Plato* also (in the treatise called, *His banquet*; where hee discusseth of the final end of humane actions, of the soveraigne good of man, and in one word, treateth of God and heavenly matters, like a divine and theologian) doth not enforce and stretch the prooffe of his demonstration, nor bestrew and powder as it were with dust his adversarie, according to his wonted manner, otherwise to take surer hold, that hee might not possibly struggle out of his hands; but induceth and draweth on the hearers his guests, by a weaker kinde of arguments and suppositions, by pretie examples, and pleasant fictions. Moreover, the very questions and matters at such a time and place propounded, & not only their reasons, ought to be somewhat easie, the problemes and propositions plaine and familiar; the interrogations also and demands probable, and carrying a resemblance of truth, and nothing dark or intricate; lest they doe perswinge and dazzle their eyes, who are not quick sighted, suffice such as are but weake spirited, and in one word, turne them cleane away, who are but shallow witted and of a meane conceit. For like as there is a custome allowable, to remove and stirre (when a man will) the guests at a feast, by urging them either to daunce alone, or in a ring; but he that should force them to rise from the table, for to put on armour and fight in compleat harness, or to sling the barre, or cast a sledge, doth not onely make the feast unpleasant and nothing acceptable to his guests, but also hurtfull unto them; even so, easie and light questions, exercise mens spirits handsonly, and with great fruit and commoditie; but we must reject and banish all disputations of matters litigious, intricate, and snarled (as *Democritus* saith) to wit, knottie questions & hard to be undone, such as both busie themselves, who propo-
 40 se them, and trouble those that heare them. For thus it ought to be, that as the wine is all one and common throughout the table; so the questions propounded at a feast or banquet, to be talked of, should be intelligible unto all, for otherwise, they who brocht matters so darke and mystically, were as unreasonable, and should have as little regard of the common benefit of their company, as the crane, and fox in *Aesops* fables, had one of the others good. For the fox having invited the crane to dinner, set before her a good messe of fatted broth, of beames and pease, which he had powred upon a broad shallow stone vessel, in such sort, as the poore crane was made a foole and laughing-stocke by this means, for that with her long and small bill she could get none of it up, but it went still besides, it was so thinne and glibbe withall: the crane againe, because she would be quit and meet with the fox, bad him to dinner, and presented unto him good victuals within a bottle, that had a long and narrow necke, which she her selfe could easily convey & thrust her bill to the very bottome; but *Reinard* was not able to take out his part with her; even so, when learned men at a table plunge and drowne themselves (as it were) in subtle problemes and questions interlaced with logike, which the vulgar sort are not able for their lives to comprehend and conceive; whiles they also againe for their part come in with their foolish songs, and vaine ballads, of *Robin-hood* and little *John*, telling tales of a tubbe, or of a roasted horse and such like; enter into take of their traffike and merchandise, of their markets and such mechanicall matters; certes all the fruit and end of such an assemblie at a feast

cast is utterly lost, and were injurie done to god *Bacchus*: for like as when *Phrymon* & *Aeschylus* first brought a tragedie (which at the beginning was a solemne song, in the honour of *Bacchus*) to fables and narrations pathetically, arose this proverbe: And what is all this I pray you to *Bacchus*? even so it comes many times into my minde to say thus unto one that draweth by head and shoulders into a feast, that sophisticall and matterfull syllogisme called *Kuerion*. My good friend, what is this to *Bacchus*? Happily there is some one who singeth certain of these ordinarie songs at feasts, called **Scotia*, as a man would say oblique or crooked, when the great standing cuppe of wine is set in the middes of the table before all the company, and the chaplets of flowers divided & dealt among the guests, which that god *Bacchus* putteth upon our heads, to signifie, that hee giveth us all liberty: but surely this is neither good nor honest, he yet becometh that freedome which should be at feastes, howsoever some say, that those sonnets are not darkly composed, as the word *Scotia* seemeth to implice, which signifieth crooked; but that they tooke the name, because in old time the guests, at first sung altogether with one voice and accord, one song in the praise of *Bacchus*, and afterwards every one in his turne chanted another apart; giving one to another in order from hand to hand, a branch or garland of a myrtle tree; which I suppose they called **Asarons*, for that he who tooke the said branch was to sing in his course: and to the same purpose, a lute there was, or an harpe that went round about the table; and looke who could skill to play upon it, tooke it in hand and sung thereto in measures; but those who had no knowledge at all in musike, and refused the said instrument, gave occasion of the name *Scotia*, because such manner of singing was not common or easie unto all: others there be who say: That the said branch of myrtle went not round about to all the guests in order, but passed from table to table, or from beddeto bedde; for when he that sat formost at the first table, had sung, he sent it to the principall or first man of the second, and he to the chiefe person of the third; and so consequently, the second did by the second; by reason whereof, and in regard of this crooked and overthwart varietie in the oblique revolution thereof, the song was called *Scotia*.

* Some think they were so called, & answer, that is to say, by the contrary: for that they were plaine and easie.

* Or rather *Asarons*, for that he who tooke the said branch was to sing in his course.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

30 *Whether the master of the feast ought himselfe to asigne unto every guest his place, or suffer them to sit as they will themselves?*

MY brother *Timon* having upon a time invited many persons to a feast, willed every one of them as he entred in, to take his place, and sit where he thought good himselfe, for that there were among them, strangers, citizens, neighbours, familiars, friends, and kinsfolke, and in one word, all that were bidden were not one mans children, but a medley and mixt number of all sorts and conditions. Now, when as they were for the most part, come already, and had taken their places, a certaine stranger well appointed, like an amorous gallant in some comedie, all in his purple, excessive otherwise in curious and costly apparel, attended beside, with a traine
 40 of lacques and pages following at his heeles; and in one word, better guarded than regarded, came to the doore of the hall or dining-chamber, who after he had cast his eye round about, and viewed all the companie how they sat at the table, would not enter in, but slung away immediately and stayed not. Many there were who ranne after him, requesting him to returne and beare them company; but in no wise would hee, saying, That he saw never a place left, woorthy his person: which when they who were set already, understood, (and many of them had taken their drinke well, and had in manner their full load) they being right glad, tooke up a great laughter, and with this note:

*Now farewell he, since needs he will be gone,
 Better his roome, than company (quoth each one.)*

50 but after that supper was done, my father addressing his speech unto me who sat a great way off: *Timon* and I (quoth he) have chosen thee for a judge, to decide a matter of some question and difference betweene us: for I blamed and reprooved him a pretie while since, about this stranger; for if at the first, he had ordered the matter well, according as I would have had him, and bestowed every man in his owne place, we should not have bene condemned for our oversight and disorder in this behalfe, especially by such a person who hath the skill

*Howemen to range in comely battell ray,
 And targetiers on foot, to leade the way.*

For

For it is reported that *Pausanias* (him I meane, that defeated *Perseus* king of *Macedonie*, after that glorious victory) made many great and magnificent feasts; wherein (besides the wonderfull furniture and provision that he ordeined) he observed in all points a singular order & dispose, saying: That to one & the same man belonged the knowledge, aswell how to set out a most friendly and merry feast, as to range a most terrible battell; for both the one and the other required great discretion and good order: which was the reason that *Homer* the poet was wont (when he spake of right valiant warriors and most roial personages, deserving best the highest place of command) to rearme them *vorub regis habitu*, that is to say, the disposers and setters of the people in order. Yea, and you that are philosphers, doubt not to say and affirme: That the great God of heaven (in making and creating the world) did nothing but change disorder into good order, without putting to or taking away ought that was before, by disposing and setting every thing in place, meet and convenient; and so, by giving a most beautifull forme to that confused masse or Chaos in nature, which had no forme at all, wrought this admirable peece of worke, which we call the World. As for these great & high points indeed of doctrine, we learn them of you; but we our selves are able to see and observe thus much; that how sumptuous soever a feast be otherwise, yet if it want good order, there is no grace or pleasure at all in it. A very ridiculous thing it is therefore, and a meere mockerie, that cooks, clearks of the kitchen, and sewers, should be carefull what dishes ought to be served first, second, in the middle, or in the last places; yea, and (beleeve me) to looke unto it very diligently, that there be a convenient place ordeined for performances and sweet odours, when they are to be brought in; for chaplets also, and garlands, that are to be distributed & dealt about; and last of all, for a minstrell wench (if any be there) to sing & play, where the may be best heard; & in the mean while the master of the feast, suffer those who are bidden to all this, for to sit pell-mell at the table at a venture, as if they came onely to fill and cram their bellies, without giving (either to age, or to dignity, or to any matter of like qualitie) that ranke and order which is fit, decent, & meet for every one: in the keeping of which discretion, the best man in the place hath his due honor in fitting highest; he that is second & inferior, is by use and custome acquainted and well contented to sit accordingly; and the huslier, who hath the ordering of the matter, is well exercised, to distinguish and judge that, which is befitting every one according to his estate and degree. For it can not stand with any reason, that in the Countsell-house there should be a place knowne, either of sitting or standing, more or lesse honourable, according to the quality and dignity of the person; and that for setting men at the table, there should be the like order observed. And is it meet, that the host or master of the feast should drinke to one before another, and yet have no regard at the first, in placing of his guests: putting no difference nor observing any distinction at all? making of a feast, even in the very beginning, one *mycanos* (as they say in the common proverbe) which is as much as a mish-mash and confused mingle-mangle of all. And thus much of the reasons and allegations of my father, for his plea. But *Timon* my brother, on the contrary side, answered: That he was not wiser than sage *Bias*; and considering, that he refused alwaies to be arbitratour or umpire betweene two of his owne friends, though they requested him; why should himselfe become a judge at once, among to many kindes of people and friends; yea, and other persons besides? especially, where the question is not about money and goods, but as touching preeminence and superiority; as if he had sent for them all, not to be merry and make good cheere, but to disquiet them, and set them out one with another, who were good friends before? For if (quoth he) *Atemelas* in old time, committed one great absurdity, inasmuch as there grew upon it, a proverbe and by-word, in that he intruded himselfe unsent for, into the countsell of *Agamemnon*: far greater reason thereris, that he should be thought more absurd, who constituteth and maketh himselfe, of a courteous host and civill master of a feast, an austere judge and precise censurer of those that require no such matter, nor willingly desire, that one should determine and judge of them, who is the better man or the worse; seeing they are not cited peremptorily to a judiciall court for trial of a controversie, but invited friendly to a good supper, for to make merry? Over and besides, no easie matter it is, to make distinction aright; for that some go before in age, others, in degree of kindred and linage; and therefore, he that should take such a taske or charge in hand, ought evermore to be studying upon the degrees of comparison, or els of the argument in logicke, *A comparatis*, that is to say, drawn from comparison; and to have alwaies in his hand, either the *Topiques* of *Aristotle*, or els the Precedences of *Thrasymachus*, a booke which he entituleth *Hypobolontes*, wherein a man should doe no good at all; but contrariwise much harme, by transferring the vain-glorie about higher place, from judiciall courts, common halles and theaters,

ters, to sitting at feasts; and when he hath endeavored to abate and repress other passions of the soule by good fellowship and company-keeping, now stirre up and set on foot, pride and arrogances of which in mine advice, we ought to studie more for to cleanse our soules, than to wash and scoure away the dirt and filth from our feet: to the end that wee may converse familiarly and fellowlike at the table, with all mirth and singleness of heart. But now, when we go about to treat an old fore, and kindle a new fire of grudge and malice by ambition, in debasing one; and exalting another: but if withall, according to the preference which wee have made in the placing of them, we take the cuppe also and drinke oftner, or set better meat and daintier dishes to some than to others; if I say we make more of this man than of that, chieere one up, and speake unto him after a more familiar manner than to another; surely, in stead of a feast of friends and familiars, it will be a stately assembly altogether of lords and potentates. But if in all things else we are carefull and precise in our feasts, to observe and maintaine equalitie of persons; why beginne we not at the first, in the placing of our guests, to accustom and acquaint them for to range themselves, and take their seats simply and familiarly one with another? considering at the first entrance into the hall or great chamber, they see that they were not summoned aright; eratically to a senate house of lords and great States, but invited democratically and after a popular manner to supper, where the poorest may take his place with the richest, like as in the state of a cite and common-wealth, called Democratic. After these opposite reasons were alledged, and that all the company there present demanded my sentence. I said: That taking my selfe chosen as an arbitrator, and not as a judge, I would deale indifferently, and with an equall hand in the middle betweene both: As for those (quoth I) who feast yong men their equals, all friends and of familiar acquaintance, they ought to accustom them (as *Timon* saith) to carie themselves so void of pride and arrogance, that they may take contentment in any place whatsoever that falleth out unto them; and to think this facilitie & singleness of heart, to be a singular meanes and provision for the feeding and nourishing of amity: but in case the question be of entreteining strangers, or worstfull personages of high calling & great place in common-weale, or of elder persons; I feare me; that as wee shut out at one dore in the forefront pride and arrogance, so we let it in at another backe-gate behinde, by our indifferencie and making no distinction. Heerein therefore we ought to give somewhat unto use and custome; or else we must altogether forbear all manner of chieeting up, drinking to, and saluting of our guests, which fashions we use not without judgement and discretion hand over head, to such as we meet with or see first; but with as great regard and respect as we can, honoring them according to their worth and qualitie:

With highest place, with viands of the best,

With most cups full, and those not of the best.

as said *Agamemnon* that great king of the Greeks, putting as you see the seat in the first and chiefe place of honor. We commend also king *Aleimou*, for that he placed the stranger who came in, next unto himselfe,

And caus'd his sonne Laodamia,

a gallant, for that guest

To rise, who close to father sat,

and whom he loved best.

For to displace a best-beloved sonne, and in his roome to set an humble suppliant, was a singular example of rare courtisie, and humanitie. And verily the gods themselves doe observe this distinction of place, and of sitting: for *Neptune* although he came last into the assemblie of the gods in countsell,

Yet rooke his owne place for all that,

And in the midst of them he sat.

as being the seat which of right appertained unto him. And *Minerva* seemeth alwaies to challenge as proper and peculiar to her above all others, the very next place to *Jupiter*: which the poet *Homer* doth after a sort covertly insinuate unto us, speaking of dame *Thetis* in this manner:

By Jupiter he sat, of speciall grace

And favour'd; For Minerva gave her place.

But *Pindarus* significth as much in expresse tearmes when he saith:

*To lightning next that flasheth fire
Sat Pallas, close unto her fire.*

Hoxbeit, *Timon* said: That we ought not to take from others, for to gratifie and pleasure one; and take he doth away, who maketh that vulgar and common, which by right is proper; & proper there is nothing, more than that which is meet and befitting the dignitie of each person: moreover, in giving that superiouritie and preeminence to running, f. ft. and making most haste, which is done unto vertue, kinned, magistracie, and such other qualities, in seeming to avoid the opinion of being odious or offensive, to his bidden guests, he draweth upon himself, so much more trouble and heart-burning of others; for he offendeth them in depriving everie one of that honour which he deserveth, or is wont to have. For mine owne part, I doe not think it to hard a piece of worke to make this distinction, as hee would have it to be: for siff and formost, it is not ordinarie nor often: feene, that many men of like degree and dignitie, are bidden to one and the same feast; besides, being as there are, many honorable places, a man of judgement and discretion, hath good meanes to dispose of them accordingly, among manie, if there be occasion: for one of them he may content in setting him highest and above the rest; another he may please with a place in the midst; to one he may doe the favour, as to set him next unto himselfe; another he may gratifie by placing him close to some friend or familiar of his, or else fast by his master and teacher: to this order, I say, he may satisfie many of them who seeme to be of better reputation, in distributing the places also which are of more respect among them; as for the rest, I leave them meanes also for their contentment; namely, certaine 10 gifts, favors, civilities, and kindnesse, which may in some sort make amends for the want of some honorable place. But say, that their defects and dignities be hard to be distinguished, or the persons themselves not easie to be pleased; marke what a device I have in such a case to serve the time: My father (if he be present) I take by the hand, and set him in the most honorable place of all; if not, I do the same by my grand-father, my wives father, or mine uncle by the fathers side, or my colleague and companion in offic, or els my fellow-senatour and brother-alderman, or some one of those who hath some speciall and inward prerogative above others of honour and account, with the master of the feast himselfe, that biddeth the guests; taking this for a rule in the cases borrowed out of the books of *Homer*, which are presidents of duties, and shew what is becomenng every man to do; and namely, in that place where *Achilles* seeing *Menelaus* 30 and *Antiochus* debating the matter very hotly, about the second prize for horse running, and doubting how farre forth their anger and contention might proceed, would needs give the said prize in question, to a third man; pretending in word, that he tooke pittie of *Eumelus*, and that he was minded to doe him some honour; but indeed and truth, it was to take away the occasion of difference and quarrell betwene the other two. As I was thus speaking; *Lamprias*, who was set close in an odde corner of the chamber, upon a low pallet, thundering out his words after his wonted manner, demanded of the assistance or companie, in this wife: My masters, please it you to give me leave for to reprove and rebuke a little, this sottish judge here? and when everie one made answer, saying: Good leave have you, speake your mind freely, & spare him not: And who can (quoth he) forbear that philosopher, who setteth out and disposeth of the places at a 40 feast, like as he would do in some theater, namely, according to birth and parentage, wealth and riches, estate and authority in common wealth? yea, and as if he ordained the seats and sitting places, for to opine or give voice in that solemne assembly of the States of *Greece*, called *Amphityones*? to the end, that even at the very table, where as we are met to drinke wine and be meretricie, we should not be rid of ambition, nor shake off the foolish desire of glory: for surely, the places at a feast ought not to be distributed so, as respective to honour, but rather to the ease and pleasure of the guests that are to sit in them; neither is the dignitie of each one by himselfe in his degree to be regarded, but rather, the affection, disposition and habitude of the minde one to another, how they can sort and frame together; like as our maner is to doe in some other things which are to meet in one common conjunction: for a good architect or mason wil not (I trow) 50 lay his first worke or forefront of the house, with Atticke or Lacedaemonian marble, before the Barbarian stone, because the fame is in some sort of a noble kinde, and coming from the worthier place; neither wil a cunning painter dispose his richest and most costly colour in the principal place of his picture; nor the carpenter or shipwright, employ before all other timber in the stem of his ship, either the pine tree wood of *Palmes* in *Peloponnesus*, or the cyprusse of *Candie*; but to they order and distribute, their stone, their colours and their timber, that being joined and fitted well together one with another, the common worke arising of them all, may

be more firme and strong, faire and beautifull, good and commodious: And thus you see, Godd himselfe, whom our poet *Pindarus* calleth the best workman and principall artizan, doeth not place the fire alwaies aloft, nor the earth below, but according as the use of bodies compounded doth require; like as *Empedocles* testifieth in these verses:

*The oysters, murets of the sea,
and shel-fish every one,
With masse coar, the tortoise ke
with crust as hard as stone,
And vaulted backe, which arch-wise he
aloft doth hollow reare,
Shew all, that heavie earth they do
above their bodies beare.*

not in that place which nature ordained for it in the first constitution and framing of the universall world, but in that which the composition of a new worke requireth: for disorder and confusion is bad enough in all things; but when it commeth among men, especially when they are drinking and eating together, it sheweth her badnesse most of all, by insolence, outrages and other enormities that can not be numbered; which to foresee and remedie, is the part of a man industrious, well scene in policie, good order and harmonie. And that is well said of you (answered we) but why envie you to this company that science of order, proportion and harmonie, and doe not communicate it unto us? Surely there is no envie at all (quoth he) in the way, in case ye will beleeve me and be ruled by me, in that which I doe change and alter in the order of the feast, like as you would be directed by *Epaminondas*, if he should range a battell in good order, which before was in disarray. We all agreed and gave him leave so to do: then he voiding first out of hall or dining place all the boies and lackies, cast his eie upon every one of us in the face, and said: Hearken and give eare, how I meane to range and sort you one with another; for I would advertise you of it before hand, because I am of this minde, that the Theban *Pammenes*, 20 justly and upon good reason reprooved *Homer*; saying that he had no skill at all in * love-matches, for that he ranged together in battell those who were of one and the same nation, and mingled such as were of the same race, lineage and blood; whereas he should have joined the lover, and the beloved, to the end that the whole battell might be incited by one spirit, and draw in the same line, as linked by a lively bond. Semblably, will I doe in this feast of ours, not coupling at the table, one man with another; nor matching a yong man with a yong man; ne yet setting a magistrate or a ruler just by another; no, nor two friends together: for surely such an ordering as this, hath no life in it, no vigor and power at all, either to breed and imprint, or to nourish and augment the heat of mutuall benevolence and affection of one to another; but framing and applying to that which hath need, the thing that is fit and proper thereto, I would have a student to sit next unto a learned man; a milde and gentle person, unto one that is hard to be pleased; to an old prating fellow who loves to heare himselfe speake, a youth who is desirous to heare, I would place a boasting and glorious bragger, with a drie childe and soothing companion; with 40 a testie and colerick man, one who is silent or of few words: if I see a rich or mighty personage, and withall bountifull and free of gift, I will fetch out of one corner or other, some poore honest body to be his next-neighbour, to the end that from him (as out of a full cup) there might overflow some goodnesse; into another which is void and emptie: but I will be very wary and circumspect, that I doe not sort two orators or professed rhetoricians together, nor match one poet with another; for according to the proverbiall verse:

*A begger can no begger well abide,
And charter one by another is envied.*

Howsoever these two heere *Sofistes* and *Adoles*, confirming in alternative course the speeches one of another:

*Blow not the coles that ready are to dy,
But just accord together misse friendly.*

I sever also a sunder busie and trouble some persons, such as take one another by the throat, injurious folke, testie and cholerick men; interposing alwaies some milde and modest nature betwene, as a mollifive of their hardnesse, for feare they should crush and bruse one another: contrariwise, I bring together, such as love wrestling and other exercises of the bodie, hunters also, and those that professe husbandry: for of similitudes and resemblances, two sorts there be, the one quarrellous and given to fight, as that of cocks, the other loving and amiable, as that of

jaies or dawes. Also those that be good companions, and can drinke well, I use to set and match close together; yea and amorous folke:

*Not onely those who feele hot sunnes pricke
To boies, and of love my culine are sicke.*

As *Sophocles* saith, but such also as are pinched with the love of wives and maidens; for that being heat and enchaunted with the same fire, they will catch and take hold the sooner one of another; like as pieces of iron that cleave and be united together, when they be heated hot; provided alwaies, that their love doe not settle in one place, whether it be male of female.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the reason, that the place at the table named Consular, is held honorable?

After this, there arose a question as touching the places of sitting at a table; for that some are reputed honorable in one country, and some in another. Among the Persians, the middle place is accounted best; for therein sitteth the king: In *Greece* the first is held chiefe and principall; and the Romans make most regard of the last in the middle pallet or table; and this commonly is called the Consular place; whereas contrariwise, certaine Greeks that inhabit the country about *Pomus*, & namely those of *Heraclea*, reckon the first of the said middle pallet, the highest place of honor: but we made most doubt of the said place called Consular: for the same was in our time also counted honorable; but not in regard, that it was either the foremost or the middles; and besides, of the accidentall qualities observed therein, some were not proper and peculiar to it alone, and others seemed to be of no importance at all: howbeit, three reasons alleged there were, which seemed somewhat to moove and induce us above the rest: the first was this: That the consuls having deposed and expelled the kings of *Rome*, and chaunged all into a more popular estate, withdrew themselves from the roiall place in the middles, to a lower roome, to the end, that by quitting and forgoing the place which to them appertained, they might avoid all occasions of making their power and authoritie odious unto those that conversed with them. Secondly, that seeing the two first tables or pallets being declined and appointed for the guests invited, the third, and namely the first place thereof, belonged properly to him who made the feast; for there sitteth he most commodiously, in manner of a coachman in a chariot, or pilot in a shippe; to see the whole order of the service: neither is he farr from other tables, but that he may cheere up & welcome all the company: for, of the places next unto him, that underneath is appointed usually for his wife or children; and that above, ordinarily by good right, was allowed for the most honorable personage of all them that were bidden, to the end, that he might sit neere unto the master of the feast. Thirdly, this place seemed to have this propriety by it selfe, that it was thought commodious for such as were employed and had any affairs in hand. For the Roman consull was nothing like unto *Archibius* sometime the capitaine generall of the Thebans; who if there had beene brought unto him any letters, newes, or advertisement of importance, in the middles of supper time; or if there fell out any serious occasions, would cry out aloud and say: To morrow morning will we thinke of earnest matters; the packet of letters he laid aside, and in stead thereof, tooke a boule of wine in hand: the Roman consull (I say) was not such an one, but even at these times especially he is most vigilant, and looketh circumspectly about him, for not onely according to the common proverbe in *Aeschylus*:

*The night alwaies even to a pilot wife
Breeds no, for feare lest tempests should arise.*

But also amide all pleasures, feasts, and pastimes, is is requisite in a wife capitaine, and man of government, that he alwaies stand upon his guard, and carrie a watchfull eye about him; to the end therefore that he might evermore be ready to understand all occurrents, to command also, direct, signe, or subscribe if need required: this place was allotted unto him of purpose above the rest: wherein, by reason that the second table stood close joined to the first, the corner within the turning, leaveth a space open, or void distance, giveth roome and meanes very handsomely for a secretary, a notarie, a sergeant, or apparitor, a pencioner, or one of the guard; yea & to any messenger or pursuivant coming from the campe, to approach neere unto the consull, to declare his message, to aske any question, or to commune & confer with him, & that without troubling any body, or being molested by any person there met at the feast or banquet

quest: for both his hand is his owne and at commaund, and also his voice at liberty, to say and doe whatsoever he would.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What manner of man he ought to be, who is chosen master of the feast?

Crato my sonne in law, and *Theon* our familiar friend, being with us at a certaine feast, where there beganne some mistule and disorder, upon large drinking of wine, which notwithstanding was soon appeased, tooke occasion thereby, to speake of the masterie and prefficiency of such feasts observed in old time, being of this opinion, and saying (withall to me) That I ought to weare a chaplet of flowers on my head, and not suffer the aunient custome of creating a king or governour of the feast, who is to give order in all things, and to see there bee no mistule, by disuse and discontinuance to be utterly neglected and abolished; but rather that I ought to bring that laudable order up againe, and put it in practise. Of the same minde was the whole company, and liked very well of the motion; insumuch as they all with a loud voice and one accord, requested me to take the thing upon me: Seeing then (quoth I) that you be all of this minde, I am content to chuse my selfe president, and master of this feast: and heere to beginne withall, I give commaundement to all the rest, that for this present they drinke at their owne discretion, and as it pleaseth themselves: as for *Crato* and *Theon*, who were the first that set this matter on foot, I will by vertue of my office and place, enjoin them summarily and in few words, to declare heere before us, what manner of person ought to bee chosen for the president, and master of such a feast, and what he must aime at, when he is elected; as also how he is to carry himselfe towards those who have made choice of him; and this charge I laie upon them two, permitting them to divide it betwene them, and to handle it according to their good discretion. At the first, they made some semblance of refusal, praying me to hold them excused; howbeit when they saw the whole company crying upon them for to obey the president, *Crato* began first & said: That as the capitaine of the guard or watch, ought himselfe especially to be a most diligent & vigilant warder, according to the saying of *Plato*; even so should he who hath the command of guests met together for to make merrie, be himselfe of all other a right good fellow, and a cheerefull companion; and such an one he shall be, in case hee be neither one that will quickly be cup-shotten and overcome with wine; nor yet untoward and unwilling to drinke liberally; much like as *Cyrus* wrote sometime unto the Lacedaemonians: That as in all other points he was more woorthy to be a king than his brother; so in this respect especially, that he would take his wine in greater measure, and beare the same better than he: for hee that will bee soone drunke, groweth insolent, unseemly, and outrageous in his drunkenness; and he againe, who is too too sober, and abstinent altogether, becommeth unpleasant and unfociable, neither indeed to be a schoole-master; and to have the bringing up of boies, than a president of a feast, to order guests. *Pericles* so oft as he was chosen capitaine generall of the Athenians; no sooner put on his mantle of estate; and was ready to set forward, but before any thing else, used thus to say unto himselfe, as it wereto refresh his memorie by way of admonition: Look about thee now *Pericles*; thou hast the command of free men; thou commaundest now the Greeks; nay thou art commaunder of the Athenians; even so should our matter of a feast reason thus within himselfe: Thou hast the rule now of friends; to the end that he neither permit them to doe any unseemly or dishonest thing; nor beare them of their delights and pleasures; for as he ought to be friendly affected unto them in their serious occasions, so he must be no enemy to their sports and pastimes, but framed indifferently, and as it were well tempered for the one and the other; & yet by his naturall disposition, he should, like good wine, be somewhat more inclined unto a kind of hardnesse or austeritie: for by this meanes the wine which he drinketh, will reduce his manners and behavior to a meane or mediocrity, by moistning as it were, and softning it, that it may be more gentle and pliable: for as *Xenophon* said: That the saddle cheere, heavy and rustical severitie otherwife of *Clearchus*, seemed to be more lightsome and pleasant in battell and conflict, by reason of his resolute confidence; even so, he who is by nature not bitter nor crabbed, but only grave and severe, by drinking, becommeth more remissive, and not so straight laced; and by that meanes more lovely and amiable also. And thus much of his owne person.

Moreover, he ought above all things, to know by experience, every one of the guests: what

alteration there is wrought in them by drinking? into what accidents or passions they bee ready to fall; and how they can beare strong wine? for wee are not to thinke, but if there bee a proper temperature and severall mixture with water fit for every sort of wine; which kings tasters, and cup-bearers know well enough, and in that regard can discern and distinguish, when they are to use more or lesse water to the delaying of wines; there is more reason that there should be a temperature likewise of man and wine, which our master or president of a feast ought to know, and when he knoweth it, to observe; that like an expert musician, by stretching as it were & setting up one, a note higher, in making him to drinke largely, and letting downe another by causing him as much to spare, he may bring and reduce different natures unto an uniform equalitie & consonance, not measuring the flame by waight & measure, pintes or quarts, nor by so many cups or glasses, but going by a certaine rule of time and age, as also by the strength of the bodie, giving to each one that which is meet and convenient. Now if peradventure this seeme an hard piece of worke, namely, to know all these particularities, yet meet it is at leastwise that he should be skilful in generalitie, as touching severall complexions & ages; for example; that old folke are sooner and more easily made drunke than yong persons; those that be stirring and in continuall motion, rather than such as be in repose and rest; sadde, heave, pensive, and melancholike men, more than those who are jocund and merry; lastly, those who are chaste, or use women modestly, much more than such as be dissolute or excessively given that way. He that is thus farre forth acquainted with these circumstances, may be a meet and fitter person a great deale to maintaine decencie, order, and agreement at a feast, than he who is ignorant therein. Furthermore, what is he who knoweth not very well, that the master of a feast ought to be well affected, and to carrie a loving minde unto all those who are invited to a feast; to carrie neither open malice, nor secret grudge to any one of them: for otherwise, if he commaundeth ought, it will not be well taken; if hee distribute and deale amongst them, he shall not be thought equall and indifferent; last of all, if he be disposed to mirth and jollitie, he shall hardly escape a rebuke and blame. Lo, *Theon*, what manner of president and master (quoth *Crato*) I have framed unto you by words, as if he were wrought out of waxe, and him I deliver into your hands. Then answered *Theon*: And I receive him from you so much the rather, as one shaped and fashioned indeed for a right governour of a feast, and a good companion besides: but whether I shall ever use him or no, or whether in so doing I shall shame my selfe; I wot not: howbeit, this I am assured of, that if hee be such an one as you have described, he will know how to order & governe a feast, & not suffer that one while it seeme a solemn assembly of a citie, another while a schoole of rhetorike, now a knot of dice-players or cheaters met together, and anon a scaffold forfooth for dauncers and singers, or a stage for plaiers and comedians: this I say, for that you see ordinarily some making orations, and pleading at the table, as it were in the court, or at the barre before judges; others exercising themselves how to speake in publike, or else rehearsing and reading certeine of their owne compositions; and others againe taking upon them like judges of dauncers and stage plaiers, who doe best for to winne the prize; and yet this is not the worst: for *Alcibiades* and *Theodorus* made of *Politions* feast, a very place of divine misteries, representing there the solemn carrying of torches and other ceremonies, at the shewing of some sacred reliques; which I would not have a good master and president of a feast to be so carelesse as to abide; but to allow place and time for such talke, such spectacles, sights, plaies, and pastimes onely, which tend to that end for which feasts be made; that is to say, to breed and augment amitie betwene them that are present, by the meanes of the delight they take in eating together; for that in truth, a feast is nothing else but a pleasant recreation at the table, aiming at this make, to contract friendship by the entercourse of mutuall drinking one to the other.

But forasmuch as in all things, varietie is very pleasing, and nature joiet in nothing more than in diversitie and change; but contrariwise, a simple uniformity alwaies, one and the same, is hurtfull, and bringeth tediousnesse with it incontinently; whereas the mixture of divers things applied in time and place with measure, taketh that away which is offensive to pleasure, and hurtfull to profit: therefore the master of a feast must devise for his guests, and exhibit unto them some mixed sport to passe away the time whiles they be drinking. I have heard many men say, that to walke by the sea side, as also to saile along the shore, is most pleasant; and even so a man must joine alwaies sport with serious affaires, and profit with pleasure, to the end that those who play, may in some sort be in good earnest; and likewise, when they be busie in serious matters, find some recreation; like as those who are sea-sicke, and ready ever & anon to cast up
their

their stomacke, recover their spirits and are revived, when they see how they be neere the land; even so a man may profit in mirth and laughter; he may likewise laugh and be merry in profit, and make his serious affaires pleasant enough; for as the old proverbe goeth:

*With caltrop thistles, and among the prickly rest-harrow,
The violet and soft wall-flowers are alwaies wont to grow.*

But as for all other sports & plaies, which without any profit at all, leape impudently into feasts, he shall command his guests expressly to forbear, lest ere they be aware, they become outrageous and furious, like as those who have taken the juice of henbane: they also abuse their power, & go too far in their commandements, (for so they be called at the wine) who enioine flutes, flauters, and maffers to sing, or bald-pates to keme their heads, or lame creeples to go up-right on their feet without halting. Thus upon a time at a certeine merry meeting and feast, where *Agamemnor* the Academicke philosopher was, who had a withered legge, and nothing left thereof but skin and bone, all the company (by way of mockerie) insulted upon him, and made a law among themselves, that they should stand all upon their right leg, and every one drinke his boule of wine, or els pay a certeine piece of money, as a forfeiture: now when it came to *Agamemnor* turne, by right to command, he charged them all to drinke in that sort and maner, as they saw him to drinke: then called hee for an emptie earthen pitcher with a narrow mouth, to be brought into the place; into which when he had thrust his poore consumed legge aforesaid, he drunke up his cup of wine; and when all the rest had assailed, and found they could not do as he did, were all forced to pay the forfeit. Heerein was *Agamemnor* to be commended: for after his maner, the master of a feast ought to be revenged, in a kinde of mirth and gentle fore; also to accustom himselfe to such commandements, as tend to pleasure and profit both, charging each one to doe those things which be proper, possible and easie for him, and yet may commend the doer: as for example, to impose upon them who have good voices, and be professed musicians, to sing; orators and rhetoricians, to declaim; philosophers, to assaile darke questions, and cleere ambiguities; and poets, to pronounce some of their verses; for every one of these joietly and taketh pleasure, to be put to that.

*Wherein he knowes he can do well,
And other men farre doth excell.*

There was some time a king of the Assyrians, who by voice of heralds, and sound of trumpet, proclaimed a great prize and reward to him that could devise a new kinde of pleasure: but the king and governour of a feast, should doe very well, to propose an honourable reward unto him, that could invent an honest game or pastime; wherein were no insolencie, some delight or disport profitable, and procure laughter not accompanied with wanton reproofe and scornfull reproch, but such as carrieth a grace and pleasure with it: for this is it wherein most part of feasts suffer shipwracke, namely, when they are misgoverned, or not ordered as they ought to be. But the part it is of a wise and prudent man, to know how to avoid enmity and anger in the marketplace, gotten by avarice; in the publicke halles of bodily exercises, by contention and emulation; in bearing offices and suing for them, by ambition and vaine-glory; and last of all, in feasts and banquets, by such plaies and pastimes.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is meant by this common proverbe: Love teacheth musike and poetrie.

The question was mooved one day in *Sofist* *Senecius* house, after certeine verses of *Sappho* were chanted, how this saying of *Euripides* should be understood:

*Love teacheth musike, make when you will,
Tough one before, thereof had no skill.*

considering that the poet *Philoxenus* reporteth, how *Cyclops Polyphemus* the giant, cured his love by the sweet tongued mules? Whereupon it was alledged, that Love is of great power to move a man for to be bold, hardy and adventurous, yea, and minnisheth a readinesse to attempt all novelties, according as *Plato* named it, the enterpriser of all things; for it maketh him talkative and full of words, who before was silent; it causeth the bashfull and modest person, to court it, and put himselfe forward in all manner of service; it is the meanes that an idle carelesse lubber, and a negligent, becommeth diligent and industrious; and that which a man would most marvell at, a mitching hard-head and mechanickal penitifer, if he fall once to love, doth relent and waxe soft as iron in the fire, and so proveth more liberall, courteous and kinde, than ever before

before ſo that this pleaſant and merry proverbe, ſeemeth not to be altogether ridiculous & impertinent, namely: that Loves purſe is tied & knit up with a lecke or porrer blade. Moreover, it was there ſpoken: That Love reſembled drunkenneſſe, for that the one aſwell as the other, doth ſet folke in a heat; it maketh them cheerefull, merry and jocular; and when as men be come once to that, they fall ſoone to ſing, to rime, and make verſes. And it is ſaid, that the poet *Aeſchylus* compoſed his tragedies, when he had well drunken, and was heat with wine. I had a grandfather alſo my ſelfe, named *Lampries*, who ſeemed alwaies more learned, witty, and fuller of inventions, yea, and to paſſe himſelfe in that kinde, when he had taken his cups liberally; and he was wont to ſay: That at ſuch a time he was like unto incenſe, which being ſet on fire, rendereth the ſweet odour that it hath. Moreover, they that take exceeding great pleaſure to ſee their loves, are no leſſe affected with joy when they do praife them, than in looking upon them: for love, as it is in every thing a great prater, and full of words; ſo eſpecially and moſt of all, in praifes: in ſomuch, as lovers would willingly perſwade others to that, wherein they are themſelves perſwaded firſt; namely, that they love nothing but that which is perfect in goodneſſe and beautie; and others they would have to be witneſſes with them of it. This was it, that induced the Lydian king *Candaules*, to draw and traine *Gigas* into his bed-chamber, for to ſee the beautie of his wife naked: for why? ſuch are willing to have the teſtimonie of others. Lo, what the reaſon is, that if they write the praifes of that which they love, they embelliſh and adorne the ſame with verſes, ſongs and meeter, like as images with golde; to the end that the ſaid praifes might be heard more willingly, and remembered better by more people: for if they beſtow a fighting-cocke, at a horſe, or any other thing whatſoever, upon thoſe whom they love, their minde is principally, that this their preſent ſhould be faire and beautifull in it ſelfe; afterwards, that it be moſt gallantly and in beſt maner ſet out; but above all, in caſe they be diſpoſed to flatter them in words or writings, their chiefe care is, that the ſame run roundly and pleaſantly, that they be alſo glorious and beautified with fine figures, ſuch as is ordinarily the ſtile of poets. Then *Soſtus* approving well of theſe reaſons, ſaid moreover: That it were well, if ſome would take in hand to draw and gather arguments out of that which *Theophrastus* left in writing, as touching muſicke: For long it is not (quoth he) ſince I read over that booke; wherein he delivereth thus much after a divine maner: That three principall cauſes or roots there be of muſicke, to wit, paine or griefe, pleaſure or joy, and the raviſhment of the ſpirit; of which three, every one doth bend and turne the voice a little out of the ordinary tune: for griefs and forrowes, uſually bring with them, moanes and plaints, which quickly run into ſong; which is the reaſon that we ſee orators in the perorations or conclusions of their ſpeeches, the actors alſo in tragedies, when they come to make their dolefull lamentations, bring their voices downe gently to a kinde of melodic, and by little and little tune them (as it were) thereto. Alſo the great and vehement joyes of the minde do lift up all the body, of them eſpecially, who are any thing lightſome by nature, yea, and provoke the ſame to leape, ſkip, and clappe their hands, obſerving a kinde of motion according to number and meaſure, if they can not dance:

And other wife in ſerious ſort,
Like ſprightly folke they do diſport;
They ſhake, they wag, they ſet out throat,
And ſend out many a ſoothle note.

according as *Pindarus* ſaith. But in caſe they be ſomewhat more grave and ſtaied, than others, when they finde themſelves moved with ſuch a paſſion of joy, they let their voice onely go at liberty, ſpeaking aloud and ſinging ſonnets. But above all, the raviſhment of the ſpirit, or that divine inſpiration, which is called *Enthufiaſmus*, caſteth bodie, mind, voice and all far beyond the ordinary habit; which is the cauſe, that the furious and raging prieſts of *Bacchus*, called *Bacchae*, uſe time & meeter; thoſe alſo, who by a propheticall ſpirit, give anſweres by oracle, deliver the ſame in verſe; and few perſons ſhall a man ſee ſtark mad, but among their raving ſpeeches, they ſing and ſay ſome verſes. This being ſo, if you would now diſplay love, and view it well, as it is unfolded and laid open abroad, hardly ſhall you meet with another paſſion, which hath either ſharper dolors, or joyes more violent or greater ecſtaſies and raviſhments of the ſpirit, lying (as it were) in a trance; ſo that a man may diſcover in amorous perſons, a ſoule much like unto that city which *Sophocles* deſcribeth:

Full of ſongs and incenſe ſweet,
Of ſighs and groanes in every ſtreet.

No marvel is it therefore, nor a ſtrange thing if love (containing & comprehending in it ſelfe

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all thoſe primitive cauſes of muſicke, to wit, dolor, joy, and raviſhment of ſpirit, be likewiſe in all other things diligent, induſtrious, talkative, and namely, inclined to making of verſes and chanting ſongs as much or rather more, than any other paſſion which can enter into the heart of man.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Whether king Alexander of Macedonie were a great drinker.

10 **T**Here was ſome ſpeech upon a time, as touching king *Alexander* the Great, to this effect: That he dranke not ſo much, as ſat long at his meat, and paſſed the time away, in deviſing and talking with his friends: but *Rhithus* ſhewed by certaine ſcroles, papers, and day-books of the ſaid kings houſe, that they who held that opinion, knew not well what they ſaid; for that this particular inſtance was ordinarily and uſually found in thoſe records: That ſuch a day the king ſlept all day long, upon his liberal drinking of wine; yea, and other-whiles it appeareth, that he ſlept the morrow after likewiſe; which is the reaſon, that hee was not ſo forward in venerous matters, nor given much to women, though otherwiſe he was haſtie, quick and courageous; great arguments of an inward heat of bodie: and it is to be ſeene upon record: That his ſleſh yielded from it, and breathed a paſſing ſweet ſmell; in ſomuch as his ſhirts and other clothes were full of an aromaticall ſcent and favour, as if they had bene perfumed; which ſeemeth alſo to be an argument and ſigne of heat. For we ſee, that thoſe be the heateſt & drieſt countries, which bring forth cynamon and frankincenſe, according as *Theophrastus* ſaith: That a ſweet odour proceedeth of perfect concoction and digeſtion of humours; namely, when by naturall heat, all ſuperfluous moiſture is quite chaſed and expelled. And by all likelihood, this was the principall cauſe, that *Calliſthenes* grew into diſgrace, and loſt the kings favour; for that he was unwilling to ſup with him, in regard that he would impoſe upon him to drinke ſo much. For it is reported, that upon a time, the great boule or goblet, furnamed, *Alexanders* boule, having paſſed round about the table thorowout, untill it came to *Calliſthenes*, he reſuſed it, and put it backe; ſaying withall: I will not drinke in *Alexander*, for to have need of *Aeſculapius*. And thus much

30 was ſaid then, concerning king *Alexanders* much wine-bibbing. Moreover, king *Antiochides*, he who warred againſt the Romans, among other games of priſe which hee exhibited, ordeined one for thoſe who could drinke beſt and eat moſt; and by mens ſaying, himſelfe performed them both ſo well, that he won the prize in the one and the other: for he could eat and drinke more than any man living in his time: by occaſion whereof, he was commonly furnamed *Dionysus*, that is to ſay, *Bacchus*. But as touching the reaſon of this ſurname, wee ſay it is an opinion raſhly received: for when hee was a very infant lying in the cradle, the lightning caught the ſwaddling clothes, and ſet them on fire, but never touched or hurt his body, ſave onely that there remained a little marke of the fire upon his forehead, which notwithstanding the haire did cover that it was not greatly ſcene, ſo long as he was a childe: a-
40 gain, when he was a man grown, it chaunced that the lightning pierced into the bed-chamber where he lay aſleepe; and for his owne perſon it was not ſo much as ſinged therewith; but it blaſted a quiver of arrowes that hung at his bed-side, went through it, and burnt the arrowes within; which (as the ſoothſaiers and wiſe men one of their learning did interpret) ſignified, that one day he ſhould be puiſſant in archers and light armed men. But moſt men aſſirme, that hee gat his ſurname of *Bacchus*, or *Dionysus*, in regard of the reſemblance and likenenſe of ſuch accidents of lightning and blaſting, as many times befall.

After theſe words paſſed, they entred into a ſpeech as touching great drinkers among whom was reckoned alſo one *Heraclides*, a famous wreſtler, or champion, whom the men of *Alexandria* in our fathers daies, pleaſantly called little *Hercules*. This good fellow when he could not
50 me; with a companion able to ſet foot to his, and drinke with him continually; uſed to invite ſome to breake their faſt with him in a morning; others to beare him company at dinners ſome he would bidde to ſupper; and intreat others laſt of all to ſit with him: & his collation or banquet after ſupper: now when the firſt were gone, came in the ſecond immediately; then you ſhould have the third ſucceed them in place; and no ſooner were they departed, but in ſteps the fourth crew, without any interruption; and he himſelfe ſat it out ſtill, and making no intermiſſion, was able to hold out with all, and beate thoſe ſower repaſts and reſtitions, one after another. Among thoſe who were familiarly acquainted with *Dionysus*, ſome to the emperour *Tiberius*,

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rius, a physician there was, who in drinking would chalenge and defie all the world: but observed it was by some that pined and looked neere unto him: That to prevent drunkenness, he used to take alwaies five or fixe bitter almonds before every cuppe that he drunke: and when he was once debared of them, and not suffered so to doe, he was not able to beare his drinke nor resist the least headiness and strength thereof. And verily some there be who say, that these almonds have an absterfivie propertie to bite, to cleanse and scoure the flesh, in such sort, as that they will take away the spottes and freckles of the visage; by reason of which qualitie, when they be taken afore drinke, with their bitterness they fter the pores of the skine, and leave the impression of a certeine biting behinde them, by meanes whereof there ensueth a certeine revulsion downward from the head of those vapours which flie up thither, and so evaporate away through the said pores. But for mine owne part, I am of this opinion rather, that their bitterness hath a vertue to dry up and spend humors: which is the reason that of all vapours, the bitter is most unpleasant and disagreeable to the taste: for that indeed as *Plato* saith, consuming moisture (as it doth) by meanes of the driness which it hath, it doth unnaturally binde and draw in, the little veines of the toong, which of themselves be soft, and spungous: after the same manner men use to restraintsuch wounds or ulcers which be moist, with medicines, or salves composed of bitter drouges, according as the poet *Homer* testifieth in these verses:

*A bitter roote he bruist with hands,
and laid upon the sore,
To take the anguish cleane away,
that it might ake no more:
And so, applied when it was,
all paines were soone allaid,
The running ulcer dried anon,
and flux of blood was staid.*

He said well and truly, of that which is in taste bitter: That it hath a vertue & propertie to drie, And it should seeme also, that the powders which women strew upon their bodies for to repress diaphoneticall and extraordinarie sweets, be by nature bitter and astringent; so forcible is their bitterness to binde and restraintsuch humors, which being so, great reason there is, (I say) that bitter almonds should have power to withstand the strength of meere wine, considering they drie the body within, and will not permit the veines to be full, upon the tention and commotion whereof (they say) drunkenness doth proceed: and for evident proove of this, there may be a good argument gathered from that which befalleth foxes; who having eaten bitter almonds, if they drinke not presently upon them, die therewith, by reason that all their humors suddenly are spent and consumed.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that old folke take greater delight in pure and strong wine, than others.

There arose a question about old persons, what the reason might be, that they loved better to drink wine without water, or at the leastwise delaid but a little: Some alledged the habit of their bodies, being cold, and hard to be set into an heat: in regard whereof, the strength of wine was meet and agreeable to their temperature: a reason very common and ready at hand; but surely, neither sufficient for to bee the cause of such an effect, nor yet simply true; for the same hapneth to their other senses, as being hard to be mooved and affected; yea and nothing easie to be stirred, for to apprehend the qualities thereto belonging, unless the same be passing strong and vehement; whereof the true cause indeed is this: that their temperature being weak, dull, and feeble, loveth to be put in minde by knocking upon; and this is the cause, that for their taste they delight in such sponors as be biting; their smelling likewise standeth even so to odors that be strong, for affected it is with more pleasure in such as be not tempered nor delaid: as for the sense of touching, they feele no great paine of ulcers and sores; and if it happen that they be wounded, their hurt and harme is not so great: the same befalleth to their hearing, for their eares be in manner deafe: and hereupon it is that musicians as they grow in yeeres and waxe aged, straine and raise their voice in singing so much the higher and louder, as if they stirred up the organs of hearing by the vehement force of the sound; for looke what is Steele to the edge and temper of iron for cutting; the same is spirit to the bodie, for sense and feeling

feeling: and when it beginnes once to slacke, faile, and decay, the sense likewise and the instruments thereof become dull, heave and earthly, having need of some such quicke thing to picke it in good earnest as strong wine is.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

How it comes to passe, that old folke reade better as farre off than neere at hand.

Against those reasons which wee devised and alledged upon the subject matter and point in hand, it seemed that there might be opposed the cie-sight; for that elder persons, for to reade any thing the better, remove the letters farther from their eyes; and in truth can not well reade neere at hand: which the poet *Aeschylus* seemeth covertly to imple, and shew unto us in these verses:

*Know him thou canst not, if neere he stand to thee,
A good olde scriber thou must much sooner be.*

And *Sophocles* more plainly testifieth as much, when he writeth of old folke in this wise:

*The voice to them arrives not readily,
And hardly thow over their eares the way can finde,
Their eyes do see farre off confusedly,
But neere is hand, they all be very blinde.*

If then it be so, that the senses of aged persons, and the instruments serving thereto, are not willingly obsecant to their proper objects, unless the same be strong and vehement; what should the cause be, that in reading, they can not endure the reverberation of the light from letters, if they be neere? but setting the booke farther off from their eyes, they do by that meane enfeeble (as it were) that light, for that it is spread and dissipate in the aire, like as the strength of wine when it is tempered with water? To this problem, some answered thus: That they remove books and letters farre from their cie-sight, not because they would make the saide light more milde or lesse radiant; but contrariwise, for that they are desirous to catch and gather more splendor, and to fill the meane intervall (which is between the cie and the letter) with light some and shining aire. Others accorded with those, who holde, that the eyes do send out their certeine raies; for by reason that aswell from the one cie as the other, a pyramidal beame doth issue, the point whereof is in the sight of the cie, and the basis doth comprehend the object that is seene; probable it is, that both these pyramides goe forward apart one from the other a good space and distance, but after they be a great way off, and come to encounter one another, and be confounded together, they make but one entire light: and this is the reason, that albeit the eyes are twaine, yet every thing that we see, appeareth one, and not two; for that (in truth) the meeting and shining together of those two pyramides in common, do make of two sights, but one. This being presupposed and set downe, olde men approaching neere to letters, comprehend the same more feebly, in regard that the pyramidal beames of their eyes are not yet joined and met together, but each of them reach to the objects apart; but if they be farther off, so that the said pyramides may be intermingled, they see more perfectly; much like to them, who with both hands can clasp and hold that, which they are not able to do with one alone.

Then my brother *Lamprias* opposed himselfe against all this; and as one who had not read the booke of *Hieronymus*, but even upon the pregnancy and quickness of his wit, seemed to render another reason; namely: That we see by the meanes of certeine images arising from the objects or visible things, which at the first be big, and for that cause trouble the sight of old folke, when they regard them neere and hard-by, being indeed but hard and slow of motion: but when the said images be advanced and spread farther into the aire, and have gained some good distance, the grosse and terrestriall parts of them breake and fall downe; but the more subtil portions reach as farre as to the eyes, without any paine or offence unto them, and do infinituate and accommodate themselves equally and smoothly into their concavities: so that the eyes being lesse troubled, apprehend and receive them better. And even so it is with the odours of flowers, which are very sweet to smell unto a good way off; whereas if a man come over-neere unto them, they yeeld nothing so kinde and pleasant a sent: the reason is, because that together with the favour, there goeth from the flower, much earthly matter, grosse and thicke, which corrupteth and marreth the fragrant sweetness of the odour, if it be smelled to very neere; but in case the same be a prey way off, that terrestriall evaporation is dispersed round about, and so falleth away,

away, but the pure and hot part thereof, continueth behinde, and pierceth forward still, by reason of the subtiltie that it hath, untill it be presented unto the nostrils. But we, receiving and admitting the principle of *Plato*, affirme & hold: That there passeth from the eyes an illuminate spirit, which intermingleth it selfe with the cleereneesse and light that is about the bodies of visible objects; by which meanes there ariseth an united composition from them twaine, according in every point one with another, but conconcipate they be by measure and proportion; for neither the one nor the other, ought to perish, as being surmounted by his fellow, but of twaine counterpoised together in iust proportion, there is made one puissance and meane facultie betwene. Seeing then, that the thing which passeth thorow the eye-sight of those persons who be faine slept in yeeres, be it some fluxion, light some spirit, or bright beame, (call it what you will) is in them, weake and feeble, there can not be a mixture and composition of it, with the shining aire abroad, but rather an extinction and suffocation, unless they remove the letters a pretie way off from their eyes, and by that meanes temper and resolve the exceeding brightnesse of the light, so as the same hit not upon their sight, so long as it is too radiant and resplendant, but measured and proportioned to the feeblenesse of their eyes. This also is the cause of that which befallth to those living creatures which see best in the darke, and feed themselves by night; for their eye sight being naturally weake, is offuscate and darkened by the great light of the day; for that such weak raies proceeding from so tender a source or fontaine, will not well fort & agree with so strong and forcible light; but their eyes do fend forth beames sufficient and proportionable, to be mingled with a light more dim and dusky, like as the light of a starre in the night season appeareth best: and thus being incorporate with it, it is cooperative to the performance of sense.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that clothes be better washed in fresh water than that of the sea?

*T*Heon the grammarian, upon a time when wee were feasted by *Metrus Florus*, demanded of *Themistocles* the philosopher, how it came to passe that *Chrysippus* having made mention in many places of strange positions and paradoxes, which seemed to goe against all reason; as for example: That salt fish, or powdered flesh, if it bee watered or washed in sea water, becommeth more sweet: also fleeces of wooll are lesse pliable, if they be plucked forcibly, than if they be gently handled, tooled and drawn in sunder. Item, that they who have fasted long, chew their meat, and eat more slowly at first, than after they have eaten a litle; rendreth no reason of the one nor the other: unto whom *Themistocles* answered: That *Chrysippus* proposed them by the way onely, and as it were for example sake to adverteise and admonish us; for that we are ever ready to beleieve, even without all reason, any thing that cometh with it some small likelihood and probability, and contrariwise to discredit that which at the first sight seemeth unlikely: But what reason I pray you (quoth he) my good friend have you to search & enquire into these matters? For if you be to contemplative and inquisitive in finding out the causes of naturall things, you need not to goe farre from that which belongeth to your profession: but tel me why *Homer* bringeth in *Nausicaa*, washing her clothes in the river, & not in the sea which was so neere unto her; notwithstanding that salt sea water being hotter, more transparent, & absterfive than fresh water of the river, seemeth by all apparence better for to wash withall? As touching this problem (quoth *Theon*) long since hath *Aristotle* resolved it, referring all to the terrellity of the sea; for that in sea water there is mingled much earthie substance, which causeth it to be so salt, by reason whereof, it beatech them up better who swim therein; also it causeth a greater and heavier burden than fresh water, the which yeeldeth and giveth way, as it is more subtille, lighter, and feebler, as being more simple and pure: in which regard it pierceth sooner, and by this penetrative facultie, it scoureth and cleareth away all staines and spots better than sea water: and thinke you not that this reason of *Aristotle* carrieth great apparence of truth? Yes verily (quoth I) there is apparence and probability indeed thereof, but no truth at all: for this I see ordinarily that the manner is to increase fresh water with ashes or gravel stones; or if there be none to be had, even with very dust, as if the roughnesse of these small substance were more meet and apt, to cleanse all filthinesse, which simple and cleere water cannot doe so well, by reason of the thimble subtiltie thereof, and because it is very weake: and therefore it is not well and truly said, that the thicknesse of the sea water hindereth

doth his effect. But the true cause is, for that it is penetrant and piercing, for this action being doth unbinde and open the small pores, and so draweth forth the ordure outwardly; whereas contrariwise, that which is grosse and thicke, is never good and meet for to wash withall, but rather it maketh spots & staines: now is the sea fatie and oleous, which may be a principal cause why it is not good to wash withall: and, that sea water is unctuous, *Aristotle* himselfe beareth witness; for even salt it selfe hath a certaine fatnesse and unctuousity in it; by reason whereof, it causeth those lampes to burne more cleere wherein it is put: yea and sea water if it be sprinkled or dropped upon the flame, will likewise be of a light fire and burne withall; neither is there any water that burneth so much as that of the sea; and in this regard I am of opinion, that it is of all other water hottest: howbeit there may be another reason yeilded; for considering that the end and consummation of washing, is to drie; those things wee hold most near and cleane which are driest; and therefore the moisture that doth wash, must goe away together with the ordure; like as the root of *Elleboro* is sent out of the body with the melancholike humour: as for the humiditie which is sweet and fresh by reason of the lightnesse thereof, the sunne draweth it up very quickly; whereas the saltnesse of sea water sticketh fast to the small pores, & by reason of the alperitie thereof is hard to be dried. Then *Theon*: This (that you say quoth he) is nothing, but very false; for *Aristotle* in the same booke affirmeth, that those who wash in the sea, are sooner dry than they that wash in fresh water, if they stand in the sunne. He saith so indeed (quoth I) but I thought that you would sooner beleieve *Homer*, who holdeth the contrarie. For *Ulysses* after he had suffered shipwracke mette with ladie *Nausicaa*:

All terrible and fearefull to be seene

For that in sea all plunged she had bene.

Yea and himselfe said unto her women and waiting maidens:

Reire aside an. stand you farre from me,

Faire damosels, untill such time you see,

That I have washt from off my shoulders twaine

The filth of sea, that now my skinneth doth staine.

And when he had thus said, he went downe into the river,

And there anon, he scow'd cleane away,

The salt sea-some, upon his head that lay.

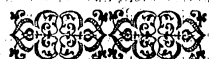
In which place, the poet hath marvelous well observed and exprested that which ordinarily happeneth in such a case: for that, when they who come forth of the sea stand drying them in the sunne, his heat doth presently dissipate the most subtille and lightest substance of the humanitie, and then, that which is most foule and filthy, remaining behinde, sticketh to, is baked and fisted to the skinneth, in manner of a salt crust, untill it be washed off with fresh and potable water.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that at Athens they never judged nor pronounced the daunce of the tribe Acanthis to be the last?

*A*T the solemne feast which *Serapion* made for the victory of the daunce, which the tribe of *Acanthis* obtained, by his leading and conduct; to which feast we were bidden, as being of that tribe; for that the people had endued us with the priviledge and right of bourgeoisie in the same; much talk there was occasioned by the great emulation and strife which had bene for the honour of that present daunce; and indeed followed it was with much zeale and heat of affection, by reason that king *Philopappus* himselfe in person, was a most honourable and magnificent president thereof, having detained the charges belonging to the daunces of every tribe; who being present also with us, invited guests to this stately supper (as hee was a prince no lesse courteous and full of humanitie, than studious and desirous of knowledge) had both the proposing and also the hearing of many antiquities. Now there was propounded and put to discourse, such a matter as this, by *Neasphus* the Grammarian, namely: That *Xanthus* the Cyzicene wrote in his fabulous narrations of this citie, that the tribe *Acanthis* had by especial honour, this speciall priviledge above the rest, that their daunce was never adjudged to the last place. That writer (quoth the king) is not sufficient to authorize an history; but supposing that this were true, let us make it the subject-matter of our discourse at this present, and search the cause thereof. But admit (quoth our friend *Philos*) that this were a false tale. What then?

(quoth king *Philopappus*) there were no great matter in it, if the like befall unto us for love of learning, as sometime did to the wife philosopher *Democritus*; who feeding one day (as it should seeme) upon a cucumber, when he perceived the juice and liquor thereof to be vorie sweet, and to taste of honie; demanded of his maid-servant who attended upon him, where she bought it: who named a certaine garden: whereupon he rose from the boord, and would needs have her to bring him thither, and to shew him the very place where it grew: but the wench wondering at her master, and asking him the reason what he meant to be gone in such haste: Why (quoth he) I must needs finde out the cause of this extraordinary sweetnesse, and finde it I shall, when I have well viewed and considered the place: hereat the maiden smiling: Sit you still, good sir (quoth she) and let this thing trouble your head no farther; for the truth is this: I chanced before I was aware, to put this cucumber into a vessell that had honie in it. Then *Democritus* (seeming to be offended and displeased with her: Thou angrest me to the heart with thy prittle-prattle, I will (I tell thee) go forward in this my intended purpose, and search into the cause hereof, as if this sweetnesse were naturall and came of the cucumber it selfe; and even so we will not pretend this readinesse and facilitie of *Neantes* in delivering some matters incredible, as an evasion or excuse, to avoid this present disputation: for if none other good will come of our discourse, yet I am sure it will serve well to whet and exercise our wits the while. Then all the companie at once with one accord, fell to praise the said tribe *Aeantis*, relating and collecting what commendable acts fover and glorious feats of armes had beene performed by that tribe. And here they failed not to rehearse the famous battell of *Marathon*, which is a State belonging to the tribe *Aeantis*. They forgot not to alledge likewise, how *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* were *Aeantides*, borne in *Aphidna*, a towne of that tribe. Also *Glaucias* the oratour affirmed, that the right wing or point of that battell of *Marathon*, was assigned to them of that tribe, proving the same by the Elegies or verses which the poet *Aeschylus* had composed in the praise of their good service, having himselfe in person fought valiantly in the said conflict. Moreover, he shewed that *Callimachus* the high marshall of the field, being one of that linage, both bare himselfe right bravely that day, and was one of the principall authors (after capitaine *Miltiades*) of that fought field, gave his voice with him, and perswaded to strike this battell. Unto this allegation of *Glaucias*, I my selfe added moreover, and said: That the decree or commission, by vertue whereof *Miltiades* led forth the Athenian armie with banner displayed, into the field, was concluded at what time as the tribe *Aeantis* was president of the counsell at *Athens*; as also that the same tribe in the battell of *Plataea*, carried away the praise and prize for their brave service above the rest: and hereupon it is, that this tribe of *Aeantis* solemnizeth every yeere a stately sacrificie, for that victorie, as being commanded and appointed so to doe by the oracle of *Apollo*, upon the mount *Citharon*, and the same performed by nymphes or maidens * *Sphigrides*: for the celebration of which solemnity, the city furnisheth them with beafts and other things needfull for the same sacrifice. But yet you see (quoth I) that all the rest of the tribes may as well alledge for themselves many valiant acts by them atchieved; and namely, *Leontes*, from which my selfe am descended, which in glorious tenowines, giveth place to none whatsoever. Consider therefore my masters, whether it bee not very like and mote probable, that this was attributed unto it, for to appease and comfort that worthy person who gave the name unto this tribe; I meane *Ajax* the sonne of *Telamon*; who had not the patience to endure the overthrow in judgement, and losse of *Achilles* armour, but was so farre inflamed with envie, emulation, and wrath, that he spared nothing, nor cared for the ruine of himselfe, all to the end therefore that he might not fall into another fit of furie, and be implacable; though good it was to ease him of the same, and to remove that thing which might of all things offend and vex him most; in that disfavour and disgrace, to wit: That the tribe which beareth his name, should never, be thrust downe into the lowest and last place.



THE



THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE SYMPOSIAQUES.

The Summarie, or severall Chapters thereof.

- 1 **W**hat be those things which Xenophon saith, that men are better contented to be asked of at the table, yea, and to be scoffed at for, than otherwise no.
- 2 What is the reason that we have better stomacks to our meat, and eat more in summer, than in any other season of the yeere.
- 3 Whether the hen was before the egge, or the egge before the hen.
- 4 Whether wrestling was of all the sacred exercises and games of prize, most ancient.
- 5 Why Homer among all the combats of prize, putteth evermore in the first place, the fight at bussets; next to it, wrestling; and last of all, running the race.
- 6 What is the cause that the pine, sapin or pitch tree, and other like, yielding rosin, can not be grafted by way of inoculation or the scutifam.
- 7 Of the stay-ship fish Remora.
- 8 How it cometh to passe, that the horses *Lyconspades* are said to be more courageous and better spirited, than any others.
- 9 How it is, that the sheepe worried by wolves, yeeld flesh more sweet and tender, but wooll more subject to breed lice than others.
- 10 Whether our ancestors did better in old time, to eat every man his owne part divided by himselfe at the boord, or the men now living, who feed in common, of viands set before them all together.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF the Symposiaques.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What be the things whereof Xenophon saith: That men love better to be asked and to be scoffed at for, when they sit at the boord, than otherwise no?

- 40 **W**hat those things (ô *Sofus Senecio*) which are provided to furnish the Preface, and set out feasts and banquets, some are to be ranged as altogether necessarie; namely, bread, wine, viands, meats, both flesh and fish, benches, stools, formes, and tables; others be but accessaries and may be spared, devised onely for pleasure, and not upon any urgent necessitie; as plaies, shewes, and pastimes brought in, either to be heard or seene; some pleasant buffon also or mery jester to make folke laugh, such an one as *Philip* in *Kallias* his house, which disports men are delighted in otherwhiles, if they be presented, and if they be not, they are not greatly missed, nor much cared for, neither is the feast thought defectuous for want thereof. The same may be said of table talke: for one kinde there is which modest and civill men doe embrace and entertaine, in regard of their proper use fitting and agreeable for meales and meat indeed; another sort they admit, and allow as containing some gentle speculation, and the same becometh rather the time imploied in hearing musike, of flute, hautboies, lute and viall. And of both these, our first booke contained certaine miscellane examples one with another; as namely, of the first sort were these questions: Whether it be good and commendable, to treat and dispute of philosophicall matters

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ters at the table or no? Also, whether it be better, that the master of the feast himselfe place his questions, at the boord, or permit them to sit at their owne discretion? Of the second kind be these; whereupon arose this common saying: That love teacheth musick or poetrie; as also the question concerning the tribe *Aemias* and such like. For mine owne part, I would call the former *Symposica*, as properly belonging to a feast; the other by the generall name *Symposica*, as be-
 seeming rather a banquet after the feast is done; howbeit set downe they are by the pell-mell, and
 not distinctly, but according as every one of them came into my minde and remembrance:
 neither must the readers marvell if I collect and gather certaine speeches for to dedicate unto
 you, which have bene haply held heretofore by others, or by your owne selfe: for albeit our
 learning is not alwaies a calling to remembrance, yet oftentimes it falleth out, that to remem-
 ber and to learne, concurre and meet together in one subject matter. Moreover, having dig-
 ested in every booke ten questions, the first of this second is one, that *Xenophon* a disciple of *Soc-
 rates*, hath in some sort propounded unto us, when hee writeth: That *Gobyas* being upon a time at
 supper with *Cyrus*, as he praised many other fashions of the Persians, to he commended them
 especially in this: That they demanded one of another such questions, wherewith they stood
 Letter pleased, than if they had not bene asked at all; and betwene whiles, let sic such pleasant
 scoffes and jestes, as that the parties so scoffed at, liked thereof better, than otherwise if they had
 bene let alone. For if it be so, that other men, even with their praises many times offend us, why
 should we not greatly admire the seemly grace and wittie conceit of those, whose scoffes and
 jests yeeld pleasure and contentment to those who seeme to be mocked therewith? This is the
 reason why *Sopater* having one day invited us to a feast at *Patra*, mooved this talke and saide:
 Gladly would I know what kinde of questions and interrogatories they were? of what nature,
 and what the manner of them was? For no small part it is (quoth hee) of our entercours
 and mutuall communication one with another, to have the dexterity and skill, both to
 know and also to observe the decencie and congruencie in such pleasant demands and facetie
 jests. Nay, (quoth I againe) a great matter it is; but make, if *Xenophon* himselfe as well in the
 Symposium or banquet of *Socrates*, as in those of the Persians, giveth not us to understand
 what was the order thereof: and if you thinke good that we enter into this discourse, and that
 I should adde somewhat of mine owne. First and foremost this is mine opinion: That men are
 well enough pleased to be asked those questions, to which they are able easily to answer, and
 namely of such things as they have best skill and experience of: for if one should demand of
 them, matters that they know not, either they be offended and grieved if they can say nothing
 unto them (like as those who are called upon to pay debts which they are not able to discharge)
 or if they bring out crosse, inpertinent, and untoward reasons, they are much troubled, dis-
 maied, and perplexed: whereas if their answers bee not onely readie and easie, but also wittie
 and exquisite, so much the more pleasant and agreeable it is to the answerers: now those I
 count wittie and exquisite, which carie somewhat with them, that the common multitude
 knoweth not, or which few men have heard of; such as be the points of astrology or logike,
 especially if they be well seene therein, and have as it were the habit of them: for everie man is
 well pleased and appaied, not onely in practising and spending his time, as *Euripides* saith:

Whereby he may quit him self well,

That even himselfe he may excell.

but also in reasoning and discoursing of that wherein he hath best skill and knowledge. For
 men take great contentment when they be asked questions of that which they have an insight
 in, and knowing so much by themselves as they doe, loth they bee to have their cunning hid-
 den, and to be thought of others ignorant therein: therefore those who have bene great tra-
 vellers, and failed in many voiaes, cannot be better pleased, than when others enquire of them
 as touching faire countries, strange seas, the manners, fashions, and customes of barbarous
 nations; and you bring them to bedde (as they say) when you put them to discourse of such
 matters; as being most willing to describe and draw upon a table the coasts, places, straits,
 and gulfs by which, and through which they have passed, repunting it to be no small fruit
 of all their travels, and an easement of the paines which they have endured: in one word, looke
 whatsoever we of our selves are wont, without the demand and intreatie of others to recount
 and relate willingly; the same are we desirous that men should aske us questions of, and how-
 soever we seeme to doe pleasure unto the company, yet indeed we have much adoe to hold, and
 with great paine forbear to utter the same. This is a very maladic incident to failers and fea-
 men above all other. As for those that be of a more modest and civill nature, they are desirous

to be asked those things, which they are willing enough to utter, but that they be abashed, and
 in reverent regard of them that be present, passe over in silence those exploits which they have
 performed happily and with great honour: and therefore good olde *Nestor* in *Homer* did very
 wisely, who knowing well the ambitious humour and desire of glory which was in *Ulysses*,
 spake unto him:

*Ulysses, flower of noble chivalrie,
 Renowned knight, and all the Greeks glorie,
 To tell us now, I pray (good sir) begin,
 How ye both twaine did those great horses win.*

For unwilling men are to heare those who praise themselves or recount their owne worthy acts,
 if there be not one or other of the company that is urgent with them so to do, or unless they be
 in manner forced unto it; and therefore they are glad, when they be asked concerning the ambaf-
 sages wherein they have bene imploied; of their acts during the time of their government of
 State, especially, if they have performed some great and honourable service therein; and with-
 out, perceive that it is not for envie nor malice, that such demands be made: for otherwise, such
 as be envious or malicious, weepe at those reports, and be ready to put them by, not willing to
 give place unto any narrations, not to minister occasion or matter of talke, that may tune to the
 honor and commendation of him that delivereth the same. Moreover, this is another meanes
 to gratifie those who are to answer; namely, to move question of such things as they wot well
 enough, that their enemies and ill-willers are loth to heare. And verily, *Ulysses* said to *Alecinous*
 in this wise:

*A mind ye have, to heare me tell
 my wofull miserie,
 That I might still sigh, groane and wail
 for my hard destinie.*

Even so *Oedipus* in *Sophocles* answered thus to the company of the Chorus:

*As yet it is (my friend) to raise and wake
 A griefe that long hath slept and rest doth take.*

But contrariwise, *Euripides* wrote after this sort:

*How sweet is it to one for to remember
 The paine now past, which sometime he did suffer!*

True it is, but not to those who still wander, and (being tossed in troublesome seas) do yet meet
 with new misfortunes and calamities. But to returne againe to our former purpose; we ought
 to beware how we demand ill newes: for men are grieved at the heart, to make report either
 how they have bene cast & condemned in any sute, or that that they have buried their children;
 as also, how unfortunate they have bene in their traffique either by sea or land: contrariwise,
 they are well pleased to rehearse and repeat often times (if they be asked the question) how they
 have had good audience given them from the publike place of making orations, and obtained
 whatsoever they there demanded; how they have bene saluted and honourably entreated by
 some king and potentate; and how, when other passengers and travellers with them, have bene
 plunged into dangers of tempest or thieves, they onely escaped the perill: and for that in the
 bare relation, they seeme (as it were) to enjoy the thing it selfe, they can not be satisfied with
 the discourse and remembrance thereof. Allo men reioice and take delight, when they be
 asked as touching their friends, who are fortunate and doe prosper in the world, or of their owne
 children that profit well in learning and good literature, or have sped well in pleading causes, or
 otherwise are of credit in the court and with princes: fembably, they be very well content and
 pleased, to be moved for to relate, and so are more willing to make report of the losses or shame-
 full disgraces of their enemies and ill-willers, whom either they have overthrowen at the barre
 and caused to be condemned, or who otherwise are fallen into any disastrous calamity; for of
 themselves, loth they are, unless they be required thereto, to recount such things, lest they
 might be reputed malicious, and glad to heare of other mens harmes. A hunter loveth very
 well, to have speech and question mooved unto him as touching hounds; to doth a champion,
 and one that delighteth in bodily exercises, to be trained to talke of gymnasticall pastimes and
 feats of activitie, like as an amorous lover, of such persons as be faire and beautifull, a devout
 and religious man discourseth ordinarily of dreames and visions that hee seeth, and what good
 successe he hath had in his affaires, by observing the direction of oracles, the prelags of augu-
 ric and omes, by doing sacrifice, and generally, by the grace and speciall favour of the gods: and

Kkk 2 such

such be well pleased for to be asked questions as concerning these matters. As for old folke, you shall do them a high pleasure, if you put them to it, for to make any discourse whatsoever; for although the narration concerne them nothing at all, nor be to any purpose, yet if one aske them questions, he tickleth them in the right veine, and scratcheth them (as they say) where it itcheth. This appeareth by these verses out of *Homer*:

O Nestor, sonne of Neleus,
tell me in veritie,
How Agamemnon, elder sonne
of Atreus, did die?
Where was his younger brother then,
for Menelaus hight?
Lives he or no, in Achaia,
at Argos citie bright?

Here you see *Telemachus* asketh him many questions at once, giving him occasion and matter of much speech, not as some do, who restraining olde folke to answer to the point only which is necessarie, and driving them within a narrow compasse, bereave them of that which is their greatest pleasure. In sum, they that would rather please and delight, than displease and trouble, propose such questions, the answers whereunto, draw with them, not the blame and reproofe, but the praise and commendation; not the hatred and spight, but the amitie and good will of the hearers. And thus much may serve for interrogatories and demands.

As touching scoffes and merry jests, he that knoweth not how to use and handle them with dexterity, good discretion and skill, according to time and place convenient, I would advise him altogether to forbear them. For like as if men be in a slippery or ticklish ground, they that touch them never so little in running by, are able to overturne and lay them along; even so at the table, when we are drinking, in danger we be upon every small occasion in the world offered (by a word not well placed, or untowardly delivered) to fall into choler; yea, and many times, more moved we are with a scoffe or pleasant gibe, than with a reprochfull taunt or meere slander; for that ordinarily it is feared; that a reprochfull word proceedeth from a violent fit and sudden passion of anger, even against his will that giveth it; but we take more to the heart, a mocke or scornfull flout, as comming from a preped malice, and a voluntary minde set upon mischief, without any necessitie at all enforcing thereto; and to be briefe, we are in general more offended with those that can give a drie frumpe in good fadnesse, than such as cast forth words at random. And this we hold for certaine, that every one of such frumps biteth fore, and seemeth to be an artificiall kinde of reproch devised and thought upon of purpose before-hand: as for example, if one call another salt-fish-monger, by that word he gives him openly a plaine reproch; but if he say, we remember well, that you are wont to wipe or snuffe your nose upon your sleeve, he mocks him covertly, and calles him as much by craft. The like frumpe it was, that *Cicero* used to one *Octavius*, who supposed to be an Affrican borne: for when he seemed to excuse himselfe that he heard not what *Cicero* spake: And that is a great wonder (quoth *Cicero* againe) considering that you have an hole bored through your eare. And *Melanthis* being floured and made a mocking flocke by a comedie maker: You have (quoth he) given me a reward that I never deserved, and paid me that which you owed me not: such gibes therefore and mockes as these, doe prickte worse, and much like to arrowes with barded heads, stick longer by them who are thus floured; and for their wittinesse more delight those who are present, than for any other pleasure else, seeme to winne credit unto him that useth them. For to speake a truth, a scoffe or mocke is nothing else but a covert and dissimuled reproch for some fault, according to *Theophrastus*: so as he that standeth by and heareth it, can make construction thereof, and ghesse how to adde more unto it, as knowing and beleeving all the rest behinde to be true. For no doubt he that laugheth heartily as if he were tickled, when he heareth the answer of *Theocritus* to one, who being named for a common stripper of men out of their garments, as they went late in the floures, asked him if he went forth to supper? Yes mary doe I (quoth hee) but I meane to lie there all night: such an one (I say) seemeth to confirme the opinion of the fore-laid crime, for which the partie was suspected; inso much as hee that mocketh and scoffeth impudently and without grace, possesseth the standers by and hearers with malice, as if they insulted over the partie mocked, and were abettors themselves, as being glad that hee is thus derided or reproched. But in that noble citie *Lacedemon*, among other good disciplines in times past there taught, men learned also to jest at others without biting, and not to count themselves

selves nipped, when themselves were jested with: and if peradventure a man shewed himselfe discontented with some broad jest, and could not beare it well, the other partie presently gave over and was quiet. How then can it chuse but be an hard matter, to finde that kinde of scoffe or taunt which may content and please the party mocked? considering that it is a point of no small arte, not meane experience and dexteritie to be able for to discern and judge, what it is that in the fear of mockerie which is not offensive. Howbeit to open a little the meanes thereto: First and formost it seemeth, that as these jestes touch and sting them most who know themselves to be guilty of those vices for which they be mocked: so the same frumps if they note men for such faults of which they be most cleere, must needs in some sort be pleasant and acceptable unto them upon whom they be discharged. Thus *Xenophon* jesting pleasantly with that foule and illfavoured fellow above all others, all hairy, and as rough as a beare, said: He was the minion and love of *Sambulus*. You may call to minde also *Quintus* a good friend of ours, who when he lay sicke in bedde, complained that his hands were cold: But you brought them warm enough not long since (quoth *Aufidius Modestus*), when you returned out of the province: which quippe being banded upon him, an honest and upright pretor, ministred occasion of mirth, contentment, and laughter; the same if it had light upon a procofnall that had used extortion or oppression, would have beene a girding and nipping reproch. This is the reason that when *Socrates* challenged *Critobulus* the fairest young man then living, to compare their beauties, jested merrily with him, but scorned and derided him not. And *Alabindes* himselfe was pleasantly disposed with *Socrates*, when he said: That jealous he was of faire *Agathon*. And even kings and great princes verily otherwhiles joy and take pleasure when they be spoken of, as if they were poore or private persons; like as one of these pleafants or parasitticall jesters, when king *Philip* seemed to gird and scoffe at him, returned upon him againe this word: What sir, know you not who I am, do not I keepe & mainteine you? For in reproching such persons with vices and defects, as which are not in them, they doe after an oblique manner give them to understand, and doe make knowne the vertues and perfections which they have. But heere wee must take heed and be sure in any wife, that such good parts they be indued withall indeed, and without all doubt; otherwise that which is spoken to the contrary, buzzeth in their heads, and breedeth a doubtfull suspition in themselves: for hee that saith unto a rich and great monied man, that he will be his broker, and helpe him to some usurers of whom he may take up money at interest; or unto a sober person, who drinketh nothing but water, that he is a drunkard, or hath taken his wine too liberally; or he that calleth a liberal man, well knowne to spend magnificently, and ready to pleasure all men, a bafe mechanickall kumbix, and a pinching peni-father; or he who threatneth a famous advocate or counsellor at the barre, who hath a great name for lawe and eloquence in all courts of plea, and besides for policie and government is in high authority, that he will bring him to a non-sute, or overthrow him judicially, he (I say) ministreth matter of good spirit and laughter unto the partie whom he seemeth so to challenge or menace. After this manner king *Cyrus* became very lovely and gracious, by his singular courtserie, in that he would seeme to provoke his familiars for to performe those feats, wherein he knew himselfe inferior to them: and when *Ismenias* the famous musician plaid one day upon his flute, during the time of sacrifice, but so, as for all his musike there appeared no good prognosticks and signes, in the beast sacrificed, testifying that the gods were propice and well pleased; another mercenary minstrell, taking the instruments in his hand, kept a foolish and ridiculous tooting, full untowardly; and when all the company there in place reprooved him for it: To found an instrument (quoth he) to the contentment of the gods, is an heavenly gift: wherat *Ismenias* laughed a good, and made this answer: You take the matter amiffe (quoth he) and cleane contrary, for whiles I plaid, the gods tooke so great pleasure in my musike, that they intended it onely, & had no while to accept of the sacrifice; but when thou beganest to meddle with the pipes, they received it immediately, and made haste to be ridde and delivered of thy absurd piping. Moreover, they who call such things as be simply good, by odious and opprobrious names, and that in mirth, if they doe the same with a good grace; please more than those who directly praise the same; like as they doe nippe and bite more threatwily, who give reproches under faire and lovely tearmes, as for example: such as call wicked persons, *Arifides*, or bafe cowards, *Achilles*: after the manner of *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*, when he said:

Creon who had bene alwayes kind
And even at first her faithfull friend.

Another kinde there seemes to be of ironically praise, opposite unto the former; namely, when

Kkk 3

semblant

femblant is made of blame and reprove: which manner of praise, *Socrates* often used; as for example, when he called the indolent means that *Antisthenes* practised to reconcile men and make them friends, as also to gain good will and favour, brookage, bauds, craft, enticement and allurement: as also, for that the philosopher *Crates*, had a good grace with him whersoever he went, and because he was ever welcome, honourably received, and kindly entertained into what house he came, he was commonly named *Thyrepaetes*, as one would say; The doore-opener. Furthermore, that mockerie is pleasing, which goeth in manner of a complaint, and yet carrieth with it a kinde of gratitude and thankfulness. Thus *Diogenes* speaking of his matter and teacher *Antisthenes*,

*Who clad me in a cloake clothed bare,
And made me ragged clothes to weare;
Who forced me to beg my food,
And houselesse for to walke abroad.*

For nothing so good a grace it would have had, in case he had used these words: He who made me wife, contented, and happy. Also a certaine Laconian, who making a shew, that he blamed the warden of the publicke touchers and halles of exercises, for giving him wood so drie, that it would not so much as smoke, said thus of him: Heere is one, by whose meanes we can not be suffered to shew a tear. Semblably, if a man should call him who kept a bountifull table, and feasted him every day, a tyrant and taker of men perforce, saying withall, that he would not suffer him to eat his meales at home, nor to see so much as once his owne table in so many yeeres space: like as if one should complaine of the king, for making him, of a poore man, rich and wealthy, in these termes: That he had laied wait for him to doe him a shrewd turne, in taking from him his repose and leasure, and bereaving him of his sleepe and naturall rest: or as if some man having gathered plenty of good wine, turning againe upon the gods *Cabiri* in *Attilum*, should accuse them, for that they had caused him to have scant of vineger in his house, as they themselves in bound and mirth had menaced to doe. For these kinds of covert, secret and diffimuled praises, enter farther, carrying with them a greater grace and more effectually by farre, in such sort, as they who in this wise perceive themselves to be commended, are nothing offended thereat, nor take it in ill part.

Over and besides, it behooveth him who would give a frumpe or scoffe with a grace and dexterity, to know also the difference of a defect and imperfection, from studies and recreations whereto men are given: as namely, to distinguish between avarice or a contentious humour, and the love of musick or of hunting: for as men can not abide to be twit by those, so they are very well contented to be scoffed at for these; as *Demosthenes* the Mitylenean plaied in this kinde pleasantly upon a time: for when he went to visit a familiar friend of his, who loved musick passing well, and was much addicted to play upon the harpe; after that he had knocked at the doore, and the other hearing that it was he, willed him to come in: But first (quoth he) I would have you tie up your harpe. But the parasitticall bassau of king *Lysimachus*, contrariwise rejoined in this sort as rudely and uncivill; for when the king had throwen a counterfeit scorpion made of wood, upon his coat, wherewith he first started and was affraid; but when he perceived once that the king was merrily disposed, and did but make sport, came upon him againe: And I will fright you, sir king, as well (quoth he) come on, and give me a talent from you. The like regard ought to be had, and the same difference made, as touching the defects or imperfections of the bodie, at least-wile in many of them: for if men be jestled at, for that they be long-nosed and hawked, or otherwise have short snout-noses, they will but laugh thereat. Thus one of the minions of *Cassander*, was nothing offended with *Theophrastus*, when he said: I wonder at your eyes, that they fall not a finging, and make good musick, considering your nose is set and hidden within them: meaning, that he had a nose so flat and sunke into his head. And *Cyrus* seeing one with a long nose and hawked withall, willed him to marrie a wife with a short and flat nose: For then (quoth he) you would match well, and make a good medly betweene you. But so in case we jest and make game at those whose nostrils stinke, or who have a strong and unfavoury breath, they take it not well at our hands, but are displeased. On the other side, if they be plaied upon for their bald-pates, they can abide it well enough, and put it up; but say a man mocke them for having but one eye or being blinde, they will not endure it. In deed king *Antigonus* would jest pleasant with himselfe for the losse of one eye; as namely, when there was presented unto him a supplication written in great capitall letters: Why (quoth he) a man may see this, if hee were sturke blinde, and had never an eye in his head: but *Theocritus* of *Cyprus* his prisoner, he

10

put to death, for that, when one to comfort him, came and said: That if the kings eyes once had a sight of him, he should be pardoned, and save his life: Why then (quoth he) God have mercie upon me; for impossible it is for me to escape death: which he said, because king *Antigonus* had but one eye. See the Bizantine, when *Pasades* objected unto him his bleered eyes, saying: Mine eyes be sore with looking upon yours: Goe to (quoth he) you twit and reproch me, for a bodily infirmity that I have, and never looke your selfe upon a sonne of your owne, who carrieth the vengeance of God upon his shoulders: now this *Pasades* had a sonne, who was crumpled, shouledred and bunch-backed. Likewise *Archippus*, who in his time bare a great sway in *Athenis*, as being one of the oratours who led the people, and ruled the State, was very angry with *Metasthenius*, who alluding to his bunch-backe, and scoffing thereat,uled these termes: That he did not stand manfully upright in the defence of the citie, but *stouped and bended forward, as if he had suffered it likewise to leane, reele, and sincke downward. And yet some there be, who can carrie these broad jests patiently, and with good moderation; as one of the minions of king *Antigonus*, who having craved of him a talent in free gift, and seeing that he was denied it, required at the kings hands, that he would allow him a good strong guard to accompany him: For feare (quoth he) that I be forlaied by the way, and stifled by him, who enjoined me to carrie a talent of silver at my backe. See, how men are diversly affected in these externall things, by reason of the inequalitytie of their maimes, some after one sort, and some after another. *Epaminondas* sitting at a feast with his companions and colleagues in government, dranke wine as sharpe as vinegar, and when they asked him why he did so, and whether it made for his health: I know not that (quoth he) but well I wot this, that good it is to put mee in minde of my home diet. And therefore in casting out of jests and pleasant taunts, regard would be had of mens natures and dispositions, for that some have broader backs to beate scoffes than others: and endeavour we must, so to converse with men both in bound and in earnest, that wee offend no person, but be acceptable unto all.

As for love, a passion very divers it is, and passing variable, as in all other things, so in jests and gibes especially: for that some will take offence and be soone angry, others will be merrie and laugh it out, if they be touched in that point; and therefore above all things the opportunitye of time would be well observed: for like as when a fire is newly kindled and but weak 30 at the first, the winde will put it quite out, but when it hath gotten strength and burneth forth, it maintaineth, feedeth, and augmenteth the flame; even so love, when it is a breeding, and whiles it lieth secret, and sheweth not it selfe, quickly taketh displeasure and offence against those that discover it; but when it is once broken forth, and is made apparent and knowne to all, then nourished it is, and taketh delight to be blown (as it were) and enflamed more with scoffes and merry jestes: and that which pleaseth lovers best is this, when they be jestled with, in the presence of those whom they love, and namely in love matters; otherwise not; and if the case stand so, that they be woonderfully enamoured upon their owne wedded wives, or yong laddes by the way of honest and virtuous love, then they joy exceedingly, they glory and take a pride, in being scoffed at for the love of them. Heereupon *Arceflamus* being upon a time in 40 his schoole; when one of these professed lovers and amorous persons, chaunced in communication, to give him these words: Me thinks this that you have said toucheth none of this company; replied thus and said: No more than you are touched and moved; and withall, shewed him a faire and well favoured youth in the prime of his yeeres sitting by him. Furthermore, good regard and consideration would be had, who they be that are present and in place, for otherwhiles, men are disposed to take up a laughter at merry words which they heare among friends and familiars, who would not take it well, but be offended thereat, if the same were delivered before wife, father, or schoole-master, unless it were some thing that agreed verily well with their humour: as for example, if one should mocke a companion of his before a philosopher, for going bare-footed, or sitting up at his booke all night long, studying and 50 writing; or in the presence of his father for being thrifre, and spending little; or in the hearing of his owne wife, that he cannot skill of courting and loving other dames, but is altogether devoted and serviceable unto her alone: thus *Tigranes* in *Xenophon*, was mocked by *Cyrus*, in these termes: What and if your wife, should heare say that you made a page of your selfe, and caried your bedding and other stuffe upon your owne necke? She shall not (quoth he) heare it, but be an eye witnesse thereof, and see it in her presence. Furthermore, when they give out such merrie taunts as these, be partakers therein, and in some sort doe include themselves withall; lesse blame-worthy they are, and nothing so much to be reprov'd; as for example: when

Greci. metr.

a poore man glaunceth againſt poverrie, or a new upſtart and gentleman of the firſt head, a gainſt meane parentage, or an amorous perſon girdeth at the wantonneſſe of another lovers, for it may ſeeme thereby, that there was no meaning and intent to offend or offer wrong, but that all was merily ſpoken, ſeeing they participate in the like defects, for otherwiſe it might nippe very much, and go too neere to the quicke. Thus one of the affranchiſed or freed men of the emperour, grown up on a ſudden to be exceeding rich, bare himſelfe very proud, and diſdainfull to certaine philoſophers, who ſat at the table and ſupped together with him, inſulting very inſolently over them, and in the end comming out with this fooliſh queſtion: How it came to paſſe that the broth or pottage made of beanes, whether they were blacke or white, looked greene alike? *Aristides* one of the philoſophers there in place, asked him preſently againe, what the reaſon was, that the wailes or marks of ſtripes and laſhes, were all red indifferently, whether the whippes were made of white or blacke leather thongs? at which reply, the other was fo daſhed, and diſquieted, that he roſe from the boord in a pelting chaſe, and would not tarry. But *Amphius* of *Tarſus* (ſuppoſed to be no better than a gardiners ſonne) having by way of ſcorn ſcoffed at one of the familiar friends of the lord deputie there, for his meane birth, taking himſelfe immediately with the manner: But why ſay I ſo for we (quoth he) are come of no better ſeeds; made the party and all the company to laugh heartily. Senſibly, there was a miſtrell or profeſſed muſician, who kindly and with a very good grace, repreſſed the preſumptuous curioſitie and unſkilfulneſſe of king *Philip*, who forgot himſelfe ſo much, that hee would needs recede a lecture as it were unto the ſaid miſtrell, how he ſhould finger and ſtrike; finding fault with him in certaine accords of muſicke: Ah, God forbid, (quoth he) my good leege lord that it ſhould go ſo heard with your grace, as to be more ſkilful in this art than my ſelfe; for thus whiles he ſeemed to mocke himſelfe, he told the king of his fault without offence: and this ſeemeth to be a device that comicall poets otherwhiles praſtice, to allay the bitter gall of their quips & taunts, namely, to ſcoffe at themſelves, as *Ariſtophanes* uſed to make ſport with his own bald pate; and *Cratinus* noted himſelfe, that he loved wine ſo well, in that comedie which he intitled *Pyſine*, that is to ſay, a bottle or flagon of wine: but above all, this regard and conſideration would be had, that all ſuch ſcoffes and merrie jeſtes, come from a man *extempore*, and readily, either by way of anſwer to a preſent demand, or occaſioned upon ſome other ſudden ſcoffe, and in no wiſe to ſeeme faire ſerch, as a thing premeditated & ſtudied on before: ſo like as men beare and endure with more patience, the anger and debates among themſelves, ariſing now and then at the table, whiles they be in the middes of their cups; but if another ſtranger ſhould come in place, and offer abuſe to any of the gueſts, and ſo trouble the company, hee ſhould be reputed an enemy, and for very hatred they would thruſt him out of the dores by head & ſhoulders; even ſo, we can find in our hearts, eaſily to pardon a ſcoffe, a ſtump, or broad jeſt, if it proceed from ſome matter, at the preſent deliverie, or ſeeme to come naturally, unforced, and without art; but in caſe it be not occaſioned preſently, nor reſpective to the purpoſe, but drawen (as one would ſay) violently by the haire of the head from elſewhere; then it reſembleth ſome ambuſh fore-laid aſſare off, for to wrong and do injurie to one perſon or other; like to that jeſt of *Timagenes*, which he diſcharged upon the husband of a woman, who was wont ordinarily to caſt up her gorge, in this manner:

With muſicke haſt thou doe begin,

*Thus * coming to bring her in.*

As alſo the demand propoſed unto the philoſopher *Alcibodorus*, whether the love of parents to their children, be * muſicall. For ſurely, ſuch unreaſonable cuts and taunts as theſe, not accommodate to time and place, nor fitted to the preſent occaſion, doe bewray a malicious minde, and a deliberate purpoſe, to offer wrong and abuſe: and therefore ſuch perſons as delight in theſe biting girds, many times for a word, which is the lighteſt thing in the world, as *Plato* ſaith, have paid a moſt heave and grievous price; whereas contrariwiſe, they that know how to place their words in due time, in meet place, and apply to the purpoſe, do verifie the teſtimonie of the ſame *Plato*, who ſaith: That it is an aſſured ſigne of a mans good bringing up, and the point of liberall nuture and inſtruction, to know how to jeſt with a decent grace, and without the offence of any perſon.

* *ἡδὴ ἔπειτα* *ἡδὴ ἔπειτα*, which ſoundeth all one with *ἡδὴ ἔπειτα*, that haſt a faire different ſenſe: reade according to the former, ſilently, ſilently muſicke: after the latter, it betokeneth vomiting.

This equivocation in Greeke, ſignifieth that grace with it, which I can not ſo apply expreſſe in Engliſh. * *ἡδὴ ἔπειτα*, ſome reade *ἡδὴ ἔπειτα*, that is to ſay, naturally. How ever it be, you muſt underſtand it of wanton love, which is neither naturall nor harmonically. For this *Alcibodorus* was noted for inſect with one of his daughters.

THE

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whymen be more hungry, and eat better in Autumne, than in any other quarter of the yeere?

IN the borough *Elenſine*, after the ceremonies of ſacred myſteries were performed, whē as the ſolemnitie (celebrated with ſo frequent concourſe of people) was at the higheſt, we were feaſted by *Glaucias* the oratour in his houſe; where when others had made an end of ſupper, *Xenocles* his brother, began after his manner, to cavill and ſcoffe at my brother *Lamprias*, twitting him with his large feeding, and indeed hitting in his teeth and reproching him with the voracitie of the Bœotians, who are taken to be good trencher-men: whereupon I (in the defence of my brother, and to be revenged of *Xenocles*) tooke occaſion out of the doctrine of *Epicurus*, and ſaid unto him: What (good ſir) all men do not define and determine the utmoſt point and perfection of pleaſure, to be indolence, or the privation of paine, as your good maſter *Epicurus* doth: and beſides, my brother *Lamprias*, who honoureth and eſteemeth more the walking galleries of the Peripateticks, and the ſchoolle of the Stoicks, called *Lyceum*, than he doth the garden of *Epicurus*, muſt of neceſſitie and in effect, beare witneſſe to *Ariſtotle*, who affirmeth: That there is no man, but he eateth more in Autumne, than in any other ſeaſon of the yeere: and a reaſon he giveth thereof, although it be now out of my head. So much the better (quoth *Glaucias*) for we our ſelves will ſee if we can finde it out after ſupper is done. Now when the tables were taken away, *Glaucias* and *Xenocles* both, imputed the cauſe thereof to the ſundry fruits of that ſeaſon, and that after a divers fort. For one ſaid, that new fruits do make the bellie ſoluble, and ſo by evacuation of the bodie, engender alwaies freſh appetites to meat. The other, to wit, *Xenocles*, affirmed, that theſe fruits (for the moſt part) carrie with them a certaine piercing and mordicant qualitie, yet pleaſant withall, whereby they provoke and quicken the ſtomacke to appetite, more than any viands or ſauces whatſoever; inſomuch as thoſe who be ſickly, and have loſt their ſtomacks, recover the ſame many times, by eating ſome of thoſe fruits new gathered. But *Lamprias* alledged, that our familiar and naturall heat, by which we are nourished in Summer time, is diſperſed, and becometh more feeble and reſolved: but contrariwiſe, upon the entrance of Autumne, it gathereth it ſelfe together inwardly againe, and is fortified by the means of the colde ambient aire, which knitteſh, conſtreineth, and cloſeth up the pores of the bodie. Then I (because it ſhould not be thought that I would be one to participate in this conference without contributing ſomewhat of mine owne, when my couſe came to ſpeake) declared, that in Summer time, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat of the weather, we are more thirſtie, and in regard of the ſame heat and drought, take in more moiſture and liquid nourishment: Now therefore, nature (quoth I) by reaſon of the change of the aire and the ſeaſon, ſeeking (as her manner is) for the contrary, cauſeth us to be more hungry in Autumne, than at other times, and for the temperature of the bodie, tendereth unto it as much drie food, as it had taken moiſture in Summer time: and yet a man can not well ſay, that the cauſe of this effect dependeth nothing at all of the viands which we eat, conſiſting much of new and freſh fruits, not onely thick gruels and pottage, but alſo of pullet wheat-bread, and fleſh, reared the ſame yeere, which being more favourable than thoſe of the yeeres paſt, do by conſequence provoke thoſe that uſe to feed upon them, for to eat better.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

Whether was before, The hen or the egge?

THIS long time I abſtained from eating egges, by reaſon of a certaine dreame which I had, being deſirous to make that experience in an egge, which is made in an heart, by occaſion of a viſion which hath evidently appeared unto me many times in my ſleepe. And hereupon, when I was one day at a feaſt which *Soſimus Senecio* made unto us, the companie conceived an opinion or ſuſpition of me, that there were entered into my head, the fantaſies and ſuperſtitious of *Orpheus* & *Pythagoras*, and that I abhorred to eat an egge, like as many do forebear the heart and the braine of a living creature; for that I beleaved it to be the principle and fountaine of generation: inſomuch as *Alexander* the Epicurean, by way of a jeſt, and to move laughter, alledged theſe verſes:

egge in no proportion answereth to such a principle, for that it hath not a subsistence first, nor any reason or nature of the whole, because it is imperfect. And hereupon it is, that we never say, that a living creature had any being or subsistence, without an elementarie beginning: but we affirme, that there was a principle of generation, to wit, the power or facultie generative, by which the matter was transmuted, and wherein there was imprinted a generall temperance; and that the egge afterwards, is as it were a certain supergeneration, much like unto the bloud & milke of a living creature, after nourishment & concoction: for never shall you see an egge engendered of mud; for that an egge hath the generation and concretion within the bodie onely of a living creature; whereas there be an innumerable sort of creatures procreated & bred of mud and within mud. And to seeke no further for allegation of other examples to prove this, there 10 be taken every day an infinit number of eeles, and yet never saw any man one eele, either miltre or spawner, or that had any row in it. And more than that, if one let out all the water forth out of the poole, and cleanse it from all mud and mire, yet after the water is returned thither againe into the place, there will be eeles soone engendered. And therefore we may conclude necessarily, that whatsoever in generation hath need of another, can not chuse but be after it; and that which otherwife may be of it selfe, and without the other, must of necessity precede and go before in generation: for this is that prioritie whereof I speake. To prove this, marke how birds do build and make their nests before they lay egges; women also provide cradles, clouts, beds, and swaddling-clothes for their little babes, before they crye out, or be delivered; and yet you will not say (I throw) that either the nest was before the egge, or the swaddling cloths before the infant. 20 For (as *Plato* saith) the earth doth not imitate a woman, but a woman the earth; and consequently, all other females. And very like it is, that the first procreation out of the earth, was performed entire, and accomplished by the absolute vertue and perfection of the Creatour, without need of such instruments, vessels, or secondones, which nature deviseth now, and frameth in parents, by reason of their imbecillity and weaknesse.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether wrestling were of all the exercises and games of prize, most ancient or no?

WE made a feast in the honour of *Sesicles* the Coronean, for joy of the victorie which hee obtained at the Pythicke games, over all other poets. And when the time drew neere at hand, wherein the Gymnicke masteries and feats of activity, were to be performed; the greatest talke was at table, as touching the wrestlers; for that many of them resorted thither, and those the most renowned champions of all Greece. In our company was *Lysimachus*, one of the agents or procuratours of the high commissioners, called *Amphictyones*, who moved speech, and said, how not long before, he heard a Grammarian say: That wrestling was the most ancient combat of all those exercises that were named Gymnicke, for that they were performed by men naked; and he added moreover: That the very name thereof in Greeke, imported no lesse; for *palus*, aludeth neere unto *palus*, which is as much as [of olde] or [in times past.] And it may seeme (quoth he) that ordinarily, the things that be moderne and newly devised, borrow the names imposed upon those that be of more antiquity: for so we say that *aulos*, that is to say, the fluit or hautboies is turned, borrowing the tearme of *aulos*, which is a psalterie or stringed instrument: and we call even at this day, *aulos*, i. the playing upon the pipe or hautboies, by the name of *palus*, that is to say, striking with the fingers, which no doubt is a tearme fetched from the harpe or lute. And even so, the very place where they do exercise, who performe all feats of activity naked, is named *palus*, of *palus*, that is to say, wrestling; which (no doubt) was a denomination given to it at the first, and time out of mind, howsoever it be retrained still, and extended to other exercises invented since, & taken up long after. Then began I, and said: That this argument and testimonie, was not sufficient to conclude thereupon: For admit (quoth I) that *Palus* 50 was derived of *palus*, which significth wrestling, yet it was not because of all others it was most ancient, but for that it is the only exercise that requirith cley, called *palus*, dust also and *ceroma*, which is a composition of oile and waxe, wherewith wrestlers be anointed. For surely, in these places, called *Palus*, there is practised neither running a race, nor fist fight or combat with buffets, but only wrestling, called *palus*, and *Paneration*, wherein they go to it with hand and foot, yea, and by the very teeth and all: for that in these two exercises, the champions lie along together-whiles, and wallow in the dust and mire, named *palus*. And evident it is, that *Paneration* is

is a mixt exercise of wrestling and fist fight. Again: What likelihood or reason is there (quoth I) that wrestling, which of all combats is most wittie and artificiall, should likewise be of greatest antiquitie? for need and necessitie produceth that first, which is simple, plaine, and without arte; performed rather by fine force and maine violence, than by rule and method. When I had thus delivered my conceit, *Sesicles* seconding my words: True it is (quoth he) that you say, and the better to confirme your opinion, it seemeth unto me, that *palus* is derived of the verbe *palus*, that is to say, to overthrow or lay one along by craft and deceit. Nay rather (quoth *Philinus*) it tooke the name of *palus*, that is to say, the flat palme of the hand, because 10 this part especially of both the hands is most employed by them that wrestle; like as those, who go to buffets, use their two fists or hands clutched together; whereupon, that manner of fight is called *palus*, that significth, a fist; and the other, *palus* of *palus*, that is to say, the broad palme of the hand. Howbeit, forasmuch as the poets use this verbe *palus*, for *palus* and *palus*, that is, to throw and sprinkle dust, which we see wrestlers for to practise more than any other champions, it may be very well, that the word *palus*, was derived from *palus*. Consider yet moreover (quoth he) how the curriers or runners in a race, do all that lies in them, to leave their competitors a great way behind, and be as farre before them as possibly they can; those also that fight at buffets, though other-whiles they be very desirous to buckle and close together, yet the wardens and judges of the games will not permit them once to catch hold: but we see that wrestlers onely do clape about, and embrace one another with their armes; and the most part of 20 their striving one against another, whether it be performed by taking hold either directly or indirectly, by tripping, by coping and tugging, doe all bring them together, and entangle them: so that it is not unlike, that by reason they approach so as they do, and be neereft one to another, their wrestling was first called *palus*, of *palus*, which significth neere at hand.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that Homer among the combats of prize, setteth always in the first place: The fight at buffets; in the second, wrestling; and last of all, running the race?

WHEN these words had passed to and fro, and after that wee had commended *Philinus*, *Lysimachus* began againe, saying: And which of all the games of prize should a man say was first performed? The race or carriere, as at the Olympique solemnities: for heere at the Pythicke games, the manner is to bring in certaine champions at every severall game or plaie: first boies to wrestle, and after them, men-wrestlers also; then those that performe fist fight, one after another; and likewise the champions called *Paneration*: but there, after that children have achieved all their combats, the men grown were called in: Mary, this I would have you to consider well (quoth he) whether *Homer* hath not done very exprefly, to shew the order which was observed in his time? for alwaies in his poemes the fight with fist among all the Gymnicke combats, standeth first; wrestling second; and the running of a course last: Heere- 40 at *Crates* the Thessalian, wondering (as if he had bene amazed) *Hercules* (quoth he) what a number of things are we ignorant of! but I beseech you, that if you have readily under your hand any of his verses, you would not much to call them to our remembrance, and recite them: Why (quoth *Timon* then) it is well known in manner to all the world, and none there is but his eares resound againe with this; that in the honorable funerals of *Patroclus*, the same order of combats was precisely observed; and the poekeeping the same order still, and never missing it, hath brought in *Achilles* speaking unto good *Nestor* in this manner:

Heere father old, I give to thee,
This gift of meere gratuitee:
For now with fist thou maist not fight:
To wrestle still thou hast no might:
Thou canst no more the javelin lance,
Nor in the race thy selfe advance.

And anon he inferreth the aged grey-beard, answering with along traine of words, as the manner is of these old folke, after this sort:

The time was when at buffet fight,
the prize I wonne in field,

And with my fist made Clitome
 for Oenops sonne, to yeeld:
 Ancaeus the Pleuronien
 in wrestling gave me place,
 And Iphiclus by foot-manship,
 I overcame in race.

Afterwards in another place he speaketh of *Ulysses*, challenging the Phæocians to combat in this wise:

At buffets dry with good hard clutched fist,
 At wrestling, or at running if you list.

But of *Aleinous* making a kinde of excuse, and in fort condemning himselfe, in these words: 10

At buffets hard we fight not well,
 Ne yet in wrestling doe excell:
 But swift of foot, and light we are,
 And runne a course wit you dare.

Thus you may see his order, he changeth not upon any occasion or occurrence presented, neither rashly, and as it came into his head, now in one fort, and then in another; but following from point to point, as it were by a certaine rule and prescript, what was the use in those daies, and what was done then; he keepeth himselfe to the same method, according as they likewise observe still in the said ancient order. After that my brother had finished his speech, I said: That in mine advice he had spoken very well and truly to the point; but yet for all that, I could not conceive the reason of the said order: and some other were there present, who thought it unlikely, and were not perswaded, that in case of combat and achieving feats of activitie for victorie, either fighting with fists, or wrestling, should goe before running: and therefore they requested me to search farther into the matter, and to fetch the reason thereof from the very original: whereupon I set in hand presently and *extempore*, spake to this effect: That I thought all these combats to be the very representations and exercises of warfare; for proofe whereof, the custome was and is at this day, after that these combats be performed, to bring into the place a foot-man in compleat harness, and armed at all pieces, as it were to witness, that this is the end whereunto tend all these exercises of the body, the contentions also and amulations, for to gaine the prize, and the priviledge graunted unto the victours when they returned with triumph to those cities where they were borne; namely, to make some breach in the walles, and to throw downe some part thereof: the mytery and meaning whereof is thus much; that the walles of a citie serve in small stead, if there be no men in it who are able to fight, and know how to winne the victorie. In *Lacedæmon* they that once had gained the prize at these sacred and crowned games; by a speciall priviledge of honour, were allowed a certaine place in the battell, to be ranged neere unto the kings person, and there to fight: and of all living creatures, there is none but the horse onely that can obtaine the crowne in such games; for that he alone of all beasts, is by nature framed, and by discipline trained to accompany men in battels, and with them to fight: now if this be true, and to the purpose: We observe moreover (quoth I) that the first and principall worke of those who fight in the field, is to strike the enemy, and to ward his blowes; the second is, when they be come to close and to grapple with hand gripes, to thrust and assay how to overturne and lay one another under-foot: which by report was the vantage, that our countreymen being well practised in the feat of wrestling, had over the Spartans, at the battell of *Leuctres*, whereby they overthrowed them, & bare them to the ground: this also was the cause that *Aeschylus* the poet in one place, speaking of a valiant warrior, nameth him:

A wrestler stout, and tried in field,
 To fight it out with sword and shield.

And *Sophocles* in one of his tragedies speaking likewise of the Trojanes, reporteth thus much of them in these termes: 50

They love great horses for to sit,
 as valiant men at armes;
 Bowes horned at both ends they bend,
 and draw with strength of armes;
 They fight so close, they catch such hold,
 and gripe fast with hands twaine,

That

That in their wrestling, all their shields
 rebound and ring againe.

The third is this, when all is done, either to stie and runne away apace, if they be vanquished, or else to follow hard in chase, if they be conquerors. By good right therefore, the fight with fists goeth first; wrestling followeth in the second place; and running commeth in the last; for that buffeting representeth the charging of the enemy, and the avoiding of his recharge; wrestling may be compared with the violent buckling and conflict pell-mell in the medly; and by running, they learne how to pursue, or to escape by good footmanhip.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Why the pine, sapine, or pitch tree, and such other as yeeld a rosin, will not abide to be grafted in the scutcheon, or by way of inoculation.

Solarius feasting us upon a time within his orchards, which were well watered, and environed all about with the river *Cephissus*, shewed unto us trees carying armes and branches of sundry sorts, after a very strange manner, and all by the means of a kinde of grafting in the budde, called inoculation: for there saw wee olive boughes growing out of leniske or mastick trees; pomgranats out of myrtles; oakes there were which put forth faire pittines or pearre-trees; and plane-trees that admitted and adopted apple-trees; figge-trees also which were grafted with mulberry impes and cions; other mixtures there were besides of wilde plants, so tamed and made gentle, that they bare frute: whereupon some other of the guests began to jest and be merry with *Solarius*, saying: That he nourished certaine kinds of beasts, more monstrous than the fabulous *Sphinges* or *Chimæraes* of the poets. But *Craton* proposed this question: What the cause might be, that those trees onely which be oilous and full of rosin, admit not any such mixtures and compositions? For never shall you see pine tree that beareth the nuts, cypress tree, pitch tree or sapine, to mainteine or feede the grasse of a tree different in kinde. Then *Philo*, there is (quoth he) one maxime or principle held among the learned, and the same confirmed by the experience of husbandmen: That oile is an enemy to all plants; and there is not a readier way to kill what tree soever a man will, than to rubbe or besmeare it with oile; like as bees also by that means are soone destroyed: so it is therefore, that all those trees which have beene named, are of a fattie substance, and have a soft and unctuous nature, in so much as there distilleth and droppeth from them pitch and rosin; and if a man make a gash or incision in any of them, they yeeld from within, a certaine bloudie liquor or gumme, yea, and there issueth from the torch flames made of them, an oilous humour, which shineth againe, because they are so fattie & unguinous: This is the reason why they will not joine and be incorporate with other trees, no more than oile it selfe be mingled with other liquors. When *Philo* had done with his speech, *Crato* added thus much moreover: That in his opinion, the nature of their rinde or barke, made somewhat for the said matter; for the same being thinn and drie withall, yeeldeth neither a 40 sure seat & socket as it were to the impes or buds (which there dies) to rest in, nor means to get sappe and nutriment for to incorporate them; like as all those plants which have barks verie tender, moist, and soft, whereby the graftes may be clasped, united, and foddered with those parts that be under the said barke. Then *Solarius* himselfe said: That whosoever made these reasons, was in the right, and not deceived in his opinion; to thinke it necessarie, that the thing which is to receive another nature, should be pliable and easie to follow every way; to the end, that suffering it selfe to be tamed and over-come, it might become of like nature, and turne the owne proper nutriment, into that which is set and grafted in it. Thus you see, how before wee sow or plant, we care and turne the earth, making it gentle, soft, and supple, that being in this manner wrought to our hand, and made tractable, it may be more willing to apply it selfe, for 50 to embrace in her bosome whatsoever is either sown or planted; for contrariwise, a ground which is rough, stubborne, and tough, hardly will admit alteration: these trees therefore consisting of a light kinde of wood, because they are unapt to be changed and overcome, will admit no incorporation with others: And moreover (quoth hee) evident it is, that the stocke in respect of that which is set and grafted into it, ought to have the nature of a ground which is tilled; now it is well known, that the earth must be of a female constitution, apt to conceive and beare; which is the cause that we make choise of those trees for our stocks to graffe upon, which are most fructfull; like as we chuse good milch women that have plenty of milke in their

breſts, to be nurſes for other children beſides their owne, who we put unto them: but we ſee plainly, that the cypreſſe tree, the ſapin, and all ſuch like, be either barren altogether, or elſe beare very little fruite: and like as men and women both who are exceeding corpulent, groſſe, and fatte, are for the moſt part unable either to get or beare children; for ſpending all their nourishment as they doe in feeding the body, they convert no ſuperfluitie thereof into general feed; even ſo, theſe trees employing all the ſubſtance of their nourture to fatten as it were themſelves, grow indeed to be very thicke and great; but either they beare no fruite at all, or if they doe, the ſame is very ſmall, and long ere it come to maturitie and perfection: no marvel therefore that a ſtranger will not breede or grow there, whereas the owne naturall iſſue thrive but badly.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of the ſtay-ſhip fiſh, Echeneis.

Charomonian the Trallien, upon a time when divers and ſundry ſmall fiſhes of all ſorts were let before us, ſhewed unto us one with a long head, and the ſame ſharpe pointed, and told us that it reſembled very much the ſtay-ſhip fiſh, called thereupon in Greeke *Echeneis*, and he reported moreover, that he had ſeene the ſaid fiſh, as he ſailed upon the Sicilian ſea, and marvelled not a little at the naturall force and propertie that it had, ſo ſenſible in ſome ſort to ſtay and hinder the courſe of a ſhippe under ſaile, untill ſuch time as the mariner who had the government of the prow or foredecke, eſpied it ſticking cloſe to the outside of the ſhip, upon the relation of this ſtrange occurrent, ſome there were in place at that time, who laughed at *Charomonianus*; for that this tale and fiction, deviſed for the nonce to make folk merry, and which was incredible, went currant with him, and was taken for good payment: againe, others there were, who ſpoke very much in the defence of the hidden properties, and ſecret antipathies or contrarieties in nature. There you ſhould have heard many other ſtrange paſſions and accidents; to wit, that an elephant being enraged and ſtarkenad, becommeth appeaſed immediatly, upon the ſight of a ram; alſo, that if a man hold a branch or twig of a beech tree cloſe unto a viper, and touch her therewith never ſo little, the will preſently ſtay and ſtirre no farther, likewiſe, that a wilde bull, how wood and furious ſoever he be, will ſtand gently and be quiet, in caſe he be tied to a fig-tree; ſemblably, that amber doth remove and draw unto it all things that be drie and light withall, ſave onely the herbe baſill, and whatſoever is beſieged with oile; Item, that the Magnet or Lode ſtone, will no more draw iron, when it is rubbed over with garlick: the prooffe and experience of which effects, is well known, but the cauſes thereof difficult, if not impoſſible to be found out. But I for my part, ſaid: That this was rather a ſhift and evaſion, to avoid a direct anſwere unto the queſtion propounded, than the allegation of a true cauſe pertinent thereto: for we daily ſee that there be many events and accidents concurring, reputed for cauſes, and yet be none; as for example, if one ſhould ſay or beleeeve, that the blowing of the withie called Chaff-tree, cauſeth grapes to ripen, becauſe there is a common word in every mans mouth,

*Loe how the chaff-trees now do flower,
And grapes wax ripe even at one hour.*

or that by reaſon of the fungous matter ſeene to gather about the candle-ſnuffes or lamp-weeks, the aire is troubled, and the ſkie overcaſt; or that the hooking inwardly of the nailes upon the fingers, is the cauſe, and not an accident, of the ulcer of the lungs or ſome noble part within, which breedeth a conſumption. Like as therefore, every one of theſe particulars alleged, is a conſequent of divers accidents, proceeding all from the ſame cauſes; even ſo I am of this mind (quoth I) that one and the ſame cauſe, ſtathieth the ſhippe, and draweth the little fiſh *Echeneis* to ſtucke unto the ſide thereof; for ſo long as the ſhip is drie, or not overcharged with moiſture ſoaking into it, it ſtands with great reaſon, that the keele glideth more ſmoothly away, by reaſon of the lightneſſe thereof, and cutteth merrily throw the waves, which yeeld and give way willingly unto it, all the while it is cleane and void of filth; but after once (by being long drenched and ſoaked in the water, it hath gotten about the keele a deale of moſſe, reits, kilpe, and tangle, wherewith it is overgown and furred; then the wood of the ſaid keele or bottome, becommeth more dull, and not able to cut the waves ſo eaſily; and the water beating upon the moſſe and filth there engendered, reſteth there ſtill, and paſſeth not ſo eaſily away. The mariners therefore,

therefore, ſeeing this, uſe to cleaſe the ſides of the ſhip, and to ſcrape off this moſſe, reits, and ſuch like baggage, from the planks and ribbes thereof, unto which it is like that the ſaid fiſh willingly cleaveth, as being a matter ſoft and tender: ſo that we may very well thinke, that by reaſon of it, as the principall cauſe the ſhip is ſtated, and that it is not a conſequent or acceſſorie of that which cauſeth the ſlowneſſe thereof.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the horſes named Lycospades, be more courageous, and fuller of ſtomacke, than others?

Some are of opinion, that theſe horſes Lycospades tooke their denomination of certaine ſtrough and hard bits, called in Greeke, *Anot*, by means whereof, being ſo ſtomackfull otherwiſe, and hard to be ruled, they were wont to be tamed and reſtrained: but my father, who was not a man ſo prompt and ready of ſpeech as others be, and given to ſpeake raſhly and without adviſement, howbeit, one who had not the leaſt ſkill in horſemanſhip, and loved alwaies to keepe the beſt horſes that might be come by, ſaid: That thoſe horſes (which being but colts) were ſet upon and aſſaulted by wolves, and yet were reſcued, eſcaped the danger of them, proved good mettall, and ſwift of pace; and there upon were named Lycospades. And for that many approved this reaſon of his, and gave teſtimonie with him that he ſpoke a trueth, occaſion was miſſited thereby, to ſearch into the cauſe thereof; and namely, how and by what reaſon ſuch an accident as this might make horſes more generous and better ſpirited; and verily, the moſt part of the company there preſent, were of opinion, that the ſaid occurrent bred cowardice in horſes, rather than ſtomacke and generoſitie; and ſo, by reaſon that they became timorous thereby, and apt to be frighted upon every occaſion, therefore their motions were more quick and lively; like as other wild beaſts alſo, when they chance to be entangled within net and ſoile; but I my ſelfe inferred, and ſaid: That it would be well and thorowly conſidered, whether it were not cleane contrary to that which appeared at the fiſt ſight, and which they opined; for colts become not more ſwift and fleet of foot for avoiding the perill of being worried and devoured by wolves that ſet upon them, but rather, if they had not bene nimble and full of courage before, naturally, they could never have gotten away cleere, as they did, from the wolfe; no more than uſſeſes proved a wife man, becauſe he avoided the danger of that giant *Cyclops Polyphemus*; but for that he was by nature prudent and wiſe, he found means to ſave himſelfe.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the fleſh of thoſe ſheepe which have bene wolfe-bitten, is tenderer, but their wooll more ſubject to breed lice and vermin, than others?

VPon the former diſcourſe of horſes, inferred there was a ſpeech alſo, concerning ſheepe that had bene bitten by the wolfe; for that it is a received opinion, that this biting of theirs maketh their fleſh more delicate in the eating, but their wooll apt to ingender lice. As for the reaſon that my ſonne in law *Parvoles* yeelded, as touching the ſweetneſſe of their fleſh, it ſeemed to be true; for thus he argued: That this beaſt by means of his biting, cauſed the fleſh to eat more ſhort and tender, for that his breath is ſo ardent and ſierie-hot, that it is able to reſolve and digeſt within his ſtomacke, the hardeſt bones that be; which is the reaſon (quoth he) that ſuch fleſh as the wolfe hath bitten, is ſooner mortified, and doth putrifie more quickly than others: many, for the wooll we were not ſo well reſolved, as ſuppoſing that the ſame did not breed lice, but rather draw them forth, and let them out to be ſeene, by a certaine incifive or abſterſive faultie that it hath; as alſo through the heat thereof, whereby it openeth the pores of the ſkinne; which propertie is infuſed into the wooll of a ſheepe, by means of the tooth and breath of the wolfe, which altereth not onely the fleſh, but even the very wooll and flag-haire of the beaſt which he hath worried and killed. And this reaſon is confirmed by experience and example; for it is well known unto uſall, that hunters, butchers, and cooks, ſometimes with one blow knocke downe their beaſts, and lay them along ſoone dead and breathleſſe in a moment; others againe, hardly and with much ado are able to kill them, after many a ſtroake; and that which yet is more wonderfull than ſo, ſome of them inſuſe together with the axe or knife of iron, where-

with the beast is slain, such a qualitie that the same putrifieth presently, and will not last sweet one day to an end: others againe, though they be not longer about the killing of a beast than the other, yet the flesh of beasts so slain, doth not so soone corrupt, but continueth found and sweet a good while after. And that true it is, that the varietie & alteration occasioned by the sundry sorts of death, and killing of beasts, passeth and extendeth as farre as to their very skin, their haire, nailes, houfes and clees; *Homer* himselfe doth testifie, who of their hides and skinnes is wont thus exprectly to write:

The hide it was of sturdy ox.

Sticked with knife, or brain'd by knocks.

For the skinnes of those beasts which die not for age, nor of long maladie, but are killed violently, is more firme, fast, and tough: and true it is, that of those tame-living creatures, which have bene bitten by wilde beasts, the houfes, clees, and nailes turne blacke, the haire theadeth, and the skinnes become riveled, soone teare and fall a peeces.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Whether our ancestors did better, when they were at supper, sedde every man by himselfe, and knew his owne part, than we in these daies who eat our vittuals all together, and feed in common?

That yeere wherein I was head magistrate in my countrey, and bare that provostship whereof the yeere tooke name, most of the suppers were private repasts of sacrifices, where every man had his part and portion set out; wherewith some were woonderfully well pleased; but others blamed the manner thereof, as uncivill, unfociable, and illiberrall, saying: That so soone as the garland or coronet of the beast sacrificed was taken off his head, and laid down, we ought to reduce our tables to the ancient order and old accustomed fashion againe: For it is not I suppose (quoth *Agias*) for to eat and drinke simply, that we invite one another, but for to eat and drinke together for companie and good-fellowship; whereas this parting and division of flesh and other viands into portions, doth abolish all communication & societie, making indeed many severall suppers, and many men to sit at supper apart, but not one supping with another, or fellow-guest in one mess; when every man takes as it were from the butchers stall his own joint of meat, or a peece of flesh by just waight, or at a certaine size, & so sets his part before him. For is not all one I pray you, and what difference is there I would faine know, to allow each one of the guests at table his owne cup by himselfe, & to fill every man his Congious or gallon of wine, yea, and to allow him his table apart from others? like as by report the linage of *Demophon* sometime served *Orestes*, and so to bid them drinke without any regard or heed of others? what diversitie (I say) is in this, and the manner of these our daies; namely, to set before every man his lofe of bread, and peece of flesh, for to feed by himselfe, as it were at his owne manger? Surely all the oddes is, that we have no commaundment to keepe silence and say never a word when we are at our meate, as those had who interlined and feasted *Orestes*, and verlicke even this haply ought to provoke and bring us that are met, to the communion & participation of all things at a feast or banquet; namely: that we talke there one to another, that we be partakers together of one fong of a minstrell wenchers musick: delighting us all, and one as well as another, with her playing upon a psalterie or pipe, & singing thereto. Moreover, that standing cup of amitie and good-fellowship, which is set in the very middles of the company, for to drinke out of it, one to another, and that without any limitation or restraint to certaine bounds, standeth as it were a fource and lively fountaine of love and good will, and hath no other stint and measure, but the thirst and disposition of every one, to drinke at his pleasure: not like to this most unjust distribution of bread and flesh to every one, which masketh it selfe with a false colour of equality among those who are unequal; for even that, as even and equall as it seemeth in manner all one, is too much for him that needs but a little, and too little for him, who hath need of much. Like as therefore (my good friend) he is a ridiculous and foolish leech, who to many and sundrie patients, sickle of diverse and different diseases, exhibiteh and giveth medicines just of one weight, and exactly of the same measure; even so were the master of a feast worthy to be laughed at, who having invited to his table sundry persons who are not hungry or thirsty alike, would entertaine and serve them all indifferently after one order, measuring the equality of his distribution, by proportion arithmetically and not geometrically. True

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it is (I confesse) that we go or send al of us to the taverne for to buy our wine, by one & the same measure just, which is allowed and set downe by the publicke State; but to the table, every man brings his owne stomacke, the which is filled not with an equall quantitie of meat or drinke, to all others, but with that which sufficeth each one. As touching those * banquets that *Homer* speaketh of, wherein every man had his part cut out, to what purpose should we bring them hither from military discipline, and the custome of a campe, to the manner and fashion of these daies? but more reason it is that we resolve and propose unto our selves, for to imitate herein the humanity & courtesie of those in old time, who highly honored, not only those who lodged ordinarily, and made their abode with them under one rouse, but also such as drunke of the same cuppe, eat of the same meat, and fedde out of one dish with them, inasmuch as they entertained and revered their societie in all things. Away therefore (I pray you) with those short meales and slender pittances of *Homer*; which in my conceit are somewhat too scant and pinching, and as a man would say, over hungry and thistlike; as having kings and princes for the masters and makers of them, who be more sparing of their purses, and looking more necerely to their expences, than those good hoatts and keepers of ordinaries in *Italy*; as who being in armes and arranged in batell raie, and ready to joine in conflict with the enemy, could remember piccily, how many times each one of their guests who dined or supped with them,ooke the cuppe and dranke. Yet commend me to those banquets and feasts which *Pindarus* writeth of, for surely they are much better; in which, as he saith:

*Full oft a prince, and person honorable,
Among them all, sat at some stately table.*

For why? such feasts had the communication of all things together: and verily this was the fellowship and not indeed of true friends, whereas the other was a distraction and separation of persons, who made semblance to be the greatest friends, and yet could not agree and communicate together, so much as in the feeding of one dish of meat. *Agias* had good audience given him, and was well commended for the reasons which he alledged; and then we set one of the company to come upon him in this manner, saying: That *Agias* thought it very strange and was offended that he should have an equall portion which others allowed him, carying as he did before him such a grand-paunchy and in truth, a great eater he was, and given exceeding much to belly cheere: For a common * fish (as *Demetrius* was wont to say) hath no bone. And yet this is that (quoth I) which especially and above all induceth us to the use of these portions, and not without good reason, considering that we acknowledge fatal necessity by the name of

*quies: for according as the old lady Joquesta said in Euripides:
That which uniteth cities and great States,
And knits in league confederates.*

is nothing els but equality: and nothing in the world hath so much need thereof, as the societie and communion at the table; which is grounded upon nature, and law of necessity, nothing so much the usage whereof, is not newly taken up, nor drawn in, as needful, by opinion of others, but right necessary in it selfe. For at an ordinary or common repast, where folke feed together of one dish; if one eat more than his fellows, certes, he that can not plic his teeth so fast, and cometh short of him, doth maligne and repine at him for it; like as that galley which maketh way, and skuddeth before others, is spighted by those that come dragging behinde. For mee thinks it is not an auspicate beginning of a feast, nor agreeable to amitie and good fellowship, to snatch or lurch one from another, to have many hands in a dish at once, to crosse one another with the elbow, and to be with hand or arme in his fellowes way, striving a vie who should be more nimble with his fingers; but surely, all these fashions are absurd, unseemely, and (as I may say) dog-like, ending many times in snarling, jarring, bitter taunts, revilings, and cholerick brawles, not only of the guests one with another, but also against those that furnished the boord, and the masters of the feast. But so long as these wileeries, noises and noyses, that is to say, portion and partition, had the ordering of suppers, dinners and great feasts, dispensing and setting out an equality for to maintaine the societie there, a man should never see any illiberrall or mechanickall disorder: for in those daies, suppers were called *symposia* guests at the table, *symposia*; the carvers serving at the table, *symposia*; for that they divided, cut out, and gave to every one their due portions. And verily, the Lacedemonians had among them certaine distributors of flesh, whom they called *symposiarches*, and those were no meane men of the vulgar sort, but principall persons of the State, inasmuch as *Lysander* himselfe was by king *Agessilaus* ordeined and created *symposiarch* in *Asia*, that is to say, an officer for the distribution of flesh-meat in the campe there.

* That is to say, if a fish be eaten in company, it is not known how much one hath eaten of it more than his fellows, by the bones lying upon his trencher.

it the ancient coronet of the great gods, meaning thereby the gods terrestriall. Moreover, it is said that the herbe Rue had the denomination in Greeke *ῥυαῖος*, of the vertue which it hath; by reason that with the drineste wherewith it is endued, and the same occasioned by excessive heat, it is so astringent, that it * knitteth, bindeth and hardeneth the naturall feed of man, and is a great enemie to conception and women with childe. As for the * Amethyst, aswell the herbe as the stone of that name, they who thinke that both the one and the other is so called, because they withstand * drunkennesse, miscount themselves, and are deceived; for in truth, both are named so of the colour: and as for the leafe of the herbe, it hath no fresh and lively hew, but resembleth a * winelesse weake wine, as one may say, that either drinketh flat and hath lost the colour, or els is much dilaied with water. Many other plants may be alledged to this purpose, whose properties and naturall vertues have imposed their names: but these examples may suffice to shew the studious industrie and great experience of our ancestors; in regard whereof, they used to weare chaplets of leaves and flowers upon their heads, whiles they sat drinking wine; for strong wine and pure of it selfe, having begun to assaile the head, and to enervate or enfeeble the whole body, by seizing upon the originall fountaine of the nerves and senses, to wit, the braine, doth mightily trouble and disquiet a man: for the remedie of which inconvenience, the sent and sinell, breathing from flowers, serveth marvellous well, for that the same doth defend and fortifie as with a rampart, the castle and citadell (as it were) of the head, against the assaults and impressions of drunkennesse. For these flowers, if they be hot, gently unstop and open the pores, and in so doing, make way and give vent for the heady wine to evaporate and breathe out all fumes; and contrariwise, if they be temperately colde, by closing gently the said pores, keepe downe and drive backe the vapours steaming up into the braine. And of this vertue are the garlands of violets and roses, which by their sinell and comfortable sent, represse and stay both ache and heavinesse of head. As for the flower of * Privet, Saffron and Baccaris, that is to say, Our Ladies gloves, or Nard Rutticke, bring them sweetly to sleepe, who have drunke freely: for these send from them a milde aire, breathing after a smooth and uniforme manner; the which doth softly comprise and lay even, the unequall distemperatures, the troublesome acrimonies and disorderly aperities, arising in the bodies of those who have overdrunk themselves; whereupon there ensueth a calme, and thereby the strength of the headie wine is either dulled, or else rebated. Other sorts of flowers there be, the odours whereof being spread and dispersed about the braine, purge mildly the pores and passages of the senses and their organs, subtiliat and disperse gently, without trouble and offence, with their moderate heat, the humors and all moist vapours, by way of rarefaction, and warme the braine comfortably, which by nature is of a cold temperature: and for this cause especially those petic garlands or posies of flowers which they hung in old time about their necks, they called *συνδυαῖες*, as if one would say suffumigations, and they annointed all their breest parts with the oiles that were expelled or extracted from them. *Aleyn* also testifieth as much, where hee willett to powre sweet oile upon his head that had suffered much paine, and upon his breest all grey; for even so such odors are directed up as farre as to the braine, being drawn by the sense of smelling. So it was not because they thought that the soule, which the Greeks call *ψυχή* was seated and kept residence within the heart, that they called these wreathes and garlands about their necks *συνδυαῖες*, as some would have it, for then more reason it had bene to have teamed them *ἐνδυαῖες*, but it was as I said before, of the exhalation or evaporation upward from the region of the breast, against which they were worne pendant: neither are wee to wonder, that the exhalations of flowers should have so great force; for we finde it written in records, that the shadow of * Smilax especially when it is in the flower, killeth them that lie a sleepe under it; also from the Popple there ariseth a certaine spirit, when the juice is drawn out of it, which they call *Opium*, and if they take no better heed, who draw the same, it causeth them to swoone and fall to the ground: there is an herbe called Alysson, which whosoever hold in their hands, or doe but looke upon it, shall presently be ridde of the yexe or painfull hickor; and they say, it is very good also for sleepe and goates, to keepe them from all diseases, if the same be planted along their coates and folds: the Rose, also named in Greeke *ῥοζή*, was so called, for that it casteth from it an * odoriferous sinell, which is the reason that it quickly fadeth, and the beaustie passeth soone away; cold it is in operation, although it carrie the colour of fire, and not without good cause; for that the little heat that it hath, lieth up to the superficies of it, as being driven outwardly from within, by the native coldnesse that it hath.

THE

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether Ivie of the owne nature be cold or hot.

His speech of *Tryphon* we greatly praised: but *Amonius* smiling: It were not meet (wooth he) to kicke and spurne againe, nor to overthrow so beautifull and gay a discourse as this was, embellished and adorned with as great varietie as the garlands whereof it treated, and which he undertooke to defend and mainteine: but that I cannot tell how it is come to passe that the Ivie is entleraced in the chaplet of flowers, and said by the naturall coldnesse that it is to have a vertue and propertie to extinguish and quench the forcible heat of new wine: for contrariwise, it seemeth to be hot and ardent, and the frute which it beareth being put into wine, and infused therein, giveth it power to inebriate and make drunke, yea, and to trouble and disquiet the body by the inflammation that it causeth: by reason of which excessive heat, the very body thereof groweth naturall crooked, after the manner of wood that curbeth and warpeth with the fire; also the sinew which oftentimes continueth and lieth many daies upon other trees, lieth in great haste from the Ivie tree; or to speake more properly, is presently gone, thawed and melted, if it chance to settle upon it, & that by reason of the heat; and that which more is, (as *Theophrastus* hath left in writing) *Harpalus* the lieutenant generall under *Alexander* the Great, in the province of *Babylon*, by expresse order and direction from the king his master, endeavoured and did what he might to set in the kings orchard there, certaine trees and plants which came out of *Greece*, and such especially as yielded a goodly shade, caried large leaves, and were by nature cold; for that the countrey about *Babylon* is exceeding hot and scorched with the burning heat of the sunne; but the ground would never enterne nor abide the Ivie onely; notwithstanding that *Harpalus* tooke great paines, and employed most carefull diligence about it: for plant it as often as he would, it dried and died immediately; and why? hotte it is of the owne nature, and was planted in a mould farre hotter than it selfe, which hindered it for taking roots; for this is a generall and perpetuall rule: that all excessive enormities, of any object, destroy the force and powers of the subject: in which regard, they desire rather their contraries; in such sort, as that a plant of cold temperature requieth an hot place to grow in; and that which is hot demandeth likewise a cold ground: and this is the reason, that high mountainie countries, windie, and covered with snow; beare ordinarily trees that yeeld torch-wood and pitch, as pines, cone trees, and such like: And were it not so, my good friend *Tryphon*, yet this is certeinly that trees which by nature are chill and cold, shedde their leaves every yeere; for that the sinall heat which they have, for very penurie retireth inwardly, and leaveth the outward parts naked and destitute: whereas contrariwise, heat and unctuous fatnesse, which appeareth in the olive, laurell and cypresse trees, keepe themselves alwaies greene, and hold their leaves, like as the Ivie also doth for her part. And therefore good father *Bacchus* hath not brought into use and request the Ivie, as a preservative and present helpe against the encounter of drunkennesse, nor as an enemie to wine, who directly calleth wine *ἄλκο* and furnameth himselfe *ἡσχυαῖος* thereupon: but in mine opinion, like as they who love wine, if they cannot meet with the liquor of the grape, use a counterfet wine or barley broth, called beere & ale, or els a certeine drinke made of apples, named cydres or els date-wines; even so, he that gladly would in winter season weare a chaplet of vinebranches, seeing it altogether naked and bare of leaves, is glad of the Ivie that resembleth it; for the body or wood thereof is likewise withered and crooked, and never groweth upright, but shuneth out heere and there, to and fro at a venture; the soft fatter leaves also after the same manner grow dispersed about the branches without all order; & besides all this, the very berries of the Ivie growing thick & clustered together like unto greene grapes, when they begin to turne, doe represent the native forme of the vine: and yet albeit the same yeeldeth some helpe and remedie against drunkennesse; we say, it is by occasion of heat, in opening the pores and small passages in the body, for to let out the fumes of wine, and suffer them to evaporate and breathe forth, or rather by her heat helpeth to concoct and digest it, that for your sake (good *Tryphon*) *Bacchus* may still continue a physician. At these words, *Tryphon* staid a while, and made no answer, as thinking with himselfe, and studying how to reply upon him. But *Eraton* calling earnestly upon every one of us that were of the younger sort, spurred us forward to aide and assist *Tryphon* our advocate, and the patron of our flower-chaplets, or els to plucke them from

from our heads, and weare them no longer. And *Ammonius* assured us (for his part) that if any one of us would take upon him to answer, he would not recharge againe, nor come upon him with a rejoinder. Then *Tryphon* himselfe moved us to say somewhat to the question. Whereupon I began to speake and said: That it belonged not to me, but rather unto *Tryphon*, for to proove that Iviw was colde, considering that he need it much in physicke to coole and binde, as being an astringent medicine: but as touching that which ere-while was alledged; namely, that the Iviw herie doth inebriat, if it be steeped in wine; it is not found to be true; and the accident which it worketh in those who drinke it in that manner, can not well be called drunkennesse, but rather an alienation of the mind and trouble of the spirit; like to that effect which henbane worketh, & many other plants, which mightily disquiet the braine, and transport our senses and understanding. As for the tortuositie of the bodie and branches, it maketh nothing to the purpose and point in hand; for the works and effects against nature, can not proceed from faculties and powers naturall; and pieces of wood do twine and bend crooked, because fire (being neere unto them) draweth and drieth up forcibly, all the native and kindly humour; where as the inward and naturall heat, would rather ferment, entertaine and augment it. But consider better upon the matter and marke rather, whether this writhed-bunching forme of the Iviw wood (as it groweth) and the basenesse, bearing still downward and tending to the ground, be not an argument rather of weaknesse, and bewray the coldnesse of the bodie, being glad (as it were) to make many rests and staies; like unto a pilgrim or wayfaring traveller, who for wearinesse and faintnesse stretch him downe and reposeth himselfe many times in his way, and ever anon riseth againe and beginneth to set forward: in regard of which feeblenesse, the Iviw hath alwaies need of some prop or other to stay it selfe by, to take hold of, to claspe about and to cling unto, being not able of her owne power to rise, for want of naturall heat, whose nature is to mount aloft. As touching Snow, that it thaweth and passeth away so soone, the cause is, the moisture and softnesse of the Iviw leafe; for so wee see that water dispatcheth and dissolveth presently, the laxitie and spongyous raritie thereof; being (as it is) nothing els but a gathering and heaping of a number of small bubbles couched & thrust together: and hereof it commeth, that in over-moist places, fobbed and soaked with water, snow melteth as soone as in places exposed to the sun. Now for that it hath leaves alwaies upon it, and the same (as *Empedocles* saith) firme and fast, this proceedeth not of heat, no more than the fall and fudding of leaves every yeere, is occasioned by colde. And this appeareth by the myrtle tree and the herbe *Adiantum*, that is to say, Maiden-haire, which being not hot plants, but colde, are alwaies leaved and greene withall: and therefore some are of opinion, that the holding of the leaves, is to be ascribed to an equality of temperance: but *Empedocles* (over and besides) attributeth it to a certaine proportion of the pores, thorow which the sap and nourishment doth passe and pierce equally into the leaves; in such sort, as it runneth sufficiently for to mainteine them: which is not so in those trees which lose their leaves, by reason of the laxitie or largenesse of the said pores and holes above, and the straightnesse of them beneath; whereby, as these doe not send any nourishment at all, so the other can hold and retaine none, but that little which they received, they let goe all at once: like as we may observe in certaine canals or trenches, devised for to water gardens and orchards, if they be not proportionable and equall; for where they be well watered and have continuall nourishment, and the same in competent proportion, there the trees hold their owne, and remaine firme, alwaies greene, and never die. But the Iviw tree, planted in *Babylon*, would never growe, and refused there to live. Certes, it was well done of her, and she shewed great generositie, that being (as she was) a devout vassalle to the god of *Babylon*, and living (as it were) at his table, she would not goe out of her owne country, to dwell among those Barbarians; shee followed not the steps of king *Alexander*, who entred alliance, and made his abode with those strange and foren nations, but avoided their acquaintance all that ever she could, and withstood that transmigration from her native place: but the cause thereof, was not heat, but colde rather; because these could not endure the temperature of the aire, so contrary to her owne: for that which is feimble and familiar, never killeth any thing, but receiveth, nourisheth and beareth it, like as drie ground, the herbe thyme, how hot soever the soile be. Now for the province about *Babylon*, they say, the aire in all that tract is so soultie hot, so stuffing, so grosse, and apt to stifle and stop the breath, that many inhabitants of the wealthier sort, cause certaine bits or bagges of leather to be filled with water, upon which, as upon featherbeds, they lye to sleepe and coole their bodies.

THE

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What the cause is, that women hardly are made drunke, but olde men, very soone?

Forus one day seemed to marvell, that *Aristotle* having in his treatise of drunkennesse, set downe this position: That olde men are soone surprized and overseene with wine, but contrariwise, women, hardly and very seldom; rendered no reason thereof, considering that his manner otherwise, is not to propole any such difficulties, but hee doth decide and cleere the same. And when he had made this overture, he moved the companie to inquire into the cause thereof; and a supper it was, where familiar friends were met together. Then *Sylla* said: That the one was declared by the other: for if we comprehend the cause aright, as touching women, it were no hard matter to finde out a reason for old men; considering that their natures and constitutions be most opposit and contrary, in regard of moisture and drinesse, roughnesse and smoothnesse, softnesse and hardnesse: for first and formost, suppose this of women undoubtedly, that their naturall temperature is very moist, which causeth their flesh to be so tender, soft, smooth, slicked and shining; to say nothing of their naturall purgations every moneth: when as therefore wine meeteth with so great humiditie, being overcome by the predominance thereof, it loseth the edge and tincture (as it were) together with the force that it had, so as it becometh dull, every way discoloured and waterish. And verily to this purpose, somewhat may be gathered out of the words of *Aristotle*; for he saith: That those who make no long draught when they take their wine, nor drinke leasurely, but powre it downe at once (which manner of drinking they called *diastolus*) are not so subject to drunkennesse as others; for that the wine maketh no long stay within their bodies, but being forcibly thrust forth, soone passeth thorow: and ordinarilie we may observe, that women drinke in this manner; and very probable it is, that their bodies by reason of continuall attraction of humours downward, to the nether parts for their monthly termes, is full of many conduits and passages, as if they were divided into chanelles, pipes, and trenches, to draw forth the said humours; into which the wine no sooner falleth, but away it passeth apace, that it cannot settle nor rest upon the noble and principall parts, which if they bee once troubled and possessed, drunkennesse doth soone ensue. Contrariwise, that old men want naturall humiditie, their very name in Greeke seemeth to imple sufficiently, for called they are *gerontes*, not because they are *flowers of life*, that is to say, inclining and stooping downward to the earth, but because they are already in their habitude of bodie *yellow* and *young*, that is to say, earthly: Moreover, their stiffnesse and unpliable disposition, the roughnesse also of their skinnie, argueth their dry nature and complexion: it standeth therefore to good reason, that when they liberally take their wine, their bodies which are rare and spungious within, by occasion of that drinesse, quickly catcheth and sucketh up the same, and then by long staying there, it worketh up into the head, causeth the braine to beate, and breedeth heavinesse there; & like as land-floods gently glide over those fields which be solide & hard, washing them only aloft, and making no mire & dirt; but if the ground be light and hollow they enter and soke farther in; even so wine being soone caught, and drawne by the drinesse of old mens bodies, staith there the longer time: and were not this so, yet we may observe that the verie nature of old men admitteth the same symptoms and accidents which drunkennesse maketh. Now these accidents occasioned by drunkennesse, are very apparent, to wit, the trembling and shaking of their limbes, faltering in their tongue, and speaking double, immoderate and lavish speech, pettishnesse and appetence to choler, forgetfulnessse and alienation of the minde and understanding; the most part whereof being incident to old men, even when they are best in health and in most sober, a little thing God wot will set them cleane out, and any small agitation whatsoever will doe the deed: so that drunkennesse in an old man engendreth not new accidents, but so feteth on foot and augmenteth those which be already common and ordinary with them. To conclude, there is not a more evident argument to proove and confirme the same than this; that nothing in the world resembleneth an old man more, than a young man when hee is drunke.

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THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether women by their naturall complexion be colder or hotter than men?

When *Sylla* had delivered his minde to that effect; *Apollonides* an expert proffessor and well scene in raunging a battell in array, seemed by his words to approve well of that which had bene alledged as touching old men; but he thought, that in the discourse of women, the only course was left out and overlipp, to wit, the coldnesse of their constitution, by means whereof, the hottest wine is quenched, and forgoeth that fierce flame which flieeth up to the head, and troubleth the braines: and this was received as a very probable and sufficient reason, by all the company there in place. But *Athyriatus* the physician, a Thasian borne, interjected some state of further searching into this cause: For that (quoth hee) some are of opinion that women are not cold, but hotter than men; yea, and others there be, (and that is a greater matter) who hold, that wine is not hotter at all but cold. *Florus* wondering, and amazed hereat: This discourse and disputation (quoth he) as touching wine I refer to him there; and with that pointed at me; for that not many daies before wee had disputed together about that argument: But as for women (quoth *Athyriatus*) that they bee rather hot than cold, they argue thus: First and foremost, they are smooth, and not haire on their face and bodie, which reftifieth their heat, which spendeth and consumeth the excrement and superfluitie that engendeth haire. Secondly, they proove it by their abundance of blood, which seemeth to be the fountaine of heat in the body; and of blood women have such store, that they are ready to be inflamed, yea, to fire and burne withall, if they have not many purgations, and those quickly returning in their course to discharge and deliver them thereof. Thirdly, they bring in the experience observed at funerals, which sheweth evidently, that womens bodies be farre hotter than mens; for they that have the charge of burning and enteriing of dead corpes, doe ordinarily put into the funeral fire one dead body of a woman to tenne of men: For that one corpe (say they) helpeth to burne and consume the rest; by reason that a womans flesh containeth in it I wot not what unctuositie or oileous matter, which quickly taketh fire, and will burne as light as a torch, so that it serveth in stead of drie sticks to kinde the fire, and set all a burning. Moreover, if this be admitted for a truth, that whatsoever is more frutesfull and apter for generation, is also more hot: certaine it is, that yong maidens be ripe betimes, readier for marriage, yea and their flesh pricketh sooner to the act of generation, than boies of their age; neither is this a small and feeble argument of their heat. But for a greater and more pregnant prooff thereof, marke how they endure very well any chilling cold, and the injurie of winter season, for the most part of them lesse quake for cold than men doe; and generally need not so many clothes to weare.

Hereat *Florus* began to argue against him and said: In my conceit, these very arguments will serve well to confute the said opinion; for to beginne with the last first, the reason why they withstand cold better than men, is because every thing is lesse offended with the like: besides, their teed is not apt for generation, in regard of their coldnesse, but serveth in stead of matter onely, and yeeldeth nourishment unto the naturall seed of man. Moreover, women sooner give over to conceive, and cease child-bearing, than men to beget children: and as for the burning of their dead bodies, they catch fire sooner I confesse, but that is by reason that commonly they be fatter than men; and who knoweth not, that fatte and greafe is the coldest part of the bodie; which is the cause that yongmen and those that use much bodily exercise, are least faine of all others: neither is their monthly sicknesse & voidance of blood, a signe of the great quantity and abundance, but rather of the corrupt qualitie and badnesse thereof; for the crude and uncooked part of their blood being superfluous, and finding no place to settle and rest, nor to gather consistence within the bodie by reason of weaknesse, passeth away, as being heavy and troubled, although for default and imbecillitie of heat to overcome it: and this appeareth manifestly by this, that ordinarily when their monthly sicknesse is upon them, they are very chill, & shake for cold, for that the blood which then is stirred and in motion, ready to be discharged out of the bodie, is so raw and cold. To come now unto the smoothnesse of their skinned, and that it is not nature who would ever say that this were an effect of heat? considering that we see the hottest parts of mans bodie to be covered with haire? for surely all superfluities and excrements are sent out by haire, which also maketh way, boring as it were holes through the skinned, and

and opening the passages in the superficies thereof. But contrariwise wee may reason, that the sleeknesse of womens skinned is occasioned by coldnesse, which doth constrict and close the pores thereof. Now that womens skinned is more fast and close than mens; you may learne and understand by them (friend *Athyriatus*) who use to lie in bedde with women, that annoint their bodies with sweet oiles, or odoriferous compositions; for even with sleeping in the same bed with them, although they came not so neere as to touch the women, they finde themselves all perfumed, by reason that their owne bodies which be hot, rare, and open, doe draw the said ointments or oiles into them: Well, by this meanes (quoth he) this question as touching women hath bene debated *pro & contra*, by opposit arguments right manfully.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Whether wine be naturally cold of operation?

But I would now gladly know, (quoth *Florus* still) whereupon your conjecture and suspition should arise, that wine is cold of nature? why? And doe you thinke (quoth I) that this in an opinion of mine? Whose then (quoth the other?) I remember (quoth I) that not of late, but long agoe, I light upon a discourse of *Aristotle* as touching this problem: and *Epicurus* himselfe in his *Symposium* or banquet, hath discussed the question at large; the summe of which disputation (as I take it) is thus much: For (he saith) that wine is not simple of it selfe hot, but that it containeth in it certaine atomies or indivisible mores causing heat, and others likewise that engender cold; of which some it casteth off and loseth when it is entred into the bodie, others it taketh unto it, from the very bodie it selfe wherein it is; according as the same petie bodies be of nature and temperature, fitted and agreeable unto us in such sort, as some when they be drunke with wine, are well heat; others againe contrariwise, be as cold. These reasons (replied *Florus*) directly bring us by *Protagoras* into the campe of *Pyrrho*, where we shall meet with nothing but incertitude, and be still to feeke, and as wise as we were before: for plaine it is, that in speaking of oile, milke, hony, and likewise of all other things, we shall never grow to any particular resolution of them, what nature they be of, but still have some evasion or other, saying: That they become such and such, according as each of them is mixed and tempered one with another: But what be the arguments that your selfe alledge, to prove that wine is cold? Thus I see well (quoth I) that there be two of you at once, who presse and urge mee to deliver my mind *ex tempore*, and of a sudden: the first reason then that cometh into my headis this, which I see ordinarily practised by physicians upon those who have weak stomacks: for when they are to corroborate and fortifie that part, they prescribe not any thing that is hot; but if they give them wine, they have present ease and helpe thereby; feimblable, they repress fluxes of the belly, yea, and when the bodie runneth all to diaphoreticall sweats, which they effect by the meanes of wine, no lesse, nay much more than by applying snow, confirming and strengthening thereby the habit of the bodie, which otherwise was ready to melt away and resolve: now if it had a nature and facultie to heat, it were all one to apply unto the region of the heart, as fire unto snow: furthermore, most physicians do hold, that sleepe is procured by cooling; and the most part of soporiferous medicines which provoke sleepe, be cold; as for example, Mandragoras and poppie juice: but these I must needs confesse, with great force and violence doe compresse, and (as it were) congeale the braine to worke that effect; whereas wine cooling the same gently, with ease and pleasure represseth and staith the motion thereof; so that the difference only betweene it and the other, is but in degree, according to more and lesse. Over and besides, whatsoever is hot, is also generative and apt to ingender seeds; for howsoever humiditie giveth it an aptitude to run and flow, it is spirit, by the meanes of heat, that endueth it with vigor & strength, yea, and an appetite to generation: now they that drinke much wine, especially if it be pure of it selfe, and not delayed, are more dull and slow to the act of generation, and the seed which they sow, is not effectual, nor of any force and vigor to ingender; their medling also and conjunction with women, is vaine, and doth no good at all, by reason that their feed is cold and feeble: furthermore, all the accidents and passions which colde worketh, doe befall unto those that be drunke; for they tremble and shake, they are heave and dull of motion, and looke pale; the spirit in their joints and members, is unquiet, and moveth disorderly; their tongues falter, stur and be double; last of all, their sinewes in the extremities of the bodie, are drawn up in maner of a crampe, and benumbed; yea, and in many, drunkennesse

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endeth in a dead palfie or generall resolution of all parts; namely, after that the wine hath utterly extinguished and mortified their naturall heat. Physicians also are wont to cure these symptomes and inconveniences procured by excessive drinke and surfeit, by laying the patients presently in bedde, and covering them well with clothes, for to bring them to an heat; the next morrow they put them into the baine or hot-house, and rub them well with oile; they nourish them with meats which do not trouble the masse of the body; and thus by this cherishing, they gently fetch againe and recover the heat which wine had dissipated and driven out of the bodie. And forasmuch as (quoth I) in things apparent and evident to the eie, we search for the like faculties which lie hidden and secret, how can we doubt what drunkenness is, and with what it may be compared? for according as I have before said, drunken folke resemble (for all the world) old men: and therefore it is, that great drunkards soone wax old, many of them become bald before their time, and grow to be grey and hoarie ere they be aged; all which accidents seeme to surprize a man for defect of heat.

Moreover, vinegar (in some sort) resembleth the nature and propertie of wine: now of all things that are powerfull to quench, there is none so repugnant and contrarie to fire, as vinegar is; and nothing so much as it, by the excessive coldnesse that it hath, overcome and representeth a flame. Again, we see how physicians use those fruits to coole withall, which of all others be most vinous, or represent the liquor of wine; as for example, pomegranates and other orchard apples. As for honie, do they not mix the substance thereof with raine-water and snow, for to make thereof a kinde of wine, by reason that the cold doth convert the sweetnesse for the affinity that is betweene them, into austeritie, when it is predominant and more puissant? what should I say more? have not our ancients in olde time, among serpents, dedicated the dragon? and of all plants, consecrated Ivie to *Bacchus*, for this cause, that they be both of a certaine colde and congealing nature? Now if any do object for prooffe, that wine is hot; how for them that have drunke the juice of hemlocke, the sovereign remedie and counterpoise of all other, is to take a great draught of strong wine upon it; I will replice to the contrary, and turne the same argument upon them; namely, that wine and the juice of hemlocke mingled together, is a poison incurable, & presently killeth those who drinke it, remediless. So that there is no more reason to prove it hot, for refilling hemlocke, than colde, for helping the operation of it; or els we must say, that it is not coldnesse whereby hemlocke killeth those that drinke it so presently, but rather some other hidden qualitie and propertie that it hath.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of the convenient time for a man to know his wife carnally.

Certaine young men, who were new students, and had lately tasted of the learning contained in ancient books, were ready to teare *Epicurus* in pieces, and inveighed mightily against him as an impudent person; for proposing and moving speech which was neither seemly nor necessarie, in his *symposium* or banquet, as touching the time of meddling with a woman: for that an ancient man, well steeped in yeres as he was, should make mention & begin talke of venerous matters, and namely, at a banquet, where many young men were in place, to particularize and make question in this sort: Whether it were better for a man to have the use of his wife, before supper or after; seemed to proceed from a lascivious minde, and incontinent in the highest degree. Against which, some there were, who alledged the example of * *Xenophon*, who after his supper or banquet, brought his guests (not on foot, but on horse backe, riding a gallop away home) to lie with their wives. But *Zopyrus* the physician, who was very well seene and conversant in the booke of *Epicurus*, said: That they had not read diligently and with adveinement, his booke called *Symposium*, that is to say, The banquet: For he tooke not this question (quoth he) to treat of at the beginning, as a theme or subject matter expressly chosen and of purpose, so whereto all their talke should be directed, and in nothing els to be determined and ended: but having caused those young men to rise from the table for to walke after supper, he entred into a discourse, for to induce them to continence and temperance, and to withdraw them from dissolute lust of the flesh, as being at all times, a thing dangerous, and ready to plunge a man into mischief, but yet more hurtfull unto those who use it upon a full stomacke, after they have eat and drunke well, and made good chere at some great feast. And if (quoth *Zopyrus*) he had taken for the principall subject, the discourse of this point, is it pertinent and becoming a philosopher,

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pher, not to treat and consider at all of the time and houre proper and meet for men to embrace their espoused wives? or much better so to doe, in due season and with discretion? and is it (I pray you) not discommendable, to dispute thereof elsewhere and at other times? and altogether dishonest, to handle that question at the table or at a feast? for mine owne part, I thinke cleane contrary; namely, that we may with good reason reprove and blame a philosopher, who openly in the day time, should dispute in publicke schooles, of this matter, before all commers, and in the hearing of all sorts of people; but at the table, where there is a standing cup set before familiars and friends, and where other-whiles it is expedient to vary and change our talke, which otherwise would be but lewke warme or starke colde for all the wine, how can it be unseemly or dishonest, either to speake or heare ought that is holson and good for men, as touching the lawfull company with their wives in the secret of marriage? for mine owne part, I protest unto you, I could wish with all my heart, that those Partitions of *Zeno*, had beene couched in some booke entituled, *A banquet or pleasant treatise*, rather than bestowed (as they are) in a composition to grave and serious, as are the booke of policie and government of State. The young men at these words, were cut over the thumbs; and being abashed, held their tongues, and sat there downe quietly. Now when others of the company requested *Zopyrus* to rehearse the words and reasons of *Epicurus*, as touching this point. I am not able (quoth he) in particular, to decipher, and precisely to fet them downe as he delivered them; but I suppose the philosopher feared those violent concussions and motions, which are felt in the time of that conjunction; for that our bodies by that meanes, be wonderfully stirred and disquieted, in regard especially of the wine, which being of it selfe stirring and causing much turbulent agitation, it setteth the bodie ordinarily out of quiet repose: it then the full masse thereof, being in such an agitation, meet not with a settled calme and rest, by sleepe, but runneth on still headlong to other troublefome motions, caused by the sports of *Venus*, so that the cords and ligaments, which are wont to hold our bodies entire, and maintaine them firme and strong, be slacke and loosed, great danger theris, that the foundation being thus shaken, the whole edifice will fall to the ground: for surely at such a time, the very genitall seed is not so apt and ready to passe away with ease, being for pent and confinate (as it is) by reason of repletion; so that it must be fetched away perforce, all troubled and confused. In which regard (quoth *Epicurus*) a man is to goe about this business, when the bodie is at quiet and well settled; namely, after that the concoction and digestion both, of our food, is perfectly finished, which all that time runneth to and fro, and willingly avoide all such disquietnesse; untill (I say) the bodie have need of new nourishment. And for to confirme this opinion of *Epicurus*, a man may adioine a reason out of physick; namely: That the opportunity of the morrow-mornings, when the concoction is thorowly performed, is most safe and sure; whereas to struggle or meddle with a woman immediately after supper, is never without danger: for who can tell (before the meat be well concocted) whether after the panning agitation by the act of *Venus*, there will not ensue another cruditie and indigestion, so as a double inconvenience and surfeit upon surfeit may follow thereupon? Then *Olympicus* taking his turne to speake and opine: As for me, I am (quoth he) infinitely well pleased with that sentence of *Chimus* the Pythagorean; who being demanded the question, when the best time was to embrace a woman? Marie (quoth he) when thou art minded to do thy selfe most harme: for that which *Zopyrus* said even now of the fit time, carrieth home reason with it: and as for the other, it hath (I see well) many and sundry difficulties and inconveniences, and is altogether unseasonable for this purpose. Like as therefore, *Thales* the wife, being importuned by his mother (who pressed hard upon him) to marrie; prettily put her off, shifting and avoiding her cunningly, with words: for at the first time, when she was in hand with him, he said unto her: Mother, it is too soone, and it is not yet time: afterwards, when he had passed the flower of his age, and that she set upon him the second time, and was very instant: Alas mother, it is now too late, and the time is past; even so, it were good for every man to carry and governe himselfe in these amorous games of *Venus*, that when he goes to bed at night, he say to himselfe: It is not yet time; and when hee riseth in the morning: Now there is no time left. Heereupon *Socrus*: These be indeed (quoth he) *Olympicus*, the parts of champions, and require such as would enter combat for to win a prize at the sacred games: these matters (I say) altogether, are for those to performe, who can drinke wine freely, and make a game of it, yea, and eat flesh as lustily: but surely, this speech of yours, little becometh this time and place; for heere are a sort of fresh and lustie young men newly married,

endeth in a dead pallie or generall resolution of all parts; namely, after that the wine hath utterly extinguished and mortified their naturall heat. Physicians also are wont to cure these symptomes and inconveniences procured by excessive drinke and surfeit, by laying the patients presently in bedde, and covering them well with clothes, for to bring them to an heat; the next morrow they put them into the baine or hot-house, and rub them well with oile; they nourish them with meats which do not trouble the masse of the body; and thus by this cherishing, they gently fetch againe and recover the heat which wine had dissipated and driven out of the bodie. And forasmuch as (quoth I) in things apparent and evident to the eye, we search for the like faculties which lie hidden and secret, how can we doubt what drunkenness is, and with what it may be compared? for according as I have before said, drunken folke resemble (for all the world) old men: and therefore it is, that great drunkards soone wax old, many of them become bald before their time, and grow to be grey and hoarie ere they be aged; all which accidents seeme to surprize a man for defect of heat.

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The young men at these words, were cut over the thumbs; and being abashed, held their tongues, and fat them downe quietly. Now when others of the company requested *Zopyrus* to rehearse the words and reasons of *Epicurus*, as touching this point. I am not able (quoth he) in particular, to decipher, and precisely to set them downe as he delivered them; but I suppose the philosopher feared those violent concussions and motions, which are felt in the time of that conjunction; for that our bodies by that meanes, be wonderfully stirred and disquieted, in regard especially of the wine, which being of it selfe stirring and causing much turbulent agitation, it setteth the bodie ordinarily out of quiet repose: if then the full masse thereof, being in such an agitation, meet not with a fittled calme and rest, by sleepe, but runneth on still headlong to other troublesome motions, caused by the sports of *Venus*, so that the cords and ligaments, which are wont to hold our bodies entire, and mainteine them firme and strong, be slackened and loosed, great danger theris, that the foundation being thus shaken, the whole edifice will fall to the ground: for surely at such a time, the very genitall seed is not so apt and ready to passe away with ease, being so pent and confinate (as it is) by reason of repletion; so that it must be fetched away perforce, all troubled and confused. In which regard (quoth *Epicurus*) a man is to goe about this business, when the bodie is at quiet and well settled; namely, after that the concoction and digestion both, of our food, is perfectly finished, which all that time runneth to and fro, and willingly avoideth all such disquietnesse; untill (I say) the bodie have need of new nourishment. And for to confirme this opinion of *Epicurus*, a man may adjoine a reason out of physicke; namely: That the opportunity of the morrow-morning, when the concoction is thoroughly performed, is most safe and sure; whereas to struggle or meddle with a woman immediately after supper, is never without danger: for who can tell (before the meat be well concocted) whether after the paining agitation by the act of *Venus*, there will not ensue another cruditie and indigestion, so as a double inconvenience and surfeit upon surfeit may follow thereupon? Then *Olympicus* taking his turne to speake and opine: As for me, I am (quoth he) infinitely well pleased with that sentence of *Chimæ* the Pythagorean; who being demanded the question, when the best time was to embrace a woman? Marie (quoth he) when thou art minded to do thy selfe most harme: for that which *Zopyrus* said even now of the fit time, carrieth some reason with it: and as for the other, it hath (I see well) many and sundry difficulties and inconveniences, and is altogether unseasonable for this purpose. Like as therefore, *Thales* the wife, being importuned by his mother (who pressed hard upon him) to marrie; pretily put her off, thisting and avoiding her cunningly, with words: for at the first time, when she was in hand with him, he said unto her: Mother, it is too soone, and it is not yet time: afterwards, when he had passed the flower of his age, and that she set upon him the second time, and was very instant: Alas mother, it is now too late, and the time is past; even so, it were good for every man to carry and governe himselfe in these amatorious games of *Venus*, that when he goes to bed at night, he say to himselfe: It is not yet time; and when hee riseth in the morning: Now there is no time left. Heereupon *Socrates*: These be indeed (quoth he) *Olympicus*, the parts of champions, and require such as would enter combat for to win a prize at the sacred games: these matters (I say) altogether, are for those to performe, who can drinke wine freely, and make a game of it, yea, and eat flesh as lustily: but surely, this speech of yours, little befiteth this time and place; for heere are a sort of fresh and lustie young men newly married,

*By whom, not well, the works, in some degree,
Of love and Venus, must performed be.*

Neither is dame *Penny* as yet retired and fled altogether from us; for we stil in chanting hymnes unto the gods, pray devoutly other-whiles unto her, in this wise:

*O Venus, lade deere and goddesse faire,
Toll backe olde age, keepe from us hoarie haire.*

But let us consider now (if you thinke it good) whether *Epicurus* hath done well and decently, as he ought to doe, in taking away *Venus* from the night season; or whether he hath not rather offended against all right and reason in so doing; considering that *Menander*, a man well scene in love-matters, saith: That shee is acquainted with her above all other gods and goddessees: for so in mine opinion, well ordeined was this vaile and shade of darkenesse, to cover those that are minded to performe these acts, and in some sort to hide the pleasure from them, and not to come unto this game by day-light, thereby to chafe from out of their eie-sight all shame and to give meanes unto lascivious wantonnesse, for to be bold and confident; and finally, to imprint the memorie of the act so lively, that it may remaine long after in the minde, for to kindle and revive still, new lusts and fleshly desires: For the eie-sight (as *Plato* saith) passeth most swiftly thorow the fleshly affections of the body into us, that is to say, into our soule, and evermore awakeneth and raiseth fresh and new concupiscence, representing with great force and vehemen-
cie, the images of pleasure, and putting us in minde to pursue the same; whereas contrariwise, the night taking away the greatest part of such acts as be most furious, lulleth nature asleepe, and bringeth her (as it were) in such sort, as it doth not exorbitate or breake forth by meanes of the sight, into lascivious loosenesse. But over and besides all this, what reason or sense is there in this, that a married man, returning all jolly, fresh and merry, from a festivall supper, and per-
adventure with a gay chaplet of flowers upon his head, yea, and perfumed with sweet and odoriferous oiles, should come home, go to bed, turne his backe unto his wife, pull the clothes about him round, and so lie to sleepe all night; and the morrow after, in broad-day light and in the mids of household occasions and other affaires, send for his wife out of the nouthrie or womens roome, for to come unto him about such a matter; or in the morning, turne unto her and imbrace her in his armes, at such a time as the cocke treads his hennes? for the even tide (my good friend *Olympicus*) is the end and repose of all our day-labours past, and the morning is the be-
ginning of new travels. Of the evening, god *Bacchus* is the superintendent and president, who is furnished *Lysim* or *Liber*, for that he freeth us from all paines-taking; and accompanied he is in this presidency of his, with the mules, to wit, faire *Tersiphore*, who loveth daunces, and plea-
sant *Thalia*, who delighteth in feasts and banquets; whereas the morning riseth betimes by the breake of day, to do service unto *Mynera*, furnished *Ergane*, the work-mistresse or patronesse of artificers; to *Mercurie* likewise, the master of merchants and occupiers; and therefore upon the evening, attend songs, musick, minstrelse, plaies, daunces, weddings,

*Masques, mommeries, feasts and banquetts,
A life of want boies, flutes, and cornets.*

In the morning a man shall heare nothing but the thumping sounds of the smithes hammer and sledges, beating and knocking upon the anvill; the grathing noise of sawes; the morow-
watch of Publicans, Customers and Toll-gatherers, crying after those that come in or go forth; the ajournements of serjeants and criers, calling for appearance in the court before the judges; publications of edicts and proclamations; summons to attend and be ready to make court, and to do duetie unto some prince, great lord or governour of State; at which time, all pleasures be gone and out of the way.

*Of Venus then there is no talke,
The slaves of Bacchus do not walke
With voice bright: the game some sport
Of gallant youths is all a-mort;
For why? as day grows on apace,
Cares and troubles come in place.*

Moreover, you shall never reade, that the poet *Homer* reporteth of any woorthy prince and demi-god, that in the day-time he lay either with wife or concubine; onely he saith, that *Parris*, when he fled out of the battell, went and couched himselfe in the bosome and lap of his *Helena*; giving us thereby to understand, that it is not the part of an honest minded husband, but the act of a furious and wanton-given adulterer, to follow such pleasures in the day-time. Neither doth

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it follow (as *Epicurus* saith) that the bodie takes more harme by performing this duetie of marriage after supper, than in the morning, unlesse a man be so drunke or overcharged with meats, that his bellie is ready to cracke; for certainly, in such a case it were very hurtfull and dangerous indeed; but if one have taken his meat and drinke sufficiently be wel in health, and in some measure cheerefull; if his bodie be apt and able, his minde well disposed thereto; if he interpose some reasonable time betweene, and then fall to clip and imbrace his wife; he shall not thereby incur any great agitation that night, nor feare the heave load and repletion of meat; neither will this action worke him any damage, or coole him too much, ne yet disquiet and remove out of their place, the atomies (as *Epicurus* saith); but if hee compose himselfe afterwards to
10 sleepe and repose, he shall soone supplie againe that which was voided, and replenish the vessels with a new afflux of spirits, which were emptied by the said evacuation. But of all things, especiall heed would be taken, not to play at this game of *Venus* in the day time; for feare lest the body and minde both, being troubled already with the cares and travels of sundry affaires, be by this meanes more exasperat and inflamed, considering that nature hath not a sufficient and competent time betweene, to repose and refresh her (like: for all men (my good friend) have not that great leisure which *Epicurus* had, neither are they provided for their whole life-time, of thareft and tranquillity, which he said, that he got by good letters and the study of philosophy: nay, there is not one in maner, but every day he finds himselfe amused and employed about many affaires and busineses of this life, which holde him occupied; to which, it were neither good
20 nor expedient for a man to expose his body, so resolved, enfeebled and weakened with the furious exploit of concupiscence. Leaving him therefore to his foolish opinion of the gods, that being immortal and happy, they have no care of our affaires, nor busie themselves therewith, let us obey the lawes, maners and customes of our owne country; as every honest man ought to do; namely, to be sure in the morning to go into the temple, and to lay our hands upon the sacrifice, if haply a little before, we have done such a deed. For in truth, well it were, that inter-
posing the night and our sleepe betweene, after a sufficient time and competent space, we should come to present our selves pure and cleane, as if wee were risen new men with the new day, and purposing to leade a new life, as *Democritus* was wont to lay.

30 THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that Must or new wine doth not inebriate or make folke drunke?

The maner was in *Athens*, to give the assay, and to taste new wines the eleventh day of the month [February] which day they named *Pithagias*: and verily in olde time, they observed this ceremonie, to powre out the first drawing thereof unto the gods, before they dranke of it, making their prayers devoutly, that the use of this medicinable drinke might be hollome and healthfull, not noisome nor hurtfull unto them. But in our country this month is called
40 *Vernationis*, the first day of which month, the manner was to pierce their vessell first, and taste new wines, after they had sacrificed to good *Fortune*, and good *Demon*, and that the westerne winde Zephyrus had done blowing; for of all windes, this is it that most troubleth, disquieteth, and turneth wine: and looke what wine may escape this season, great hope there is that it will hold and continue good all the yeere after: according to which custome my father upon a time sacrificed as his maner was; and after supper finding that his wine was good & commendable, he proposed this question unto certaine yong men that were students with mee in philo-
50 sophie: How it came to passe that new wine would not make a man drunke: the thing seemed at the first unto many a very strange and incredible paradox: But *Agias* said: That this new sweet wine was every way offensive unto the stomacke, and quickly glutted it; by reason whereof a man could hardly drinke so much of Must, as were sufficient to overturne his braines: so for that the appetite is quickly dulled and wearied, for the small pleasure that it taketh, so soone as it feeleth no more thirst. Now that there is a difference betweene sweet and pleasant, the poet *Homer* knew well enough and gave us so much to understand when he said:

*With cheefe and honey that is sweet:
With pleasaunt wine a drinke most meet.*

For in truth wine at the first is to be counted sweet, but in the end it becommeth pleasant, namely, after it hath age, and by the meanes of working, ebullition and concoction, passed to a certaine harshnesse and austeritie. But *Arifmetus* of *Nica* said: That he well remembered how he had

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Of love and Venus, must performed be.*

Neither is dame *Venus* as yet retired and fled altogether from us; for we sit in chaunting hymnes unto the gods, pray devoutly other-whiles unto her, in this wife:

*O Venus, lady deere and goddesse faire,
Hold backe olde age, keepe from us hoarie haire.*

But let us consider now (if you thinke it good) whether *Epicurus* hath done well and decently, as he ought to doe, in taking away *Venus* from the night season; or whether he hath not rather offended against all right and reason in so doing; considering that *Menander*, a man well scene in love-matters, saith: That shee is acquainted with her above all other gods and goddesse: for 10 in mine opinion, well ordeined was this vaile and shade of darkenesse, to cover those that are minded to performe these acts, and in some sort to hide the pleasure from them, and not to come unto this game by day-light, thereby to chafe from out of their eie-sight all shame and to give meanes unto lascivious wantonnesse, for to be bold and confident; and finally, to imprint the memorie of the act so lively, that it may remaine long after in the minde, for to kindle and revive still, new lusts and fleshly desires: For the eie-sight (as *Plato* saith) passeth most swiftly thorow the fleshly affections of the body into us, that is to say, into our soule, and evermore awakeneth and raiseth fresh and new concupiscence, representing with great force and vehemencie, the images of pleasure, and putting us in minde to pursue the same; whereas contrariwise, the night taking away the greatest part of such acts as be most furious, lulleth nature asleepe, and 20 bringeth her (as it were) to bed, in such sort, as it doth not exorbitate or breake forth by meanes of the sight, into lascivious loosenesse. But over and besides all this, what reason or sense is there in this, that a married man, returning all jolly, fresh and merry, from a festivall supper, and peradventure with a gay chaplet of flowers upon his head, yea, and perfumed with sweet and odoriferous oiles, should come home, go to bed, turne his backe unto his wife, pull the clothes about him round, and so lie to sleepe all night; and the morrow after, in broad day light and in the mids of houhold occasions and other affaires, send for his wife out of the nourse or womens roome, for to come unto him about such a matter; or in the mornings, turne unto her and embrace her in his armes, at such a time as the cocke treads his heennes? for the even tide (my good friend *Olympicus*) is the end and repose of all our day-labours past, and the morning is the be- 30 ginning of new travels. Of the evening, god *Bacchus* is the superintendent and president, who is furnished *Lysius* or *Liber*, for that he feedeth us from all paines-taking; and accompanied he is in this presidency of his, with the mules, to wit, faire *Terpsichore*, who loveth daunces, and pleasant *Thalia*, who delighteth in feasts and banquets; whereas the morning riseth betimes by the breake of day, to do service unto *Mynera*, furnished *Ergane*, the work-mistresse or patronesse of artificers; to *Mercurie* likewise, the master of merchants and occupiers; and therefore upon the evening, attend songs, musicke, minstrelle, plaies, daunces, weddings,

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With cheefe and honey that is sweet:

With pleasant wine, a drinke most meet.

For in truth wine at the first is to be counted sweet, but in the end it becommeth pleasant, namely, after it hath age, and by the meanes of working, ebullition and concoction, passed to a certaine harshnesse and austeritie. But *Ariffnetus* of *Nias* said: That he well remembered how he 60 had

had read in a certaine place in some books: That Must mingled with wine staith: & represseth drunkenness; he added moreover and said: That there were physicians who ordeired for them that had overdrunked themselves; to take when they went to bed, a piece of bread dipped in hony and to eat it? If then it be so, that sweet things doe mitigate and dull the force of wine: good reason it is, that new wine should not inebriate, untill the sweetness thereof be turned into pleasantness. We approved greatly the discourse of these two young men, for that they fell not upon triviall and common reason, but had devised new: for these be they that are alledged by every man, and ready at hand, to wit the heaviness of Must or new wine, as *Aristotle* saith, which maketh the belly soluble, and so it breaketh thorow the quantitie of flatulent and muddy spirits that abide therein, together with the waterie substance, of which the ventosities direct-
ly gett forth, as expelled by force; but the aquositie by the owne nature enfeebleth the strength of the wine: like as contrariwise age augmenteth the power thereof, for that the warrie substance is now gone; by reason whereof, as the quantitie of the wine is diminished, so the qualitie and vertue is encreased.

THE EIGHT QUESTION.

What the reason is, that they who be thoroughly drunke, are lesse braine-sicke than those who are but in the way of drunkenness.

Seeing then (quoth my father) that we have begun already to disquiet the ghost of *Aristotle*, it shall not be amiss to trie what we can say of our selves, as touching those whom wee call *drunken men*; that is to say, who are well heat with wine, but not yett starke drunk: for howsoever *Aristotle* was ordinarily very quicke and subtile in resolving such questions, yet in mine opinion he hath not sufficiently and exactly delivered the reason thereof; for as farre as I can gather out of his words (he saith) That the discourse of reason in a man who is sober, judgeth aright and according to the truth of things as they be: contrariwise, his sense and understanding who is cleane gone, & as they say dead drunke, is done and oppressed altogether: as for the apprehension and imagination of him who hath taken his wine well, and is but halfe drunke, is yett found, may his reason and judgement is troubled already and crackt: and therefore such judge indeed, but they judge amiss, for that they follow their phantasies onely: but what thinke you of this? For mine owne part (quoth I) when I consider with my selfe his reason, it seemeth sufficiently to have rendered a cause of this effect; but if you would have us to search farther into the thing, and devise some speciall new matter: make first, whether this difference which hee maketh betweene them, ought not to be referred to the bodie: for in these that have well drunke, there is nothing but the discourse of reason onely troubled; because the bodie being not yett thoroughly drenched and drowned in wine, is able to doe service unto the will and appetite; but if it be once off the hookes, (as they say) or utterly oppressed, it forsaketh and betrayeth the appetites, and breaketh day with the affections, being so farre shaken and out of joint, that it can serve no more, nor execute the will: whereas the other having the bodie still at command, and ready to exorbitate together with the will, and to sinne with it for companie, are more seene and discovered, not for that they be more foolish, and have lesse use of reason, but because they have greater means to shew their follie. But if we should reason from another principle, and go another way to worke (quoth I) he that will consider well the force of wine, shall finde no let, but that in regard of the quantitie, it altereth and becometh divers, much like unto the fire, which if it be moderate, hardeneth and baketh the tile or pot of clai; but in case it be very strong, & the heat excessive, it melteth & dissolveth the same: and on the other side; the spring or summer season at the beginning breedeth fevers and setteth them on fire, which in the progreffe and mides thereof being grown to their heights, decline and cease altogether. What should hinder then, but the minde and understanding which naturally is disquieted and troubled with wine, after it is once off the wheelles, and cleane overturned by the excessive quantitie thereof should come into order againe, and be settled as it was before? Much like therefore as Ellebore beginneth his operation to purge, by overturning the stomacke, and disquieting the whole masse of the body; and if it be given in a lesse dose or quantitie than it should be; well it may trouble, but purge it will not also as wee see some, who take medicines for to provoke sleepe, under the just and full quantitie which is prescribed, in stead of sleepe and repose, finde themselves more vexed and tormented than before; and others againe, if they take more, sleepe soundly:

Hereupon
Easily many
take a proverb:
That a man
may drunke
himselfe to
be.

soundly; even so it standeth to good reason, that the brain-sickness of him who is halfe drunk, after it is grown once to the highest strength and vigour, doth diminish and decay: to which purpose now wine serveth very well, and helpeth much: for being poured into the body with great abundance, it burneth and consumeth that spice of madness which troubleth the minde and use of reason; much after the manner of that dolefull song, together with the heavy found of hautboies in the funerals of dead folke, at the first mooveth compassion, and setteth the eyes a weeping, but after it hath drawn the soule to pittie and compassion, it proceedeth farther, and by little and little it spendeth and rideth away all sense of colour and sorrow; semblably a man that observe, that after the wine hath mightily troubled, disquieted the vigorous & courageous part of the soule, men quickly come to themselves, & their minds be settled in such sort as they become quiet, and take their repose when wine and drunkenness hath passed as farre as it can.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the meaning of the common proverb: Drinke either five or three, but not fower?

When I had thus said, *Ariston* crying out aloud as his manner was: I see well now (quoth he) that there is opened a reentrance, and returne againe of measures into feasts and banquets, by vertue of a most just and popular decree: which measures by means of (I wot not what) sober reason, as by a tyrant have bene this long time banished from thence: for like as they who profess a canonicall harmonie in founding of the harpe, doe holde and say: That the proportion Hemiolios or Sescualterall, produceth the symphonie or musically accord Diapenta, of the duple proportion arithmet that Diapason: but as for the musike or accord called Diatessaron, which of all others is most obscure and dull, it consisteth in the proportion Epitritos; even so, they that make profession of skill in the harmonies of *baachus*, have observed, that three symphonies or accords there are, betweene wine & water, namely, Diapenta, Diatrion, & Diatessaron, singing and saying after this manner: Drinke five, or three, and not fower; for the first standeth upon the proportion Hemiolios, or Sescualterall to wit, when three parts or measures of water be mingled with two of wine; and the third containe the duple proportion; namely when two parts of water be put to one of wines; but the fourth answereth to the proportion of three parts of water poured into one of wine; and verily this measure or proportion Epitritos, may fit some grave and wise senators sitting in parliament; or the *Archonies* in the counsell chamber *Prytanem* for to dispatch waichtige affaires of great consequence; and it may become well enough some logicians that pull up their browes, when they are busie in reducing, unfolding, and altering their Syllogismes; for surely it is a mixture or temperature sober and weak enough: as for the other twaine, that medley which carrieth the proportion of two for one, bringeth in that turbulent tone of the Acrothoraces before said; to wit, of such as are somewhat cup-shotten and halfe drunke:

*Which stirs the strings and cords of secret hart,
That moved should not be, but rest apart.*

For it neither suffereth a man to bee fully sober, nor yett to drench himselfe so deepe in wine, that hee bee altogether witlesse and past his sense: but the other standing upon the proportion of two to three, is of all others the most musically accord, causing a man to sleepe peaceable, and to forget all cares, resembling that good and fertile come field which *Hesiodus* speaketh of,

*That doth from man all cares and curses drive,
And children cause to rest, to feed, and thrive.*

It appeareth and stilleth all proud, violent, and disordered passions arising within our heart, inducing in the stead of them a peaceable calme and tranquillitie. These speeches of *Ariston* no man there, would crosse or contradict; for that it was well known he spake merily: but I willed him to take the cup in hand, and as if he held the harpe or lute, to tune and set the same, to that accord and consonance which he so highly praised, and thought so good. Then came a boy close unto him, and powred out strong wine; which he refused, saying, (and that with a laughter) That his musike consisted in reason and speculation, and not in the practise of the instrument. But my father added thus much moreover to that which had bene said: That as hee thought, the auncient poets also had to great reason feigned; that whereas *Jupiter* had two nurses

nurses, to wit, *Ida* and *Adrastus*; *Imo* one, namely, *Euboea*; *Apollo* likewise twaine, that is to say, *Aletheia*, and *Corythalia*; *Bacchus* had many more; for that he was suckled and nursed by many nymphes, because this god forsooth had need of more measures of water, signified by the nymphs to make him more tame, gentle, wittie, and wife.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that any killed flesh will be naught and corrupt sooner under the raies of the moone, than in the sunne?

E*nthydemus* of *Smium*, feasted us upon a time at his house, and set before us a wilde bore, of such bignesse, that all wee at the table woondred thereat; but he told us that there was another brought unto him farre greater; many naught it was, and corrupted in the cariage, by the beames of the moone-shine: whereof he made great doubt and question, how it should come to passe; for that he could not conceive, nor see any reason, but that the sunne should rather corrupt flesh, being as it was, farre hotter than the moone. Then *Syrus*: This is not the thing (quoth he) whereat a man should marvell much in this case; but rather at that which hunters practise; for when they have stricken downe either a wilde bore, or a stagge, and are to send it farre into the cite, they use to drive a spike or great naile of brasie into the body, as a preservative against putrefaction. Now when supper was done, *Enthydemus* calling to minde his former question, was in hand withall againe, and set it now on foot: And then *Mosephus* the physician shewed unto them, that the putrefaction of flesh was a kinde of eliquation and running all to moisture; for that corruption bringeth it unto a certaine humiditie, so as whatsoever is fappie or corrupted, becommeth more moist than it was before: Now it is well known (quoth he) that all heat which is mild and gentle, doth stirre, dilate, and spread the humours in the flesh: but contrariwise, if the flame be ardent, fierie, and burning, it doth attenuate and reſtreine them: by which appeareth evidently the cause of that which is in question; for the moone gently warming bodies, doth by consequence moisten the same; whereas the sunne by his extreme heat catcheth up and consumeth rather that humiditie which was in them: unto which *Archiloctus* the poet alludeth like a naturall philosopher when he said:

*I hope, the dogge ſerve Sinius,
In ſire heat ſo furious
With raies moſt ardent will them ſmite,
And ſunder ſo then dry up quite.*

And *Homer* more plainly spake of *Hector*, over whose body lying along dead: *Apollo* (quoth he) displayed and spread a darke and shadowy cloud:

*For ſcare left that the ſcorching beames,
Of ſunne aloft in ſkie,
Should on his corps have power, the ſheſh
And nerves to parch and dry.*

Contrariwise, that the moone caſteth weaker and more feeblere raies; the poet *Iſus* sheweth, saying:

*The grapes doe finde no helpe by thee,
To ripen on the vine,
And never change their colour blacke,
That they might make good wine.*

These words thus passed: And then all the rest (quoth I) is very well said, & I approve thereof; but that all the matter should lie in the quantity of heat, more or lesse considering the season, I see not how it should stand; for this we find, that the sunne doth heat lesse in winter, & corrupteth more in summer: whereas we should see contrary effects, if putrefactions were occasioned by the imbecillity of heat; but now it is far otherwise, for the more that the suns heat is augmented, the sooner doth it putrifie & corrupt any flesh killed: and therefore we may as well inferre, that it is not for default of heat, nor by any imbecillitie thereof; that the moone caſteth dead bodies to putrifie, but we are to referre that effect to some secret propertie of the influence proceeding from her: for that all kinds of heat have but one qualitie, and the same differing onely in degree, according to more or lesse: that the very fire also hath many divers faculties, and those not resembling one another, appeareth by daily & ordinary experiences: for goldsmiths melt

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and worke their gold with the flame of light straw and chaffe: physicians doe gently warme (as it were) in *Balne* those drougues, and medicines which they are to boile together most all with a fire made of vine cuttings; for the melting, working, blowing, and forming of glasse, it seemeth that a fire made of *Tamarix* is more meet than of any other matter whatsoever; the heat caused by olive-tree wood, ferveth well in drie stoups or hot-houses, and disposeth mens bodies to sweat; but the same is most hurtfull to baines and baths; for if it be burned under a furnace, it hurreth the boord-floores and feelings; it marreth also the verie foundations and ground-works: whereupon it cometh, that *Aediles* for the State, such as have any skill and understanding, when they let to ferme the publicke baines unto Publicans and Farmers, except ordinarily olive-tree wood, forbidding expressly, those that rent them at their hands, not to use the same; as also not to cast into the furnace or fire with which they give an heat unto them, the feed of *Damelly* for that the sinoaks and fumes which ariseth from such matters, ingender head-ach and heaviness of the braine, together with a dizziness and swimming in the head, in as many as wash or bathe in them. And therefore, no marvell it is, that there should be such a difference between the heat of the sunne and of the moone, considering that the one by his influence doth drie, and the other by her power disposeth humors, and in some bodies (by that meanes) causeth thewmes: and therefore discrete and carefull nurses take great heed how they expose their sucking babes against the raies of the moone, for that such infants (being full of moisture, like to sappy-greene wood) will (as it were) warpe, twine, and cast at one side by that meanes. And an ordinary thing it is to be seene, that whosoever sleepe in the moone-shine, be hardly awakened, as if their senses were stupefied, benumbed, and astoned: for surely, the humors (being dissolved and dilated by the influence of the moone) doe make bodies heave. Moreover, it is said, that the full-moone (by relaxing and softening humors in this wise) helpeth women in travell of child-bearing, to easie deliverance. Whereupon, in my judgement, *Diana*, which is nothing els but the very moone, is called *Lechia* or *Ithyia*, as having a special hand in the birth of children; which *Timotheus* directly testifieth in these verses:

*I borrow azure skie, with starres beset,
By moone that giveth speed
Of child birth, and doth ease the paine
Of women, in their need.*

Moreover, the moone sheweth her power most evidently even in those bodies, which have neither sense nor lively breath; for carpenters reject the timber of trees fallen in the full-moone, as being soft and tender, subject also to the worme and putrefaction, and that quickly, by reason of excessive moisture; husbandmen likewise, make haste to gather up their wheat and other graine from the threshing-floore, in the wane of the moone, and toward the end of the moneth, that being hardened thus with driness, the heape in the garner may keepe the better from being fustie, and continue the longer; whereas corne which is inned and laied up at the full of the moone, by reason of the softnesse and over-much moisture, of all other, doth most cracke and burst. It is commonly said also, that if a leaven be laied in the full-moone, the paste will rise and take leaven better; for although it have but a little leaven, & lesse in quantitie than ordinary, yet it faileth not by the sharpnesse thereof (by means of rarefaction) to make the whole masse and lump of doo to swell and be leavened.

To returne now unto flesh that is caught, and beginneth to putrifie, it is occasioned by nothing els but this, that the spirit which mainteineth and knitteth the same fast, turneth into moisture, and so by that meanes, it becommeth over-tender, loose, and apt to runne to water: an accident, which wee may observe in the very aire, which resolveth more in the full of the moone, than at any other time, yea, and yeeldeth greater store of dewes: which the poet *Alman* signifieth anigmatically and covertly unto us, when he saith in one place, that dew is the daughter

of the aire and the moone; for these be his words:

*What things on earth, the dew as nurse doth feed,
Whom Jupiter and moone betwixt them breed.*

Thus evident testimonies we have from all parts, that the light of the moone is watrish, and hath a certaine propertie to liquifie, and by consequence, to corrupt and putrifie.

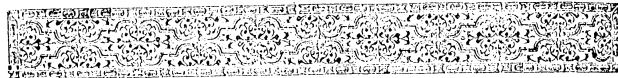
As for the braken spike or naile above mentioned, if it be true (as some hold and say) that being driven into the body, it preserveth the flesh for a time from rottenhead and putrefaction: it seemeth to worke this effect, by a certaine attractive qualitie and vertue that it hath; for the

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flower of brasse, called *Per-de-gris*, physicians doe use in their astringent medicines : and by report, those that frequent mines, out of which brasse-ore is digged, finde much helpe thereby for bleered and rheumaticke eyes; yea, and some thereby have recovered the haire of their eie-lids, after they were shed and fallen off: for the small scales or fine powder in manner of flowre, which cometh and falleth from the brasse-stone *Chalcitis*, getting closely into the eie-lids, staiech the rhowme, and represseth the flux of weeping and waterie eyes : and thereupon it is said, that the poet *Homer* hath given these attributes and epithites unto brasse, calling it ** Siveces* and *reigen*. Besides, *Aristotle* saith, that the wounds inflicted by speares and lances with brassen heads, by swords also made of brasse, are lesse painfull, and be sooner healed, than those which are given by the same weapons of iron and Steele; for that brasse hath a kinde of medicinable vertue in it, which the said weapons doe leave behind them immediatly in the wounds. Moreover, that astringent things be contrary unto those that putrifie; and that preservatives or healing matters, have an opposit facultie to such as cause corruption, it is very plaine and evident; so that the reason is manifest of the said operation : unlesse haply some one will alledge, that the brassen spike or naile in piercing thorow the flesh, draweth unto it the humours thereof, considering that there is evermore a flux in that part which is hurt and wronged. Over and besides, it is said, that there appeareth alwaies some marke or spot, blacke and blew, about that very place of the flesh, bewraying (as it were) some mortification; a probable argument, that all the rest remaineth found and entire, when the corruption runneth and floweth thither as it doth.

* I suppose
Homer used
the words in
a farre other
sense, by *Mis-
chance* leave
be it spoken,
who was a
better physi-
cian, than a
grammari-
an, as it should
seeme.



THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

The Contents or Summarie.

1. **W**hether the food consisting of many and sundrie viands is easier of digestion, than the simple.
2. Why it is thought that Muscivores are ingendred by thunder; wherein also the question is made, wherefore it is a necessarie opinion, that those who lie asleepe, are not smitten with lightning.
3. What is the reason that to a wedding supper many guests were invited.
4. Whether the viands which the sea affordeth, be more delicate than those of the Land.
5. Whether the Jewes in a religious reverence that they have of swine, or upon an abomination and abhorring of them, forbear to eat their flesh.
6. What god the Jewes worship.
7. Why the dayes of the weeke, bearing the names of the seven planetes, are not disposed and reckoned according to the order of the said planetes, but rather cleane contrary; where, by the way, there is a discourse as touching the order of nailes.
8. Why is the cause that rings and signets were worn especially upon the fourth finger, or that, next from the middle.
9. Whether wee ought to carrie in our seale-rings, the images of the gods engraven, or of wise persons.
10. What is the reason that women never eat the middle part of a Lettuce.

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THE FOURTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-questions.

The Proëme.



Polybius in times past (*8* *Sofism Senecio*) gave unto *Scipio Africanus* this good advertisement : Never to depart out of the market or common place, where citizens daily assembled about their affaires; untill he had gotten one new friend or other, more than he had before. Where you must understand this natie offriend, not precisely as the Stoicks doe, nor after the subtile acceptation of the word, according to curious Sophyfters; namely, for him that hath tinneth firme, fast for ever and immutable; but after a civill and vulgar manner, for a well-willer, as *Disarchus* meant, when he said: That we ought to make all men our well-willers; but honest men onely our friends: for surely, this true friendship and amitie can not be gotten and purchased, but in long time, and by vertue; whereas that good-will of civill persons, may be gained by affaires and dealings one with another, by conference and conversing, and other-whiles, by playing and gaming together; namely, when opportunitie of time and place meeteth therewith, which helpeth not a little to the winning of humane affection and favour among men. But consider now, whether that lesson and precept of *Polybius* may be fitted, not onely to the market and common place afore said; but also to a feast or banquet; namely, That a man ought never to rise from the table, nor to depart from the company later at a feast, before he know, that he hath acquired the love and good affection of some one of those there assembled; and so much the rather, because men repaire ordinarie to the publike place of the citie about other negotiations and businesse; but to a feast, wife and discreet persons come as much to get new friends, as to doe pleasure unto those whom they have already : and therefore (as it were) a base, absurd and illiberrall part, to seeme to carry away from a feast or banquet any thing whatsoever; so to goe from thence with more friends than he brought thither at his entrance, is a delectable, honest and honourable thing: like as on the contrary side, he that is negligent and carelesse in this behalfe, maketh that meeting and fellowship unpleasant and unprofitable unto himselfe, and so he goes his way as one that had supped with his bellie; and not with his minde and spirit; for he that cometh as a guest to supper among others, cometh not onely to take his part with them, of bread, wine, meats and junkets, but to communicate also in their discourses by their learning, yea, and their pleasant courtisie, tending all in the end, to good will and amitie. For Wrestlers to catch, and take fast hold one of another, had need of dust strewd upon their hands; but wine at the table, especially when it is accompanied with good talke, is that which giveth meanes to lay holde upon friends, and to knit them together. For speech doth transfuse and derive by discourse and communication, as it were, by conduits and pipes, courtisie and humanity, from the bodie to the mind; for otherwise dispersed it is, and wandreth all over the bodie, and doth no other good at all, but onely fill and fatishe the faim. And like as marble taketh from iron red-hot, the fluxible moisture, by adding it, and maketh that softnesse to become hard and stiffe; whereby it is more apt to receive the impression of any forme received; even so honest discourse and talke at the table, suffreth not the guests that are eating and drinking together, to run endlong still, and be carried away with the strength of wine; but staiech them, and causeth their mirth and jollitie (proceeding from their liberrall drinking) to be well tempered, lovely, well becoming, yea, and apt to be sealed (as it were) with the signet of amity and friendship, if a man know with dexteritie, how to handle and manage men, when they are thus made soft and tender, yea, and capable of any impression, through kinde heat, by the meanes of wine and good cheere.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether the food consisting of sundry sortes of viands, be easier of digestion, than the simple?

The first question then, of this fourth Decade of Table discourses, shall be concerning diversitie of meats : for by occasion of the solemne feast ** Elaphobolia*, for the celebration *Thatis to say, That is to* whereof killing.

whereof we went to the city *Hyampolis*. *Philon* the physician invited us, who (as it should seeme) had made great preparation of good cheere, to entertaine us magnificently; and seeing with *Philinus* a young lad his sonne, feeding heartily upon drie bread without calling for any other meat to it, tooke occasion to breake out into this admiration: O *Hercules*, now surely here is the common proverbe verified indeed!

*They fought in place all full of stone,
But from the earth could lift up none.*

and therewith he leapt forth, and ran into the kitchen to fetch some good victuals for them: and after he had staid a pretie while away, he came againe and brought nothing with him, but a few drie figs and some cheefe; which when I saw: This is (quoth I) the ordinary fashion of those, who having made provision of rare and exquisite things, which also be costly and sumptuous, do neglect those which be good and necessarie, whereof afterwards, they finde a misse and want. I never remembred (quoth *Philon*) that our *Philinus* heere, seemeth to feed after the manner of * *Socratus*, who never (by report) did eat or drinke any thing, all his life time, but onely milke: but as for him, very like it is, that upon some change of minde, he began this manner of diet, and that he had not alwaies lived so; but this *Philinus* here, like another *Chiron*, feedeth his sonne (like as *Achilles* was brought up from his very infancy) with such meats as have no blood in them, that is to say, of the fruits of the earth. And thinke you not, that by this certeine demonstration, he verifieth that which is written of the grasshoppers; namely, that they live of the aire and dew? I never thought upon a supper (quoth *Philinus*) or a feast of an hundred beafts killed for sacrifice, as they were when *Arifomenes* feasted his friends; for otherwise, I would have come from home well provided before hand of simple viands, which be holsome and healthfull, as preservatives hanging about our necks, against these sumptuous, surfetous & feaverous feasts; for that I have heard many times physicians say: That simple viands are easier of digestion, than varietie of meats, like as they be also readier at hand, and soonet provided. Then *Marcion* directing his speech unto *Philo*: This *Philinus* heere (quoth he) marres all your provision of good cheere, frightening as he doth your guests, and (what lies in him) withdrawing them from eating thereof: but if you will request me, I shall answer in your behalfe, I will pwayne my selfe also and be their warrant, yea and proove unto them afterwards, that the diversitie of meats is more easie to be concocted and digested, than their simplicitie and uniformitie, to the end that they may in the meane time be the bolder and better assured to fall unto their victuals, & make merry with that plentifull fare that you have ordered for us: Then *Philo* entreated *Marcion* so to doe.

Now after that we had supped, we called upon *Philinus* to set in hand with the accusation of this multiplicitie of sundry and divers viands: Why (quoth he againe) I am not the author of this position; neither is it I that have said so; but this good host of ours *Philo* heere, who evermore telleth us: First and foremost, that those beafts which feede upon a simple kinde of meat, and the same alwaies one, live more healthie than men; whereas they that be kept up and crammed in coupes, cages, mewes, & bartons, or otherwise franke-fed & fattred, are in greater danger to fall into diseases, & more subject to cruelties, for that their meat is set before them mingled, compounded, and in some sort delicately condited. Secondly, there was never yet any physician to bold and venturesome in making new experiments, who durst offer unto his patient sick of an ague, any meat or nourishment so compounded of divers sorts; but ordained there is for them alwaies the simplest that can be had, & least smellling of the kitchen and cooks craftis; that which is most easie to be concocted in the stomacke: for in truth our meats should suffer alteration, and be wrought by the naturall faculties within us: and like as the colours which are most simple doe strike the deepest die, and give the best tincture; and among oiles that which hath no scent at all, taketh best the aromaticall drouges and odors of the pertumes, and soonet turneth or changeth than any other; even so the simplest nourishment is that, which most easily is altered and concocted by the vertue digestive: whereas if there be many and sundry qualities, and those of a contrary operation, they corrupt soone, for that they fight and runne one against the other, and so hinder concoction; much like as in a citie, the confused multitude of many nations huddled together from all parts, hardly will ever grow to any agreement, & consistence well united and accordant; for that each partie leaneth to their owne rites, striveth to draw all to their owne commoditie, and followeth their private affections against others, hardly or never agreeing and framing well with strangers. Moreover, we may have a most evident and justifiable argument of this by the familiar example of wine, for nothing there is that so doth inebriate, as varietie and change of wines; and it seemeth that drunkennesse is nothing els

* Or Zoroastrian.

but the indigestion of wine: and therefore our great professed drinkers avoid all that ever they can, mixt and brewed wines; yea & they that are the brewers and minglers thereof, doe it as secretly as it is possible; like to those that lie in ambush: for surely every change brings with it inequality, and a kinde of extasie; putting all out of frame; which is the cause likewise that musicians are very wary how they strike or strike many strings together, & yet there is no other harme at all to be suspected but the mixture and varietie. This I dare be bold to affirme, that a man will sooner beleve & consent to a thing where contrary reasons be alledged, than make good concoction, and digestion of divers and sundry faculties: but because I would not bee thought to speake in jest, leaving these prooves, I will come to the reasons of *Philo*: for we have heard him oftentimes say: That it is the quality of the meat that causeth difficultie of digestion, and that the mixture of many things is pernicious, and engendreth strange accidents; and therefore we ought to take knowledge by experience, what is friendly and agreeable to nature, that we may use the same, and rest contented therein; and if peradventure there be nothing of the owne nature hard to be concocted, but that it is the quantitie alone that troubleth and hurteth our stomacke, and there corrupteth, so much the rather in mine advice we ought to forbear divers sorts of viands, wherewith *Philos* cooke exercising his art cleane contrarie to his masters, hath even now empoysoned and bewitched us, by diversifying our appetite and by novelties and change, not suffering it to be wearie, and to refuse any thing, feeding it still with one thing after another, and causing it by this varietie to passe the bonds of contentment in reason; much like unto the foster child of lady *Hippolyte*:

*Who being set in meadow grass,
Flower after flower did creep away:
And yet his minde so childishly was,
And in desire so farre did passe,
That bootie none would him content,
Untill the flowers most part off were.*

In this case therefore it were good withall to remember the wise instruction of *Socrates*, who giveth us counsell to take heed and beware of those viands which draw men on to eat, when they are not hungry, wherein his meaning was of this and none other; that we should avoid and feare the diversitie and pluralitie of meats: for this is it that causeth us to exceed the bound of sufficiency, farther than needfull is, and retaineth our pleasure in things that content the eie and the eare, in venereous matters, in plaies, games, and all kinds of sport, being continually refreshed and renewed still with a singularitie and superfluitie that hath many heads: whereas in simple and uniforme pleasures, the attractive delight never exceedeth the necessity of nature. To be short, of this minde I am: That a man would better endure a musician, who commended a confusion of many things discordant; or a matter of wrestlers who praised the appointing of bodies for exercise, with sweet oiles and perfumed ointments; than a physician who recommended this multiplicitie and varietie of viands; for surely such alterations and changes from one dish to another, must needs force and drive us out of the right way to health.

After that *Philinus* had thus said: I am of this minde (quoth *Marcion*) that not onely they who disjohne and sever profit from honestie, incur the malediction of *Socrates*, but also those who distinguish pleasure and health a sunder, as if pleasure forsooth were repugnant, or annemie unto it, and not rather a friend and companion thereof: for seldome and even against our wils (quoth he) doe we make any use of paine, as being an instrument too boisterous and violent, whereas no man, would he never so faine, can chase pleasures away, and banish them, but they will present themselves alwaies in our feeding, in sleeping, in washing, bathing, sweating, and annoointing our bodies; they enteraine, foster, and cherish him that is over-travailed and wearie, putting away quite by a certeine familiar propertie, agreeable unto nature, whatsoever is strange and offensive: for what manner of paine, what want, remedies which are how strong soever it be, that riddeth or dispatcheth a maladie so soone or so presently, as the bath in due time; or wine given to those that have need, and when their heart doth faint? Our meat going downe into the stomacke merrily, and with pleasure, disolveth incontinently all wambles, reducing and restoring nature againe into her owne estate; as if faire weather and a calme season were come againe; whereas on the contrarie side, the succors and remedies which are procured by dolorous and painfull meanes, by little and little, hardly & with much ado do are brought about and effected, even with wrong and injurie offered unto nature: let not *Philinus* there-

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fore set himselfe in opposition against us, in case we doe not hoise up and spread all our failles, to flie away from pleasures: but endeavour and studie wee rather to draw delight and health together, for to make a marriage betweene them, for which we have more reason than some philosophers, to match pleasure with honesty. For first and foremost (*Philinus*) mee thinks in the very entrance of your discourse, that you are greatly deceived; setting downe this supposal for a ground: That brute beasts feed more simply than men, and in that regard live more healthfully; for neither the one nor the other is true: and as for the former, disprooved plainly it is by the testimonie of the goates, of whom the poet *Enoplos* writeth, who highly commend and praise their pasture, as being mingled, and consisting of the varietie of all plants and herbes, who sing and say in this manner:

We feed in plenty everie where
Upon the plants which earth doth beare;
The flaty Firre we bark and buse
The Holme likewise with mightie bowghers,
The tender crops of Arbutie tree
Which beares a fruite like Strawberrye;
Do yeeld us foode, and many moe
Which both on bulles and dales do grow;
As namely sweet tree Trifolie
On which we love to eate daily;
The Juniper with fragrant smell,
The Yewghay, greene and leav'd as well;
Wilde Olives and fruitfull Lentisk,
Which yeelds the holsome gumme Mastick,
Ash, Figge-tree, Okes that high doe grow,
Toie, Lings which creepes as low;
Whins, Tamarix, Gorse and Broome,
Chaste-tree, Brambles, all and some,
Mollein, Longwoort, Asphodell,
Ladan shrub that sweet doth smell:
Beech trees, with triangled Mast,
Thyme and Sav'ry, be our repast,

For even these trees, shrubbes, and herbes, heere reckoned up, have no doubt infinit differences in taste, juice, favour, sent, & vertue; and yet there be a number more besides these left out unnamed: And as for the second point, *Homer* refuteth it by an evident experience, shewing that mutrens and pestilent contagions, seized first upon brute beasts: besides, their short life witnesseth sufficiently how diseased they be, and subject to many accidents and infirmities; for there is not one of them to speake of, that liveth long, unless haply some man will give instance of the raven and the crow, which we know and see to eat much, and to feed of all sorts of victuals. Moreover, mee thinks that reasoning from the diet of sicke persons, you have not gone by a right rule to discern the meats which be of ease or heave digestion; for labour and exercise, yea and to cut and chew the meat well, serve much for concoction; but for all that they agree not to those who are in a fever: furthermore, I suppose, that you feare without just occasion, the repugnance and contrariety of divers and sundry meats: for set the case that either nature doth out of different and dislike meats, chuse and take that which is agreeable unto it; the divers nourishment transmitting many and sundry qualities, into the masse and bulke of the body, distributeth unto every part that which is meet and fit for it: so as that commeth to passe which *Empedocles* delivered in these verses:

Sweet will to sweet, and therewith loves to joine,
The bitter runnes to that which bitter is;
Looke what is sharpe with sharpe doth well combine,
With sharpe parts: salt forsooth not misse.

This goeth one way, and that another, each one to that which is fittable thereto, after that the mixture by the heat which is seated in the spirits is dilated and spread abroad, the like alwaies follow their owne kinde: for a body mingled and compounded of so many things assembled together as ours is, by all reason doth contract, entertaine and accomplish the temperate there of by varietie of matter, rather than by a simple uniformitie thereof; or if it were not so, but that

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the concoction so called, be it which hath force to alter and change our viands; yet the same will both sooner and also better be performed in sundry and divers meats, than in that which is one and simple: for never will the like receive any passion or alteration by the like; but contrariety and repugnance is that, which sooner turneth and changeth the qualities being encephaled by the mixture of their contrarie: and if you resolve once (*Philinus*) to condemn all that which is mixed and compounded; do not reprove and revile this *Philo* heere, for interteining onely his friends at the table with so cosly fare and varietie of deintie dishes? but also, yea and so much the rather, whensoever he compoundeth and mixeth those roiall concoctions, and those cordiall elixiures that be counter-poisons, which *Erasistratus* was wont to eat: The very hands of the gods; condemn them (I say) of vanitie, curiositie, and absurditie, who confound and mixe together minerals, herbes, theriacall trochiscs, made of the parts of venomous serpents, for the composition of their treacles; yea and in one word, whatsoever land or sea affordeth; for by your advice, good it were to abandon all these mixtures, and reduce all physick to plaine pitfians, thinnie barley water; cucumber seeds, all simple, or at the most to oile and water mingled together: yea, but this pluralitie and diversitie of viands, doth by your saying, ravish, transport, and enchant our appetite as it were, besides it selfe, inasmuch as it hath no more mastery of it selfe: I answer my good friend: That the fame draweth after it puritie and neatnesse; it maketh a good stomack; it causeth a sweet breath; and in one word; procureth cheerefulness in us, and a disposition both to eat more, and to drinke better: for otherwise why take we not course branne in stead of the fine flower of meale to thicken our pots? or why dresse we not and prepare *cives and golden thistles, as well as we doe the tender crops and heads of garden serage? why reject we not this odoriferous, fragrant, and delicate wine of ours, to drinke some savage and hedge drinke; as eyder made of apples, even out of the tubbes which refounds with the comfort and musick of gnats and flies round about? for you will say (I am sure) that an healthfull diet is not the flying and avoiding of pleasure altogether; but rather a moderation and temperature of pleasures, making use of that appetite which is obedient to profit: for like as pilots and masters of ships have many devices and means to escape a blustering and violent winde when it is aloft, but when the same is allayed and downe, there is no man able to raise and set it up againe; even so to withstand the appetite, and to represse the same when it doth exceed, is not so hard and difficult a matter; but to stirre up, to provoke, & corroborate the same when it is lost, & decayed before due times; or to give an edge unto it, being dull and faint, is a matter indeed, and a piece of worke (my friend, I may say unto you) not so easily done: whereby it appeares, that the nouriture of divers viands, is better than the simple food, and that which by reason is alwaies of one sort, doth soone satisfie and give one enough, by how much more easie it is to stay nature, when the is too speedie and hasty, than to set her forward, being weary and drawing behinde: and whereas some haply there bee, who say, that repletion and fullnesse is more to be feared and avoided than inanition and emptinesse, that is not true; but rather the contrary: in deed, if repletion and surfeit grow to corruption or to some maladie, it is hurtfull; but emptinesse (if it bring and breed none other harme els) is of it selfe adverse and contrary to nature. Let these reasons therefore be opposed, as it were, dissonant and founding of a contrary string, against those which you (*Philinus*) have physiofopically discoursed: as for others of you heere, that for saving money, and to spare cost, stick to salt and *cumin; you are ignorant for want of experience, that varietie is more pleasant, and the more delectable that a thing is, the more agreeable it is to the appetite, (provided alwaies that you thinne excessive and gourmandise) for surely it cleaveth quickly to the body which is desirous of it, going as one would say before, and ready to meet it half-way for to receive it, having the eye-sight to prepare the way: whereas contrariwise, that which is lothsome or not pleasing to the appetite, stotheth and wandereth up and downe in the bodie, and findeth no entertainment in such sort, as either nature rejecteth it quite, or if the receive it, the same goes against her heart, & she doth it for pure need, and want of other sustenance: now when I speake of diversities & variety of viands; note thus much and remember, that I mean not these curious works of pastry, these exquisite sauces, tarts, and cakes, which go under the name of *Abaricae*, *Candali*, & *Caryae*; which are but superfluous toies and vanities: for otherwise *Plato* himselfe alloweth varietie of meats at the table, to these generous and noble gentlemen his citizens, whom he describeth in his common-wealth, when hee setteth before them, bulbs, scallions, olives, salad herbes, cheese, and all manner of deinties that woorth would afford; and over & above all these, he would not defraud nor cut feasts short of their junkets & banquetting dishes at the end of all.

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THE SECOND QUESTION.

What is the reason of this opinion so generally received, that Mufhromes be engendred of thunder? and that those who lie asleepe are not thought to be smitten with lightning?

AT a certaine supper, where we were in the city *Elis*, *Agemachus* set before us Mufhromes of an exceeding bignesse; whereat when the companie seemed to wonder, one who was there present, smiled and said: Certes, these may become well the great thunders that we have lately had within this few daies; by which words he seemed pleasantly to scoffe at this vulgar opinion, that Mufhromes should breed of thunder. Now some were there, who said: That thunder caused the earth to chinke and open, using the meanes of the aire, as it were a wedge to cleave it, and withall, that they who seeke for Mufhromes, by those crevices guesse where they are to be found; whereupon arose this common opinion: That they were engendred of thunder, and not shewed thereby; as if a man should imagine that a shewe of raine breedeth snails, and not rather cause them to creepe forth and be seene abroad. But *Agemachus* seemed then in good earnest to confirme the said received opinion, by experience, praying the companie, not to conclude by & by that a thing was incredible, because it was strange and wonderfull: For (quoth hee) there be many other effects of thunder, lightning, and other meteores or celestiall impressions right admirable; whereof it were very hard, if not altogether impossible, to comprehend the causes and the reasons. For this ridiculous round root called the Bulb, which maketh us so good sport, and is grown into a by-word, little though it be, escapeth not by that meanes from thunder, but because it hath a propertie cleane contrary unto it; like as the figge tree also, and the skin of the scale or sea calfe, and of the beast *Hyena*, with whose skinned, mariners and failers are wont to clothe the ends of their crossie-saile-yards, whereupon they hang their sailes: gardeners also and good husbandmen, call those shewes that fall with thunder, *cadentes*, that is to say, good to water their grounds, and so they think them to be. In summe, it were great simplicity and meer folly to wonder hereat, considering that we doe see before our eyes, things more admirable than this, and indeed of all other, most incredible; namely, out of moist clouds, fire to flash, and from the same (soft as they be) so great cracks and horrible claps of thunder: Well, I am (quoth he) in these matters somewhat talkative and full of words, because I would sollicit and move you to be more willing to search into the cause, for that I meane not to deale hardly otherwise with you, and seeme to presse you every one to lay downe your part toward the payment for this great Mufhromes. Why (quoth I) *Agemachus* himselfe seemeth in some sort to have pointed with his very finger to the reason hercof; for I assure you, at this present I can not think of any one, more probable than this; namely, that together with thunder, there falleth downe many times a certaine genitall water, apt to ingender; and the cause thereof, is heat mingled among: for, that pure, light, & piercing substance of the fire, being now converted into lightning, is gone and passed away; but the more weightie, grosse and flantent part remaining behinde, enwrapped within the cloud, altereth and taketh quite the coldnesse away, and drinketh up the moisture, making it more fletuous and windie, in such sort, as by this meane especially, these raines gently and mildly enter & pierce into plants, trees and herbs, upon which they fall, causing them within a while to thrive in bignesse, and infusing within them a particular temperature and a peculiar difference of juice. As we may observe otherwise, that the dew maketh the grasse to be better seasoned (as it were) and fitter to content the appetite of sheepe and other cattell: yea, and those clouds upon which that reflexion is made, which we call the rain-bow, fill those trees and wood upon which they fall, with a passing sweet and pleasant odor; whereof, the priests of our country be not ignorant, but acknowledge as much, calling the same *trifolium*, as if the rain-bow did rest or settle upon them. Much more probable it is, that when these waters and raines together with their ventosities & heats, occasioned by thunders & lightnings, come to pierce deepe into the earth, it turneth and rolleth round, and by that meane is ingendered therein such like nodosities and knobs, soft and apt to crumble, which we call Mufhromes; like as in our bodies there breed and arise certaine flatuous tumors, named Kinels or Glandules, formed by occasion of I. wor not what bloudy humors and heats withal: for a Mufhromer seemeth not to be a plant, neither without rain & moisture doth it breed, having no root at all, nor any sprout springing from it; it is wholly entire of it selfe round about, and holding upon nothing, as having the consistence onely of the earth which hath bene a little altered & changed.

And

And if you thinke this reason to be but slender, I say unto you more, that the most part of those accidents which follow upon thunder and lightning, are of the like sort; and therefore it is especially, that in these effects there is thought to be a certaine divinitie. Then *Dorotheus* the orator who was in the companie: I truth is (quoth he) that you say, for not onely the vulgar sort of simple and ignorant people are of that opinion, but some also of the philosophers; and for mine owne part I know as much by experience, that the lightning which of late fell upon our house, wrought many strange and wonderfull things: for it emptied our cellers of wine, and never did hurt unto the earthen vessell wherein it was; and whereas there lay a man a sleepe, it flew over him, yea, and flathed upon him, without any harme at all to his person, or singeing so much as his clothes; but having a certaine belt or pouch wherein were certaine pieces of brasse money, it melted and defaced them all so confusedly, that a man could not know by the forme or impression, one from another: the man went thereupon to a certaine Pythagorian philosopher, who as he happened was sojourning there, and demanded of him what the reason might be thereof, and what it did presage? But the philosopher, when hee had cleered and assailed his minde of scrupulous feare and religion, willed him to ponder and consider of the matter apart by himselfe, and to pray unto the gods. I heare say also, that not long since there was a souldier at *Rome*, who keeping the Centinell, upon one of the temples of the citie, chanced to have a flash of lightning to fall very neere unto him, which did him no hurt in the world in his body, but only burnt the latches of his shoes; and whereas there were certaine small boxes and cruets of silver within wooden cases, the silver within was found all melted into a masse in the bottom, and the wood had no injurie at all, but continued still entire and found. But these things a man may chuse whether he will believe or no. Howbeit, this passeth all other miracles, which we all (I suppose) doe know very well, namely, that the dead bodies of those who have bene killed by lightning, continue above ground and putrifie not: for many there be who will neither burne nor enterre such corpes, but cast a trench or banke about, and so let them lie as within a rampart; so as such dead bodies are to be seene alwaies above ground uncorrupt; convincing *Clymene* in *Eurypides* of untruth, who speaking of *Phaethon* said thus:

Belove a mine, but see where dead he lies,

In vale below, and there with phurifer.

And hereupon it is, (as I take it,) that brimstone taketh the name in Greeke *brim*, for the resemblance of that smell which those things yeeld that have bene smitten with lightning, which no doubt have a fierie and piercing sent: and this may bee the reason likewise in my conceit, that dogges and fowles of the aire forbore to touch any dead bodies, which in this sort are stricken from heaven. Thus farre forth have I laid the first stone for a ground-work of this cause, as also of the Bay-tree: Now let us intreat him heere to finish and make out the rest, for that he is well acquainted with Mufhromes, lest haply that befall unto us which sometimes to the painter *Androcydes* did; for whil he painted the gulfie *Seylla*, he portraied more naturally & to the life, the fishes all about, than any thing else besides; whereby men judged that hee shewed more affection therein, than cunning of his art, for that naturally he loved to feed upon good fishes; and even so some one might say, that we have discourfed so much of Mufhromes, the breeding and generation whereof is so doubtful, as you see, for the pleasure and delight that we take in tanning of them. Considering now that in these points our discourse seemed to carrie some probability; and that everie man was perswaded well enough that the cause and reason thereof was cleere; and withall my selfe began to speake and advise, that it was now time as the manner was in comedies, to set up those engines devised for to counterfeite thunder; so to inferre a disputation at the table of lightning; to which motion all the companie concended, but passing over all other points, very desirous and earnest they were to heare a discourse as touching this one: What the reason might be that men a sleepe be never smitten or blasted with lightning. Now albeit I saw well well enough, that I should gaine no great praise, in touching a cause, whereof the reason was common, yet I beganne to set to it and said: That the fire of lightning was fine and subtil, as that which tooketh the originall and beginning from a moist pure, liquid, and sacred substance, which if there had bene in it any moisture or terrestriall grosseitie mingled among, the celeritie of motion is such, that it would have purged and cast it forth: Nothing is smitten with lightning (quoth *Democritus*) that cannot resist the fire from heaven; and therefore solide bodies, as iron, brasse, silver, and gold, be corrupted and melted therewith, by reason that they hold out, and withstand it: contrariwise, such as bee rare, full of holes, spongyous, soft, and lux, lightning quickly pierceth through, and doth them no harme;

as for example, clothes or garments, and drie wood; for such as is Greene will burne, because the moisture within maketh resistance, and so catcheth fire withall. If then it be true, that those who lie a sleepe be never stricken dead with thunder and lightning, surely wee must search heere for the cause, and never goe farther; for the bodies of men awake, are stronger, more firme and compact, yea, and able to make more resistance, as having all their parts full of spirits, by which ruling, turning, and welding the naturall senses and holding them together as it were with an engine, the living creature becommeth strong, fast, knit, and uniforme: whereas in sleepe it is slacke, loose, rare, unequall, soft, and as it were all resolved, by reason that the pores be open, for that the spirit hath forsaken and abandoned them; which is the cause likewise that voices, odors, and favours, passe through them, unheard and unsmelled: for why? that which should resist, and in resistance suffer and take impression, meeteth not with those objects, that are presented unto it, and least of all, when they pierce with such swiftnesse and subtiltie, as the fire of lightning doth; for that which of it selfe is lesse firme & strong for to resist offensive things, nature doth defend, fortifie, and furnish with remedies against that which offendeth, by putting before them hard and solide munitions; but looke what things bee of incomparable force, and invincible, they lesse offend and hurt that which yeeldeth, than that which maketh head and resistance: adde moreover hereunto, that they who lie a sleepe are lesse afraid, affrighted, or astonied, by occasion whereof and of nothing else, many have died; onely (I say) for feare of death, without any harme at all done unto them: and this is the very cause that shepheards reach their sheepe to runne and gather round together, into a troupe when it thundereth, for that they which are disperfed and scattered a funder, for very feare take harme, and cast their young ones in time of thunder: yea and an infinit number have beene knowne to lie dead on the ground, by reason of thunder, without any marke or stroke, wound, scorch or burne seene upon them, whose life and soule for very feare hath flowne out of their bodies, like a bird out of a cage: for according as *Enripides* saith:

*The very blast of some great thunder-clap,
Hath many a one stricken stone-dead with a flap.*

And forasmuch as otherwise the sense of hearing, is of all others most subject to suffer violent passions, and the fearefull frights occasioned by sounds and noises, worke greatest troubles in the minde: against it, the privation of sense is a sure bulwarke and rampart to a man that lieth a sleepe; whereas they who are awake, be many times killed with feare of the thing before it cometh: for a fright (to say a trueth) knitting, closing, and compressing the body fast, giveth more strength a great deale to the stroke when it comes, for that it findeth more resistance.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

Why at a wedding or bride-supper, men use to invite more guests, than at other times?

AT the wedding of my sonne *Autobulus* (6 *Sofius Senecio*) one who came frō *Charones*, was with us to solemnize the feast; & a great number there were besides of other honorable personages, which gave unto him occasion for to demand this question: What the cause might be, that ordinarily we invite more guests to such a marriage supper, than to any other feast? considering that even those law-givers who impugned most, the superfluitie and riot of feasts, have precisely & expressly set downe the number of those persons, whom they would have to be bidden-guests to a wedding: For of the ancient philosophers (quoth he) the man that treated of this argument and the cause thereof, to wit, *Hecateus of Abdera*, hath written nothing in my judgement worth ought, nor to the purpose; for thus he saith: That they who marry wives, bid many persons to their wedding, to the end that many may take knowledge and beare witness, that being free borne and of free condition, they take wives likewise of like free birth and condition. For the comickall poets, cleane contrary, mocke and laugh at those, who make proud and sumptuous feasts at their marriage, setting out the same with great pompe and magnificence, as if that were no free bond nor linke to be trusted unto, wherewith they would seeme to knit wedlocke; like as *Menander* said to one, who willed the bridegrome to make a strong rampart all about, of pots, pannes and platters;

*When that is done on every side,
What is all this to your new bride?*

But lest we might not seeme to finde fault with others at our pleasure, for that we have nothing of our owne to say, which is the easiest matter in the world; I shewed first and foremost, that there

was

was no occasion of feasting, so publike nor so much divulged and celebrated, as marriage: for say that we sacrifice unto the gods, or feast a friend for his farewell when he is to goe a long voyage, or entertaine a traveller and stranger that passeth by our house, or cometh of purpose to visit us, we may do all without the privitie of kinsfolke & friends: but a nuptiall feast (where the wedding-song and caroll of *Hymenaeus* is chanted aloud; where the torches are to be seene lighting; where the hautes and pipes play merrily and resound; where (as *Homer* saith) the very women and maidens stand wondering at their doores, to see and heare) is notoriously known and proclaimed to the whole world; in regard whereof, because there is none ignorant of these espousals and festivall solemnities, men being ashamed to leave out any, invite generally all their kinsfolke, familiar friends and acquaintance, as whom in some sort it doth concerne, and who have an interest in the thing. When we all had approved this, *Theon* taking in hand the question: Surely all this (quoth he) may goe for currant, for it carrieth great probability therewith; but you may adde moreover (if you please) thus much: That these marriage feasts are not onely for friends, but also for kinsfolke and allies; for that a whole kindred, race and generation, come to have another new alliance to be incorporated into them: and that which more is, when two houses in this wife be joined together; both he who receiveth the woman, thinketh that hee ought to entertaine and feast the kindred and friends of him that giveth her; and he who giveth her, likewise taketh himselfe bound to doe as much reciprocally, by the kinsfolke and friends of the receiver; whereby the feast and number of them who are bidden, groweth double. Now forasmuch as many marriage complements, and (to say a trueth) the most part in manner all, are performed at weddings by women, surely where the goodwives be, great reason there is, that of necessity their husbands also should be welcome for their sakes, and so thereby the companie still doth increase.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether the viands which the sea affordeth, be more delicate than those of the land?

A*lepus* a town in *Eubaea*, where there be baths naturally of hot waters, is a proper seat and place fitted by nature, for sundry honest pleasures, beautified with many faire houses and lodgings, in such sort, as it is reputed the publike hostellie of all *Greece*: and albeit there be great game there, of hunting and hawking, and wonderfull plentie aswell of fowle as other venison, yet is the market no lesse served from the sea, nor their tables lesse furnished with daintie fish; for that indeed along the coast, the sea is very deepe, and the water faire, nowising an infinit number of excellent fishes. This towne flourisheth more in the mids of Spring, than at any other season of the yeere; for much concourse there is thither at that time, who converse familiarly one with another, feasting mutually, and taking the benefit of that great affluence of victuals, and abundance of all good things; where having nothing els to doe of great importance, they passe the most part of the time in devising and discoursing together of good letters and matters of learning: but whensoever *Callistratus* the professor of rhetoricke is at home, hardly may a man sup any where els but at his house; for a man so full of courtly civility and hospitality, that there is no saying of him nay. Now for that willingly he used to bring those together who were learned and professed scholars, his company was so much more pleasant and delectable; for any times he would seeme among other ancient persons of olde time, to imitate *Cimon*, making his whole and onely pleasure, to feast many in his house, and those from all parts: but most of all, and in manner continually, he followed the example and steps of *Celeus*, of whom it is written, that he was the first who daily assembled to his house, a number of honourable persons, and of good mark, which assembly he called *Prytanium*. The speeches ordinarily at these meetings in *Callistratus* his house, was sorting well and futable to such companie: but one day above the rest, when the table stood furnished with all manner of dishes that a mans heart could wish for, it ministred matter and occasion to enquire as touching viands, whether were better, those of the land or those of the sea? And when all others in manner with one accord and voice, commended them which the land did yeld, as being of so divers and sundry sorts, yea and those innumerable; *Polyrates* calling *Symmachius* by name: You sir, (quoth hee) who are (as one would say) a water-animall, bred and fed within so many seas, environing round about your sacred citie *Nepropolis*, will not you mainteine and defend your tutelard god *Nepturne*? Yes that I will (quoth *Symmachius*) I heartily pray and beseech you to joine with me in this cause, whom I take

take for mine adjoynt and assistant; considering that you enjoy the benefit of the sweetest and most pleasant coast of all the sea. Beginne we then (quoth *Polyrates*) our discourse with our usuall custome and manner of speech: For like as among so many poets as there be, wee give but one by way of excellencie, simply the name of poet; to wit *Homer*, for that of all others he is the principall; so there being in the world many daintie eates, and exquisit viands, yet use of speech hath caried it so, that fish alone, or especially is named *fish*, that is to say, meat, for that indeed it is the chiefe and very best: heereupon it comes, that we call those gluttons that love belly chiere so well, *fish-eaters*, and *fish-lovers*, not for that they love beefe so well as *Hercules* did: who as the poet saith:

When that he had fedde well of fish,
Did eat greene new figges gathered fresh.

Neither doe we name such an one *phagor*, that is to say, a lover of figges, as *Plato* was, or *phobolus*, that is to say, one that loveth grapes as well, like as *Arceflam* did; but such as haunt ordinarily the fish stalls, and have a quick care, to heare the market bell, or listen to the clock, that giveth warning when the fish-market is open: And *Demophenes* when hee objected unto *Philocrates*: That with the money that hee received for betraying his country, hee bought whoores, & fishes; reproched the man no doubt for his lecherie and gluttony: and it is pretily said of *Ctesiphon*, when as one of these gluttons and bellie-gods, in the court or counsell house cried out: That he should cracke and burst in the middes: Doe not so (quoth hee) my good friend in any case, make us not abait heere, for to be devoured of fishes: and he that made these little verses:

Thou liv'st of capers as thyme,
When as of *sturgeon thou must eat.

*sturgeon, it is
not a
sturgeon, it
was some de-
licate fish.

What was his meaning thinke you? or what meaneth this common word of the people, when they speake one to another, for to be merry and make good chiere: Come, shall wee to the strand or shore to daie? Is it not as much as if they meant, that to suppe by the water side had no fellow for pleasure and delight, as in truth it hath not; for surely their purpose is not to goe unto the shore for the love that they have to see the billowes of the sea, or the gravell stones and sands cast up; why then? because they would eat some good pease pottage there, or make their meales with capers? no forsooth; for who goes thither for that purpose? but it is because they that dwell along the banke by the water-side, are provided alwaies of loison and store of good fish, & the same fresh & sweet. Moreover, sea-fish carrieth an higher price beyond all reason, than other meat that cometh to the market: inso much as *Cato* declaiming and inveighing openly before the people against the superfluitie and excesse in *Rome* citie, brake out into this speech, not hyperbolically and over-reaching the truth, but as it was indeed: That a fish at *Rome* was dearer fold than a fatte ox: for they sell a little barrell of fish at such an high price, as an hundred oxen would not cost so much, at a solemne sacrifice, where they goe before bores, goates, and other beasts, yea and the strewing of sacred meale. Certes, the best iudge of the vertue and strength of medicinable drougues and spices, is the most expert physician; likewise no man is able so well to iudge of song and harmonical measures, as the best and most experienced musician; and consequently we may inferre, that the meekest iudge as touching the goodnesse and delectation of meats, is he who loveth them best: for we must not take to arbitrate and determine such a controversie and question as this, *Pythagoras* or *Xenocrates*; but rather *Antagoras* the poet, *Philoxenus* the sonne of *Eryxis*, and *Androcydes* the painter, who being to make a picture for to represent the gulfe *Scylla*, drew even the fishes about it most emphatically with a kinde of affectionate minde unto them; and in one word, more lively and naturally than all the rest, because he loved fish so well, and fedde upon them with such contentment. *Antagoras* the poet was upon a time in the campe of king *Antigonus*, who finding him verie busie all untied & unbuttoned, in seeking of congers in a pan, came close unto him, & rounding him in the eare: Sithe, (quoth hee) thinkest thou that *Homer* thy master, when hee described the noble acts of *Agamemnon*, was busie about boiling of congers: unto whom *Antagoras* turned againe, and replying in this wise presently: And thinke you sir (quoth hee) that when *Agamemnon* exploited those brave fears of armes, he went up and downe in his campe spying, peeping, and prying into every corner so busily as you doe, for to see if he could find one seeking a conger? Thus much *Polyrates*: and to conclude and knit up his speech: For mine owne part (quoth hee) this I thought good to say in the behalfe of fishes, induced thereto as well by the prooffe of testimonies as custome and usuall speech.

But

But I (quoth *Symmachus*) will handle this matter soberly, and in good earnest; going more subtilly and liker a logician to worke, in this manner: For if that be counted dainty and delicate which seasoneth meat, and giveth it the most pleasant taste; we must needs confesse, that simply to be the best, which maineineth the appetite, and giveth an edge to the stomacke that continueth longest: like as therefore those philosophes furnished Eliphtiques affirm: That there was nothing that maintained life, and held bodie and soule longer together than Hope; for that without hope which doth mitigate and allay all travels, it is impossible to live; even so for we must needs graunt and yeed, that to keepe and preserve appetite best, without which all other viands be lothsome and odious: but nothing shall you finde of that proprietie and effect, coming out of the earth; but such a thing the sea affordeth, and that is salt, without which nothing to speake of is favorie, nothing toothsome nor to be eaten: for even our very bread is not pleasing to our taste, if there be no salt within it: which is the reason that *Neptune* and *Ceres* be alwaies worshipped together in one temple: In summe, salt is as it were the fauce of fauces, and that which seasoneth all the dainties whatsoever. And heereupon it was that those worships and demi-god princes, who encamped before *Troy*, and made profession of sparie and simple diet, as religious votaries, and who cut off all curious superfluitie and excesse, over and above necessarie food, inso much as they did not eat once of fish; notwithstanding they had a standing legier, hard upon the straights of *Hellepont*, could not endure to be served at the table without salt; witnesseth thereby, that it is the only viand which cannot be rejected or left out: for like as colours of necessitie require light; even so all those saviours and juices within meats, have need of salt, to stirre up the sense of taste, and to provoke appetite, otherwise they are but flat, unpleasing to the tongue, and lothsome: for dead carrions (as *Hercules* saith) would be cast forth, rather than dung and ordure: and what is the flesh that wee eat, but a dead thing, and part of a dead carcase? but when the strength of salt is put thereto, it is in stead of life, to give a grace and commendable taste unto it: and this is the reason, that before other food, we take those things that be sharpe and saltish, and in one word, whatsoever do stand most of salt; for such be affectives of the appetite, which being drawn on, and entised as with a bait, by the meanes of these vancurriers and preparatives, it cometh more fresh, and with a better edge, ready to set upon other meats; whereas, if we should begin with them first, our stomacke would quickly be done and gone: I will yet say more than so; namely, that all the kinds of salt, serve not only to give a good relish to our meats, but also draw on our drinks, and cause us to make a quarrel to the cup. As for that opinion which *Homer* talketh of, and praileth for a speciall daintie to commend drinke, it was more meet indeed for mariners & rowers at the oare, than kings and princes: but in truth, those meats that be powdered or corned a little with salt; for that they be favourie in the mouth, give all wines a pleasant verdure to please the taste, and to goe downe the throat merrily; the same make any water potable and delightfull, having besides, no such ranke and strong sent, as the onion leaves behinde it. That which more is, such meats doe rarefie other viands, and prepare them for concoction and digestion, in such sort, as salt being eaten, imparteth unto the bodie the delight of a daintie viand, and the might of an holmesome medicine.

To come now unto other meats, wherewith we are furnished from the sea: besides, that they are passing sweet, they be also of all others most harmlesse; for albeit they be of a fleshy substance, yet they lie not heave upon the stomacke, they be easily concocted, and soone passe downward: witnesseth hereof, our *Zeno* here, yea and beleve me, *Crato*, who so soone as men be sicke or ill at ease, before all other directions, betake them to fish diet. Furthermore, it foundeth to good reason, that the sea breedeth and feedeth for us, living creatures, more holmesome than any others, by how much they be more exercised, considering that the very aire which doth breathe and send forth, for the purity and simplicitie thereof is most agreeable unto us. Well said of you (quoth *Lamprias*) and fully to the point; howbeit, somewhat will I add more out of my myphilosophicall learning: My grand father (I remember) was wont ordinarily to say of the Jewes by way of mockerie, that they abstained from the eating of that flesh, which of all others, deserved most justly to be eaten; even so may we say, that man hath not so great right and reason to feed upon any viands whatsoever, as those that come out of the sea: for, say that there were no other communion and fellowship betwene us and these land-creatures; yet at least, wife, thus much there is, that many of them eat of the same food with us, draw in the same aire, wash and drinke as we doe, yea, and otherwhiles we are abashed, and take pity of them, when we kill them for our food, making a lamentable crye as they do: and for that we have made some of them

Q o o

them

them familiar unto us, inſomuch as they can do many things anſwerable to the education which they had; whereas the fiſhes in the ſea and rivers, are altogether ſtrangers unto us, as being bred, nourished and living in another world; no voice of theirs, no aſpect of countenance, nor ſervice at all which either they have done or can doe for us, can exempt them or crave mercy at our hands, for to have their lives ſaved. For what uſe ſhould we make of thoſe creatures which we can not keepe alive with us? or what charitable affection can we beare toward them? the place where we live, is to them no leſſe than hell; for no ſooner come they into it, but dead they are immediately.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Whether it is upon any reverent and religious opinion of ſwine, that the Jewes abſteine from their fleſh, or becauſe they deteſt and abhorre them?

After theſe ſpeeches thus paſſed, ſome there were, who prepared and addreſſed themſelves to diſpute in oppoſition againſt that which had beene ſaid: but *Calliſtratus* breaking off and putting by all further diſputation of this argument: What thinke you (quoth he) of that byſpeech, diſcharged againſt the Jewes by *Lamprias*; namely, that they forbore to eat of that fleſh which deſerveth moſt juſtly of all others to be eaten? For my part (quoth *Polyrates*) I thinke it paſſing well ſpoken; but this moreover and beſides, troubleth my head, and maketh me doubt, whether this nation, upon any honour or reverent regard of ſwine, or for mere abomination and hatred of the beaſt, doth abſteine from their fleſh? as for that which themſelves alledge, it reſembleth fables and deviſed tales; unleſſe haply they have ſome other ſerious and ſecret reaſons, which they are loth to deliver before the face of the world. To ſay what I thinke (quoth *Calliſtratus*) I am verily perſwaded, that the ſwine is in ſome honour among them: for admit that it be a foule and illfavoured beaſt, what then? that it be filthie beſides, what of that? I can not ſee that it is more ugly in ſhape to ſee to, or more untoward of nature to be endured, than the beetle, the crocodile, or the cat; which notwithstanding, the Aegyptian prieſts do honour and reverence as moſt holy creatures, ſome in one place and ſome in others: and as for the hogge, it is ſaid, that they regard and honour it by way of thankſgiving, as gratefull perſons, acknowledging a benefit received from that beaſt, in that it ſheweth them the manner how to til and care the ground, breaking up the earth, digging and rooting (as he doth) into it with his ſnout: and withall, what ſay you to this, that he hath ſhewed the making of a plough ſhare, which I ſome thinke, thereupon tooke the name of ſwine, as derived of the word *ſuis*, that is to ſay, a ſwine. And verily, the Aegyptians at this day, ſuch as inhabit the low-countrey and the flats along the river *Nilus*, have no need of other plough than the ſwines ſnout; for when the river is returned againe within his banks, after he hath watered the plaines & champain field ſufficiently, the peaſants of the countrey doe no more but follow preſently with their feed, and put in all their hogges after it, who partly trampling with their feet, and in part turning up the ſoft earth with their noſes, cover the ſeeds which the huſbandmen have caſt upon the ground. No marvel therefore, if there be ſome nations, who in this reſpect forbore to eat ſwines fleſh, conſidering there be other beaſts, who for as ſmall matters as theſe, yea, and ſome that be more ridiculous and to be laughed at, have had right great honours done unto them, by barbarous nations: for it is ſaid, that the Aegyptians make a god of the filly blinde mouſe *Mygate*; and why ſo? becauſe darkeneſſe was before light, and is of greater antiquity: alſo they have an opinion, that this creature is ingendred of mice in the fifth generation, or at the fifth time that they breed; and that in the verie change of the moone; alſo, that the liver of it doth decreaſe, as the moone is in the wane, and doth decay with her light.

Moreover, they conſecrate the lion unto the ſunne, for that it is the onely foure-footed beaſt having crooked claws, which bringeth forth whelps that can ſee: alſo, for that the lion is verie wakefull, and ſleepeth paſſing little, and whiles he ſleepeth, his eyes do ſhine againe. Moreover, they ſet lions heads gaping for the ſpouts of their fountains, becauſe (ſorfooth) the river *Nilus* bringeth new waters into their fields, and come-grounds, when the ſunne paſſeth thorow the ſigne *Leo* in the *Zodiacke*; and as for the blacke ſtorke *Ibis*, which they likewiſe honor, they ſay, that when it is fiſt hatched, the weigheth two drammes, that is to ſay; juſt as much as the heart of a young infant newly borne doth weiſe; alſo that of the two legs and the bill ſtretched forth one from the other, and reſſing upon the ground, is made the true proportion of a triangle

angle with three equall ſides: And why ſhould the Aegyptians be blamed and condemned for to great folly and abſurditie, ſeeing that by report, the very Pythagoreans themſelves adored and worſhipped a white cocke; and among other ſea fiſhes they abſteined from the bable and the nettle fiſh; conſidering alſo that the Magicians, who were of the ſect of *Zoroaſtres*, honored above all living creatures upon earth the turchin or hedgehogge, but hated water-mice; ſaying: That he ſhould doe beſt ſervice, and moſt acceptable to the gods, yea and be right bleſſed and happie himſelfe, who could kill the greateſt number of them.

This giveth me occaſion to thinke, that if the Jewes had held ſwine hatefull, and abominable creatures, they would have killed them, like as the Magicians did the ſaid mice; whereas contrariwiſe they are as well forbidden to kill them, as to eat them: and peradventure there is good reaſon, that as they honour the aſſe, for that ſometime in a great drought he ſhewed them a place wherein was a fountaine of water; even ſo they reverence the ſwine, for teaching them how to ſowe and till the ground. And verily ſome man haply might ſay, that this people abſteineth likewiſe from eating the hare, hating and abhorring the ſame, as an impure and unclean beaſt: It is not without ſome cauſe (quoth *Lamprias*, taking the word out of his mouth) that they forbore eating of the hare, for the reſemblance that it hath to the aſſe, whom they myſtically doe worſhip; for the colour of them both is all one; the eares be long and bigge withall, their eies great and thining; in which reſpects there is a marvellous ſimilitude betweene them, in ſuch fort, that of a great and ſmall beaſt, there is not to be found ſuch a reſemblance againe in any other; unleſſe peradventure among other ſimilitudes, they imitate herein the Aegyptians, who eſteeme the ſwiftnesse of this beaſt divine, yea, and the exquisite perfeccion of ſome naturall ſenſes, admirable: for the eies of hares be ſo vigorous and indefatigable, that they will ſleepe open eied, and their hearing ſo quick, that the Aegyptians having them in ſuch admiration therefore, when they would ſignifie in their Hieroglyphick characters, perfect hearing, doe paint and poutrey hares: as for ſwines fleſh, the Jewes have in great abomination, for that barbarous nations do of all other diſeaſes abhorre ſaint *Magnus* evil, or the white leproſie moſt, as well for that they ſuppoſe, that theſe maladies may be engendered, by feeding upon their fleſh, as alſo becauſe, looke what perſons they doe aſſaile, them they doe eat & conſume in the end; and this we doe ſee ordinarily, that a ſwine under his belly is full of a kind of leproſie, and covered all over with a white ſcurffe, called *Pſora*; which infection ſeemeth to proceed from ſome evil habit, and inward corruption within the body, bewraying it ſelfe in the outſide of the ſkinne: to ſay nothing of the filthineſſe of this beaſt, both in feeding and otherwiſe, which muſt needs impart ſome evil qualitie to the fleſh; for there is not another beaſt againe, that taketh ſuch pleaſure in dirt and ordure, loving to wallow and welter in the moſt mirie and ſtinking places that be, as it doth; unleſſe they be ſuch as breed and bee nourished in thoſe places: furthermore, it is ſaid, that the ſight of their eies is ſo bent and fixed downward, that they can ſee nothing on high, no, nor once ſo much as looke up to the ſkie, unleſſe they be caſt upon their backs with their feet upward; ſo that the balles of their eies by this means be turned quite contrary to the courſe of nature: and verily this beaſt howſoever otherwiſe ordinarily it is given to cry and grunt exceeding much, yet if the feet be turned upward (as is before ſaid) it will be ſilent and ſtill; ſo much aſtoniſhed and amazed it is to ſee the face of heaven, which it is not wont to doe, and ſo for feare of ſome greater harme, it is thought that it giveth over crying: Now if wee may come in with poetickall fables to make up our diſcourſe; it is ſaid, that ſane *Adonis* was killed by a wilde bore: and *Adonis* is thought to be no other than *Bacchus* himſelfe; which opinion may be confirmed by many ceremoniall rites, in ſacrificing both to the one and the other, which are the very ſame: although ſome hold that *Adonis* was the minion whom *Bacchus* loved, as appeareth by *Phanocles* the poet, a man well ſcene in love-matters, in theſe verſes:

*Bacchus who tooke ſo great delight
The hills and foreſts for to range:
Oſſure Adonis had once a ſight,
And him to raviſh made it not ſtrange.*

Symmachus marvelling at this laſt ſpeech of his above the reſt: How now (quoth he) will you *Lamprias* indeed inſert and tranſcribe the mear god of your country:

*Bacchus I meane ſurnamed Evius,
Who women doth to rage incite:*

*And in such service furious,
And frantick worship takes delight.*

among the secret ceremonies of the Hebrewes? Or doe you not thinke there is some reason that he is the very same god whom they love. Then *Meragenes*: Let *Lamprins* alone (quoth he) as for my selfe who am an Athenian, I answer & say unto you assuredly, that he and *Bacchus* are both one: but the most part of the arguments and conjectures which proove it, may not be uttered and taught, but unto those who are professed in the absolute religion and confraternitie trietericall, of *Bacchus* in our country: howbeit, that which we are not forbidden to speak among friends, and namely at the table, amidst our cuppes, and when we take pleasure in the gifts and benefits of this god, (if it please the cōpany) ready I am to deliver: and when they all willed & requested him so to doe: * First and foremost (quoth he) the season and whole manner of their principall and greatest feast, is altogether proper and convenient unto *Bacchus*; for that which they call their fast, they celebrate in the very middes and heat of vintage, at what time as they bring tables abroad, and furnish them with all kinds of fruit: they sit under tents or boothes, which are made principally of vine branches and ivie, wrought, twisted, & interlaced one within another, and the even or day before it, they call the feast of tabernacles or pavilions: within a few daies after, they celebrate another feast, and the same is not under a figure, and covertly, but openly, and directly in the name of *Bacchus*: there is a third solemnitie yet among them, named *Cyathophoria*, of carrying vine branches and *Thyrso-phoria*, of bearing javelins dight with ivie, and in that manner enter they into their temple, but what they doe within we know not: howbeit very probable it is, that they performe there certaine Bacchanales or rites in the honor of *Bacchus*; for they use little trumpets to invoke upon their god, such as the Argives have in their Bacchanle solemnitie; then come others playing upon harpes and lutes, whom they call in their language *Levites*, a denomination haply derived of *Lyctus*, the surname of *Bacchus*, or rather of *Ectus*: It seemeth also to me, that their feast of Sabbats is not altogether disagreeable with *Bacchus*; for there be many places yet in Greece even at this day, where they call the priests *Bacchi*, by the name of *Sabbi*: who in their Bacchanales and ceremoniall pourses, often times reiterate these voices, *Enoi* and *Sabbi*, as appeareth in the oration of the crowne which *Demofthenes* made against *Aeschines*, as also in the poet *Menander*. And this name, *Sabbat*, if a man should say, it was imposed upon this feast of *Asclepias*, that is to say, of the inordinate motion and turbulent agitation of the priests of *Bacchus*, it were not altogether absurd and without reason; for even they themselves testifie no less: for they solemnize and honor the Sabbath with mutuall calling and inviting one another to drinke wine, untill they be overcome with, unlesse some great occasion do occur: that hindereth them; and even then, they thinke yet that they must needs taste strong wine. Howbeit, some man may haply say, that these arguments be but bare conjectures and presumptions, that carry with them some little probabilitie: but verily, that which is done among them, is a forcible & necessarie prooffe. First and foremost, their high priest shewing himselfe abroad, and going before with a miter upon his head, at these feasts, argueth no lesse; who also is clad in a vesture of Stags skinn, wrought richly with golde; arrayed beside, in a long robe, downe to his feet, and wearing buskins; besides, there be many little belles pend int round about the border and skirt of his robe, which gingle and ring as he goeth, like as also among us: this manner of refoounding they use still in their sacrifices, and they surname the nourishes of their god, *Chalcodrytae*: and besides, there is a *Thyrse* or *Javelot* with tabours to be seene expressly printed aloft, against the walles of their temple; all which ceremonies, certainly can agree to no other god, but unto *Bacchus*.

Moreover, in none of all their oblations do they offer honie, for that they thinke it marreth and corrupteth wine when it is mingled with it; and yet this was the liquor which they used in old time, to serve God withall in their libaments; and whereof they dranke untill they were drunke, before the vine tree was known: and even at this day, those barbarous nations, who drinke no wine, use a certaine drinke made of honie, correcting the exceeding sweetness thereof with certaine tart and austere roots resembling (in some sort) the vendure of wine: these oblations, the Greeks present unto their gods, and those they call *Nephalia* and *Melte-spada*, as one would say, Sober and corrected with honie: for that honie hath a natural property adverse and contrary unto wine. To conclude, that this is the same God which they worship, a man may collect by this one argument, which is of no small force; namely, that among many punishments which they have, this is the most shameful and ignominious, when they are forbid-

* See the Minchiffe and vannie of these pagans: who for want of the true light out of holy scriptures run on still in darkness, carried with the wincy onely of human wit and learning.


den to drinke wine; who are punished even so long as it please him to set downe, who is the judge, and hath power to impose the penaltie; and those who are thus punished, * * * *

The end of this discourse is wanting, as also the discussing and deciding of the other five questions proposed in the forefront of this fourth booke.



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR TABLE-QUESTIONS.

The Contents or Summarie.

- 1  Herefore we willingly heare and see them who counterfeite those that be either angry or sorrowfull; but such as be wroth or heavie inded, we love not either to heare or see.
- 2 That there was an ancient game of prize performed in Poetrie.
- 3 Why the * Pitch-tree is consecrated to Neptune and Bacchus; also that in the beginning, men used to crowne with branches of the said tree, those who won the prize at Isthmicke solemnities of sacred games; afterwards, with a garland of * Smallach; and now againe, they begin to take up the crowning of them with Pitch-tree. * σιλλίος, some take it for pailley.
- 4 What is the meaning of these words in Homer: Σωφρονέω δὲ τίκαμνα.
- 5 Of those that invite many to supper.
- 6 What is the cause of sitting pent and with streights roome at the beginning of supper, but at large afterwards, toward the end.
- 7 Of those who are said to cic-bite or to bewitch.
- 8 What is the reason that the poet called an Apple-tree, ἀγλαΐα φρον; and why Empedocles named Apples, ἀγλαΐα φρον.
- 9 What is the reason, that a Fig-tree being it selfe inaste most sharpe and biting, bringeth forth a fruit exceeding sweet.
- 10 Who are they that are said in the common proverbe to be said ἀνὰ δὲ δούμων.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or table-questions.

The Proöme.



Hat your opinion is at this present (δ *Sofius Sinecio*) as touching the pleasures of the soule and bodie, I wot not;

*For that now many a mountaine high,
And shady forest stand betweene;
The roaring seas likewise do lie,
So as to part us, barres they beene.*

for you seemed not greatly, long agoe, to approve and allow their sentence, who holde: That there is nothing properly and particularly delightfome, nothing pleasant unto the soule, nothing at all that it desireth, or joiet in, of it selfe; but that it liveth onely according

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ding to the life of the bodie, laughing (as it were) and sporting with it in the pleasaunt affections thereof; and contrariwise, mourning at the heaue passions afflicting it: as if the soule were no other thing, but a very matter apt to take the impression of fundry formes, or a mirror to receive the images and resemblances of those objects which are presented unto the flesh and body: for as by many reasons, a man may easily refute the blind and illiberal falsitie of this opinion; so, by this effectually; that after the table is taken away, and supper done, men of learning and knowledge incontinently fall to discourse and devise together (as it were) at a banquet, delighting and solacing one another with pleasant talke, wherein the bodie hath no part at all, unless it be very little and a farre off: which experience beareth witness, that this is the provision of dainties, and delicate pleasures laid up peculiarly for the soule; and that these be the onely delights indeed of the minde, whereas those other be but bastards and strangers infected with the societie of the bodie: like as therefore nurses whilst they give pappes and panades unto their little babes, have some small pleasure in feeding them, by tasting the same in their own mouths before; but after they have filled their infants bellies, and brought them a sleepe, so as they crye no more, then they goe themselves to their owne refectiō, meet for them, they eate and drinke and make good cheere; even so the soule doth participate with the desires and appetites of the bodie, in manner of a nurse attending upon it, serving it, and framing herselfe in some sort to do it pleasure, and satisfie the necessities thereof: but after that the body is sufficiently served, laid at rest and repose, then being delivered of her obsequious service and businesse about the bodie, she betaketh herselfe from thenceforward unto her owne pleasures and delights; making her repast, and taking her solace in discourses of learning, in good letters, in sciences and histories, and in seeking to heare somewhat, and know more full of that which is singular. What should a man say any more of this? considering and seeing as he doth, that even base mechanickall and unlettered fellows, after supper, ordinarily withdraw their minds, and employ the same upon other pleasures and recreations, farre removed from the body, proposing darke riddles, enigmaticall questions, and intricate propositions of names comprised under notes of certaine numbers, hardly to be affoiled or gessed at? and after all this, come in banquets, which make way unto plaiers, jesters, counterfet pleasures, giving roome to *Menander*, and the actors of his comedies: all which sports and pastimes are not devised for to ease and take away any paine of the body, ne yet to procure some gentle motion and kinde contentment in the flesh; but onely for that the speculative and studious part of the minde, which naturally is in every one of us, doth demand & call for some particular pleasure and recreation of her owne, when we are once discharged of the businesse and offices whereabout we are employed for the body.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What is the cause that willingly we heare and see those who counterfet them that be angrie, or sorrowfull; but to us not to heare or see the parties themselves in those passions?

OF such matters there passed many discourses, when you were present with us at *Athen*, at what time as the comedian actor *Strato* flourished; for hee was then in fo great name and reputation, that there was no talke but of him. But one time above the rest, we were invited and feasted by *Boetius* the Epicurean, and with us there supped many more of that sect: now after supper, the fresh remembrance of the comedie which we had scene acted, gave occasion unto us, being students and lovers of learning, to fall into a discourse and question about the cause, why we cannot abide but are greatly discontented, to heare the voices of those who are angrie, sorrowfull, timorous, or affrighted; and contrariwise, what the reason is, that they who counterfet these passions, and represent their words, their jestures and behaviour, doe much delight and please us? And verily, all in manner there in place, opined the same, and were in one song; for they gave this reason and said: Inasmuch as he who counterfeith those pastimes, is better than he who suffereth them indeed; & in regard that he who is not affected himselfe, excelleth the other; we knowing so much, take pleasure and are delighted: but I, albeit, that I set foot (as men say) in the daunce of another, said thus much: That we being naturally framed for to discourse by reason, and to love things that favour of wit, and be artificially doct, affect and esteeme those who have a dexterity therein, if a thing succeed accordingly: for like as the Bee delighting in sweetnesse, fliech from flower to flower, seeking busily where shee may finde

finde any matter that will afford substance for honey; even so a man by nature ingenious, studious also of arts, and elegancie, is wont to cherish, love, and embrace every action, and worke, where he knoweth there was wit and understanding employed in the finishing of it: if then one come and present unto a young childe, a little loafe of bread indeed, and withall tender unto him a pretty puppie or bulkin, or heigher made of paste or dough; you shall see that he will run rather to these counterfet devices, than to the other: and even so it is also in other things; for if one offer him a piece of silver in the masse unwrought; and another tender unto him a little beast or a cup made of silver, he will much sooner make choise of that which he seeth to have some artificiall workmanship joined with it, and to favour of wit and cunning: and therefore it is, that children at this age take more delight, both to heare such covert speeches as shew one thing and meane another; as also those plaies and pastimes which have some witty matters contrived, or ambiguous difficulties interlaced therein: for that which is smoothly polished and curiously wrought, draweth and allureth unto it mans nature of the owne accord, as being proper unto it, and familiar, although it be not taught to imbrace it. Forasmuch as therefore, hee who is angry or grieved in good earnest, sheweth nothing else but common and ordinary passions; but in representing and counterfeiting of the same, there is a certaine dexterity and subtiltie of wit to be scene, especially if it speed well and take effect; therefore we delight to behold the one, and are displeased to see the other. For the prooffe hereof, marke how we are affected, semblably in other objects, shewes, and fights, presented unto us: for with griefe and sorrow of heart we looke upon those who are either dying or lie grievously sick; contrariwise, with joy we behold, yea and admire either *Philotes* painted in a table; or queene *Jocasta* portraied in brasse; upon whose visage it is said; that the workman tempered a little silver with the brasse, to the end that this mixture of metalls together, might represent naturally, and to the life indeed, the face and colour of one ready to faint, and yeeld up the ghost: And this (quoth I) my matters, (to you I speake who are Epicureans) is an evident argument on the Cyrenaikes side against you; to prove that in pastimes and sports, presented to the eie and the eare, the pleasure consisteth not in seeing or hearing, but in the understanding: for an odious and unpleasant thing it is, to heare a henne keepe a creaking or cackling, and a crow untowardly and untunably crying; and yet hee that can well and naturally counterfet either the cackling of an henne, or the crying of the crow, pleasech and contenteth us wonderfull well: semblably, to looke upon those who are in pittike or consumption, is but a lovelesse sight, and yet we joy and take delight to see the pictures or images of such persons; for that our understanding is pleased and contented with the imitation & resemblance of them, as a thing proper and peculiar unto it: for otherwise, what joy and contentment have men, or what outward occasion have they so much to admire and wonder at *Parmenons* sow? inasmuch as it is grown to be a common by-word: This *Parmenon* was by report, one that counterfeited passing well, the grunting of an hogge; for which his singular grace and gift therein, his concurrents upon an envious humour, would needs aslay to doe as much in despight of him: but merr being already forefalled with a prejudicate opinion of him, would say thus: Well done; but nothing to *Parmenons* hogge: and therefore, one of them having gotten a little porker indeed under his arme, made it for to squeake and cry; but the people hearing the noise of a swine indeed: All this (say they) is nothing to *Parmenons* hog; whereupon the partie left the said live hog run among them all, for to convince them of their corrupt judgement, caried away with an opinion, and not grounded upon truth and reason. Whereby it appeareth evidently, that one and the same motion of the sense, doth not affect the minde alike, when there is not an opinion, that the action was performed wittily and with artificiall dexterity.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

That there was in old time a game of prize for poets.

AT the solemnitie of the Pythicke games, there was some question and talke upon a time, about the cutting off, and putting downe of certaine plaies and pastimes, toist in, to the others that were ancient and of the first institution: for whereas at the first, there were but three onely that plaied their prizes; to wit, the Pythian plaier of flute or pipe, the harper, and the singer to the harpe: after they had once admitted the actour of tragedies, no sooner was this gate (as one would say) set open, but they were not able to resist and keepe out an infinit number of other

other plaies and sports, that rushed and thrust themselves in after him: by occasion whereof, there was much variety and a frequent concourse at this solemnitie, which I must needs say, was no unpleasant sight to beholde: but surely it retained not the ancient gravity and dignitie be-
 10 coming the Muses indeed; for by this means, the judges and umpires were much troubled; besides, there grew many quarrels and enimities, which could not otherwise be; for where there are so many contending for the prize, there can not chuse but be a number of mal-contents, that misde the garland. But among all others, it was thought good by the judges, to remove and banish from the solemnitie, a number of those who penned orations, and all the sort of poets that came thither to versifie for the best game; which they did not (I assure you) for any hatred
 unto learning and good letters, but for that they who presented themselves to these learned com-
 bats, be ordinarily the most notable persons of all others; the judges before said, revered them, and in some sort, pitied their case, esteeming them all worthy men, and well deserving of
 good letters, howbeit, not able all to gaine the victory. We therefore, being at this councell, la-
 bored to dehorr those who went about to change and alter settled customes, and who blamed in
 any of these sacred games, multiplicity and variety, as if they found fault with many strings in an
 instrument, or a consort of voices in vocall musike. Now, in supper time when we were in *Pe-*
træus his house, who was the president and governor of the said solemnitie, and courteously
 had invited us, the question was revived and let on foot a fresh; and we tooke upon us to defend
 the cause of the Muses, shewing, that poeirie was no moderne profession, nor entered but lately
 among the combats of sacred games, but that of ancient time it had won the victorie, and gai-
 20 ned the crowne. There were in the company, some who thought by these words of mine, that I
 meant to alledge old testimonies, and to cite stale and triviall examples for proove of the cause;
 to wit, the funerals of *Orculeus* the Thessalian, and of *Amphidamas* the Chalcidian, at which, *Ho-*
mer and *Hesiodus* made verses one against another for the victorie, as stories make mention: but
 casting by and rejecting all these evidences so much tossed and divulged already by Gramma-
 rians; and namely, the funerall obsequies and honours done to *Patroclus* in *Homer*, where they
 read not *Neptune*, that is to say, launcers of darts, but *Peleus*, that is to say, makers of orations and e-
 loquent orations, as if *Achilles* had proposed rewards and prizes for orations; leaving (I say)
 these matters, I affirmed: That when *Acastus* celebrated the funerals for his father *Peleus*, he ex-
 30 hibited a combat of poets for the best game, wherein *Sibylla* went away with the victorie. Hereat
 many stood up, and opposed themselves against me, demanding a reall caution at my hands for
 to make good that which I had averred, for that it seemed unto them a very strange narration
 and incredible: but as good hap was, I called to remembrance, that I had read so much in the
 Chronicle of *Zyflia*, compiled by *Alexander*, where the story is put downe: And this booke (quoth
 I) is not in every mans hand to reade; howbeit, I thinke verily, that the most of you have bene
 carefull to peruse those records which *Polemon* the Athenian, a diligent writer and a learned an-
 tiquarie, who hath not bene idle and sleepe in seeking out the antiquities and singularities of
Greece, hath set downe in writing, as concerning the treasures of the city *Delphos*: for there you
 shall find written, that in the treasure of the Sicyonians, there was a golden booke, given and de-
 40 dicated by *Aristomache* the poetesse of *Erythraea*, after she had obtained the victorie, & gotten
 the garland at the solemnitie of the Isthmick games: Neither have you any reason (quoth I)
 to esteeme *Olympia*, and the games thereof, with such admiration above the rest, as if it were an-
 other fittall destiny immutable, and which can not be changed nor admitt alteration in the plaies
 there exhibited: as for the Pythian solemnitie, three or foure extraordinarie games it had, res-
 pective unto good letters and the Muses, adjoined and admitted to the rest: the Gymnicke
 exercises and combats performed by men naked, as they were at first ordained, so they continu-
 ed for the most part still, and hold on at this day; but at the Olympian games, all, save one run-
 ning in the race, were taken up afterwards, and counted as accessories: likewise, there have bene
 many of them which at first were instituted, since put downe and abolished; namely, *Zeus*, that is
 to say, an exercise and feat of activitie, when the concurrent mounted on horsebacke, in the
 50 mids of his course leapeth downe to the ground, taketh his horse by the bridle, and runneth on
 foot with him a full gallop: as also another, called *Arletus*, which was a course with a chariot
 drawn by two mules: moreover, there is taken away now, the coronet ordeined for children
 that achieved the victorie in *Pentathlus*, that is to say, five severall feats: to be short, much in-
 novation, change and altering there hath bene in this festiviall solemnitie, from the first institu-
 tion; but I feare me, that you will call upon me againe for new pledges and cautions, to proove
 and justifie my words, if I should say, that in olde time at *Pisæ*, there were combats of sword-fen-

cces

cers, fighting at the sharpe to the utterance, man to man, where they that were vanquished or
 yielded themselves died for it; and if my memorie failed mee that I could not bring out mine
 author, and name him unto you; I doubt, you would laugh and make a game of mee, as if I
 had overdrunk my selfe, and taken one cup to many.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cause that the pitch-tree is held consecrated unto Neptune and Bacchus: And that
 in the beginning the victors at the Isthmian games were crowned with a garland of pine-
 10 tree branches, but afterwards with a chaplet of smallage or parsley, and now of lile, with
 the foresaid pitch-tree?

There was a question propounded upon a time: Why the manner was to crowne those
 with pine or pitch-tree branches, who gained the prize at the Isthmick games? For so it
 was, that during the said festiviall solemnity, *Lucanios* the high priest made a supper at *Corin-*
th, at his owne house, and feasted us: where *Praxiteles* the geometrician, a great discoufeler, told us
 a poetical tale, and namely; that the body of *Meliceia* was found cast up, & driven upon the
 body of a pine-tree, by the sea at a full tide; for that there was a place not farr from *Megara*,
 named *Cales Dromos*, that is to say, the race of the faire lady; whereas the Megarians doe re-
 20 port, that dame *Ioo* carrying her yong babe within her armes, ranne and cast her selfe head-
 long into the sea: But it is a common received opinion (quoth he) that the pine is appropriat
 for the making of coronets, in the honour of *Neptune*: whereupon when as *Lucanios* the high-
 priest added moreover and said: That the said tree being consecrated unto *Bacchus*, it was no
 marvell nor absurditie if it were dedicated also to the honour of *Meliceia*. Occasion was taken
 to search into the cause; wherefore the auncients in old time held the said tree sacred unto *Bac-*
chus and *Neptune* both: For mine owne part I saw no incongruities therein; for that these two
 gods be the lords and rulers over one generall principle, or element, to wit, humidity or moi-
 30 sture, considering also that they generally in manner all, sacrifice unto *Neptune*, under the sur-
 name *Portheus*, as one would say, protectour of plants; and unto *Bacchus* likewise, by the name
 or addition *Dardanus*, that is to say, the president over trees: and yet it may be said, that the pine
 more particularly appertaineth not to *Neptune*; not as *Apollodorus* is of opinion, because it is
 a tree that loveth to grow by the sea-side, or for that it delighteth in the windes as the sea doth:
 (for some there be of this minde) but especially in this regard; that it affordeth good timber,
 and other stufte for building of shipp; for both it, and also other trees, which for their affi-
 40 nities may goe for her fillers, to wit, pitch-trees, larike-trees, and cone-trees, furnish us with
 their wood, most proper to stowe upon the sea, and with their rosin also and pitch, to calke and
 callicet; without which composition, be the joints never so good and close, they are to no pur-
 pose in the sea: as for *Bacchus* they consecrated the pitch-tree unto him, for that pitch doth
 give a pleasant seasoning unto wine: for looke where these trees doe naturally grow, the vine
 49 thereby report yeeldeth pleasant wine; which *Theophrastus* imputeth to the heat of the soile;
 for commonly the pitch tree groweth in places of marle or white clay, which by nature is hot,
 and so by consequence helpeth the concoction of wine; like as such kinde of clay yeeldeth wa-
 ter, of all others most light and sweet: besides, if the same be blended with wheat, it maketh the
 greater heape, for that the heat thereof doth cause it to swell, and become more full and tender:
 moreover the vine receiveth many commodities and pleasures more from the pitch tree, for
 that it, with those things which be, is good & necessarie, both to commend and also to preserve
 wines; for it is an ordinary thing with all men, to pitch those vessels into which they put
 their wines, yea, and some there be who put rosin even into the wine: as for example, those of
 50 *Eubæa* in *Greece*, and *Italy*, the inhabitants by the *Po* side, and that which moire is, from out of
Gauls by *Piemont*, there is brought a certaine pitch-wine, called *Pistites*, which the Romanes
 much store by, because it giveth it not only a delectable sent, but also a better strength, taking
 from it in a small time the newnesse and the watery substance thereof, by the means of a mille
 and kinde heat. This being said, there was an oratour there, a man of great reading a sin-
 gular scholar, and an excellent humanitian, who cried out in this manner: And is it to meede
 as who would say, it were not very lately, and but the other day, that the pine tree yeelded gar-
 lands and chaplets at the Isthmian games? for heretofore the victors there, were crowned with
 wreathes

wreaths and coronets made of smallach leaves: and this appeareth by that which we may heare out of a certaine comedie, a covetous miser speake in this wise:

*These Isthmike games I gladly would part for,
For price that smallach wreaths in market go.*

And *Timon* the historiographer writeth; that when the Corinthians marched in battell ray under the conduct of *Timoleon* against the Carthaginians, for the defence of *Sicily*, they encountered in the way certaine folk, who carried bunches of smallach: now when many of theouldiers tooke this occurrence for an ill presage (because smallach is taken to be an unluckie herbe); info much as when we see one lie extreame sicke, & in danger of death, we say: That he hath need of nothing else but smallach) *Timoleon* willed them to be of good cheere, and put them in minde of the victorious chaplets of smallach at the Isthmian games, wherewith the Corinthians crowned the winners. Moreover the admirall galley of king *Amigonius* was called *Isthura*, for that without any fowing or setting, there grew smallach of it selfe about the poupe thereof; and this obscure & enigmaticall epigram under darke and covert words, signifieth plainly, earthen vessels stuffed and stopp'd with smallach: and in this manner it goeth:

*This Argive earth which ere while was full of life,
Now baked hard with fire, the blood deepe-red
Of Bacchus hides within, but loe aloft,
In Isthmick branches beaves in mouth and head.*

Certes, they have not read this much, who vaunt so greatly of the Pitch-tree chaplet, as if it were not a moderne stranger and new commer, but the ancient, proper, and naturall garland, belonging to the Isthmian games. Which words of his, mooved the yoonger fort not a little, as being delivered by a man who had seene and read much; and *Lucania* the high-priest himselfe, calling his cie upon me, and smiling withall: Now by *Neptune* (quoth he) I sweare, what a deale of learning is here! howbeit, others there were, who bearing themselves (as it should seeme) upon mine ignorance and want of reading, were perswaded of the contrary, and avouched, that the Pitch-tree branches were the ancient garlands in the Isthmike solemnities, as naturall unto that country; and on the other side, the coronet of Smallach was a meere stranger, brought from *Xemea* thither upon an emulation, in regard of *Hercules*, whereby it had indeed the name, for a time; in so much as it supplanted the other, and woon the credit from it, as being counted a sacred herbe, and ordeined for this purpose; but afterwards, the Pine-garland flourished againe and recovered the ancient reputation, so at this day it is in as great honour, as ever it was. Hereupon I suffered my selfe to be perswaded, and gave so good care, that many testimonies for confirmation of this opinion I learned, yea, and some of them I bare away and remembred; and namely, that out of them, *Euphorion* the poet, who spake of *Ateliceria*, much after this manner:

*The young man dead, they did bewaile,
and then his corps they laid
Upon greene branches of Pine-tree,
whereof the crownes were said
To have beene made, those to adorne
with honour glorious,
Who at the sacred Isthmike games
were deern'd victorious:
For why? as yet the murdering hand,
for Charon had not staine,
The sonne of Neme, wofull dame,
where as with frowne amaine
Alopus runnes: since when, began
the wreath of smallach greene,
To binde the head of champions,
all bravely to be scene.*

Also out of *Callimachus*, who hath expressed this matter more plainly, where he bringeth *Hercules* in, speaking after this manner:

*And it, though much inferiour,
and more terrestriall,*

Employ

*Employ they shall in Isthmike games,
when in memoriall*

Of god Aegzeon they with crownes

the victours brave do decke,

According to Xemeaen rites,

and thereby give the checke

To chaplets made of Pine-tree faire,

wherewith the champion

For victorie, sometime was dight

at games Corinthian.

Over and besides, if I be not deceived, I have light upon a certaine commentarie of *Procles*, writing of the Isthmian solemnities; namely, that at the very first institution thereof, ordeined it was: That the victorious coronet should be made of Pitch-tree branches; but afterwards, when these games were accounted sacred, they translated thither from the Nemeaen solemnities, the chaplet of Smallach: now this *Procles* was one of the scholars in the Academie, what time as *Xenocrates* taught and flourished.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What is the meaning of these words in Homer: Σοφιστὴν δ' αἰετὴν?

Some of the companie where I supped upon a time, thought *Achilles* ridiculous, in that he willed his friend *Patroclus* to fill out purer wine, and lesse delaid, giving a reason withall, saying:

*For now are come to visit me for love,
My deere'st friends, and whom I best approve.*

But *Niceratus* the Macedonian, a familiar friend of ours, opposed himselfe directly, and said: That *Σοφιστὴν*, in this place of *Homer*, signifieth not meere wine of it selfe, without water, but hot wine, as if the primitive word *Σοφιστὴν*, were derived from *Σοφιστὴν* & *Σοφιστὴν*, that is to say, a vitall heat and ebullition: And therefore meet it was (quoth he) that (seeing his good friends were in place) there should be filled out for them, a cup of fresh wine, new drawn, and full of life and sparkling spirits; like as we our selves use to do, when as we powre out and offer unto the gods, our sacred libations: but *Sophistes* the poet, calling to minde, and alledging a sentence of *Empedocles*, whose words be these, speaking of the generall mutation of the universall world,

*What thing beforemost simple was and pure,
Became now mixt by compound temperature.*

said: That the philosopher meant by the word *Σοφιστὴν*, as much as *Σοφιστὴν*, that is to say, well tempered: Neither see I (quoth he) any thing to the contrary, but that *Achilles* might bid *Patroclus* to prepare and dresse a cuppe of wine, so tempered as it should be drunke: neither must you thinke it a strange phrase or manner of speech, if he said, *Σοφιστὴν* for *Σοφιστὴν*; for we are wont likewise, to put *Σοφιστὴν* in stead of *Σοφιστὴν*; as also *Σοφιστὴν* for *Σοφιστὴν*: for received now it is, by ordinarie custome, to use the comparatives of some words for the positives. Then *Antipater*, a friend of ours there present, said: That in olde time they were wont to call the yeere by the name of *Σοφιστὴν*, and *Σοφιστὴν* in composition with other words, signifieth as much as the greatnesse of a thing, so that olde wine, that had lien many yeeres in this place, *Achilles* called *Σοφιστὴν*. As for my selfe, I inferred thus much, and put them in mind: That some thinke *Σοφιστὴν* signifieth [hotter,] and by hotter, the meane quicker, sooner, or with more speed; for in that sense other-whiles we bid our servants to bestirre themselves more hotly about their worke, meaning they should make more haste, and dispatch their businesse. But in the end, I declared unto them, that their disputation and arguing about this point, was but childish, in case they were afraid to confesse, that *Σοφιστὴν* betokened that which was more pure and of it selfe, without tempering or delaying; as if (forsooth) *Achilles* had committed here, some incongruities or absurdities, as *Zoilus* the Amphipolitan would seeme to tax him; who considered not first and formost: that *Achilles* saw *Phenice* and *Ulysses*, two ancient personages, who tooke no great pleasure to have much water in their wine, no more than all other olde men, who love to drinke it meere and pure; in regard of whose age, he gave commandement to delay it lesse for them: againe, having beene (as he was) the scholar of *Chiron*, and learned of him, the regiment of health, as one not ignorant what diet

was

was meet for mens bodies, he thought thus with himselfe, that those bodies which are at repose and ease, having beforetime bene used to travell, required a more remisse, soft and tender temperature, as that which is fitter and meetier for them; for so he caused among other forrage and provender, his horses to be served with small chaff; for that feedes standing idle in the stable, and doing nothing, will be troubled with the paines in their feet; for which infirmity this small chaff is a soveraigne remedie: neither should yee find (and reade the *Ilias* throughout) that small chaff or any such kinde of fodder was given to other horses than to those who stood still, and laboured not. *Achilles* therefore being well scene in physicke, was both carefull about his horses to provide for them, as the time required, and also considerat and respectie to his owne body, for to ordeine the lightest diet, (as most holsome) for himselfe who tooke his ease, and was not employed in bodily exercise; whereas he did not in that manner intertaine those personages, who all the day had bene in the field, and performed martiall exploits, and warlike service, but gave order to powre out for them, stronger wine and lesse delaied. Now that *Achilles* otherwise of himselfe greatly loved not wine, for that he was by nature lower and implacable, appeareth by these verses of the same poet:

*For gentle nature he had none,
he was not soone appeas'd,
But irefull, fierce, and violent,
and once mov'd hardly pleas'd.*

And in one place, speaking liberally of himselfe, he said:

*Thas many nights he slept no winke,
Of sundry matters he did so thinke.*

Now who knoweth not, that short sleepes agree not to those that drinke meere wine, neither will they serve their turne: also when as he contested with *Agamemnon*, and reviled him, at the first word hee gave him the tearme *Ombelaps*, wine-bibber or drunkard; as if drunkennesse and wine-bibbing were the vice which his heart abhorred most: And therefore to conclude, considering all these circumstances, great reason he had, that seeing right honourable personages were come unto him, and those of good yeeres, he should be well advised to take order, not to temper wine for them, as his manner was for himselfe; because the same had bene too small, and not agreeable for their persons.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Of those who invite many guests to supper.

Vpon my returne from *Alexandria*, all my friends one after another feasted me, for my welcome home, and to beare me company, they invited with me, as many as they thought, in regard of kindred or friendship, were any way toward me; in such sort, as by reason of the multitude of guests, our meetings were ordinarily more tumultuous, and sooner dissolved than they had wont to be: the disorder therefore of sitting at such feasts, gave us occasion to discourse much of that matter. But *Oenocrates* the physician when hee feasted me in his turne, as others did; bad not very many, but those onely whom he knew to be my speciall friends, and most familiar with me: whereupon I called to minde a sentence written by *Plato*, as touching a citie, and thought with my selfe, that it might very well be applied unto a feast: for like as a citie which still groweth and augmenteth, in the end becomes no more a citie; for that there is a certaine bigneffe prefixed & limited unto it, which it must not outgrow; even so there is a just proportion in the greatnesse of a feast, within the which it is still a feast; but if it passe and exceed the same, (I meane) in the number and multitude of guests, so as they cannot salute and speake one to another conveniently, they have no meanes to chere up and drinke one to another reciprocally, nor exercise their mutuall knowledge kindly; surely it is no more to be called a feast: for there should not be at a feast, as in a campe, messengers and curriers betwene; nor after the manner of a great galley, speciall servitors, going from one to another, to chere them up, and bidde them be merie; but the guests ought to speake and talke one with another, for that a feast must be disposed after the manner of a daunce, so as he who sits lowest may heare him that is highest. After I had thus much said, my grandfather *Lamprias* began to speake, and that with so loud a voice and so strong, that all the companie might heare him: There is then (quoth he) a kinde of meane and moderation, whereof we had need, not onely in eating and drinking

drinking at a feast, but also in the bidding and inviting of guests; for surely there may be an excess in unmeasurable curtesie and humanitie, when it cannot omit nor leave out any of those with whom a man heere tofore hath feasted or made merrie, but draweth all of them, as if the case were to goe for to see a plaie, behold solemne sights, or to heare musike: and for mine owne part I thinke that the good man of the house, or master of a feast is not so much woorthy to be blamed or laughed at, for being at a fault of bread or drinke for his guests; as when hee hath not roome enough to place them; of which he ought to make provision with the largest, not onely for those who are formally invited, but also for commers in, and such as bid themselves; for strangers also that passe by: moreover, if there chauce to be some want of bread or wine, the fault may be laid upon the servants, as if they had made it away, or plaied the theeves; but if there be no roome left, it cannot chuse but be imputed to the negligence and indifferention of him who invited the guests: *Hesiodus* is woonderfully much commended for writing thus:

*At first no doubt it was so cast,
That there might be a Chaos vast.*

For in the beginning of the world, requisit it was that there should bee a void place for to receive and comprehend all those things that were to be created: Not (quoth hee) as my sonne yesterday made a supper, according to that which *Anaxagoras* said: All things were huddled and jumbled together pell-mell, confusedly: and admit that there bee place and roome enough, yea, and provision of meat sufficient, yet nevertheless, a multitude would be avoided, as a thing that bringeth confusion, and which maketh a societie unfociable, and a meeting unmeet and not affable: certes, lesse harme it were, and more tolerable a great deale, to take from them who are bidden to our table, their wine, than their communication and fellowship of talk; and therefore *Theophrastus* called (merrily) barbarous shops, dry banquets without wine; for the good talke that is betwene a number of persons sitting there one by another: but they who bring a fort together into one place, thrumming them one upon another, deprive them of all conference, and discourting reciprocally, or rather indeed they bring it so to passe, that but few can commune & converse together; for by that meanes they fort themselves apart, two by two, or three by three, for to have some talke: as for those who are set farder off, hardly they so can not discern, no nor know them, being distant and removed a funder, as a man would say the length of an horse race:

*Some, where Achilles tents are pitched
close for to make their stay:*

*And some, where Ajax quarters is,
as farre another way.*

Thus you shall see how some rich men heereby, otherwhiles shew their foolish magnificence to no purpose, in building halles, and dnyng chambers, containing thirtie tables a piece in them, yea, and some of greater capacitie than so: and verily this manner of preparation for to make suppers and dinners, is for folke that have no amitie nor societie one with another, when there is more need of some provost of a field to marshal the, than an vther of an hall to see good order among them: but these men may in some sort well bee pardoned for doing so; because they thinke their riches no riches, but that it is blinde, deafe, lame also, or shut up, that it cannot get forth, unless it have a number of witnesses, like as a tragedie, many spectators: but as for us, this remedie we have of not assembling so many at once together; namely to bidde often, and to make divers suppers; to invite (I say) our friends and well-willers at sundrie times, by few at once, and so by this meanes wee may make amends for all, and bring both ends together: for they that feast but seldom, and as they say *si desuare*, that is to say, by the cart loades, are forced to put in the roll all those that any way belong unto them, either by kinned, friendship or acquaintance whatsoever: whereas they who ordinarily picke out three or fower at a time, and doe so oft, make their feasts as it were little barks, to discharge their great hulkes, and the same to goe light and nimble: moreover, when a man considereth continually with himselfe the cause why he inviteth his friends; it maketh him to observe a difference and choise in that great multitude of them: for like as for every occasion & businesse that we have, we assemble not all sorts of people, but such onely as be meet for each purpose; for if we should have need of good counsell, we call for those who be wise; if we would have a matter pleaded, we fend for eloquent oratours; if a voyage or journey performed, wee seeke for such as will take up with short meales, and who have little else to doe, and be best at leisure; even so in our invitations

and feasts, we must have regard ever and anon to chuse those who are meet, and will fort well together: meet men I call these for example sake: if he be a prince or great potentate who we invite to supper, the fittest persons to beare him company, be the head officers, the magistrates and principall men of the citie, especially if they be friends, or already acquainted: if we make a marriage supper, or a feast for the birth of a childe, those would be bidden who are of kindred and affinitie; and in one word, as many as are linked together by the bond of *Jupiter Homoginios*, that is to say, the protectour of consanguinitie: and in all these feasts and solemnities, we ought evermore to have a carefull eye to bring them together who are friends or well willers one to another: for when we sacrifice unto some one god, we make not our prayers to all others, although they be worshipped in the same temples, & upon the same altars; but if there be three 10 cups or boules brought full unto us, we powre libations out of the first to some, the second we offer to others, and the last we bestow likewise upon a third sort: for there is no envie abideth in the quire ordance of the gods: semblably, the daunce and quire of friends is divine, in some sort, if so be a man know how to distribute and deale his courtesie and kinnesse decently among them, and as it were to goe round about with them all.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that guests at the beginning of a supper sit close together at the table, but afterwards more at libertie? 20

These words thus passed, and then immediately a new question was mooved; namely: What the cause might be, that men commonly at the beginning of dinner or supper, sit at the table very strait and close, but toward the end more at large; whereas it should seeme by all reason, that they should doe cleane contrary, for that then their bellies be full? Some of the company attributed this unto the forme and posture of their bodies; as they sit; for that ordinarily men sit to their meat, directly at their full breadth, groveling forward, and put their right hands straight forth upon the table; but after they have well supped, they turne themselves more to a side, & sit edge-wise, taking up no place now, according to the superficies of the body, not sitting (as a man would say) by the square, but rather by the line and the plumb: 30 like as therefore the cockle bones occupie lesse roome when they fall upon one of their sides, than if they be couched flat; even so every one of us at the first sitteth bending forward, and fromtheth the table with his mouth and eyes directly upon it; but afterwards hee chaungeth that forme, from front to flanke, and turneth sidelong to the boord. Many there were who ascribed the reason of this, to the yeelding of the couch or bed, whereon men sit at their meat; for being pressed downe with sitting, is stretched broader and wider, like as our shooes with wearing and going in them, grow more slacke and easie for us by little and little, untill in the end they be so large, that we may turne our feet in them. Then the good old man spake merrily and said: That one and the same feast had alwaies two presidents and governors different one from another: at the beginning hunger, which cannot skill of keeping any good order; toward the end, *Bacchus*, 40 and him all men know very well, and confesse to have bene a very sufficient capitaine, and an excellent leader of an armie: like as therefore *Epinomondas* (when as other captaines by their ignorance and unskillfulnesse had brought the armie of the Thebanes into a place so narrow that all was thrust together, and the ranks and files came one upon another, and crushed themselves) tooke upon him the place of a commander, and not onely delivered it out of those straits, but also reduced it into good order of battell; even so god *Bacchus* surnamed *Zyauis*, and *Choreus*, that is to say, a deliverer, and master of daunces, finding us at the beginning of supper thrutting one another, and having no elbow roome, by reason of hunger that throumbleth us together like a sort of dogges, bringeth us againe into a decent order, whereby wee sit at ease and libertie enough like good fellows. 50

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of those who are said to bewitch with their eyes.

Here grew some question upon a time, at the table, as touching those who are reported to be cie-biters, or to bewitch with their eyes; and when others (in manner all) passed it over with

with laughing, as a frivolous and ridiculous thing: *Asterius Florus*, who had invited us to his house, tooke the matter in hand, and said: That the effects or events rather, which daily we doe observe, doe make marvellous much to the brute and voice that goeth of the thing; but for want of yeelding a good reason thereof, and setting downe the true cause, the report many times of such matters wanteth credit: But unjustly, (quoth he) and wrongfully in mine opinion; for an infinit number thereof be of other matters, that have a real essence, and are notoriously known to be so, although we are ignorant of their cause; and in one word, whosoever seeketh in each thing for a probable reason, overthroweth miracles and wonders in all; for where wee faile to give reason of a cause, there begin we to doubt & make question, & that is as much to say, as to play thephilosophers: so as we may inferre consequently: They that discredit things admirable, do in some sort, take away and abolish all philosophic: but we ought (quoth he) in such things as these, to search * Why they are so, by reason; and learne * That they are so, by historie and relation; for histories doe report unto us many narrations of like examples. Thus we know, that there be men, who by looking wistly and with fixed eyes upon little infants, doe hurt them most of all; for that the habit and temperature of their bodies which is moist, tender, and weake, soone receiveth alteration by them, and changerth to the woofte; whereas lesse subject they be to such accidents, when their bodies are better knit, more strong and compact. And yet *Philarchus* writeth in his historie of a certaine nation and people inhabiting the realme of *Pontus* in times past, called *Thybiens*, who were by that meanes pestiferous and deadly, not 20 onely to yong babes, but also to men grown; for looke how many either their eye, their breath or their speech could reach unto, they were sure to fall sicke, and pine away: and this harme was felt and perceived (as it should seeme) by merchants, who resorted unto those parts, and brought from thence, slaves to be sold. But as for these, the example peradventure is not so strange and wonderfull, because the touching, contagion, and familiar conversing together, may yeeld a manifest reason and cause of such accidents: and like as the wings of other fowles, if they be laied together with those of the eagle, perish, consume, and come to nothing, for that the plume and downe of the feathers fall off and putrifie; even so, there is no reason to the contrary, but that the touching of a man should be partly good & profitable, and in part hurtfull and prejudiciall: many, that folke should take harme by being leane onely, and looked on, is an accident which (as I said before) we know to be so; but for that the cause thereof is so difficult & hard to be hunted out, the report of it is incredible: Howbeit (quoth I then) you find the cause already; you have met (in some sort I say) with the tracts and footing thereof, and are in the very way of finding it out, being come already to those defluxions that passe from bodies; for the sense, the voice, the speech and breath, be certaine defluxions and streames (as it were) flowing from the bodies of living creatures, yea, and certaine parcels thereof, which move and affect the senses, when as they suffer by the same, lighting and falling upon them: and much more probable it is, that such defluxions, proceed from the bodies of living creatures, by the meanes of heat & motion; namely, when they be enchaufed and stirred; as also that the vitall spirits then doe beat strongly, and the pulses worke apace, whereby the body being shaken, casteth from it continu- 40 ally, certaine defluxions, as is before said; and great likelihood there is also, that the same should passe from the eyes, more than from any other conduit of the bodie: for the sight being a sense very swift, active and nimble, doth send forth and disperse from it, a wonderfull fierce puillance, together with a spirit that carrieth and directeth it; in such sort, that a man by the meanes of this eye-sight, both suffereth and doth many notable effects, yea, and receiveth by the objects which he seeth, no small pleasures or displeasures; for love (one of the greatest and most vehement passions of the minde) hath the source and original beginning at the * eye; in so much, as he or she that is surprised therewith, doth even relolve and melt with beholding the beautie of those persons whom they love, as if they would run and enter into them: and therefore, a man may verie well marvel at those, who confessing that we suffer and receive hurt by the eye, thinke it a strange 50 matter to doe harme by the same; for the very aspect and regard of such persons as are in the flower of their beautie, and that which passeth from their eyes, whether it be light or flowing of the spirits, doth liquefie and consume those who be enamoured on them, with a certaine pleasure mingled with paine, which they themselves call Bitter-sweet: for nothing so much as they wounded or affected, either by hearing or feeling, as by seeing and being seene, so deepe is the penetration, and so strong the inflammation by the eye; which maketh inee other whiles to thinke, that no experience and prooffe they have ever had what love is; who wonder at the Medians *Agathas* necre to *Babylon*, that it should burne and catch a flame, being a great way off from the

* Some take it
for the Lanthorn.

the fire; for even so, the cies of faire and beautifull creatures, kindle fire within the very heart and soules of poore lovers, yea, though they looke not upon them but a farre off: but we know full well, and have often seene the remedy of those who are troubled with the jaundice; namely, that if they can have a sight of the bird * *Charadrius*, they are presently cured; for this bird hath such a nature and temperature, that it draweth to it selfe, and receiveth the maladic passing from the patient, as it were a fluxion, and that by the conduit of the cies; which is the reason that these birds are never willing to see a person who hath the jaundice, neither can they endure so to doe, but turne aside and avoid it all that ever they can, by closing their cies together, not envying (as some thinke) the cure of that disease by them, but fearing to be hurt and wounded themselves; and of all other maladies, it is well known, that they who converse with them whose cies be inflamed and bleered, are soonest and most of all infected therewith, so quicke a power and so ready hath the sight to set upon another, and inflict the contagion of that infirmity. Then *Patroclus*: True it is that you say (quoth he) in bodily passions and diseases; but as for those which be more spirituall, and concerne the soule, among which I reckon this kind of witching, how can it be, and how is it possible, that the only cast and regard of the cie should transmit any noisance or hurt unto the bodie of another? Why? know you not (quoth I) that the soule (according as it is disposed) doth likewise affect and alter the bodie? the very congitation of *Pennus*, causeth the flesh to rise; the ardent heat in courageous mastives and band-dogges, which are put upon wilde beasts for to encounter them when they are baited, dimmeth their cie-sight, and oftentimes makes them stauke blinde; sorrow, avarice, and jealousy, alter the colour and complexion of the face, drie up the habit and constitution of the bodie; and envie no lesse subtile than the rest, and piercing directly to the very soule, filleth the body also with an untoward and badde disposition, which painters lively doe represent in those tables which containe the picture of envious face: when as therefore they who be infected with envie, doe cast their cies upon others, which because they are feared neere unto the soule, doe catch and draw unto them verie easilie this vice, and so shoot their venomous rates, like unto poisoned darts upon them; if such chance to be wounded and hurt thereby, whom they looke upon, and wistly behold: I see no strange thing, nor a matter incredible; for verilie the biting of dogges is much more hurtfull and dangerous when they be angry than other wise; and the sperme or naturall seed of men doth sooner take effect, and is more apt for generation, when they meddle with women whom they love; and generally the passions and affections of the soule, doe fortifie and corroborate the powers, and faculties of the bodie: and heereupon it is, that those preservatives against witchcraft called *amulets*, are then thought to do good against envie, when the cie-sight of the envious person is withdrawn and turned away by some filthy and absurd object, that it cannot make so strong an impression upon the patient whom he would hurt: Lo seigneur *Florus* (quoth I) heere is mine effort for our good cheere at this meeting, in ready coine paid downe upon the nake head: We'll done (quoth *Soelurus*) but first before you goe, we must allow the money for good and currag; for I assure you, there be some pieces that seeme counterfet; for if we suppose that to be a truth, which is commonly reported, as touching those who are thus bewitched and cie-bitten; it is not I am sure unknown to you, that many are of opinion, that there be of their friends and kinsfolke, yea, and some of their fathers also, who carrie about them witching cies; in such sort as their very wives will not so much as shew unto them their owne babes, nor suffer such to looke upon them any while together: how then should this effect of witcherie proceed from envie? Nay what will you say to those (I pray you) who are named for to cie-bite and bewitch their owne selves? You have heard I am sure thus much; or at leastwise you have read this Epigram.

*Faire was sometime Eutelidas,
His face and haire full lovely was;
But see, one day when needs he would
(Unhappy man) himselfe behold
In river streame that softly ran,
His beautie than he soone begun
To so advise, that for envie
Bewitcht he was by his owne cie;
And fell anon by midday,
To pine away and so to dy.*

For it is reported of this *Eutelidas*, that looking upon himselfe in the river water, he was so farre

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in love with his owne beautie, and so deeply affected with the sight thereof, that he fell sicke, and so both beautie and the good plight of his bodie went away at once: but see now what thist you can make to save these absurdities? or what answer you will devise to avoid them? As for that (quoth he) I shall doe it at some other time sufficiently: but now drinking thus as you see me, out of so great and large a bottle, I dare boldly to averre, and that confidently, that all perturbations and passions of the minde, if they settle and continue long in the soule, doe ingenerate therein evil habitudes; & these, after they have in proceesse of time gotten the strength and become another nature, upon every small occasion, are stirred, and oftentimes drive men perforce, and even against their willes to those familiar and accustomed passions: for doe but marke timorous and fearefull cowards, how they be affrighted even with such things as be safe, and doe preserve them; cholericke persons are angry many times, and fall out with their best friends; lascivious wantons can not containe, but in the end they will offer abuse and vilanie to the most holy & sacred bodies that be for: custodie hath a wonderfull power to conduct & carry the habit unto that vice which is familiar unto it; & looke who is apt to take a fall, will stumble at every small hob that lies in his way: and therefore it is not a matter to make a wonder of, if they who have gotten in themselves habit of envie, and bewitching, bee incited and moved according to the particular propertie of their passion, even against those who are most deare unto them; and being once moved and stirred, they doe not that which they will themselves, but that whereunto they are so inclined and disposed; for like as a round bowle or ball runneth like it selfe; and semblable a roller or cylander moveth as a roller or cylander, both of them after the different figure thereof; even so, whosoever they be that have thus contracted an habitude of this cie-biting envie, their disposition mooveth and driveth them enviously upon all things; howbeit it carrieth a great likelihood that they should hurt them, who are most familiar unto them, and best beloved than any other: and therefore that good *Eutelidas* and all other such as he, who are laid to charme and bewitch themselves, incur this hard extremity, not without great appearance of reason: for as *Hippocrates* saith in his aphorismes: The good habit or plight when it is at the height is dangerous; and bodies when they are come to the highest point, they can not hold and stand so, but presently must incline and bend to the contrary: when as men therefore are grown suddenly all at once, and see themselves in a better state than they hoped for; inasmuch as they wonder & behold themselves with admiration, then be sure the body is neere unto some change, and then being carried according to their habitude to the woofe, they bewitch themselves: and this is wrought the rather, by means of those fluxions which rest upon waters, looking-glasse, or any such mirrors by way of repercussion; for that they rebound backe, & breath as it were againe upon those who looke in them, so, that the hurt & damage which they have done to others, lighteth upon the selves: this haply befalling many times to little children, doth impute (though falsely and unjustly) the cause to these that looke upon them. When I had finished my speech, *Caim* the sonne in law of *Florus*, began to speake in this wise: Why then belike the images that *Democritus* speaketh of are of no reckoning nor account, no more than the idols of *Aegina* and *Megeara*, as the proverbe goes; for this philosopher saith: That there goe fourth certaine images out of the cies of envious persons, and those not altogether without a kinde of sense and inclination, but rather full of their malice and envious witcherie who send them forth; with which, when the said images come to settle, remaine, and rest upon those who are envied, they trouble and offend the bodie, soule and understanding: for this I take to be the meaning of that great philosopher, and that hee hath delivered his opinion to this effect, under those divine and magnificent words: So he doth no doubt (quoth I) but I marvell much, how you perceived not that I have taken nothing from those deluxions, but onely life and will; which I did, for feare lest if now (being faire within night, and very late) I had talked of spirits, idols, and apparitions, having sense and understanding, I should have put you into some fright, and feared you with them: and therefore, if you think it so good, let us referre and put off the consideration of these thing untill to morrow morning.

Ppp 3

THE

THE EIGHT QUESTION.

*What is the reason that the poet Homer called the Apple-tree, ἀγλαῖα φῶτος, that is to say, bea-
ring fruit; and Empedocles named Apples, ἀγλαῖα φῶτος, that is to say, flourishing.*

AS we were merry together at a feast one day, in our citie *Cheronea*, we were served with all
sorts of fruits in great abundance; by occasion whereof, it tooke one of the companie in
his head to pronounce these verses out of *Homer*:

οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ φῶτος ἢ καὶ ἀγλαῖα φῶτος.
--- Καὶ ἀγλαῖα φῶτος.

That is to say:

*The sweet Fig-trees and apple-trees, that beare a fruit so faire,
The Olive-trees likewise all Greene---*

whereupon arose some question, why the poet gave unto apple-trees the attribute of bearing
faire fruit? and *Tryphon* verily the physician, answered: That it might be spoken of the said tree,
by way of comparison; which being but small to speake of, and making as little shew, bringeth
forth so faire, so great, and so goodly fruit. Another said: That compounding (as he did) beau-
tiful or goodnesse, of all parts and in every respect, he could not see the same in any other fruits
covered with a rinde, but only in this: for to touch and feele, it is as smooth and net as the vio-
let, so as it doth not stain or soile the skin, filling with a sweet scent, him that handleth it; in taste,
it is pleasant; to smell unto, most delectable; and to the eye, as lovely; so as contenting thus as
it doth, all the senses in a manner, by good right it is so praised and commended. We liked well
of this discourse, and said, it was sufficient to solve the question. But whereas *Empedocles* hath
written thus:

ὅπου ἐστὶν αἰὲν ἀγλαῖα φῶτος ἄρουρα μέλα.
Why pomgranates so late doe grow,
And apples beare a lovely flow?

I understand well (said I) this epithite ἀγλαῖα, given unto αἰὲν, that is to say, pomgranats, because
the fruit cometh not to maturity or ripenesse, untill it be about the end of Autumne, when as
now the extreame heats be decayed and gone; for their moisture, so thin, feeble and waterish as
it is, the sunne will not suffer it to thicken, or grow to any consistence, unless the aire begin to
change and incline unto coldnesse; and therefore *Theophrastus* saith, that it is the onely tree
that doth ripen and concoct her fruit, best & soonest, in the shade. But I doubt in what sense this
wife philosophical poet giveth this addition of ἀγλαῖα, unto apples? considering that the man
is not wont to imbelish and adorne the matters and things whereof he treateth, with the giest
and most glorious adjectives, as with fresh and lively colours, to enrich and beautifie his stile, or
to set out his verses; for there is not an epithite that he useth, but serves for to represent and ex-
presse either the substance or els some facultie and vertue of the thing. Thus he calleth our bodie
environing the soule, ἄβυσσος, that is to say, earth circummortal; the aire he term-
eth, νεφέλαι, that is to say, gathering clouds; as also, the liver, ποικίλμα, that is to say, full of
bloud. When I had thus put this doubt to question, there were certaine Grammarians in place,
who said: That *Empedocles* called apples, ἀγλαῖα φῶτος, in regard of their vigor: for poets by this
verbe φῶτος, understand thus much; namely, to be grown apace to the vigour, flower, and full
strength. And the poet *Antimachus* in this sense, termed the city of the Cadmeans, ἀγλαῖα
φῶτος, that is to say, flourishing with store of fruits. Semblably, *Aratus* speaketh of the Cani-
cular-starre, *Sirius*, in this wise:

καὶ τότε δὲ φῶτος, ἢ ὅ ἐλθον ὅτε σὺ σῆμα.

That is to say:

*In some he did confirme their vigour,
And mark'd in others all their verdure.*

In which place, he calleth the viriditie or greennesse, and the verie flower or beaurtie of fruits,
φῶτος. They added moreover, and said: That among the Greeks, some there were, who sacrifice
to *Bacchus*, surnamed φῶτος. Forasmuch as therefore, the apple maineith it selfe longest in
viriditie and vigour, of all other fruits, therefore the philosopher named it, ἀγλαῖα φῶτος. But *Lam-
prous* my grandfather said: That this adjection or preposition φῶτος, signifieth not only, much, &
greatly

greatly, but also, above, or without fourth: for in this acceptance, the head or lintell of a doore,
we name φῶτος, that is to say, above the doore; and likewise, an upper-rooms, chamber, or
loft, φῶτος; and *Homer* the poet, meaneth the outward flesh of a beast sacrificed, by the word
φῶτος; like as the inward, by the vocable ὕψος. Consider then (quoth he) whether *Empedocles*
had not a respect hereunto, by attributing this said epithite unto an apple; that whereas other
fruits are inclosed & covered within a certaine bark as it were, which in Greeke is called φῶτος,
and have without forth, those that we terme λεπίδες, καὶ φῶτος, ἢ φῶτος, that is to say, shelles,
rindes, cods and pannicles to cover them, that bark or shell (if I may so say) which the apple
hath, lieth within; namely, a glutinous and smooth tunicle or coat, which we call the core or
the corque, wherein the pepas or seed lies contained; but the fleshie part or meat thereof for
to be eaten, is all without the said core, in which respect, it may by good right be named
φῶτος.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that the Figge-tree, being of all other trees most bitter and sharpe in taste,
yieldeth a fruit most sweet?*

AFTER this, demanded it was, why the figge, so fat and sweet a fruit as it is, groweth upon
a tree most bitter? for the very leafe of a figge-tree by the reason of the asperitie and
roughnesse that it hath, is called *Thurion*, and the wood is full of juice; so that when it burneth,
you shall see it cast up a most eager and bitter smoke, and when it is burnt, the ashes make a leie
very strong, and marvellous detersive, because of the acrimonie and sharpenesse thereof: yea,
and (that which is most admirable) whereas all other trees and plants clad with leaves and bea-
ring fruit, put forth a flower before, onely the figge-tree never sheweth blossome: and if it
be true which is moreover said; that it is never blasted, or smitten with lightning, a man may
attribute and ascribe it to the bitterness and evill habitude of the stocke; for it should seeme
that lightning and thunder never touch any such things, no more than the skinn of a sea-calf,
or of the beast *Hyana*. Heere the good old man (our grandfire) taking occasion to speake, said:
No marvell then, if all the sweetness be found in the fruit, the rest of the tree be harth and
bitter: for like as when the cholerick humour is cast into the bagge or bladder of the gall,
the proper substance of the liver it selfe remaineth very sweet, even so the figge-tree having sent
all the sweetness and fatnesse is had into the fruit, remaineth it selfe disflavoured of it; for that
within the trunk of the said tree there is otherwise some sweetness and good juice, though it
be but a little; I make an argument from the herbe rue; which they say: If it grow under or
neere a figge-tree; becommeth more pleasant in smell, and in taste more milke, by receiving
and enjoying some small sweetness from it; whereby that excessive, strong and odious qualite
of rue is abated and extinct; unless peradventure a man will reason cleane contrary, and saie,
that the figge-tree drawing somewhat from rue, for the owne nouriture, taketh from that herbe
some part of the bitterness and acrimonie thereof.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

*Who be they who according to the common proverbe, are said, μετ' ἀλατι καὶ κύμιν, that is to say,
about the salt and cumin? and so by the way, why the poet Homer nameth salt divine.*

Lorus asked us one day when we were at supper in his house, who they were whom we term-
ed by an usual by-word, to be about the salt and cumin: *Apollonides* the grammarian, one of our companie, solved the question readily in this manner: They (quoth he) who are such
friends and so familiar that they suppe together, with salt and cumin, are meant by this com-
mon speech. But then we mooved a new question, namely: How it came to passe, that salt was
so highly honoured? for that *Homer* directly saith:

And then anon when this was done,
He strewd salt divine upon.

And *Plato* affirmeth, that the bodie and substance of salt by mans lawes, is most sacred and
holie: The difficultie of this question he enforced still, and augmented the more; for that the
Egyptian

Aegyptian priests who live chaste, abstaine altogether from salt, inasmuch as their verie bread which they eat is not seasoned with salt: And if it were (quoth he) to divine and holy, why have they it in so great detestation? Then *Florus* willed us to let the Aegyptians goe with their superstitious fashions; and to alledge somewhat of the Greeks as touching this subject argument: Whereupon I began and said: That the Aegyptians themselves were not heerein contrarie to the Greeks; for the sanctimonie and profession of chastitie, forbiddeth procreation of children, laughing, wine, and such like things; which otherwise be good, and not to be rejected: and as for salt, haply those who have vowed to live a chaste and pure life, doe forbear it, for that by the heat which it hath, (as some thinke) it provoketh those who use it, unto lecherie: and probable is besides, that such votaries doe refuse salt, because of all other meats, it is most delicate; & a man may well say: That it is the viand of viands, & the sauce as it were to season all others: and therefore some there be who attribute unto these salts, the very teame of Charities or the Graces; for that they make that which is necessarie for our food, to be pleasant & acceptable unto us: Shall wee say then (quoth *Florus*) that salt was called divine in this respect? And if we did so (quoth I) wee have no slender reason to induce us therunto; for men are wont to attribute a kinde of divinity unto things which are passing common, and the commoditie whereof reacheth farre (as for example) to water, light, & the seasons of the yeeres; as for the earth, her above the rest, they repute not onely divine, but also to be a goddess: & there is none of all these things rehearsed, that salt giveth place unto, one jot, in regard of use and profit, being as it is a fortification to our meats within the bodie, and that which commendeth them unto 20 our appetite: but yet consider moreover, if this be not a divine propertie that it hath, namely, to preserve and keepe dead bodies free from putrification a long while, and by that meanes to resist death in some sort, for that it suffereth not a mortall bodie wholly to perish, and come to nothing; but like as the soule being the most divine part of us, is that which maintaineth all the rest alive, and suffereth not the masse and substance of the bodie to be dissolved, and suffer the action of the soule, preserveth the same, holding and staying them that they runne not headlong to corruption, giving unto all the parts an amitie, accord & agreement one with the other: and therefore it was, elegantly said by some of the Stoicks: That the flesh of an hogge was ever 30 from the beginning no better than a dead carcion, but that life being diffused within it, as if salt were strewd throughout, kept it sweet, and so preserved it for to last long. Moreover you see, that wee esteeme lightning, or the fire that cometh by thunder, celestiall and divine, for that those bodies which have bene smitten therewith, are observed by us to continue a great while unpurified and without corruption: What marvell is it then, if our aunients have esteemed salt, divine, having the same vertue and nature, that this divine and celestiall fire hath? Heere I staid my speech, and kept silence. With that, *Philinus* followed on and pursued the same argument: And what thinke you (quoth he) is not that to be held divine, which is generative, and hath power to ingender, considering that God is thought to be the originall author, creator, and father of all things? I vowed no lesse, and said it was so: And it is (quoth he) an opinion generally received, that salt availeth not a little in the matter of generation, as you your 40 selfe touched ere-while, speaking of Aegyptian priests: they also, who keepe and nourish dogs for the race, when they see them dull to performe that act, and to doe their kinde, do excite and awaken their lust and vertue generative, that lieth (as it were) asleepe, by giving them aswell as other hot meats, salt flesh, and fish both, that have lien in brine & pickle: also, those ships & vessels at sea, which ordinarily are freight with salt, breed commonly an infinit number of mice and rats; for that (as some hold) the females or does of that kinde, by licking of salt onely, will conceive and be bagged without the company of the males or bucks: but more probable it is, that saltneesse doth procure a certaine itching in the naturall parts of living creatures, and by that meanes provoketh males & females both, to couple together: and peradventure this may be the reason that the beauty of a woman which is not dull and unlovely, but full of favor, attractive, and 50 able to move concupiscence, men use to name *καλας και δειλας*, that is to say, saltish or well seasoned: And I suppose that the poets have fained *Venus* to have bene engendered of the sea, not without some reason; and that this tale, that she should come of salt, was devised for the nonce, to signifye and make knowne under those covert teames, that there is in salt a generative power: certes, this is an ordinarie and generall thing among those poets, to make all the sea-gods, fathers of many children, and very full of issue. To conclude, you shall not finde any land-creature,

ture, or flying fowle, for fruitfulnessse, comparable to any kinde of fishes bred in the sea; which no doubt this verse of *Empedocles* had respect unto:

*Leading a troupe, which senselesse were and rude,
Even of sea-fish, a breeding multitude.*



THE SIXTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

The Summarie.

- 10 **W**hat is the reason, that men fasting, be more at thirst than hungrie.
- 2 Whether it be want of food that causeth hunger and thirst, or the transformation and change of the pores and conduits of the bodie, be the cause thereof.
- 3 How cometh it, that they who be hungrie, if they drinke, are eased of their hunger; but contrariwise, those who are at thirst, if they eat, be more thirstie.
- 4 What is the reason that pit-water, when it is drawn, if it be left all night within the same aire of the pit, becometh more cold.
- 5 What is the cause that little stones, and plates or pellets of lead, if they be cast into water, cause it to be the colder.
- 6 Why snowe is preserved, by covering it with straw, chaffe, or garments.
- 30 7 Whether wine is to run thorow a strainer.
- 8 What is the cause of extraordinary hunger or appetites to meat.
- 9 Why the poet Homer, when he speaketh of other liquors, useth proper epithits, onely oile he calleth moist.
- 10 What is the cause that the flesh of beasts staine for sacrifice, if they be hanged upon a fig-tree, quickly become tender.

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-questions.

The Proëme.

- 40 **P**lato being minded to draw *Timotheus* the sonne of *Conon* (so *Sotus Senecio*) from sumptuous feasts and superfluous banquets, which great capitaines commonly make, invited him one day to a supper in the Academie, which was philosophicall indeed and frugall; where the table was not furnished with those viands which might distemper the bodie with feaverous heats and inflammations, as *Plato* the poet was wont to say; but such a supper I say, upon which ordinarily there follow kinde and quiet sleeps, such fancies also, and 50 imaginations as ingender few dreames, and those short; and in one word, where the sleeps do testifie a great calmnesse and tranquillitie of the bodie. The morrow after, *Timotheus* perceiving the difference betweene these suppers and the other, said: That they who supped with *Plato* over-night, found the pleasure and comfort thereof the next day; and to say a truth, a great heale and ready meane to a pleasant and blessed life, is the good temperature of the body, not drenched in wine, nor laden with viands, but light, nimble, and ready, without any feare or distrust to performe all actions and functions

of the day-time. But there was another commodity no lesse than this, which they had, who supped with *Plato*, namely, the discuffling and handling of good and learned questions, which were held at the table in supper time: for the remembrance of the pleasures in eating and drinking, is illiberal and unbecoming men of worth, transitorie besides, and soone at an end; like unto the odor of a perfume and sweet ointment, or the smell of roast in a kitchen a day after; whereas discourses philosophicall, and disputations of learning, when they be remembered afterwards, yeeld alwaies new pleasure and fresh delight unto those that were at them, yea, and cause them who were absent and left out, in hearing the relation thereof, to have no lesse part of learning and emulation, than they who were present: for thus we see, that even at this day, students and professors of learning, have the fruition, and enjoy the benefit of *Socrates* his banquets, no lesse than they themselves who were personally present, and had their reall part of them at the time: and verily, if corporall matter, as dainty dithes and exquisite fare, had so greatly affected and delighted their minds with pleasure; *Plato* and *Xenophon* should have put downe in writing, and left unto us the memorials, nor of the discourses there held, nor of the talke which then passed, but rather of the furniture of the table, &c. have made a note of the delicate viands, pastrie works, confections and junks served up in *Callias* or *Agathus* houses: whereas now of all such matters there is no mention at all, as if they were of no account, nor worth the naming, notwithstanding very like it is, there was no want of provision, no spare of cost, nor defect of diligence in that behalfe: but on the other side penned they have most exactly, and with great diligence the difficulties of good letters and philosophy, which then and there passed merrily; and those they have commended unto posterities, to give us example, that we ought not onely to devise and reason together when we are at the boord, but also to call to minde afterwards, what good talke had passed and to keepe the same in memorie.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What is the reason, that those who be fasting are more thirsty than hungry?

NOW send I unto you *Sofian Senecio*, this sixth booke of banquet discourses; whereof the first question is: Why those who be long fasting, are more thirsty than hungry? for it may seeme contrary unto all reason; that thirst rather than hunger should ensue much fasting: for that the want of dry food, would seeme by course of nature to require a supplie of nutriment of the like. Then began I in this manner to argue, before the companie there in place: That although up with us, and whereof we consist, our naturall heat either alone or principally, need of nouriture and maintenance: for thus verily wee doe observe in outward elements, fire, moire, aire, water, nor earth, desire nutriment; neither doe they consume whatsoever is offered unto them; but it is fire onely that requirith the one, and doth the other; which is the reason, that young folke doe eat more than elder persons; for that they be hotter; yea and old women can endure to fast better, because their naturall heat is already decayed and feeble, as it is in those living creatures which have but little blood: for small need have we of nutriment, for default of naturall heat: Moreover, thus much we may observe in everie living creature, that our bodily exercises, our loud outcries and such like matters, as by motion and vehement heat, make us to take more pleasure in our meat, and to have a better appetite to receive the principall, most familiar and naturall food of heat, in mine opinion, is moistured by daily experience, that burning flames of fire increase by pouring oile upon them: &c. of all things in the world, ashes are the driest, because the whole humiditie is burnt up and consumed; but the terrestriall substance destitute of all liquor, remaineth alone: sensibly, the nature of fire is to separate and divide bodies, by taking away the moisture which is then locked and bound together: when as therefore wee fast long, our naturall heat is thrust forcibly unto it; first, all the humours out of the reliques of our nourishment; which being thus inflamed, puffeth farther, and setteth upon the very radical humour within the flesh, searching every corner for moisture to feed and nourish it: there being caused by this a wonderfull drinnesse in our bodie, like as in earth or clay that is parched with heat, the consequence commeth to stand more in need of drinke than of meat, untill such time as we have taken a good draught; by means whereof our heat being well refreshed and cooled, worketh and procureth appetite to solide and dry nourishment.

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THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether it be want of food that causeth hunger and thirst, or rather the transformation and change of the conduits and passages within our bodies?

THIS discourse being thus ended, *Philo* the physician went about to impugn and overthrow the first position; mainteining, that thirst proceeded not from default of any nourishment, but was to be imputed unto the change of the forme in certaine passages of the body: and for demonstration hereof, hee alledged of the one side this experience: That they who be a thirst in the night, if they sleepe upon it, lose their thirstinesse, although they drinke never a drop: on the other side, that they who have the ague, if their fit decline, or be off them, or in case the fever be cleane past and gone, presently they are eased of their drought: likewise there be many, who after they have bene bathed, yea, and beleewe me, others when they have vomited, are ridd of thirstinesse; and yet they get moisture neither by the one nor the other; but they are the pores and petie conduits of the body that suffer mutation, because they be altered and transformed into another state and disposition; and this appeareth more evidently in hunger: for many sicke folke there be, who at one time have need of nourishment, and yet want appetite to their meat; some there are againe, who let them eat and fill themselves never so much, have never the lesse appetite to meat, nay, their greedie hunger encreaseth the more: semblable, you shall have many of those who lothed their meat, to recover their stomacke and appetite quickly, by tasting a few olives or capres, condite with salt pickle: whereby it appeareth plainly; that hunger is not occasioned by default of nourishment, but through the said alteration or passion of the pores and conduits of the body: for surely such meats as those, although they diminish the want of nourishment, by addition of more food, yet nevertheless cause hunger; and even to the poinant acrimonie of these salt viands, contenting the taste and pleasant to the mouth, by knitting, binding, and strenghtening the stomacke; or contrariwise, by relaxing or opening the same, do procure unto it, and breed therein a certeine gnawing and a disposition to the liking of their meat, which we call appetite. The reason of these arguments seemed unto me very wittily devised, and framed pretily, for to carrie a good shew of probability; howbeit, to be contrary unto the principall end of nature, to which the appetite doth leade and conduct every living creature, desirous to supplie that which is wanting, to fill that which is empty, and pursuing alwaies that which is meet for it and familiar, but yet defectuous: for to say, that the thing wherein principally a living creature differeth from a livelesse bodie, was not given unto us for the tuition, maintenance and preservation of our health and safetie, even as it were of our eies that be so proper and familiar to the body, and to feare such occurrences as be adverse thereto; but to thinke that the same is onely a passion, change, and alteration of the pores occasioned according as the same be made either bigger or smaller; is (to speake plainly) the fashion and part of those who make no reckoning at all of nature. Moreover, to confesse, that to quake for colde, hapneth unto our bodie for want of heat familiar and naturall unto it, and with one breath to denie, that hunger and thirst proceed not from defect of moisture and nourishment, is very absurd: and yet, more unreasonable and monstrous it were to affirme, that nature desireth evacuation, when the flesh her selfe charged with fullnesse, and withall, hath a desire to repletion; not because she findeth her selfe over-emptie, but upon some other passion comming I know not how, nor which way. Certes, these needs and repletions in the bodies of living creatures, resemble properly the accidents that fall out in agriculture and husbandry; for the earth suffereth many such defects, and requirith as many helpes and remedies: against drought, we seeke to moisten by watering; for burning with heat, to coole moderately; when things are frozen, to heat them againe, and keepe them warme, by laying (as it were) many coverings over; and looke what is not in our power to doe, we pray unto the gods for to helpe and furnish us therewith; namely, sweet and milde dewes, pleasant and comfortable windes; so that nature alwas seeketh supplie of that which is defective, for to preserve her state and temperature. And in my conceit, this word *ἰσχυρῶς*, which signifieth nourishment, seemeth to import as much as *μεσὺ τοῦ ποτῆρος*, that is to say, preserving nature; & preserved it is in plants verily, & trees intensely (as *Empedocles* said) by the aire about them, when they are refreshed and watered thereby in convenient maner, as need requirith: but as for us, our appetite causeth us to seeke

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and procure that, for default whereof, we have not our kinde temperature. But let us consider better, each one of those reasons by it selfe, which have bene delivered, and how untrue they be; for first and foremost, those viands which have a quicke, sharpe and pleasing taste, by reason of their acrimonie, procure no appetite at all in those parts, which be capable of nouriture, but only a certaine biting or gnawing in them, much like unto that itching, when something is applied unto the skin, that doth plucke and flicke it: and say, that this passion or affection (whatsoever it is) procureth appetite, it standeth to great reason, that by such sharpe and quicke viands, those matters which caused fullnesse, comming to be attenuated and made more subtil, are dissolved, and so dissipated as they ought to be; by which meanes, consequently there followeth a want and defect; not for that the pores and passages be altered or changed into another forme, but rather, because they be now voided, cleere and purged; considering that those juices which be sharpe, eager, quicke, piercing and saltish, by attenuating and making tender the matter that they meet with and worke upon, do dissolve, disgregate and scatter the same, in such sort, as they ingender and procure a new appetite. To come now unto those who sleepe upon their thirstfullnesse, they be not the pores which by their transformation allay thirst, but by reason that they receive humiditie from the fleshy parts, and are filled with a vapourous moisture from thence; and as for vomits, in casting up one thing which is aduers to nature, they give her meanes to enjoy another which is friendly and familiar thereto: for thirst is not a desire for much of an exceeding great quantitie of moisture, as of that which is kinde and familiar; and therefore, although a man have within him great abundance of that moisture which is unnatural, yet nevertheless, he wanteth still; for that his thirst giveth place to no other humiditie, but unto that which is proper and naturall, and whereof it is desirous: neither cometh mans bodie into a good temper againe, before such time as that humiditie be removed and gone, which was enemie to nature; and then the waies and passages receive willingly that moisture which is friendly and familiar unto her: as to the ague before said, it driveth indeed the moisture inwardly into the center (as it were) of the bodie; for when the middle thereof is all on a fire, thither runneth and retireth all the humiditie, where it is thrust together and retained; and by reason that there is such store thereof, pressed and pent in, it falleth out often times, that many being sicke of the ague, do cast and vomit it up, for to be discharged thereof, and be exceeding thirstie withall, for want of moisture, and for the drinnesse that is in other parts of the bodie, which call for humiditie: when as then the fever either declineth or hath intermission, so as the ardent heat within, is gone from those interior parts in the center and middle of the bodie, the moisture returneth againe into the outward habit, it spreadeth (I say) and is dispersed thorowout, according to the naturall course thereof; so as at once it bringeth ease to the parts within, and withall, causeth the flesh and skin without, to be smoothe, soft and moist, whereas before it was rough, hard and drie; yea, and many times it mooveth sweats; whereby it cometh to passe, that the want which before caused thirst, now ceaseth and is gone, while the moisture is returned from the place wherein before it was streightly pressed and kept in, unto that which is desirous and hath need of it, and where it is at large and more at libertie: for like as in an orchard or garden, although there be a pit containing plentie of water, unless a man draw some out of it, and though with water the ground, it can not chafe but the herbs, plants and trees will be as one would say, athirst, and at a fault for nourishment; even so it fareth in our bodies; if all the moisture be gotten to one place, no marvell if the rest do want and become exceeding drie, untill such time as it run againe, and that there be a new diffusion thereof; like as it falleth out with those who are sicke of an ague, when the fit is past, or the fever hath left them, and to those who sleepe upon thirst; for in these, sleepe bringeth backe the moisture from the center and middle of the bodie, distributing it to all the members and parts thereof, and so maketh an equall distribution and supply thorowout.

But this transformation and change of the pores from which it is said that hunger and thirst doth proceed; what kinde of thing is it I would gladly know? For mine owne part, none other differences see I, but of more and lesse, and according as they be either stopped or opened; when they be obstructed or stopped, receive they cannot either drinke or meate; when they be opened and untopped, they make a void and free place; and surely that is nothing else but the want of that which is proper and naturall: For the reason (my good friend *Philo*) why clothes which are to be died, be dipped first in alome water, is because that such water hath a piercing, scouring, and absterive vertue, by meanes whereof, when all the superfluous filth

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in them is consumed and tid away, the pores being opened, receive more surely the tincture, which is given unto the clothes, onely because they receive the same better, by reason of the emptinesse occasioned by want.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cause that when men be hungry, if they drinke, are delivered from their hunger: but contrariwise, when they be athirst, if they eate, are more thirstie than before?

When those discourses were thus passed; he who invited us to supper, began in this wise: It seemeth unto me (my masters) that this reason as touching the avoidance and repletion of pores, carrieth with it a great appearance of truth, and namely in the solution of another question besides, to wit: Why in them who be hungry, if they drinke, their hunger ceaseth immediately? and contrariwise, they who are a thirst, if they eat, are still more thirstie? I am of opinion (quoth he) that those who alledge and urge these pores and their effects, doe render the reason and cause of this accident, very easie, and with exceeding great probability: however in many points, they enforce the same not so much as probably: for whereas all bodies have pores, some of one measure, and symmetry, others of another; those which be larger than the rest, receive food solid as well as liquid, both together: such as be narrower and more streight admit drinke; the avoidance and evacuation of which, causeth thirst, like as of the other, hunger: and therefore if they who be a thirst doe eat, they finde no succour, and benefit thereby, because the pores by reason of their straightnesse, are not able to receive drie and solid nutriment, but continue still indigent and destitute of that which is their due, and fit for them; whereas they who be hungry, in case they drinke, finde comfort thereby, for that the liquid nouriture entering into those large pores, and filling those concavities of theirs, doe slacke and diminish mightily the force of their hunger.

As touching the event and effect (quoth I) true it is (as I thinke) but I cannot accorde and give my consent to the supposition of the cause pretended: For if (quoth I) a man should hold, that with these pores and conduits (upon which some stand so much, so greatly embrace, and maintaine so stoutly) the flesh is pierced, and by meanes thereof full of holes, surely he would make it very loose, quavering, flaggie, and so rotten, that it would not hang together: moreover, to say that the same parts of the body doe not receive meate and drinke together, but that they doe passe and runne (as it were) thorough a streiner or canvase bolter, some one way and some another; me thinks is a very strange position, & a meere devised fiction: for this verie mixture of humiditie, tempering and making tender the meate received, together with the operative helpe of the inward naturall heat, and the spirits, doth cut, subtilize; and mince the foode, with all manner of incisions, shreddings, and divisions, no tooles, no knives, nor instruments in the world so fine and small; in so much as every part and parcell of the said nourishment is familiar, meere & convenient for each part & member of the bodie; not applied & sifted as it were to certaine vessels and holes to be filled thereby; but united & perfectly conconcorate to the whole, and every part thereof: but if this were not so, yet the maine point of the question is not assailed for all that; for they who eat, unless they also drinke to it, are so farr off from allaying their thirst, that contrariwise they increase the same; and to this point there is not yet a word said. Consider now (said I) whether the positions & reasons which we set downe, are not probable & apparent? first we suppose, that moisture being consumed by drinnesse, is cleane perished & gone; & that drinnesse being tempered & sustained by moisture hath certaine diffusions, & exhalations: secondly we hold, that neither hunger is a general & universall want of dry food, nor thirst, of moisture, but a certaine scantinesse and defect of the one and the other, when there is not enough and sufficient; for those who altogether doe want the same, be neither hungrie nor thirstie, but drie presently: Let these supposalls be laid for grounds, it will not be from henceforth hard, to know the cause of that which is in question: for thirst increaseth upon them that eat, because meats by their drinnesse doe gather together, sicke and drinke up the humiditie dispersed, and which is left but small and feeble, in all the bodie, causing the same to evaporate away; like as we may observe without our bodies, how dry earth and dust, do quickly snatch, dispatch, and consume quite the liquor or moisture that is mingled therewith: contrariwise, drinke necessarily slacketh hunger; for by reason that moisture drenching and soaking that little meate which is findeth dry and hard, raiseth from it certaine vapors and moist exhalations, and those it doth elevate and carrie up into all the bodie, applying the same to the parts that stand

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in need: and therefore *Erasistratus* not improperly learned moisture, the wagon of the viands: for being mixed and tempered with such things as otherwise of themselves by reason of their drineffe or other euill disposition, be idle, and heavy, it raifeth and lifteth up: and heereupon it commeth, that many men who haue bene exceeding hungry, onely by bathing or walking themselves, without any drinke at all, haue woonderfully awaged and allaid their hunger: for the moisture from without, entring into the body, causeth them to be more succulent and in better plight; for that it doth enlarge the parts within, so that it doth mitigate the fell mood, and appease the cruell rage of hunger. To conclude, this is the reason that they who are determined to pine themselves to death by utter abstinence from all solid meats, live and continue a long time if they receive but water onely, euen untill the time that all be quite evaporate, spent¹⁰ and dried up, which might nourish and be united unto the bodie.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that pit or well-water being drawn, if it be left all night within the aire of the pit, becometh colder than it was?

WE had a certaine guest who lived delicatly, and loved to drinke cold water; for to please and content whole appetite, our seruants drew up a bucket of water out of the pit or well, and so let it hang within the faine (so that it touched not the top of the water) all the night long; where with he was serued the morrow after at his supper, and he found it to be much colder than that which was newly drawn: now this stranger, being a professed scholar and indifferently well learned, told us, that he had found this in *Aristotle* among other points, grounded upon good reason, which he delivered unto us in this wise: All water (quoth he) which is first heat, becometh afterwards more colde than it was before; like to that which is provided and prepared for kings: first, they set it on the fire untill it boile againe; which done, they burie the pan or vessel where in it is, within snow; and by this device it proves exceeding colde: no otherwise than our bodies, after that we haue bene in the stoupe or baines, be cooled much more by that meane: for relaxation occasioned by heat, maketh the bodie more rare, and causeth the pores to open, and so by consequence, it receiveth more aire from without, which environeth the bodie, and bringeth a more sudden and violent change: when as therefore water is first chafed (as it were)³⁰ and set in an heat by agitation and stirring within the bucket whiles it was in drawing, it groweth to be the colder by the aire which environeth the said vessel round about. This stranger and guest of ours, we commended for his confident resolution and perfect memory; but as touching the reason that he alledged, we made some doubt: for if the aire in which the vessel hangeth be colde, how doth it incline the water? and if it be hot, how cooleth it afterwards? for beside all reason it is, that a thing should be affected or suffer contrarily from one and the same cause, unlesse some difference come betwene. And when the other held his peace a good space, and stood musing what to say againe: VVhy (quoth I) there is no doubt to be made of the aire; for our very senses teach us, that colde it is, and especially that which is in the bottome of pits; and therefore impossible it is, that water should be heat by the cold aire: but the truth is this rather,⁴⁰ although this cold aire can not alter all the water of the spring in the bottome of the well, yet if a man draw the faine in a little quantitie, it will do the deed, and be so much predominant as to coole it exceedingly.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that little stones and small plates or pellets of lead, being cast into water, make it colder?

YOU remember I am sure (doe you not, said I) what *Aristotle* hath written, as touching pible stones and flints, which if they be cast into water, cause the faine to be much colder and more astringent: And you remember (quoth he) as well, that the philosopher in his Problems hath onely said it is so; but let us assay to finde out the cause, for it seemeth very difficult to be conceived and imagined: You say true indeed (quoth I); and a marvell it were if we could hit upon it: howbeit, make and consider what I will say unto it: First to begin withall; doe you not thinke that water is sooner made colde by the aire without, if the same may come to enter into⁵⁰ it?

it? also, that the aire is of more force and efficacie, when it beatech against hard flints, pibbles or whetstones? for they will not suffer it to passe thorow, as vessels either of brasie or earth; but by their compact soliditie, resisting and standing out against it, they put it by from themselves, and turne it upon the water; whereby the coldeffe may be the stronger, and the water thorowout be fully affected therewith: and this is the reason, that in Winter time, running rivers be much colder than the sea; for that the cold aire hath greater power upon them, as being driven backe againe from the bottome of the water; whereas in the sea it is dissolved, and passeth away by reason of the great depth thereof encountering there nothing at all, upon which it may strike and beat: but it seemeth there is another reason, that waters, the thinner and clearer they be; suffer¹⁰ the more from the colde aire; for sooner they be changed and overcome, to awake and feeble they are: now hard whetstones and little pibbles, doe subtilitate and make the water more thin, in drawing to the bottome where they be, all the grosse and terreftriall substance that trouble it; in such sort, as the water by that meane, being more fine, and consequently weaker, sooner is vanquished and surmounted by the refrigeration of the aire. To come now unto lead: cold of nature it is, and if it be soaked in vinegar, and wrought with it, maketh cerufe of all deadly poisons, the coldest. As for the stones aforesaid; by reason of their soliditie, they have an inward coldnesse conceived deeply within them; for as every stone is a piece of earth gathered together and congealed (as it were) by exceeding colde, so the more compact and masse that it is, the harder is it congealed, and consequently, so much the colder: no marvell therefore it is, if²⁰ so plummetts of lead and these little hard pibbles aforesaid, by repulsion from themselves, enforce the coldnesse of water.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that men use to keepe snowe within chaffe, light straw, and clothes?

Vpon these words, that stranger and guest of ours, aiter hee had paused a while: Lovers (quoth he) above all things, are desirous to talke with their paramours; or if they can not so doe, yet at leastwise they will be talking of them; and even so it farch at this time betwene me and snowes; for, because there is none heere in place, nor to be had, I will speake of it; and namely, I would gladly know the reason why it is wont to be kept in such things as be very hot; for we use to cover and swaddle it (as it were) with straw and chaffe, yea, and to lap it within soft clothes, unhornie rugges, and shaggie frize, and so preserve it along time in the owne kinde, without running to water: A woonderfull matter, that the hottell things should preserve those which are extreame colde! And so will I say too (quoth I) if that were true: but it is farr otherwise, and we greatly deceive our selves, in taking that by and by to be hot it selfe, which doth heat another; and namely, considering that we our selves use to say, that one and the selfe same garment in Winter keeps us warme, and in Summer cooleth us; like as that nourse in the tragedy, which gave sucke unto *X jobs* children:

*With mantles course, and little blanquetts warme,
She warme's and cool's her pretie babes, new borne.*

The Almagens verily put on garments onely for to defend their bodies against the rigour of cold: the Aethiopians weare them not, but to save themselves from soultie heat: wee in *Greece* use them for the one purpose and the other; and therefore why should wee count them to be hot, because they warme us, rather than cold, for that they coole us? yet of the twaine, if wee would be judged by the outward sense, wee might repute them rather cold than hot: for when we put on our shirts or inner garments first, our naked skinne findes them cold; and so when we goe into our beds, wee feeble the sheetes and other clothes of themselves as cold; but afterwards they helpe to heat us; but how? being themselves full of heat, which commeth from us,⁵⁰ they hold in our heat, and withall, keepe off the cold aire from our bodies. Thus you see how they that be sicke of the ague, or otherwise, burne with heat, change continually their linnens and other clothes about them, because ever as any fresh thing is laid upon them, they feeble it cold and take comfort therein; no sooner is it cast over them, & lien a while, but it becometh hot, by reason of the ardent heat of their bodies: like as therefore a garment being warmed once by us, doth warme us againe; even so, if it be made cold by snow, it keepeth it cold reciprocally; but made cold it is by snow, for that there ariseth from it a subtil spirit, or vapour which doth it; & the same so long as it abideth within, holdeth it together concrete and solid in the owne nature;

ture; contrariwise, when it is gone, snow melteth and turneth to water; then that white fresh colour vanisheth away, which came by the mixture of the said spirit & humiditie together, causing a kinde of froth: when as snow therefore is lapped within clothes, both the cold is held in thereby, and the outward aire kept out, that it cannot enter in, to thaw and melt the substance of the snow thus gathered and congealed together: now to this purpose they use such clothes as have not yet come under the fullers hand, nor bene dressed, burred, shorne, and pressed; and that for the length and drinell of the shagge haire and flocks, which will not suffer the cloth to lie heaue and presse downe the snow, and crush it being so spongius and light as it is: and even so the straw and chaffe, lying lightly upon it, and softly touching it, breaketh not the congealed substance thereof; and otherwise besides, the same lieth close and fast together, whereby it is a cause that neither the coldness of the snow within, can breath forth, nor the heat of the aire without enter in. To conclude that the excretion and issuing out of that spirit, is the thing that causeth the snow to fore-give, to firt, and to melt in the end, is apparent to our outward senses, for that the snow when it thaweth engendreth winde.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Whether wine is to runne thorough a streiner before it be drunke?

Niger one of our citizens left the schooles, having conversed but a small while with a most excellent and renowned philosopher; yet so long, as in that time he had not learned any good thing at his hands, but stollen from him ere he was aware, that, whereby he was offensive and odious unto others; and namely, this bad custome he had gotten of his master, boldly to reprove and correct in all things, those who were in his company: when as therefore we, were upon a time with *Ariston* in his house at supper together, he found fault generally with all the provision, as being too sumptuous, curious, and superfluous; and among other things, hee flatly denied: That wine ought to passe through a streiner before it be powdered forth and filled to the table; but he said: It should be drunke as it came out of the tunne, as *Hesiodus* said, whilst it hath the strength and naturall force, and as nature hath given it unto us; for this manner of depuration and clarifying of it by a streiner, first doth enervate and cut as it were the sinewes of the vigour and vertue, yea and quench the native heat that it hath; for it cannot chuse, but the same will exhale, evaporate, and flie away with the spirit and life thereof being so often filled and powdered out of one vessell into another: Againe, (quoth he) it bewraith a certaine curiositie, delicacie, and wastfull wantonneffe, thus to consume and spend the good and profitable, for that which is pleasant onely and delectable: for like as to cut cocks for to make them capons, or to geld foxes and make them gualts, that their flesh may be tender, deintie, &c. (against the nature of it) effeminate, was never before the invention of men, found in judgement, and of honest behaviour, but of wastfull gluttons, and such as were given over to belly chere; even so verily they that thus streine wine, doe geld it, they cut the spurres and pare the nailes thereof; if I may be allowed so to speake by way of Metaphor, yea and doe effeminate the same; whilst they are not able either to beare it by reason of their infirmities and weakenesse, nor drinke it in measure, as they should because of their intemperance: but surely this is a sophistical device of theirs, and an artificiall tricke to helpe them for to drinke more, and excuse them for powring it downe so merrily; for by this meanes the force of wine they take away, leaving nothing but bare wine; much like unto those who give water boiled unto sicke & weak folke, who cannot endure to drinke it cold, & yet beyond measure desire it; for the very edge of wine they take off, & looke what strength & vertue was in it, the same they rid away and expell quite: that in so doing they marre it, for ever: this may bee a sufficient argument, that wine thus misused, will not last nor continue long in the owne nature, but turne quickly to be very dregs; it loseth (I say) the verdure thereof presently, as if it were cut by the roote, from the owne mother, which are the lees thereof. Certes in old time they were wont directly to call wine it selfe *πρωτα*, that is to saie, Lees: like as we use to teame a man by a diminutive speech, a foule or an head, giving unto him the denomination of those principall parts onely; and even at this day wee expresse the gathering of the vine fruit, by the verbe *πρωτα*: Allo in one place *Homer* called wine *Διαιτα*, and as for wine it selfe, it was an ordinary thing with him, to call it *οίνος* *καὶ* *κυβητος*, that is to say, blackish and redde, not pale and wanne, by often streining and clensing, such as *Ariston* here serveth us with: heereat *Ariston* laughing at the matter: Not so my good friend (quoth he) not pale,

pale; bloudlesse and discoloured: but that which at the very first sight sheweth it selfe pleasant, milde, and lovely, and ere as you would have us to ingurgitate and drench our selves with a wine as blacke as the night, thicke, grosse, and dusky, like a darke cloud: the clarifying, and purification thereof, you condemn; which in such is nothing else, but the cutting up as it were by yount of all the choicer and finer parts, and the discharging of that which is heavy, heady, in it, able to make men fild and drunken, to aige and thus being more light, cheerefull, and lesse cholericke, it might have to our bodies, first to be ingurginated with us, even such as *Homer* saith, those worthies and demigods, at the gird of *Tray*, used to drinke: for *Homer* when he named wine *πρωτα*, meaneth not blackish and shiele, but unsuppart, neat and bright: for having before attributed into brass, these epithetes, *καὶ* *καὶ*, that is to say, meet for men, & resplendent, he would not have called it *πρωτα* afterwards, if hee had not meant blacke and dusky by that attribute. Like as therefore, the sage *Anacharsis*, when he reproved some other fashions among the Greeks, commended yet their char-coales, for that leaving the smoake without doores, they brought the fire into the house; even so you my-masters, that are wife men and great scholars, may haply blame us in other respects, if you list: but in case when we have rejected and dispatched away that which was turbulent, cholericke and furious in wine, we make it then looke clere, and taste pleasant of it selfe, without any sophistication, if we do not (I say) turne or take off the edge quite, and grinde out all the Steele (as it were) but rather scouring away rust and tinkler, smooth and glaze it, and so present it unto you for to drinke; what hainous fault (I pray you) have we committed? but you will say (forsooth) it hath more strength in it when it is not thus clarified with streining: and so (by your leave, good sir) hath a frantickie, lunaticke, and madd man, when he is in his fits; but after that he is well purged with Ellebor, or by good regiment in diet, brought to be staid, and reduced into his right minde and senses againe; that violent and extraordinary force is gone, but the true naturall strength of his owne, and his settled temperance remaine still in his bodie, together with his right wits; even so this cleansing and clarifying of wine, by ridding away that headinesse which troubleth the braine, and causeth rage, bringeth it to a milde habit and hollome constitution. Certes, for mine owne part, I holde there is a great difference betweene affected curiositie, and simple neatnesse or elegance: for those women that paint themselves, perfume and besmeere their bodies with costly odours, and balmes, or otherwise glitter in their ornaments of golde; and go in their rich purple robes, are by good right thought to be curious, costly, and wanton dames; but if a woman use the bath, wash her skin, anoint her selfe with ordinary oile, yea, and wear the tresses of her owne haire, disposed and laied in order decently, no man will finde fault with her for it. This distinction in womens dressing and attire, the poet *Homer* hath elegantly and properly exprest, in the person of *Juno*, when she dressed and trimmed her selfe, in this wise:

*With pure Ambrosia first, her corps
immorall, from all soile
And filth, she cleans'd, then it she did
anoint with glibber oile.*

Thus farre forth, there is nothing to be scene in her, but carefull diligence and matronlike cleanliness; marie when she comes to carquans, chaines, borders, and buttons of gold, when she hangs on her pendant eare rings most curiously and artificially wrought, and not staying there, proceeds in the end to take in her hand that enchanting tiffue and girdle of *Venus*; beleeve me, heere was superfluous sumptuositie, heere was vanitie and wantonneffe in deed, not becoming a wife or dame of honour; semably, they that colour their wine with the sweet wood of aloes or cinomon, and otherwise give it a tincture and pleasant aromatization with saffron, doe even as much as those who curiously tricke up and fet our a woman, for to bring her to a banquet, and to prostitute her as a courtesan; whereas they that do no more but purge out of it, the grosse filthinesse, and that which is good for nothing, make it by that meanes, pure, hollome and medicinable: for otherwise, if you admit not this, you may aswell say, that all things that you see heere, is nothing but needlesse superfluitie, and affected curiositie, beginning even at the verie house and the furniture thereof: for why is it (will you say) thus purged and laied over with a coat of plaister? why is it open and built with windowes on that side especially, where it may receive the purest aire and freshest winds, or where it may enjoy the light of the sunne tending Westward toward his setting? why are these pots and drinking cups, every one of them rubbed and scoured on every side, so neat and cleane, that they glitter and shine againe, so as a man may see himselfe in them? And ought (good sir) these boules and goblets to be kept cleane with-

out all filth, or sweet without euill sent; and must the wine which we drinke out of them; be full of filthie dregges, or otherwise stained with any ordure and corruption? but what need I shew thorow all the rest? the very workmanship and painefull labour about the wheat whereof bread here is made, what is it els (I beseech you) but cleansing and purging hie you not what a doe there is about it before it be brought to this passe? for there must be not only threshing, fanning, winnowing, riddling, grinding, siftings, sifting, and boulding out the branne fit to be sowe, while it is in the nature of corne and meales; but also it requireth to be knad and wrought, that no roughnesse remaine behind in the dough, so that being thus united and concorporated into a lump of paste, it may be made bread fit for our eating: what absurditie then is there in this, if straining and cleaving of wine riddeth it from that feculent and dreggie matter, as if it were coarse brannes or grosse grounds, especially seeing the doing of it, is not any wise chargeable nor laborious?

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What is the cause of that extraordinarie hunger, called Būlimos?

There is a solemne sacrifice used among us, received by tradition from our ancestors, which the provost or chiefe governour of the city for the time being, performeth at publicke the altar, but other private citizens besides, in their own houses; and this solemnity is called, The banishment of *Būlimos*, that is to say, of hunger or famine: and the manner is at such a time, for every master of an house, to take one of his slaves, and when he hath swinged him well with weeds of the whitie called Chast-tree, to thrust him out of the doores by the head and shoulders, saying withall: Out with * *Būlimos*, but come in wealth and health. Now that yeere wherein I was provost, many there were at my sacrifice, invited to the feast; and after we had performed all ceremonies and complements thereto belonging, and were set at the table, some question there was moved, first, as touching the vocable it selfe *Būlimos*, what it should signifie, and afterwards of the words uttered unto the slave when he is driven out; but most of all, of that maladie so called, and of the accidents and circumstances thereof. As for the termine *Būlimos*, every man in manner, was of opinion, that it betokened a great and publicke famine, but especially we Greeks of *Attica*, who in our dialect use the letter * = for β, for we commonly do not say, *Būlimos*, but *Pūlimos*, as if it were *Polytimos* or *Polidimos*, that is to say, a great famine, or a generall famine throughout the citie: and it seemed unto us, that *Būlimos* was another thing different from it; and namely, by a found argument which we had from the Chronicles penned by *Metrodorus*, as touching the acts of *Ionia*, wherein thus much he writeth: That the Smyrneans who in old time were Aeolians, use to sacrifice unto *Bubrostis*, a blacke bull, as an holocaust or burnt offering, which they cut into pieces with the hide, and so burne it all together. But forasmuch as all manner of hunger resembleth a maladie (and principally, this called *Būlimos*) which commeth upon a man when his bodie is affected with some unkind and unnatural indisposition, it seemeth that by great reason, as they oppose wealth to poverty, so they set health against sickness: & like as 40 of the heaving and overturning of the stomacke, a disease when as men are said *Nauisus*, tooketh that name first upon occasion of those who are in a ship, & when they faile or row, fall to be stomack sicke, and are apt to cast: but afterwards by custome of speech, whosoever feele the like passion of the stomacke, and a disposition to vomit, are said *vomitari*, that is to saie, to be sea sicke; even so the verbe *Būlimos*, and the noun *Būlimos*, taking the beginning as is before said, there is come unto us, and signifieth a dogs-appetite or extraordinarie hunger. And to this purpose wee all spake, and made a contribution as it were of all our reasons, to make out a common supper or collation: but when we came to touch the cause of this disease, the first doubt that arose among us was this; that they should most be surprized with this maladie, who travell in great snows: like as *Brutus* did of late daies; who when he marched with his army from *Dyrrhachium* to *Apollonia*, was in danger of his life, by occasion of this infirmity: it was a time when the snowe lay very deepe; in which march he went such a pace, that none of those who had the carriage of 50 victuals overtook him, or came neere unto him: now when as he fainted so for feebleness of stomacke, that he now swooned and was ready to give up the ghost; the souldiers were forced to runne in haste unto the wallies of the city, and to call for a loafe of bread, unto their very enemies, warding and keeping the watch upon the wallies, which when they had presently gotten, therewith they recovered *Brutus*: whereupon afterwards, when he was master of the towne, hee grievously

* That is to say, hunger and famine: it cometh by those which followeth, that they put poverty also before *Būlimos*, in opposition to health.
* p. for b.

grievously intreated all the inhabitants, for the courtesie which he had received from thence. This disease happeneth likewise to horses and asses, especially when they have dither figges or apples to load; but that which of all shere is most woonderfull, there is no manner of food or sustenance in the world, that in such easie so soone recovereth the strength; not of men onely, but of labouring beasts also, as to give them bread, for that if they eat a maseell thereof, beest never so starved, they will presently finde their feet and be able to walke.

Hereupon ensued silence for a while; and then I (knowing well enough how much the arguments of ancient writers are able to content and satisfie such as are burduld and dild of conceits, but contrary wise unto those that be studious, tips of wit and diligent; the same make an over- 10 ture and give courage and heart to search and inquire further into the truth) called to minde and delivered before them all a sentence out of *Avicenna*, who affirmeth: That the stronger the cold is without, the more is the heat within our bodies; and so consequently, chuse the greater colligation of the humours in the inferior parts: Now if these humours thus resolved, take a course unto the legges, they cause lassitudes and heavinesse; if the thermie fall upon the principal fountaines and organs of motion and respiration; it bringeth faintings and feebleness. I had no sooner said, but as it is wont in such cases to fall out, some tooke in hand to oppugne these reasons; and others againe to defend and mainteine the same: and *Salerius*, for his part, The words (quoth he) in the beginning of your speech were very well placed, and the ground surely laid; for in truth the bodies of those who walke in snow, are evidently cold without, and 20 exceedingly cloyed fast and knit together; but that the inward heat occasioned thereby, should make such a colligation of humours, and that the same should posside and seize upon the principal parts and instruments of respiration, is a bold and rash conceit, and I cannot see how it should stand: Yet rather would I thinke, that the heat being thus kept in, and united together, and so by that means fortified, consumeth all the nourishment; which being spent, it cannot chuse, but the said heat also must needs languish even as a fire without fuelle; and hereupon it is, that such have an exceeding hunger upon them, and when they have eaten never so little, they come presently to themselves againe; for that food is the maintenance of natural heat: Then *Cleomenes* the physician: This word *Nature*, that is to say, hunger (quoth hee) in the compound *Būlimos*, signifieth nothing else, but is crept into the composition of it I know 30 not how, without any reason at all; like as in the verbe *Eximius*, which betokeneth to devour, or swallow downe solid meat, *Eximius*, that is to say, to drinke, hath no sense or congruities at all; no more than *Adversus*, that is to say, to bend downward, or fall groveling, hath any thing to doe in the verbe *Adversus*, that signifieth to rise aloft, or to hold up the head as birds doe in drinking; for surely *Eximius* or *Eximius*, seemeth not unto me to be any hunger, as many have taken it; but it is a passion of the stomacke, which concurring indeed with hunger, engendreth a fainting of the heart, and an aptnesse to swoone: and even as odors and smells doe fetch againe and helpe those that be in a swoone; so bread doth remedie and recover those who are feeble and faint, by this *Būlimia*, not for that such have need of sustenance; (for let it be never so little that they take, they are revived and refreshed thereby) but because it fetcheth the spirits againe, 40 and recalleth the power and strength of nature that was going away. Now that this *Būlimos* or *Būlimia*, is a faintnesse of the heart, and no hunger at all, appeereth evidently by an accident that we observe in those draught beasts, whereof we spake before, subject to this infirmity; for the smell of figges and apples worketh not in them any defect or want of nourishment, but causeth rather a gnawing in the mouth of the maw, a plucking (I say) and contention in the brim of the stomacke. As for me, on the other side, although I thought these reasons indifferently well alleged; yet I was of opinion, that if I went another way to worke, and argued from a contrary principle, I could mainteine a probability, and uphold, that all this might proceed rather by way of condensation, than rarefaction: for the spirit of breath that passeth from the snowe in manner of subtile aire, is the most cutting edge, and finest decision of scale, coming 50 from the concretion of that meteor or congealed substance, which I wot not how, is of so keene and piercing a nature, that it will strike thorough, not flesh onely, but vessels also of silver and brasse: for we see that they are not able to containe and hold snowe in them: but when it cometh to melt, it consumeth away, and covereth the outside of fush vessels, glazed over with a moist subtile moisture, as cleere as ice, which no doubt the said spirit, breath, aire, or edge, (call it what you will) left behinde it, when it passed through those insensible pores of the said vessels; this spirit then thus penetrative and quicke as a flame, when it smiteth upon their bodies who goe in snowe, seemeth to scorch and singe the superficiall outside of the skinned, cutting

cutting and making way thorough into the flesh in manner of fire; wherupon ensueth a great rarefaction of the body, by means whereof, the inward heat flying forth, meeteth with the cold spirit or aire without in the superficies which doth extinguish and quench it; and thereby yeeldeth a kinde of small sweat or dew; standing with drops upon the outside, and is the natural strength of the bodie is resolved and consumed: now if a man at such a time stand not, but rest still, there is not much natural heat of the bodie that passeth thus away; but when motion by walking or otherwise doth quickly turne the nutriment of the bodie into heat, and withall the said heat stieeth outward thorough the skinned thus rarefied, how can it otherwise be, but all at once there should ensue a great extirpe (as it were) and general defect of the natural powers? And that true it is, that the same doth not alwaies close, knit, and binde together the bodie, but otherwise melt and rarefie this same, it appeareth manifestly by this experience, that in sharpe and nipping winters, many times places or plummetts of leade are known to sweate and melt: this observation also, that many do fall into this infirmity called *Bulimia*, who are not hungry, doth argue rather a defluxion and dilatation, than a contraction of the bodie, which no doubt in Winter is rarefied by that subtiltie of the spirit, whereof I spake, and especially, when travell and stirring, doth sharpen and subtilize the heat within the body: for being thus made thin, and wearied besides, the flesh forth in great abundance, and so is dispersed thorough the body. As for those figs and apples, it is like, that they do exhale and evaporate such a spirit, as doth subtilize and dissipate the natural heat of labouring beasts that carrie them: for it standeth by good reason in nature, that as soon be revived and refreshed with one thing, and some with another; so contrariwise, some things do dissipate the spirits in one, and others in another.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

Why the poet Homer to other liquors giveth proper epithites and attributes, and oile only he calleth moist?

There was a great question also another time: What might the reason be, that there being so many liquors as there are, the poet *Homer* is wont to adorne every one of the with their severall and proper epithites, and namely, to call milke, white; hony, yellow; and wine, red; but oile alone he ordinarily noteth by an accident common unto them all, and termeth it moist? to which, this answer was made: That as a thing is named, Most sweet, which is altogether sweet; and Most white, which is altogether white; (now you must understand, that a thing is said to be such and such altogether, when there is nothing mixed with it of a contrary nature) even so we are to call that Moist, which hath not one jot of drinnes mingled among, and such a qualitie doth properly agree unto oile: for first and forme, the polished smoothnesse that it hath, doth shew that the parts thereof be all uniforme and even thoroughout; and feele it whereforever you will, you shall finde it equall in every respect, and one part accordeth with another, so as the whole agreeth to withstand both mixture and colde: besides, to the eye sight it yeeldeth a most pure and cleere mirror to behold the face in; for why? there is no roughnesse nor ruggednesse in it, to dissipate the reflexion of the light; but by reason of the humiditie or moisture thereof, all the light (how little soever it be) doth rebound and returne againe upon the sight: whereas contrariwise, milke alone, of all other liquors, fendeth backe none of these images and resemblances, like as a mirror or looking-glasse doth, for that it hath a great deale of terrestrial substance in it: moreover, of all liquid matters, oile only maketh the least noise when it is stirred or shaken, for that it is so moist thoroughout; whereas in other liquors, the parts which be hard and earthy, in running, flowing, and moving, do encounter, smite and hit one another, and so consequently make a noise, by reason of their weight and soliditie: and that which more is, it remaineth simple of it selfe, without admitting any mixture or composition with any other liquor whatsoever, for that it is so firme, compact, or fast; and good reason, for it hath no wandering holes here and there, betwene terrene and hard parts, which might receive any other substance within: moreover, all the parts of oile, for that they be so like one unto the other in a continued union, do joine passing well together, however they will not sort with other liquors; and by reason of this tenitie and continuitie, when oile doth froth or some, it suffereth no winde or spirit to enter in: furthermore, this humiditie of oile, is the cause that it feedeth and nourisheth fire, for maintained it is with nothing that is not moist, and this is the onely liquor that may be burned, as we may see evidently in the wood which we daily burne; namely, that the aerie substance

stance therein, stieeth up in smoake; that which is terrestrial, turneth into ashes; and there is nothing but that, which is moist or liquid, that flameth out, burneth light, and is consumed cleane: for why? fire hath no other sustentance to feed upon; and therefore, water, wine, and other liquors, stand much upon a feculent, muddie & earthy matter, which is the cause that if a man do cast them upon a fire or flame, by their asperitie, they disgregate, and by their weight, choke & quench it; but oile, (for that most properly and sincerely it is moist, and by reason also that it is so subtile) soone receiveth alteration, and being overcome by the fire, is quickly inflamed: but the greatest argument to prove the moisture of oile, is this, that a little thereof will spread and go a great way; for neither hony, nor water, nor any other liquid thing whatsoever, in so small a quantitie can be dilated and drawn so far as oile, but for the most part, they are spent and gone by occasion of their secitie: and verily, oile being so pliable and ready to be drawn every way, soft also and glib, is apt to run all over the body, when it is anointed, it floweth and spreadeth a great way, by means of the humiditie of all parts which are so moveable, in such sort, as it continueth a long time, and hardly will be rid away, it sticketh and cleaveth so fast: for a garment, if it be dipped and drenched all over in water, will soone be drie againe; but the spots and stains with oile, require no small adoe to be scoured out and cleansed, for that it taketh so deepe an impression; and all because it is so fine, subtile and exceeding moist: and *Aristotle* himselfe saith; that even wine also being deliaed with water, if it be gotten into a cloth, is hardly fetched out, for that now it is more subtile than before, and pierceth farther within the pores thereof.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the cause, that the flesh of beasts killed for sacrifice, if it be hung upon a fig-tree, becometh more tender within a while?

Ariston had a cooke commended highly by those who used to sup with his master, for singular skill in his art; and namely, for that among all other viands which he handled and dressed passing well, hee served up a cocke unto the table before us, newly killed and sacrificed unto *Hercules*, the flesh whereof did eat as short and tender as if he had hung by the heels a day or two before: and when *Ariston* said that it was an easie matter so to doe; and that there needed no more, but presently when his throat was cut, to hang him upon a fig-tree, we tooke occasion thereby to search into the cause of this effect: Certes, that there passeth from the figge-tree a sharpe aire and strong spirit, our verie eyesight will testifie; as also the common speech that goeth of a bull, who if he be tied to a fig-tree, how wilde, savage and fell soever he was before, will soone be meeke and quiet, abide to be handled, and in one word, lay downe his furious rage, as if it were cleane daunted: But the principall cause hereof was attributed to the acrimonie and sharpe qualitie of the wood, for the tree is more succulent than any other; in so much as the verie figge it selfe, the wood also and the leafe, be all full of juice; also whilst it burneth in the fire, there ariseth from it a bitter biting smoake, very hurtfull to the eyes; and when it is burnt, there is made of the ashes a strong leie, very detestive and scouring, which be all signes of heat: and moreover, whereas the milkie juice of the fig-tree will cause milke to turne and cruddle, (some say,) it is not by the inequality of the figures of milke, which are comprehended and glewed as it were therewith, namely, when the united and round parts thereof are cast up to the superficies, but for that the foresaid juice by means of heat, doth resolve the waterie substance of the liquor, which is not apt to gather consistence and be thickned: moreover, this is another figne thereof, that notwithstanding the juice be in some sort sweet, yet it is good for nothing, and maketh the wooll and most unpleasant drinke in the world; for it is not the inequality thereof, that causeth the smooth parts to gather a crud, but the heat which maketh the cold and cruddle partes to coagulate. A good proove of this we have from salt, which serveth to this purpose, because it is hot; but it impeacheth this interlacing and glutinous binding pretended, for that by nature it doth rather dissolve and unbinde. To come againe therefore unto the question in hand; the fig-tree fendeth from it a sharpe piercing and incisive spirit: and this is it, that doth make tender, and as it were concoct the flesh of the saide foule: and as great an effect should one see, if he had put him in a heape of wheat or such come, or covered him all over with salt nitre; and all by reason of heat: and that this is true that wheat is hot, may be gathered by the vessels full of wine, which are hidden within a heape of wheat; for a man shall soone finde that the wine will be all gone.

THE



THE SVENTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-DISCOURSES.

The Summarie.

- 1 **A**gainst those who reprove Plato for saying, that our drinke passeth thorough the lungs.
2 What is that which Plato calleth *Kredonos*? and why those seedes which fall upon beeces hornes, become hard in concoction?
3 Why the middle part in wine, the highest in oile, and the bottome of hony is best?
4 If herfore the Romans in old time observed this custome; never in any case to take away the table cleane, nor to suffer a lamp or candle to goe out?
5 That we ought to take great heed of those pleasures, which naughty musicks yeeldeth, and how we should beware of it?
6 Of those guests who are called shadowes, and whether a man may goe to a feast unbidden, if hee be brought thither by those who were invited? when? and unto whom?
7 Whether it be lawfull and honest to admit she-mistrels at a feast or banquet?
8 What matters especially it is good to heare discussed upon at the table?
9 That to sit in counsell or consult, at a table, was in old time the custome of Greeks, as well as of Persians.
10 Whether they did well that so consulted at their meat?

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-discourses.

The Proöme.



He Romans have commonly in their mouths, *o Sosius Senecio* the speech of a pleasant conceited man and a courteous, whosoever he was, who when he had supped alone at any time, was wont thus to say: Eaten I have this day, but not supped; shewing thereby, that meales would never be without mirth and good companie, to feaston the fame, and to give a pleasant taste unto the viands. *Ennius* verily used to say: That fire was the best sauce in the world; and as for salt, *Homer* called it divine; and most men gave it the name of the Graces; for that being mingled or otherwise taken with most of our meates, it gives a kinde of grace, and commendeth them as pleasant and agreeable to the stomacke. But to say a truth, the most divine sauce of a table or a supper, is the presence of a friend, a familiar, and one whom a man knoweth well; not so much for that he eateth and drinketh with us, but rather because as he is partaker of our speeches, so he doth participate his owne unto us, especially if in such reciprocal talk there be any good discourses, and those which be profitable, fit, and pertinent to the purpose; for much bawling indeed and lavish speech that many men use at the board, and in their cuppes, bewraich their vaine folly, driving them oftentimes into inconsiderate and passionate fits, and to perverse Lewdnesse; and therefore no lesse requisite it is, and needfull, to make choise of speeches, than of friends to be admitted to our table: and in this case we ought both to thinke, and also to say,

contrary

contrary unto the auncient Lacedæmonians; who when they received any young man or stranger into their guild-halles, called *Phiditia*, wherethey used to dine and suppe in publicke together, would shew unto them the dores of the place and say: Out at these there never goeth word: but we acquainting our selves with good words, and pertinent speeches at the table, in our discourses are willing and content, that the same should go forth all, and be let abroad to all persons whatsoever; for that the matters and arguments of our talke are void of lascivious wantonnesse, without backbiting, flandering, malice, and illiberrall feurlitie, not becoming men of good education: as a man may well judge by these examples following in the Decade of this seventh booke.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Against those who reprove Plato, for saying: That our drinke passeth by the lungs.

It hapned one day in summer time, that one of the company where I was at supper, came out with this verse of *Alcaeus*, which every man hath readily in his mouth, and pronounced it with a loud voice:

ἴσθι πνεύματος ἀνθρώπου, τὸ ποτὶ τὸν πνεύματος.

That is to say:

Now drinke and wet thy lungs with wine.

For why? the hot Dogge-sharpe doth shine.

No marvell (quoth *Nicias*) then, (a physician of the city *Nieopolis*): if a poet as *Alcaeus* was, were ignorant in that, which *Plato* a great philosopher knew not: and yet *Alcaeus* in some sort may be borne out in saying so, and relieved in this wise; namely, that the lungs being so neere as they are unto the stomacke, enjoy the benefit of the liquid drinke, and therefore it was not improperly said: That they be wetted and foked therewith: but this famous philosopher by expresse words hath left in writing, that our drinke directly passeth for the most part, thorow the lungs: so that he hath given us no meanes of any probability in the world, to excuse and defend him, would we never loe faine, so grosse is his error, and ignorance so palpable: for in the first place, (considering it is necessary, that the drie nourishment should be mingled with the liquid) plaine it is, that there ought to be one common vessell, which is the stomacke, for to receive them both together; to the end, that it might transmit and send into the bellie and panch beneath, the meat well soaked and made soft: besides, seeing that the lungs be smooth and every way compact and solide, how is it possible, that if a man drinke a supping or grewell, wherein there is a little meale or slowre, it should get thorow, and not stay there? for this is the doubt that *Erasistratus* objected very well against *Plato*. Moreover, this philosopher having considered most parts of the bodie, and searched by reason, wherefore they were made; and being desirous to know (as became a man of his profession) for what use nature had framed every one, he might have thought thus much: That the wezill of the throat, otherwise called *Epi-glottis*, was not made for nothing and to no purpose; but ordeined for this, that when we swallow any food, it might keep downe and close the conduit of the winde-pipe, for feare that nothing might fall that way upon the lights; which part no doubt, is woonderfully troubled, tormented, and torne (as it were) with the cough, when any little thing is gotten thither, where the breath doth passe to and fro: Now this wezill above said, being placed just in the middles, and indifferent to serve both passages, when we speake, doth shut the mouth of that conduit or wezard that leadeth to the stomacke; and as we either eat or drinke, falleth likewise upon the winde-pipe that goeth to the lungs, keeping that passage pure and cleere, for the winde and breath to go and come at ease, by way of respiration. Furthermore, thus much we know by experience: That those who take their drinke leasurely, letting it go downe by little and little, have moister bellies than those who powre their liquor downe at once; for by this means the drinke is caried directly into the bladder, passing away apace and with violence, making no stay; whereas otherwise, it resteth longer with the meat, which it soaketh gently, and is better mingled and incorporate into it: but we should never see the one or the other, if at the first, our drinke and meat went apart, and had their severall waies by themselves, when we swallow them downe; for wee conjoine our meat and drinke together, sending them both one after another, to the end that the liquor might serve in stead of a waggon, according as *Erasistratus* was wont to say, for to carrie and convey the meat and the nourishment into all parts.

After

After that *Nicias* had made this discourse, *Protagoras* the Grammarian added moreover, and seconded him in this wise, saying: That the poet *Homer*, first of all other, saw well enough, and observed, that the stomacke was the proper receptacle and vessell to receive our food, as the winde-pipe, which they called in olde time, *ἀνδραγγος*, to admit the winde and the breath: and hereupon it came, that they used to call those who had big and loud voices, *κρησπυγγοί*, that is to say, wide-throated, meaning by the throat, the winde-pipe, and not the gullet, wezand or gorge: and therefore when he had said of *Achilles*, charging *Hector* with his lance:

He ran him through his gorge at first,
A speeding wound and deadly thrust.*

A little after he added, and said:

His winde-pipe yet he went beside,
And did not it in twaine divide.*

He meaneth by *ἀνδραγγος*, the proper instrument of the voice and conduit of the breath, which he cut not quite in sunder as he did the other, named *κρησπυγγοί* or *κρησπυγγοί*, that is to say, the wezand or gullet.

Upon these words, all was hush for a time, untill *Florus* tooke upon him to speake in the behalfe of *Plato*: And shall we thus indeed suffer this philosopher (quoth he) to be condemned, when he is not heere in place to answer for himselfe? No (said I) that we will not; but we will joine unto *Plato*, the poet *Homer* also, and put them both together; who is so farre off from averting and turning away the liquor from the winde-pipe, that he sendeth both drinke and meat to together out of it; for these be his words to that effect:

There gush't out of his winde-pipe, wine good store,
And gobts of mans-flesh, eaten new before.*

Intesse peradventure some one will dare to say, that this *Cyclops Polyphemus*, as he had but one eye in his head, so likewise he had no more but one conduit for his meat, drinke, and voice; or els mainteine that in this place the poet, by *κρησπυγγοί*, meaneth the stomacke, and not the winde-pipe or wezill pipe, which hath bene named so, by all men generally, as well ancient as moderne writers: and this cite I not for want of testimonials, but as induced thereto for the truth sake: for there be witnesss enough to depose on *Plato's* side, and those of good credit and authority: for let *Enoplos* the comical poet go by, if you please, who in his comedie named *Colaces*, that is to say, Flatterers or Parasites, thus saith:

*For why? this rule and precept straightly gave
Protagoras: To drinke, that men might have
Their lungs well wet and drencht with liquor cleere,
Ere that in skie the Dog-starre doth appeere.*

And passe by, if you will, that elegant and sweet conceited poet *Eratosthenes*, whose words be these:

*With good meere-wine do not forget
The bottome of thy lungs to wet.*

Enripides verily, who in expresse termes writeth thus in one tragedie,

*The wine sought all the conduit round about,
And so did passe the lung-pipes cleane thoroughout.*

Sheweth evidently, that he was quicker sighted than *Eristratius*, and saw further into the thing than he did; for well he knew that the lungs have many pipes in them, and be (as it were) bored thorow with many holes, by which the liquor passeth: for our winde or breath had no need of such conduits and small pipes to send it out; but the lungs were made spongieous and full of cavernosities or holes, in manner of a colander or strainer, for liquors, yea, and other matters that go downe together with the liquors: neither is it more unmeet (my good *Nicias*) for the lungs to transmitt and give passage unto meale, or any good thicke gressell, than for the stomacke; for our stomacke or gullet is not, as some thinke, smooth and slipperie, but hath a kinde of roughnesse and certaine rugged wrinkles, of which by all likelihood, some small crummes and parcels of our meat doe take holde, and sticking thereto, are not at once swallowed downe, and caried away: but a man is not able indeed to affirme Categorically, either the one or the other; for nature is so witty and industrious in all her operations, that no eloquence will serve to expresse the same; neither is it possible to explicate and declare sufficiently the exquisite workmanship and perfection of those principall instruments which she useth, I meane those that serve for the spirit or breath and the heart: howbeit, in the favour of *Plato* I am willing to cite more witnesss,

nesses, to wit, *Philistion* the Locrien, a very auncient writer, and renowned for his excellencie in your arte of physicke; and *Hippocrates* of *Cos*; for these men have allowed no other way nor passage for our drinke than *Plato* hath: and as for the wezill that you stand so much upon, and have in such reputation, *Diocippus* was not ignorant of it: but he saith, that about it, the humiditie or liquor in swallowing is divided and severed, and so glideth or slipped into the winde-pipe; but the meat rolleth into the stomacke, and within the said winde-pipe, there falleth no part of the meat; howbeit the stomacke receiveth together with the dry food some part also of the drinke or liquor mingled among; and this seemeth to stand well with reason: for the wezill is first before the winde-pipe as a fence or lidge; to the end that by little and little, the drinke might gently runne as by a streiner into it, not suddenly and at once with a violence, for feare that if it were in that manner powred in, it would either stop or else sore trouble and impeach the breath; which is the reason that birds have no such flappe or wezill, and nature hath ordeined none for them, for they neither draw in by gulgex, nor lappe their drinke, but dipping their bills let it downe softly, and so wet their throat: And thus much may serve for witnesss in the behalfe of *Plato*. To come now unto reason: First and foremost our very sense doth confirme the same: that he hath said: for let the said wezill-pipe be wounded, no liquor will goe downe, but as if a conduit pipe were cut in sunder, we may see all of it to breake forth and run out at the wound, notwithstanding the wezand or stomacke be found and whole: moreover we all know by experience, that upon the malady called *Peripneumonia*, that is to say, the inflammation of the lungs, there followeth a most ardent thirst, by occasion of drought or heat, or else some other cause, which with the said inflammation engendreth also an appetite to drinke: furthermore, there is another argument, stronger and more evident than this, namely, that those creatures which have either no lights or verie smal, have no need of drinke, nor desire it; for every part of the body hath a certaine naturall appetite to doe that worke or function, unto which it is ordeined; and looke what creatures so ever have no such parts, neither have they use for them, nor any desire to that operation which is performed by them: In sum, if it were not so as *Plato* saith; it may seeme that the bladder was made in vaine: for if the stomacke receive drinke as well as meat, & sende it downe into the belly, what needeth the superfluitie or excrement of the liquid food, that is to say drinke, any peculiar receptacle or passage by it selfe; for sufficient it had bene to have had one common, as well for the one as the other, to discharge the excrements of both, by one spout as it were into the same draught: but now it is otherwise: the bladder is by it selfe, and the guts apart by themselves; for that the one nutriment goeth from the lungs; the other from the stomacke, parting immediately, and taking their severall waies at the very swallowing. And heereupon it is that in the liquid superfluitie which is wine, there appeareth nothing of the drie, resembling it either in colour or sense; and yet naturall reason would, that if it were mixed and tempered with it in the belly and the guttes, it should bee filled with the qualities thereof, and could not possibly be excluded out of the body so pure and voide of ordure. * Again, it was never known, that a stone hath bene ingendred in the paunch or gutts; and yet good reason it were, that moisture there should congeale or gather to a stone as it doth within the bladder; if true it were that all our drinke descended into the belly and the guts, by passing thorough the stomacke onely: but it seemeth that the stomacke incontinently when we begin to drinke, sucketh and draweth out of that liquor which passeth along by it in the wezill pipe, as much onely as is needfull and requisite for it, to mollifie and to convert into a nutritive pap or juice the solid meat; and so it leaveth no liquid excrement at all: whereas the lungs, so soone as they have distributed both spirit and liquor from thence, unto those parts that have need thereof, expell and send out the rest into the bladder: Well, to conclude, more likelihood there is of truth by farre, in this, than in the other: and yet peradventure the truth in deed of these matters lieth hidden still and incomprehensible; in regard whereof, it is not meet to proceed so rashly and insolently to pronounce sentence against a man, who as well for his owne sufficiency, as the singular opinion of the world, is reputed the prince and chiefe of all philosophers, especially in so uncerteine a thing as this, and in defence whereof there may bee lo many reasons collected out of the readings and writings of *Plato*.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

*What is meant in Plato by this word *σκαβός*, and why those seeds which in sowing light upon oxen horns, become hard and not easie to be concocted.*

T Here hath beene alwaies much question and controuersie, about *σκαβός*, and *Ανέσπερος*, not who or what is so called for certene it is, that seeds falling upon ox horns, according to the common opinion, yeeld fruite, hard and not easie concocted; whereupon by waie of Metaphor, a stubborne and stiffe-necked person, men use to teame *σκαβός*, and *Ανέσπερος*; but as touching the cause, why such graine or seeds hitting against the homes of an ox, should come to be so untoward: And many times refused I have, yea, and denied my friends to search into the thing; the rather for that *Theophrastus* hath rendered so darke and obscure a reason, ranging it among many other examples which he hath gathered and put downe in writing of strange and wonderfull effects, whereof the cause is hard to be found; namely: That an henne after that she hath laid an egge, turneth round about, and with a fecture or straw seemeth to purifie and halow her selfe, and the egge also; that the sea-calle or scale * confumeth the pine, and yet swalloweth it not downe; semblably, that flagges hide their homes within the ground and burie them; likewise, that if one goat hold the herbe *Eryngium*, that is to say, sea-holly in his mouth, all the rest of the flocke will stand still: Among these miraculous effects, *Theophrastus* (I say) hath put downe the seeds falling upon the homes of an ox; a thing knownen for certene to be so, but whereof, the cause is most difficult, if not impossible to be delivered. But at slipper in the citie *Delphi*, as I sat one day, certene of my familiar friends came upon me in this manner, that seeing not onely, according to the common saying:

*From hellic full best counsell doth arise,
And surest plots men in that case devise.*

but also we are more ready with our questions, and lesse to seeke for answeres, when as wine is in our heads, causing us to be forward in the one, and resolute in the other; they would request me therefore to say somewhat into the foresaid matter in question: howbeit, I held off still, as being well backed with no bad advocates, who tooke my part, and were ready to defend my cause; and by name, *Euthydemus* my colleague or companion with me in the sacred otall dignitie, and *Patroclus* my sonne in law, who brought forth and alledged many such things, observed awell in agriculture, as by hunters; of which sort is that which is practised by those who take upon them skill in the foresight and prevention of haile; namely, that it may be averted and turned aside, by the bloud of a mould-warpe, or linnen ragges, stained with the monethly purgations of women: Item, that if a man take the figs of a wilde fig-tree, and tie them to a tame fig-tree of the orchard, it is a meanes that the fruit of the said fig-tree shall not fall, but tarry on, and ripen kindly: also that flags weepe salt teares, but wilde bores shed sweet drops from their eies, when they be taken: For if you will let in hand to seeke out the cause hereof (quoth *Euthydemus*) then presently you must render a reason also, of smallach and cumin; of which, the former, if it be troden under foot and trampled on in the coming up, men have an opinion it will grow and prosper the better; and as for the other, they say it with curses and all the fowlest words that can be devised, and so it will spring and thrive best. Truth (quoth *Florus*) these be but toies and ridiculous mockeries, to make sport with; but as touching the cause of the other matters above specified, I would not have you to reject the inquisition thereof, as if it were incomprehensible. Well (quoth I) now I have found a medicine and remedie, which if you do use, you shall bring this man with reason to our opinion, that you also your selfe may solve some of these questions propounded: It seemeth unto me therefore, that it is colde, that causeth this rebellious hardnesse awell in wheat and other corne, as also in pulse; namely, by pressing and driving in, their solid substance, untill it be hard againe; for heat maketh things soft and easie to be dissolved: and therefore they do not well and truly, in alledging against *Homer*, this verstile:

*ὅς τις σκαβὸν
The yeere, not field,
Doth beare and yeeld.*

For surely those fields and grounds which are by nature hot, if the aire withall afford a kinde and seasonable temperature of the weather, bring forth more tender fruits: and therefore such corne or seed which presently and directly from the husbandmans hands, lighteth upon the

ground, entering into it, and there covered, finde the benefit both of the heat and moisture of the soile, whereby they soone spurt and come up; whereas those which as they be cast, do hit upon the homes of the beatts, they meet not with that direct posture or rectitude called *Εὐδυστροφία*, which *Hesiodus* commendeth for the best, but falling downe (I wot not how) and missing of their right place, seem rather to have bene flung at a venture, than orderly sown; & therefore the cold coming upon them, either murthereth and killeth them outright, or els lighting upon their naked husks, causeth them to bring forth that proveth hard and churlish, as drie as chips, and such as will not be made tender & sidow, without they be steeped in some liquor, as having not bene covered but with their owne bare coats: for this you may observe ordinarily in stones, that those parts and sides which lie covered deeper within the ground, as if they were of the nature of plants, be more firm and tender, as being preserved by heat, than those outward faces which lie ebbe or above the earth; and therefore skilfull masons digge deeper into the ground for stones which they meane to square, worke and cut, as being melted by the heat of the earth; whereas those which lie bare aloft and exposed to the aire, by reason of the cold, prove hard and not easie to be wrought or put to any use in building: semblably, even corne, if it continue long in the open aire, and cocked upon the stacks or threshing floores, is more hard and rebellious, than that which is soone taken away and laid up in garners; yea, and oftentimes the very winde which bloweth whilst it is fanned or winnowed, maketh it more tough and stubborne, and all by reason of cold: whereof the experience, by report, is to be seene about *Philippi* a citie in *Macedonie*; where the remedie is, to let corne lie in the chaffe: and therefore you must not thinke it strange, if you heare husbandmen report, that of few lands or ridges, running directly once by the side of another, the one should yeeld corne tough and hard; the other, soft and tender: and that which more is, beanes lying in one cod, some be of one sort, and some of another, according as they have felt (more or lesse) either of cold or of winde.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cause, that the mids of wine, the top of oile, and the bottome of honie, is best?

MY wives father *Alexion*, one day laughed at *Hesiodus*, for giving counsell to drinke wine lustilie, when the vessell is either newly pierced or runneth low; but to forbear, when it is halfe drawn; his words are these:

*When tierce is full, or when it draweth low,
Drinke hard; but spare, to mids when it doth grow.*

For that the wine there, is most excellent: For who knoweth not (quoth he) that wine is best in the middle, oile in the top, and honie in the bottome of the vessell? but *Hesiodus* (forsooth) adviceth us to let the mids alone, and to stay untill it change to the woofe and be fowre; namely, when it runneth low and little is left in the vessell. Which words being passed, the companie there present, bad *Hesiodus* farewell, and betooke themselves unto searching out the cause of this difference and diversitie in these liquors. And first, as touching the reason of honie, we were not very much troubled about it, because there is none in manner, but knoweth that a thing, the more rare or hollow the substance of it is, the lighter it is said to be; as also, that solid, massie, and compact things, by reason of their weight, do settle downward; in such sort, that although you turne a vessell up side downe; yet within a while after, each part returneth into the owne place againe; the heavie sinks downe, the light flotes above; and even so, there wanted no arguments, to yeeld a sound reason for the wine also: for first and foremost, the vertue and strength of wine, which is the heat thereof, by good right gathereth about the middes of the vessell, and keepeth that part of all others best; then the bottome for the vicinitie unto the lees is naught: lastly, the upper region, for that it is next to the aire, is likewise corrupt; for this we all know, that the winde or the aire is most dangerous unto wine, for that it altereth the nature thereof; and therefore we use to set wine vessells within the ground, yea, and to stop and cover them with all care and diligence, that the least aire in the world come not to the wine; and that which more is, wine will nothing so soone corrupt when the vessells be full, as when it hath bene much drawn and groweth low, for the aire entrench in apace proportionably to the place that is void; the wine taketh winde thereby and so much the sooner chaungeth; whereas if the vessells be full, the wine is able to mainteine it selfe, not admitting from without much of that which is adverse unto it, or can hurt it greatly.

But the consideration of oile put us not to a little debate in arguing: One of the companie said: That the bottome of oile was the worst, because it was troubled and muddy with the lees or mother thereof: and as for that which is above, he said: It was nothing better than the rest, but seemed onely so, because it was farthest removed from that which might hurt it: Others attributed the cause unto the soliditie thereof, in which regard, it will not well be mingled or incorporate with any other liquor, unlesse it be broken or divided by force and violence; for so compact it is, that it will not admit the very aire to enter in it, or to be mingled with it, but keepeth it selfe a part, and rejecteth it by reason of the fine smoothnesse, and continuic of all the parts, so that lesse altered it is by the aire, as being not predominant over it: nevertheless, it seemeth that *Aristotle* doth contradict and gain say this reason, who had observed (as he saith himselfe) that the oile is sweeter, more odoriferous, and in all respects better, which is kept in vessels not filled up to the brim; and afterwards ascribeth the cause of this meliority or betternesse unto the aire: For that (saith he) there entereth more aire into a vessell that is halfe empty, and hath the more power: Then I wot not well (said I) but what and if in regard of one and the same facultie and power, the aire bettereth oile, and impaireth the goodnesse of wine? for we know that age is hurtfull to oile, and good for wine; which age the aire taketh from oile, because that which is cooled continueth still young and fresh; contrariwise that which is pent in and stulted up, as having no aire, soone ageeth and waxeth old: great apparence there is therefore of truth, that the aire approaching neere unto oile, and touching the superficies thereof, keepeth it fresh and young still: And this is the reason, that of wine the upmost part is worst, but of oile the best, because that age worketh in that, a very good disposition, but in this, as badde:

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What was the reason that the ancient Romans were very precise, not to suffer the table to be cleane voided, and all taken away, or the lampe and candle to be put out?

Florus a great lover of antiquitie, would never abide, that a table should be taken away empty, but alwaies left some meat or other standing upon it: And I know full well (quoth he) that both my father and my grandfather before him, not onely observed this most carefully, but also would not in any case permit the lampe after supper to be put out, because for sparing of oile, and that thereby none should be wasted vainly. But *Euphrastus* the Athenian being upon a time a time at supper with us, hearing *Florus* making this relation: And what good gat they by this (quoth he) unlesse they had learned the cunning craft of *Epicharmus* our fellow-citizen; who as he said himselfe, having studied a long time how he might keepe his boyes and servants about him, from filching and stealing away his oile, hardly, and with much adoe at the last, found this meanes: for presently after that the lampes were put out, he filled them full againe with oile; and then the next morning, he would come and see whether they were still full. This speech made *Florus* to laugh: But seeing (quoth he) this question is so well solved, let us search I pray you into the reason: Why in old time, as it should seeme, our * ancients were so religious and precise, as touching their tables and lampes: first therefore they began with lampes and lights: And *Cassianus* his sonne in law said: That those ancients as he thought, tooke it to be an ominous matter, and a very abomination indeed; that any fire whatsoever should be put out, for the likenesse and kinred that it had with that sacred fire which is alwaies kept inextinguishable: for two waies there be (as I take it) whereby fire (like as we men) may die, the one violent, when it is quenched and put out by force, the other natural when it goeth out & dieth of it selfe: as for that sacred fire, they remedied both the one & the other, in maintaining and looking to it continually with great care and diligence; the other which is common, they neglected and suffered to goe out of it selfe, without any more adoe; for so they themselves quenched it not perforce, nor caused it to die, grudging and envying that it should live, as a beast that doth no good, they passed for it no more, nor made any further reckoning. Then *Lucius* the sonne of *Florus* said: That he liked well of all the rest which was said; but as concerning the sacred fire, he supposed, that our ancestors chose it not to reverence and adore, because they thought it more holy or better than other: but like as among the Egyptians, some worshipped the whole kind of dogs; others, wolves likewise or crocodiles; but they nourished (with any special respect) but one of every kinde; so w^t some, one dogge; others, one wolfe, and others againe, one crocodile; for that

* Romans.

that impossible it was to keepe them all; even so heere in this case; the vigilant care and devotion which they employed in saving and keeping the sacred fire, was a signe and solemn remembrance of the religious observance which they carried respectively to the whole element of fires, the reason was, because there is nothing in the world that more resembleth a living creature, so full of life that it moveth, stirreth, and feedeth it selfe; yea and by the shining light that it giveth, (in manner of the soule) laiceth all things open, and maketh them to be seene; but rich of all it sheweth and proveth the power that it hath; not to be without some viall feed, or principle, in the extinguishing and violent death thereof; for when it is either quenched, suffocated, or killed by force, it seemeth to give a cry or shriek, struggling as it were with death, like unto a living creature when the life is taken away by violence: And in uttering these words; calling his eyes upon me: What say you (quoth hee) unto me; can you alledge anything better of your owne? I cannot (said I) finde any fault with you, in all that you have delivered; but I would willingly adde thus much moreover; that this fashion and custome of maintaining fire, is a very exercise and discipline training us to great humanitie: for surely I hold it not lawfull to spoile our meats and viands after we have eaten thereof sufficiently; no more than I doe for to stop or choke up a spring or fontaine after we have drunke our fill of the pure water thereof, or to take downe and dimolish the markes that guide men in navigation, or waiting, upon the land, where we have once served our owne turne with them: but these and such like things we ought to leave behinde us unto posteritie, as meanes to do them good that shall come after us, & have need of them when we are gone: and therefore I hold it neither seemely nor honest, to put out a lampe for mechanically miserie, so soone as a man himselfe hath done withall; but he ought to maintaine & keepe it burning still, that what need soever there should be of fire, it may be found there ready, and shining light out; for a blessed thing it were in us, if possibly we so could, to impart the use of our owne sight, our hearing, yea and of our wisdom, strength and valour, unto others for the while, when we are to sleepe or otherwise to take our repose: consider moreover, whether our forefathers have not permitted excessive ceremonies and observations in these cases, even for an exercise and studious meditation of thankfulness, as namely; when they revered so highly the oakes bearing acornes as they did. Certes the Athenians had one fig-tree which they honored by the name of the holy and sacred Fig-tree; and expressly forbade to cut downe the * mulberie tree: for these ceremonies I assure you, doe not make men inclined to superstition as some thinke, but frame & traine us to gratitude & sociable humanitie one toward another, when as we are thus reverently affected to such things as these, that have no foule nor sense. And therefore *Hesiodus* did very well, when he would not permit any flesh or meats to be taken out of the pots or cauldrons for to be set upon the table, unlesse some thing before had gone out of them, for an assay to the gods; but gave order that some portion thereof should be offered as first fruits unto the fire; as it were a reward and satisfaction for the ministry and good service that it hath done: The Romans also did as well, who would not when they had done with their lampes take from them that nourishment which they had once allowed, but suffered them to enjoy the same, still burning and living, by the meanes thereof. After I had thus said: Now I assure you (quoth *Euphrastus*) hath not this speech of yours made the overture and given way to passe forward to a discourse of the table? for that our ancients thought there should be alwaies somewhat left standing upon it after dinner and supper, for their household servants and children; for surely glad they be, not so much to get wherewith to eat, as to have it in this order communicated from us and our table unto them: and therefore the Persian kings by report, were wont alwaies to send from their owne board certaine dishes, as a libation not onely to their friends and minions, to their great captaines and lieutenants under them, to their chiefe pensioners also and squires of the body; but they would have their slaves, yea and their very hounds and dogs to be served daily, and have their ordinary allowance for even upon their table: for their will and meaning was, that whosoever did them any service, & were employed in their ministration, should if it were possible be partakers of their table and fire also: for surely the most fell or savage beasts that bee, are made tame by such communication and fellowship in their feeding. Heereat I could not chuse but laugh: And why then doe we not (quoth he) my good friend, put in practise the old order, and bring abroad the fifth laid up for store, according to the common proverb, as also the Chenix or measure that *Pythagoras* so much talketh of, & upon which he forbiddeth a man to sit? giving us thereby a lesson, that wee should learne to leave somewhat for the next day, and on the even to remember and thinke upon the morrow. We Boeotians have this by-word amongst us, common in every mans mouth: Leave some-

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* mulberie tree, unlesse haply it should be allowed, that is to say, the olive tree, as the French interpreter seemeth to read it.

what for the Modest: since time that the Medes overran and forreid the whole province of *Phœcia*, and waisted the frontiers and marches of *Æthiopia*: but surely we should have even more needily at hand this saying: Save something alwaies for strangers and guests, that may come in unlooked for: And to speake what I thinke: for mine owne part, I mislike utterly that hungry table that *Achilles* kept; which evermore was founde bare and void: For when as *Ajax* and *Ulysses* came embassage unto him, they found no meat at all sitting, whereupon he was forced even then to kill somewhat, and to dresse the same out of hand for their suppers: Another time also being minded to entertaine king *Priamus* friendly, when he came unto his pavilion:

*He then bestrid himselfe, and caught up Iones,
A good white sheepe, whose throat he cut anon.*

but about cutting it up, quartering, jointing, seething and roasting, he spent a great part of the night: whereas *Eumæus* a wise scholar of as wise a master, was nothing at all troubled at the sudden and unexpected comming of *Telemachus*, but presently willed him to sit downe, made him good cheere, setting before him platters full

*Of good flesh meates, which were of former store,
All ready roast, and left the night before.*

But if you thinke that to be but a small matter, and lightly to be regarded, yet I am sure confesse you will; that this is not a thing of little importance; namely to refrain and containe the appetite, when as there is enough yet before a man, to provoke and satisfie it; for those who are wont to abstaine from that which is present, have lesse desire to that which is absent: Then *Lycias* added thus much, that he remembered how hee had heard his grandmother say: That the table was a sacred thing: Which if it be so (quoth he) there ought no thing that holy is, to be empty; and for mine owne part, I am of this minde: That the table is a representation and figure of the earth; for besides that, it feedeth us, round it is, and standeth firme and sure; in which regard, some have called it properly, *Æstia*: and like as we would have the earth to beare and bring forth alwaies some thing or other for our profit; so we thinke, that we should never see the table void, nor left without some viands upon it.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

That we ought especially to beware of the pleasures which we take in naughtie musicks; and how we should take thereof.

AT the solemnity of the Pythicke games, *Callistratus* the superintendant, deputed by the high commission and councill of State, named *Amphytriones*, for to oversee and keepe good order, put backe a certaine minstrel, who plaied upon the flute, though he were a country man of his and a friend, because he came not in time to present himselfe for to be intolled among those that were to contend for the prize, which he did according to the statutes and lawes of those games provided in that behalfe: but one evening when he had invited us to supper, he brought him forth into the banquet among us, set out and adorned in his faire robes and chaplets magnificently, as the manner is to be seene at such games of prize, and attended besides with a goodly daunce and quire of fingers, well and trimly appointed; and I assure you, abravew them it was at the first entrie, and a pleasant pastime worth the seeing and hearing: but after that hee had tried and founded the whole companie there met, and perceived many of them how they were inclined, and that for their delight and pleasure which they presently tooke, they would be carried away, and suffer him to do what he list himselfe; namely, to play lascivious tunes, and in gesture to represent the same accordingly; then he shewed himselfe openly, and gave us an evident proofe and demonstration; that musick will make those more drunke, and distemper their braines worse (who inconsiderately at all times, and without all measure exceedingly give themselves unto it) than all the wine that they can drinke. For now by this time, they could not be content as the were set at they table, to hour and holla with open throat, and withall, to keepe a clapping with their hands one at another; but in the end, the most part of them leapt from the boord, and began withall, to daunce and to foot it, yea, and otherwise to shew dishonest and filthy gestures, faire unbecoming gentlemen, but yet suitable to the tunes hee founded, and the songs that the rest chanted; but afterwards, when they had made an end, and that the banquet (as it were after a fit of furious madnesse) was come againe to it selfe, and better settled, *Lamprius* was desirous to have said somewhat; and rebuked in good earnest, this misrule and disorder of the

the youth, but that he feared withall, that he should be thought too rigorous, and give offence unto the companie; untill such time as *Callistratus* himselfe gave him his hint, and incited him so to do, by such a speech as this: For mine owne part (quoth he) even I also, doe acquit them of intemperance, the simple desire of hearing musicks and seeing sports: howbeit, I am not altogether of *Aristoxenus* opinion, when he saith, that these be the onely pleasures that be worth a whoope; and at the end whereof, a man should say, *Kaw*, that is to say, Oh, well and trimly done! For surely, men are wont to attribute so much unto certaine daintie meates and sweet perfumes and ointments, calling them trim and fine, and giving this praise unto them, that they be well dressed and comforted; yea, and it is an ordinary speech to say: That it is well with us, when we have bene at a delicate and costly supper. I suppose also, that *Aristotle* himselfe alledged not a sufficient cause, that the solace and pleasure by faire fights and sweet musick, and generally, the contentment that we have by the eie and the eare, is to be exempted from the crime of intemperance; because as he saith, these be the onely delights proper unto man; whereas in all others, brute beasts do communicate with us, and have the benefit of them: for I see that there be manie creatures which have no use of reason, and yet take pleasure in musick; as for example, stags, in flutes and pipes; and at the time when mares are to be covered with stallions, there is a certaine sound of the hautboies and a song to it, named thereupon, *Hippothoros*: and *Pindarus* saith in one place, that he was moved with the song,

*Like as the dolphin swimmes apace,
Directly forward to that place
Whereas the pleasant hautboies sound,
And hence their noise doth sooner rebound;
What time, both winds and waves do lie
At sea, and let no harmonie.*

And as they daunce, they beare up their heads and eies aloft, as joying in the object which they see of others likewise dauncing; for they strive to imitate and counterfeite the same, stirring and wagging their shoulders to and fro: I cannot see therefore, what singularity by it selfe there is in these pleasures, because they onely are respective to the soule, and others belong unto the bodie, and do seize and rest in the bodie; whereas tunes, measures, daunces, and songs, passing besides and beyond the sense, doe fasten their delight and tickling pleasure, upon the very joy and contentment of the minde; which is the reason that none of these delectations are hidden, nor have need either of darknesse to cover them, or of walles to environ, enclose, and keepe them in, as women are wont to say by other pleasures; but contrariwise, built there are for these delights of the eie and eare, cirques and races, theaters and shew-places; and the greater company that there is with us to see or heare any of these, the greater joy we take, and the thing it selfe is more stately: but this is plaine, that desirous we are, not of a number of witnesses to testify our intemperance and naughtie pleasure, but we care not how many see our honest exercises and civill sports or recreations.

After that *Callistratus* had ended his speech, *Lamprius* perceiving that those favourets and maintainers of such care-sports, tooke better heart, and became more audacious by these words; set in hand to speake now in deed as he meant before, in this manner: This is not the cause, good sir *Callistratus*, the sonne of *Leon*; but in mine opinion, our ancient forefathers have not done well, to say that *Bacchus* was the sonne of *Oblivion*; for they should rather have said, that he was his father; considering, that even now by his means you have forgotten, that of those faults and misdemeanours which are committed by occasion of pleasures, some proceed from intemperance; others from ignorance or negligence: for where the hurt and damage is evident, there men (if they sinne) doe it because their reason is forced and overcome by intemperance; but looke where the hire and reward of incontinencie and loosefinesse doth not directly ensue, nor presently upon the committing of a fault, there all their delinquencie is to be ascribed unto ignorance, for that such leaud acts, they both approve and perpetrate, because they will not what hurt would follow: and therefore such as doe exorbitate and misgovern themselves in eating or drinking excessively, as also in the immoderate use of women; which enormities be ordinarily accompanied with many maladies, much expence, decay of estate, losse of goods and an ill name besides; we usually call loose, dissolute, and intemperate persons: such an one was that *Theodelles*, who being diseased in his eies; whensoever hee eplied his sweet heart whom he kept as his harlot, would salute her in these tearmes, *ἄφρονι φίλῳ φάρμακον*:

*All haile my sweet and lovely light,
The onely joy of mine eye-sight.*

And such another was *Anaxarchus of Abdera*:
*Who (by report) knew well what miseries
He lived in, but yet his nature was
Inclined so to pleasure, which men wife,
And sages dread most part; that he alas
Was thereby drawn and caried unto sin,
Out of that way which judgement set him in.*

But those who hold out manfully, and stand upon their owne guards, for feare they bee caught, and overcome with the grosse pleasure of the belly, and the parts under it, of taste and of smelling; and yet neverthelesse suffer themselves to be circumvented and surprized by other delights, which secretly forelay them, and lie in ambush, hidden close within their eyes and eares; these men (I say) although they be nothing lesse passionate, dissolute, and incontinent than the others, yet we terme them not so for all that: and why so? because they know not the danger wherein they stand; they runne on headlong through ignorance, thinking they shall bee masters over their pleasures, yea, though they taried at the theater all the long day, from morning to night, to see and heare plaies and other pastimes, without bit of bread or drop of drinke; as if forsooth an earthen vessell or pitcher should boast it selfe and stand much upon this, that it is not stirred and taken up by the belly or the bottome, and yet easily removed and caried from place to place by the two eares: and therefore *Arcefilus* was wont to say: That it skilled not which way one committed filthinesse; for behind and before, was all one: so that we ought to feare that wantonneesse and pleasure which tickleth us in our eares and eyes both: neither are we to thinke a citie impregnable, which having all other gates fast made with strong locks, fortified also with croffe barres, & portcullisses, if the enemies may enter in at one other gate; nor to take our selves to be invincible & unconquered by pleasures, for that we be not caught & taken within the temple of *Venus*; in case we suffer our selves to be taken in the chappell of the Muses, or else at some theatre: For surely such a passion may overtake and captivate our soule as well here as there; yea, & betake it unto pleasures, for to hale & pull, carie & harie us as they list: and these verily doe infuse and powre into our spirits, poisons more eger and piercing, yea, and in greater varietie; I meane of songs, daunces, muscicall accords and measures, than all those be, which either cooks, confectioners, or perfumers can devise: by the strength whereof, they leade and carie us whither they will, yea, and corrupt us so, as that wee cannot chuse but convince and condemne our selves by our owne testimony against us: For as *Pindarus* said very well:

*We cannot charge, nor yet blame worthily thinke,
What ever, for our present meat and drinke
The sacred earth to us affoorded hath,
Or sea, with winds, that is so fell and wrath.*

And to say a truth, there is no daintie cates, no delicate viands, fish or flesh; no nor this passing good wine which we drinke, that for any pleasure & contentment which they yeeld unto us, carth us to set up any such noises, like as ere while, the found and playing of the flutes did, which filled (I say) not this house onely, but I beleewe well, the whole citie, with outcries, utas, clapping of hands, and alarines: and therefore we are to stand in great feare and dread of such pleasures as these; for exceeding forcible they be, and most powerfull, as those who stay not there, as those doe which affect either taste, feeling, or smelling; to wit, in the unreasonable part of the soule, without passing any farther: but they reach unto the very judgement, and discomse of reason: moreover, in other delights and pleasures, although reason should faile and not be able to withstand them, but give over in plaine field: yet there be other passions a good many which will resist and impeach them: for say there be some daintie and delicate fish to be bought and sold in the market; nigardlike oftentimes holdeth backe a gluttons fingers from drawing out his purse-strings, who otherwise would bee busie and readie enough to helpe his deintie tooth: covetousnesse likewise otherwhiles turneth away a wanton leacher and whoremaster from meddling with a deare and costly courtesane, who holdes her-selfe at an exceeding high price; like as *Alexander* in one of his comedies bringeth in a pretie pageant of this matter: for when as a certaine baud had brought unto a banquet where divers youthes were drinking, and making merrie together, a passing faire wench, young withall, and trimly set out in every point,

point, for to entice and allure them, they
*Cast downe their heads, and like good merry mates,
Fell so their junkets hard, and deintye eates.*

For when it stands upon this point, that a man must take up money at interest, or els goe without his pleasure; certes, it is a throwd punishment to bridle his lust and incontinence; for wee are not alwaies for willing and ready to lay our hand to our purses: now the eyes and eares of such as love musicians and minstrels, and other such gentleman-like sports, and recreations as we call them, satisfie their furious appetites & affections, in sounding musick, plaies, & shewes, for nothing and without any cost: for why? such pleasures as these, they may be sped with, and enjoy in many places, at the publicke and sacred games of prize, in theaters, and at feasts, and all at other mens charges; and therefore an easie matter it is to meet with matter enough for to spoile and undoe them quite, who have not reason to governe and direct them. Heereat hee made a pause, and so there was some silence for a while: And what would you have (quoth *Calistrotus*) this reason, either to doe or say for to succour and save us for the will not fallen round about our eares, those little cafes or bolsters to cover our eares with, which *Xenocrates* speaketh of, neither will the cause us to rise from the table so soone as we heare a musician to tune his lute or prepare his pipe: No in truth (quoth *Lamprias*) but looke how often soever as wee fall into the danger of these pleasures, we ought to call upon the muses for to succour us; we must flie into that mountaine *Helicon* of our ancients; for such an one as is enamoured upon a sumptuous and costly strumpet, we cannot tell how to match by and by with a *Penelope*, nor marrie unto *Panthea*; but if one take pleasure in bawdy ballades, lascivious songs, and wanton daunces, we may soone divert him from thence, by setting him to reade *Euripides*, *Pindarus*, or *Menander*; and to wash a filthie eare, and furred all over with falt (as *Plato* saith) with a sweet and potable lotion of good sayings and wise sentences: for like as magicians command those who are possessed or haunted with evil spirits, to rehearse and pronounce apart by themselves Ephebian letters, or words for a counter-charme; even so when we are among these vanities, which minstrels play their parts, and moriske dauncers their may-games, fetching their frisks and gambols,

*Shaking themselves in furious wise,
With strange allarmes and hideous cries:
Wagging and flinging every way
Their necks and heads all while they play.*

Let us then call to remembrance the grave, holy and venerable writings of those ancient Sages, and conferring them with these sortish sonets, ribaud rimes, paltie poemes, and ridiculous reasons, we shall not be endangered by them, nor turne aside (as they say) and suffer our selves to be caried away with them downe the streame.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of such guests as be named shadowes; and whether he that is called by one, may go unto another to supper; if he may, when, and to whom.

*H*omer in the second booke of his *Ilias*, writeth of *Menelaus*, how he came of his owne accord unbidden, to a feast that his brother *Agamemnon* made unto the princes and chiefe commanders of the armie:

*For why? he well conceived in his minde,
That *troubled much, his brother he! could finde.*

And as he would not neglect and oversee thus much, that either the ignorance or forgetfulness in his brother, should be otherwise scene; so he was lesse willing to discover it himselfe in failing for to come; as some froward and peevish persons are wont to take holde of such oversights and negligences of their friends, being better content in their hearts thus to be neglected, than honoured, because they would have advantage, and somewhat to complaine of. But as touching such as are not invited at all to a feast, nor have no formall bidding (whom now a daies, we call shadowes) and yet are brought in by these who were invited, there arose one day a question, how this custome first came up and tooke beginning. Some were of opinion that *Socrates* began it, who perswaded *Aristodemus* upon a time, being not bidden to goe with him to a feast at *Agathon*s house, where there fell out a pretie jest and a ridiculous; for *Aristodemus* tooke

* And there-
fore might
forget his
owne bro-
ther.

no heed when he thither came, that he had left *Soerates* by the way behinde him, and so himselfe entered before into the roome; which is as much as the shadow before the bodie, and the light coming after: but afterwards, at the feasting and entertainment of friends that are travellers, and passe by as strangers, especially, if they were princes or great governours, because men knew not who were in their traine, and whom they deigned this honour, for to sit at their owne table, and to eat and drinke with them; the custome was to request themselves, for to bring with them whom they would, but withall, to set downe a determinate number; for feare lest they should be so served as one was, who invited to a supper, *Philip* king of *Macedonie*, into the country: for he came unto his host's house with a great retinue after him, who had not provided a supper for many guests: *Philip* perceiving that his friend was hereupon in great perplexitie, and knew not what to doe, sent unto every one of his friends that he brought with him, a servitor of purpose to round them secretly in the eare, that they should so eat of the viands before them, as that they reserved a peece of their stomacke for a daintie rart or cate that was to come in: by which meanes, whiles they looked evermore when the said dish should come to the table, and did eat more sparingly in hope of it, of those meats which stood before them, there was sufficient for them all. But whiles I seemed thus to play upon the point before the company there present, *Florus* thought good that this question ought to be handled in good earnest, and more seriously; namely, as touching those shadows above said: Whether it might stand with honesty and good manners, to follow or goe with them who were bidden? As for *Cesernius* his forme in law, he utterly condemned that fashion: For a man ought (quoth he) to obey the counsell of *Hesiodus*, who writeth thus:

*Above all others, to thy feast,
Love thy friend who loves thee best.*

If not so, yet be sure at leastwise to bid thy familiars and those of thine acquaintance, for to participate with thee in thy sacred libations and thanksgivings to the gods at the table, in discourses there held, in the courtesies passing to and fro; and namely, in drinke one to another: but now a daies it is with men that make feasts, as with those who keepe ferric-barges or barks to transport passengers; for when they take in men aboard, they permit them to cast into the vessel what fardels or baggage they have besides; for when so, we making a feast for some especial persons, give them leave to fill the place with whomsoever they please; whether they be honest men & of worth or no, it makes no matter. And I would marvell much, if a man of quality, and one that knoweth good manners, would come thus bidden (as it were) at the second hand, which is all one as unbidden, being such an one, as many times the master of the feast himselfe knoweth not; and if he be one of his acquaintance and knowledge, and yet unbidden, surely it were more shame now to go unto his house, as it is were, to upbraid him and cast in his teeth, as if he came unto his feast without his good will, and yet would take his part thereof, even by violence and strong hand. Moreover, to go before or tarrie after him, who would seeme to bid one to another mans table, carrieth some shame with it, and would make a modest and honest man dismayed and blanke: neither is it a decent thing to have need of witnesses, and a warrant (as it were) betwene him and the master of the house, to infinuate thus much, that he is come indeed, not as one formally bidden to supper, but as the shadow of such and such a man; besides, so daunce attendance upon another, and observe when he hath bene in the stoupe, is anointed and washed, waiting the houre when he will goe, sooner or later; this in my simple judgement is a very base and unbecomall thing, favouring strongly of the bontoon or parasite *Gastio*, if ever there were such a fustell-feast as *Gastio*, who haunted mens tables where it cost him naught: furthermore, if there be no time or place, where in a mans tongue may be better permitted to say thus:

*Art thou disposed to boast, to cracke and brave
In verses? speake out hardly; good leave have.*

than at a banquet, where commonly there is most libertie allowed and intermingled in all that is done and said, and every thing is well taken, as in mirth; how should a man behave and governe himselfe at such a place, who is not a lawfull and naturall bidden guest indeed; but as a man would say, a bastard and surreptitious except in, and intruded I wot not how into a feast, without all end or of inviting? for say that hee doe speake freely at the board, or say he doe not, he open he shall both for the one and the other, to the calumnies of them there present: neither is it a small inconvenience to be made, a mark for scurrile teames, and a meere laughing stocke; namely, when a man putteth up, and endureth the base name of a shadow, and will be content to answer thereunto? for I assure you, to make small account of unseemely words,

words, is the next waile to leade men unto undecent and dishonest deedes, and to acquaint them therewith by little and little: wherefore when I invite others to a feast or supper unto mine owne house, I allow them otherwhiles to bring their shadows with them (for the custome of a citie is much, and may not well be broken), but surely, when I have my selfe bene called upon, to goe with others to a place where I am not bidden, I have ever yet denied, and could not for any thing be brought unto it, upon which words ensued silence for a time, untill *Florus* began againe in this wise: Certes this second point is more difficult and doubtfull than the other; for when wee are to entertaine strangers that be travellers (as hath bene said before) we must of necessity invite them in this order: the reason is, because it were incivillitie and discourtesie, to part them and their friends in a strange place, whom they were wont to have about them; and againe, it is no easie matter to know, whom a man hath in his company. See then (quoth I) whether they who have given libertie unto them that make a feast, thus to invite guests, that they may take others unto them (as you say) permit not them also whom they would bring, as their shadows, to obey, and so to come unto a feast; for it standeth not with honestie, to graunt and give that, which is not meet for to demand or give; nor in one word to sollicite or exhort one to that, whereunto he would not willingly be solicited, either to doe or give his consent: but as for great States and rulers, or strangers travelling by the way, there is no such inviting or choise to be made; for entertained they must be whomsoever they bring with them: but otherwise, when one friend feasteth another, it were a more friendly and courteous part, for himselfe to bid the familiars or kinsfolke of his said friend, knowing them so well as he doth; for by this meanes greater honour he doth unto his friend, yea, and winneth more thanks at his hands againe, when the partie invited shall know that he loveth them best, that most willingly he desireth to have their companie, as taking pleasure that they be honored and intreated to come as well, for his sake; and yet for all this, it would otherwhiles be wholly referred unto his discretion that is bidden: like as those who sacrifice unto some one god, doe honour likewise and make vows unto those who are partakers of the same temple and altar in common, although they name them not severally by themselves, * * For there is neither wine, deintie viands, nor sweet perfumes, that give such contentment and pleasure at a feast, as doth a man whom one loveth and liketh well of, sitting by his side or neere unto him at the table: moreover, to aske and demand of the man himselfe, whom one would feast, what viands or what banquetting dishes or pasteries he loveth best; as also to seeke and enquire of the diversitie of wines and pleasant odors he delighted in, were a very uncivill and absurd part: but when a man hath many friends, many kinsfolks & familiars, to request such an one to bring with him those especially whose companie he liketh best, & in who he taketh greatest pleasure, is no absurditie at all, nor a thing that can be offensive: for neither to faile in one ship, nor to dwell in the same house, ne yet to plead in the same cause, with those whom we are not affected well unto, is so displeasing & odious, as to sit at a supper with them against who our heart doth rise; and the contrary is as acceptable: for surely the table is a very communion and societie of mirth and earnest, of words and deedes; and therefore if men would be merry there, and make good chere, I see no need, that all manner of persons indifferently should meet, but those only who have some inward friendship, and private familiaritie one with another: as for our meats and sauces that come up to the board, cooks I confesse doe make them of all manner of sapours, different as they be, mixing them together, and tempering, harsh, fowre, milde, sweet, sharpe, subtil, and biting, one with another: but a supper or feast, is nothing acceptable and contenting, unlesse it be composed of guests who are of the same humour and disposition: and for that, as the Peripateticke philosophers doe affirme, that there is one *Primum mobile*, above, or principall moover in nature, which mooveth onely, and is not mooved; and another thing beneath, and in the lowest place, which is mooved onely, and mooveth not; but betwene these two extremities, there is a middle nature, that mooveth one and is mooved by another; even so, (say I) there is the same proportion among three sorts of men; the first of those who invite another; the second of such as are invited onely; and the thirde of them that doe invite others, and are invited themselves: and now because wee have spoken already of the first and principall feast-maker, who inviteth, it were not a misse to say somewhat now of the other two folks: He then who is bidden, and yet hath leave to bidde others; ought in great reason (as I thinke) to be careful and take heed, that he forbear to bring with him a great number or multitude, lest hee should seeme to make spoile of his friends house, as of an enemies territory, and as it were to forage there for all those that belong unto him; or to doe as those who come

come to occupie and inhabit a new countrey, that is to say, by bringing with him so many of his owne friends, discafe, or at leastwise exclude and put by his guests, who invited him, and so by that meanes the masters of the feasts might be served as they are, who set fourth suppers unto *Uleate* or *Proserpina*, and to those avertuncan gods, or *apotropa*i, whom men call upon, not to doe good, but to avert evill, for they themselves nor any of their house like their lips with any jot of all that cheere; onely they have their part of all the smoake and troubles belonging thereto: for otherwise they that alledge unto us this common saying:

At Delphi when one hath done sacrifice,

Must buy his owne viands, if he be wise.

speake it but merily and by way of jest; but certainly it befalleth even so in good truth and earnest unto those who intertaine either strangers or friends so rude and uncivill, who with a number of shadowes, as if there were so many harpies or cormorants and greedy gulls, consumed and devoured all their provision: secondly, a friend that is himselfe solemnly invited, must be careful, that he take not with him, for to goe unto another mans house, those that he first meeteth or that come next hand, but such especially, as he knoweth to be friends, and of familiar acquaintance with the feast-maker, as if he strived a vie to prevent him in bidding of them; if not so, to have those with him, of his owne friends, whom the master of the feast himselfe could have wished and made choise of, to have bidden; as for example, if he be a modest man and a civill, to fort him with modest and civill persons; if studious and learned, to furnish his table with students & good scholars; if he have bene beforetime in authority, to fit him now with personages of power & authority; and in one word, to acquaint him with those, whom he knoweth he would be willing to salute, and entertaine with speech and communication; for this is a wise kinde of courtesie and great civilitie, to give unto such a personage occasion and meanes, to salute, embrace, and make much of them: whereas hee who commeth to a feast with such about him as have no conformitie at all unto the feast-maker, but seeme meere aliens and strangers, as namely, with great drunkards, to a sober mans house; to a man that is a good husband, wary, and thrifty in his expences, with a sort of dissolute ruffians and swaggering companions; or unto a yong gentleman, that loveth to drinke heartily, to laugh, to jest, and to be merie, with grim fires, and severe ancients, such as in their talke are grave, and by their long beards, may be taken for sages and profound clearks; such an one (I say) is a very absurd fellow, thus to requite the hospitall courtesie of his friend, with such impertinent incongruity: for he that is invited, must be as careful to please the first inviter, as the feast-maker, his guest; and then acceptable shall hee be and welcome indeed, if not himselfe onely, but those also who come with him or for the love of him, be of good carriage and lovely behaviour. As for the third person, who remaineth to be spoken of, to wit, who is bidden and brought in by another; if he take pepper in the nose, and cannot abide to be called a shadow; certainly hee is afraid of his owne shadow: but in this case, there would be very great circumspection had; for it is no point of honestie and good manners, to be soone intreated, and ready to follow every one indifferently at his call; considered it would be, and that not slightly, what he is who moveth thee to go with him to such a feast; for if he be not a very familiar friend, but one of these rich magnificoes and portly personages, who would (as it were) upon a scaffold make a shew unto the world of a number of favourites and followers to guard and attend him at his heels; or such an one as would seeme to doe much for thee, or to grace and honour thee greatly by taking thee in this order with him, thou oughtest flatly to denie him, and refuse such courtesie: well, say that he be a friend and familiar person, yet must not thou by and by for all that, bee ready and obey, but then onely, when there is some necessarie occasion for to commune or speake with the master of the feast or with the other partie, and that otherwise thou canst meet with no good opportunitie for to doe it; or if he be newly returned from some long voiage, when he hath bene a great time away, or els about to depart, and so seeme (for very good will) desirous of thy companie at supper; or if it appeare that he meaneth not to take with him many, nor those strangers and unknown, but either thy selfe alone, or some few others of his familiars; or after all these considerations, if thou maiest perceive, that by this occasion and opportunitie of thy companie, he doth practise to contract some beginning off farther acquaintance, friendship and amity, and namely, if he be reputed an honest man, and woorthy to be loved and regarded, who this is desirous of thy companie, and earnest with thee to go with him; for wicked and leaud persons, the more they seeme to claipe and take hold, and hang upon us, the more we ought to shake them off as burres, or els to leape over them as briets and brambles: nay, admit that they be honest enough, who would have our companie, and

and bring us to a man that is not honest, we ought not to go with them, lest we chance to take poison with honic, that is to say, get the acquaintance of a naughtie man, by the meanes of an honest minded friend: moreover, absurd it is, to goe unto a mans house whom we know not at all, or with whom we never had any maner of dealing and acquaintance, unless he be a personage of great make for singular vertue, as we have before said, or that this occasion may serve as a foundation or ground-woke of some farther love and amitie; for then it were not amisse to be easily intreated, and to go willingly without any ceremoniall complement unto him, under the wing and shadow of another. As for those who be already our familiars, unto such above all others we may be bolde to goe at the motion of another; for by that meanes we give reciprocal libertie and leave unto them for to repaire likewise unto us at the request of others. There was one *Philip* indeed, a buffon and scurrile jester, who was wont to say: That to go unto a feast, formally invited, was simply more ridiculous, than to come as a shadow by the bidding of another: but in truth, more honourable and pleasant it is for honest men and good friends, to resort unto their friends, who be likewise honest and vertuous, in seasonable time (without being invited or expected) with other friends; for thereby they both rejoice the heart of those that entertaine them, and doe honour unto such as bring them; but above all, most undecent it is, to goe unto princes, rulers, rich men and great States, when we are not invited by themselves, but brought by others; for in any case avoid we must, the imputation and note not undeserved, of impudencie, incivilitie, want of good manners, or ambitious insolence.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Whether it be a lawfull and decent thing, to admit minstrell-wenches to a feast, for to play and sing?

In our citie *Charonea*, there was held a great discourse one day at the table, where *Diogenianus* the Pergamian was present, as touching the care-sports which were to be admitted at a banquet; and much adoe we had to defend our selves, and to confute a long bearded philosopher that was there, one of the Stoicks sect forsooth, who alleged against us, *Plato*, blaming and condemning those who brought into their feasts, minstrell-wenches, to pipe and sing, and to be heard, as if they were not able themselves to entertaine good speeches one with another; and yet present there was, a scholar, out of the same schoole, *Philip* a Prusian, who said: That such personages were not to be named in this question, who are brought in as speakers at *Agathon*s boord, for that their speeches sounded more sweetly and melodiously, than all the flutes and citrons in the world: no marvell it was therefore, that these minstrels had no audience at such a feast, but rather, that the guests sitting there at the table, forgot not altogether to eat and drinke, for the great pleasure and contentment which they tooke in hearing such discourses. And yet *Xenophon* was not ashamed to endure in the presence of *Socrates*, *Anisiphones*, and other such personages, a pleasant conceited jester named *Philippus*; no more than *Homer* to teach men: That an onion was a good sauce to draw on wine: And *Plato* having inserted in manner of an interlude or comedie within his Banquet, the speech of *Aristophanes* as touching love: at the last setting as it were the backe doores of the hall wide open, brings in a pageant, fuller of varietie and vanitie than all the rest, to wit, *Alcibiades* little better than drunke, crowned with chaplets and garlands of flowers, and marching in a maske or mummerie: then follow the altercations and debates with *Socrates* as touching *Agathon*, and that encomiasticall praise of *Socrates* (o blessed saint *Chorites*!) that even *Apollo* himselfe (were it lawfull so to say) if he had entred in place with his harpe ready strung and tuned for to play, the company would have requested him to stay his hand, untill the foresaid speech had bene finished and brought to an end: And did these personages indeed (quoth hee) notwithstanding they had so great grace in their discourses, use nevertheless these pleasant sports and pastimes betwene, garnishing their feasts therewith, and all to make the companie to laugh and be merry? And shall wee being intermingled with persons managing affaires of State, with merchants, occupiers, and with many (it may so fall out) altogether unlettered, and somewhat rustically, banish out of our feasts and banquets this amiable delight and pastime; or else rise from the table and be gone, as if we would flee from such Sirenes as soone as ever wee seee them comming? It was thought a strange and woonderfull matter in *Chionmachus* the campion and professour of performing games of prize; that so soone as ever there was any talke begun of love matters, hee would leave the companie and depart: and when a grave philosopher avoideth the sound of the lute, and goeth out

* For they sit
upon pallets
and beds at
meat, and do
off their shoes
for the time.

of the feast, and as if he were afraid of a minstrell wench, preparing her selfe to sound and sing, *putteth on his shoes, and calleth incontinently to his page for to light his torch; shall he not in so doing be thought woorthie to bee hissed at, and laughed of every one, for taking offence, and abhorring these harmelesse pleasures; like as these bettills which flie from perfumes and sweet odors? For if there be any time or place allowed for these disports, it is at feasts and banquets principally: Then (I say) and there are wee to give our minds to such delights; all while we sacrifice unto *Bacchus*: For mine own part *Euripides* howsoever otherwise he pleaseth me verie well, doth not satisfie me heerein, when he ordaineth as touching musike, that transferred it should be from feasts and banquets, unto sorrowes and pensive sadnesse: for in these cases, there would be some good, sober and wise remonstrance at hand (like as a physitian with to sicke folke) to helpe al; but otherwise we are to mingle these delights of musick with the gifts of *Bacchus*, in manner of a sport and recreation: Certes a pretie speech it was of a Lacedaemonian, who being at *Athens* one time, when new tragedies were to be acted, and the authors of them to contend for the best game; seeing the sumptuous furniture and provision of those who were the masters of the revells, and such pastimes, together with the painfull labour in teaching and prompting of parts, and what adoe there was in ordering of the dances and shewes thereto belonging: whiles one strived to goe beyond another: Oh, what a foolish citie is this (quoth he) to employ so much travell and serious studie in idle plaies and disports! For to say a truth, when we are at our plaies, we must doe nothing else but play, and not to buy so deare (with such cost and dispendes, yea, and with the losse of time, which were better bestowed about other good affaires) an idle sport: marie at the table, when our spirit is sequestred from other businesse, we may taste a little of such delights, and in the meane while, consider withall, what profit such solace may afford.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What Acroynes or Ear-sports, are especially to be used at supper time?

When these words had passed, the sophister above-said, would gladly have replied againe: but I for to interrupt and stay his speech, began first and said: Nay rather *Diogenianus*, I thinke it better to consider upon this point; that seeing there bee many eare-delights to content our hearing, which of them is most meet and fit? and if you thinke so good, let us reserve the matter to this wise man heere in place, and request him to give his judgement: for being as he is, inflexible, and a man subject to no passions, we shall never need to feare that he will so much trip, as to preferre a thing that is more pleasant, before that which is better. Then he at the request and exhortation of *Diogenianus* and us, without any delay: As for other pastimes (quoth he) at theaters, exhibited upon the stage and scaffold of plaiers and dauncers, I reject and banish them all; onely I admit one kinde of sport to delight the eare, which not long since came to be taken up at *Rome*, in feasts and banquets, and it is not yet divulged abroad in every place: For you know well (quoth he) that among the dialogues of *Plato*, some there be 40 which containe a continued narration, of a thing done or said, others againe consist of certain devised personages, talking and discoursing together: of these personall dialogues, those that be easiest, children use to learne, and on them without booke, together with expressing the gestures agreeable to the qualitie, manners, and nature of the persons, who are feigned and brought in; a confirmation also and framing of the voice, yea, and a countenance and disposition every way answerable to the words that they pronounce: this manner of pastime hath bene wonderfull well accepted among grave persons, and men of honour; but such as bee effeminate or have daintie & delicate eares, by reason that they are rude, illiterate, and ignorant what is good and honest; and who, as *Aristoxenus* was wont to say, will be ready to cast up their gorge, and vomit yellow choler, when they heare any good harmony, mislike them and would not abide the hearing: and I would not marvel verily, if they reject and condemne them utterly, being so possessed with womanish deintinesse. *Philip* then perceiving some there in place, not to take these words well: Stay there (quoth he) my good friend, and forbear in this wise to raile upon us, for we were the first, who were offended with this manner and fashion, when it began at *Rome*, yea, & we reprooved those who would have *Plato* serve the time, for to make folke merry at the board, and laboured all they could, that *Platoes* dialogues forsooth should bee rehearsed and heard, amid tarts, march-paines, confections, and sweet perfumes: considering

considering, that if some verses of *Sappho*, or *Anacreon* odes should be rehearsed: Me thinks I ought for very shame and reverence, set the cup downe out of my hand, if I were about to drinke: many more things to this effect I have in my head, which I am afraid to utter for feare I might be thought of purpose to make head, and to dispute against you: and therefore to this friend heere of ours, together with the cup as you see, I give the charge, for to wash a saltish eare (as they say) with potable liquor of pleasant speech: then *Diogenianus* receiving the cuppe at his hand: But (quoth hee) I heare no other yet but all good sober speeches; so that it seemeth that the wine doth not worke in our heads, nor overcome our braines; and I feare mee, that I my selfe shall bee capitulated and arttled against; howbeit, if I must speake 10 my minde, I am of opinion, that many of these matters which are presented unto our eares, for to tickle and please them, ought to bee cut off; and namely, tragedies above all others, as being a thing (iwis) not very well befitting a feast, for that it speaketh in too grave and bale a voice, representing besides, such arguments and acts, as move the hearers to pite and compassion. I reject also, out of our daunces, that which is called *Pyladion*, as being over-stately, and too full of pompe, exceeding pathetically besides, and requiring many persons and actors: but if we may admit any of those country kinds, which *Socrates* recounteth, when he speaks of daunces, I receive that which is called *Babylon*, which of it selfe beareth a lower port, and soundeth much like to the rusticke daunce, called *Cor-dax*, or resembling *Echo Pan*, or some Satyre dancing anxiously and wantonly with *Cupid*: as for the comedie, that which was 20 called *Pala*, that is to say, the ancient kinde first used, it fortheth not well with the table, nor would be acted before men when they be drinking and merrie, in regard of the inequality thereof: for that eare the selfe and libertie of speech, used in those glancing digressions, called *maes Cavi*, is too free and over vehement; also, the facilitie and readinesse to scoffe, flout and jibe, is too rife and common, over-broad and plaine besides, full of undecent and dishonesty verbs, and as full of filthie and lascivious nowies. Moreover, like as at the feasts of great princes and potentates, there standeth alwaies waiting by every one of them that sit at the board, a cuppe-bearer, to give him drinke when he calleth for it; even so there had need to be some Grammarian or other at hand continually, for to expound ever and anon, the meaning of divers tearmes used in these comedies, to wit, what significeth in *Eupolia* the poet, this word *Lafnodias*; also, what the poet *Plato* 30 meanes by *Cinesia*, in his comedies; and what is meant by *Lampon*, in *Cratinus*; likewise one or other for the purpose, to give the hearers to understand, who they be whom the actors let flie their scurrile scoffes at: so that by this meanes, our feast must be like a Grammar schoole, or els all the frumps and mocks that be flung and discharged, will light in vaine, and lose their grace, for want of being understood. But to come unto the new comedie, what should a man say any thing of it but this, that it is so incorporate in feasts and banquets, that a man may better make a supper without wine, than without *Alexander*? for why? the phrase or manner of speech in these comedies is sweet, pleasant, and familiar, the matter such, as neither can be despised of the sober, nor offensive to the drunken; besides, the virtuous and senterious sayings therein, delivered in simple and plaine tearmes, runne so smooth, that they are able to soften and make pliable evrie 40 way, the stiffest and hardest natures that be, by the means of wine, like as barres of yron in the fire, and to reduce them to humanitie. To be short, the temperature thorough of mirth and gravitie together, is such, as it seemeth that this comedie was devised first for nothing els, but both to pleasure and profit those who had taken their wine liberally, and were now well disposed to mirth: moreover, even the amatorious objects therein presented, are not without a singular use and benefit, for those who being already set in an heat with wine, are within a while after to goe to bed and sleepe with their wedded wives: neither shall you finde among all his comedies, as many as he hath written, any filthy love of a young faire boy; and as for the downfellowing of young maidens and virgins, about which there is such adoe in his comedies, they ordinarily doe end in marriages and all parties be pleased. As touching the love of harlots and professed court- 50 teases, if they be proud, disdainfull and presumptuous queanes, certainly our wanton affection that way, is well cooled and danted, by certaine chastisements or repentances of young men, who are represented in these comedies, to come againe unto themselves, and acknowledge their follies; but as for those kinde harlots, which are of good natures, and for their parts doe answer againe in true love, either you shall have in the end their owne fathers found, who may provide them husbands, or els there is some measure of time set out for to gage their love, which at the last, after a certaine revolution and counte run, turneth unto civill and bashfull behavior. I know well, that all these matters and observations, unto those who are otherwise occupied and busied

in affaires, be of no importance; but at a table, where men are set of very purpose to be merrie and to solace themselves, I would wonder, if their dexterity, delight, and good grace, doth not bring with it some amendment and ornament into the minds and conditions of those who take heed unto them, yea, and imprint a certaine zeale and emulation, to frame and conforme themselves unto those that be honest and of the better sort.

At these words, *Dioegenianus* paused a while, were it for that he had made an end of his speech, or to take his winde, and breathe himselfe a little: and when the fopphister beganne to replie and came upon him againe, saying, that in his opinion there should have bene some places and verses recited out of *Aristophanes*. *Philip* speaking unto me by name: 'This man (quoth he) hath his desire satisfied, now that he hath so well recommended his friend *Alexander*, in whom he taketh so great delight, and in comparison of whom, he seemeth to have no care nor regard at all of any other: but there remaine yet, many other matters, which wee are wont to heare for our pleasure, which hitherto have not bene examined; and yet very willing I am, to heare some discourse of the: as for the pretty works of imagers, who cut out & grave small living creatures, if it please this stranger here & *Dioegenianus*, we will put over the controversie & the decision thereof untill to morrow morning, when we are more sober. Then began I to speake, and said: 'There be yet, other kinde of sports and plaies, named *Mimi*, of which, some they call *Thyopathes*, as it were moralities and representations of histories; others, *Pagmas*, that is to wit, ridiculous fooleries; but neither of them both, doe I take meet for a banquet; the former, both because they require so long time in the acting, and also, for that they require so costly furniture and preparation; the other, are too full of ribaudry, of filthy and beastly speeches, not wel becoming the mouths of pages and lackies, that carry their masters slippers and pantofles after them, especially if their masters be honest and wise men: and yet many there are, who at their feasts, where their wives sit by their sides, and where their young children be present, cause such foolish acts and speeches to be represented, as trouble the spirits and disorder the passions of the minde more, than any drunkenness whatsoever. But for the play of the harpe, which is of so great antiquitie, and ever since before *Homer's* time, hath bene a familiar friend and companion with feasts, and all waies entertained there, it were not meet nor honest for to dissolve that ancient friendship, and of so long continuance; but we would request those minstrels that play and sing to the harpe, to take out of their songs those dolefull plaints, dumps, and sorrowfull lamentations, which be so ordinarie in them, and to chaunt pleasant ditties and fresh galliards, meet for those who are met to be merrie and jocund. Moreover, as touching the flute and nauboes, they will not be kept out, do what a man will, from the table; for if we do but offer our libations, by pouring out wine in the honour of the gods, we must needs have our pipes, or els all were married, yea, and chaplets of flowers upon our heads; and it seemeth that the gods themselves doe sing thereto and accord: moreover, the sound of the flute doth dulce the spirits, it entrencheth into the eares with so milke and pleasant a tune, that it carrieth with it a tranquillitie and pacification of all motions, even unto the soule, in such sort, that if there did remaine in the understanding and minde, any griefe, any care or anxietie, which the wine had not discomfited and chased away, by the gracious and amiable noise thereof, and the voice of the musician singing thereto, it quieteth it, and bringeth it alleepe: provided alwaies, that this instrument keepe a meane and mediocritie, so that it move not the soule too much, and make it passionate, with so many tunes and notes that it hath, at what time as the said soule is so drenched and wrought soft with wine, that it is ready to be affected therewith: for like as theep and other cattell, understand not any articulate language of a man, carrying a sense and understanding therewith; howbeit, with certaine whistles or chirrs, done by lips or hands, or with the sound of some pipe or shell, the shepheards and other herdsmen can tell how to rouse them, or make them lie downe and couch; even so, the brutish part of our soule, which hath no understanding, nor is capable of reason, may be appeased, ranged and disposed as it ought to be, by songs and sounds, by measures, tunes and notes, as if we were charmed and enchanted by them: but to speake what I thinke, this is my conceit, that neither found so of flute, nor lute and harpe, by it selfe, without mans voice and song to it, can make merrie the companie met together at a feast, so much as a good speech, well and properly fitted; for so we must accustom our selves in good earnest, to take our principall pleasure and delight in speech, and to spend the most part of that time in discourse and communication: as for song and harmony, we are to make (as it were) a fauce to our speech, not to lick them up and swallow them downe: alme by themselves: for like as no man will reject and refuse the pleasure that cometh by wine & viands taken for the necessitie of our nouriture, and bringing therewith commoditie

of our health; but that which entrencheth by sweet scents and perfumes is not necessarie, but superfluous & delicate, *Socrates* sent away (as it were) with a box of the eare; even so we ought not to heare the found of a flute or plauterie, which striketh and beateh upon our eares onely, but if it follow or accompanie our speech, which doth least and exhilarate the reason that is in our soule, we may well admit and receive the fame. And verily, for mine owne part, I thinke, that the reason why in old time *Apollo* punished that presumptuous *Marsyas*, was this, that when he had closed up his mouth with his pipe and muzzle together, he presumed to contend and strive (having nothing but the bare sound of the naked flute) against him, who together with the found of the harpe, had the long allo and musick of the voice: let us therefore in this one thing especially beware and take heed, that in the companie of those men, who by their speech and learned discourses are able to delight and pleasure one another, we bring not in any such thing to enter in at their eares, which may be an impeachment and hinderance rather of their delight, than a delectation it selfe: for not onely they be foolish and ill advised, as *Euripides* saith:

*Who having of their owne at home
enough themselves to have,
Will seeke els where, and from abroad,
their remedie to have.*

but also, that they being provided sufficiently of meanes in themselves, to make their recreations of, and to solace their hearts, labour nevertheles all that ever they can, to have their delights from others. For the magnificence of that great king of *Persia*, wherewith he meant to entertaine *Amalides* the Lacedaemonian, seemed (I assure you) very grosse, absurd and impertinent, namely, when he dipped and wet a chaplet of roses, saffron, and other odoriferous flowers, intermingled together, in a precious oile, and so sent it unto him, doing injurie by that meanes to the flowers, and utterly quenching and marring that native beautie and fragrant sweetnesse of their owne; seembly, no lesse absurditie it were, when a feast hath mirth and musick enough in it selfe, to goe about for to enchant and encharme it with other minstrellie from abroad, and so for a strange and borrowed delight, to becrave the guests of their owne and proper, and as one would say, change the principall for the accessorie. I conclude therefore, that the fittest season for such amusement and occupying of the eares is, when the feast beginneth a little to grow turbulent, and to fall into some contentious debate and braule, by heat of opinionative arguing, for to play and quench all, that it breake not out, to opprobrious tearmes; or to repress a disposition, which is like to passe the bounds of reasoning, and to grow unto an unpleasant and sophistical alteration; yea, and to stay all litigious wrangling and vehement invectives, becoming rather pleas at barre, or the orations in the publicke hall of a city, untill such time as the banquet be reduced into the former caline and tranquillitie.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

That to consult at the table, while men are drinking wine, was an ancient custome among the Greeks as well as Persians.

Nestoratus upon a time invited us to a supper; and when we were set, there arose some speech as touching certaine matters, upon which the Athenians were the morrow after to sit in counsell, and to debate in a generally assemble of the citie: now, as one of our companie cast out this word, and said: 'This is the Persian fashion, my masters, thus to consult and holde a counsell at the boord. And why Persian rather than Grecian (quoth *Glancian*?) for a Grecian I am sure he was, that said:

Ταυτ' εστιν αρχαιον, ουδ' εστιν αλλοιων.

That is to say,

*From bellie full, best counsel doth arise,
And worst plots men in that case devise.*

And Greeks they were, who under the conduct of *Agamemnon* held *Troy* besieged; who as they were eating and drinking together,

*The good old Nestor first began,
Wisely upon the point to scan,*

who also was himselfe the author of this meeting, and advised the king to invite his nobles, and the principall captaines of the armie to a dinner, for to sit in counsell in these tearmes:

Stt 3

Make

Make now a feast, I you advise my lord,
And bid your ancient peeres; who when at board
They be all set; make who gives counsell best,
Obey his reed, and see therein yourself.

And therefore the most nations of Greece which were ruled under the best lawes, and most constantly retained their ancient ordinances and customes, laid the first foundation of their government and counsell of State upon wine: for those guilds and societies in Candy, which they called *Andria*, as also the *Phiditia* in *Sparta*, were instituted and held for privie counsels and assemblies of senators; like unto that, if I be not deceived, which even in this citie here of *Athens* goeth under the name of *Prynation*, and *Thebnothefion*; and not farre different from these, in that night assemblie of the principall personages, and most politicke States-men whereof *Plato* speaketh in his books, unto which he referreth the causes and affaires of most importance, which require greatest consultation: those counsellors of State also in *Homer*:

Who offer wine to Mercurie,
the last of others all,
What time as now, bed-time it is,
and them to sleepe doth call.

doe not they I pray you joine wine and words together? when they are about therefore to depart, and retire themselves into their bed-chambers, the first thing that they do, is to make their prayers, and powre out their libations of wine, unto the wisest God of all others, as if he were present with them, and their superintendent to oversee them: but they who were indeed the most ancient of all others, called even *Bacchus* himselfe * *Eubulus*, as if they had no need at all of *Mercurie*, and in regard also of him, they attributed unto night the name of * *Euphone*.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Whether they did well who sat in consultation at the table?

When *Glucias* had spoken these words, we all thought that these turbulent and litigious debates had bene well appeased and laid asleepe; but to the end that they might so much the rather die and be buried in oblivion; *Nicostratus* provided another question and said: At the first (quoth he) I made no great matter of this custome, nor regarded it much, taking it to be a mere Persian fashion; but now seeing it is discovered to be an order also among the Greeks, requisite and necessarie it is to render some reason thereof, for to defend it against an evident absurditie, which at the first sight presenteth it selfe; for that the discourse of reason in manner of the cie, is hardly to be governed by us, and untoward for to be brought to performe her worke in a great quantitie of moisture, and the same as yet stirring and waving; and besides, all odious griefes, which on every side appere and come forth to wine, like as snakes, lizards, and such like serpents, are brought to light and shew themselves to the minde, cause the minde to be wavering, inconstant, and irresolute: as therefore a bed or pallet is better than a chaire, for them that are disposed to drinke and make merry, for that it containeth the body at full, and exempteth it from all manner of motion; even so the best way is, to keepe the soule quiet and in repose altogether; and if that may not be, to do by it as men doe by children that can rest and stand on no ground, but be evermore stirring; namely to give unto it, not a sword or a javelin, but a rattle or a ball, like as *Bacchus* putteth into the hands of drunken folke the ferula stalk (a most light weapon and instrument either to offend or defend withall) to the end that as they be readied to strike, so they might be least able for to hurt: for the faults that bee committed in drunkenness ought to passe lightly in mirth, and go away with a laughter, and not to be lamentable tragically, and bringing with them great calamities. Moreover, that which is the chiefe and principall thing in consultation of great affaires, to wit, that hee who for want of wit and knowledge in the world, should follow the opinion of those who are of great conceit, deepe judgement, and long experience, this means wine bereaveth us of; inasmuch as it seemeth heereupon to have taken the name *inos* in Greeke; because as *Plato* saith, it causeth them drinke it freely, * *inos*, that is to say, to have a good conceit and weening of themselves, as if they were witty and wise: for how ever they take themselves to be eloquent, faire, or rich, as ordinarily they doe all of them; yet they esteeme better of their owne wit and wisdom,

* *Wine of wit*, that is, a wit and prudent counsellor.
* *Wine of wit*, that is, inventive or confident.

* Wine of weening.


dome, than of any thing else: and this is the reason that wine is talkative and full of words; it filleth us with lavish speech, and the same unseasonable; yea, it maketh us to have a marvellous good opinion of our selves in each respect, as if we were worthy to command and prescribe unto others, more meet to be heard than to heare, and fitter to leade and goe before, than to follow & come after: But (quoth *Glucias* then) an easie matter it is for any man to collect and alledge much tending unto this point, considering how evident and plaine the thing is: it were good therefore to heare a discourse to the contrary, if haply any person, young or old, will stand up in defence of wine. Then our brother, full cunningly and slyly, like a crafty fopphister: Why (quoth he) thinke you that any man is able so presently and upon a sudden to devise and to speake unto the question in hand, all that may be said probably thereto? And why (quoth *Nicostratus*) should not I so thinke, considering so many learned men in place, and those who love wine well enough? at which word the other smiled and said: Are you in deed sufficient, even in your owne conceit, to discourse upon this point before us, and yet indispofed, and altogether unable to consider upon State matters, and affaires of government, because you have taken your wine well? and is not this all one, as to thinke that he who hath drunke freely, seeth well enough with his eyes, and howsoever he heareth not perfectly with his eares those whom hee speaketh and talketh with, yet for all that he hath the perfect hearing of those who either sing or play upon the flute? for as it is likely, and standeth to great reason, that good and profitable things should affect and draw the outward senses more unto them, than those which are gaudie onely and fine; even so no doubt, such matters make the minde also more intentive: and if a man for that he hath plied his drinking overmuch, cannot haply comprehend well the difficult subtilties of some high points in philosophie, I nothing marvell therat; but if the question be of matters and affaires of State, great likelihood there is, that if he be called away thereto, he should gather his wits more close together, and be more vigorous; like as *Philip* king of *Macedonia*, who having plaid the foole, and made himselfe ridiculous at *Cheromea*, after the battell there, both in word and deed, upon his libell drinking, presently asloofe as hee fell to treatie of peace and articles of agreement, hee composed his countenance to gravitie, knit his browes, and cast behinde him all vaine fooleries, wanton gestures and unseemly behaviour, and so gave unto the Athenians a sober, discrete, and well advised answer. And verily one thing it is to drinke well, and another thing to be starked drunke: such as be so farre gone and overseene with drinke, that they know not what they do or say, ought as we thinke, to take their beds and sleepe; as for those who have taken their wine in deed too much, and be scarce sober (howbeit, otherwise men of wit and understanding) we shall never need to feare that they will faile in judgement, yea, and forget their experience, considering that we daily see these dancers, singers and minstrels performe their parts no worfe at feasts, for all their libell drinking, than in the publicke theaters: for the skill and knowledge, whereof they have gotten the habit, is evermore so present and readie with them, that it maketh their bodies active and nimble, able to performe those parts and functions directly, yea, and to answer the motions of the minde accordingly with confidence. Many there be also, in whose heads and hearts wine so worketh, that it putteth into them an assured boldnesse and resolution, which helpeth them much to the performance of any great actions, and the same is nothing insolent and outrageous, but milde and gracious: And thus we reade of *Aeschylus* the poet, that he ended and wrote his tragedies when he was thorowly set in an heat with wine; in such sort, as that they all were conceived by the influence of *Bacchus*, and not as *Gorgias* saith, that one of them, and namely, the greatest (intituled, The seven princes before *Thebes*) was begotten (as it were) by *Mars*. For wine being of power to enchaife the bodie and minde both, according as *Plato* saith, causeth the bodie to be peiparable, quicke and alive, opening all the pores and passages thereof, giving way unto the fantasies and imaginations easily to runne forth, drawing out together with them, the assurance of reason and boldnesse of speech: for you shall have men, whose invention naturally is good enough, in whom (when they be sober and fasting) the same is colde, timorous, and in manner frozen; let them once be well plied with wine, cup after cup, you shall see them evaporate and smooke out, like as frankincense doth by the heat of fire. Furthermore, the nature of wine, chafeth away all feare, which is as contrarie unto those who fit in consultation, as any thing in the world; it quencheeth also, many other bale and vile passions, such as malice and rancour; it openeth the double plates and folds of the minde, displaying and discovering the whole disposition and nature of a man, by his very words; yea, it hath a vertue to give franke and libell speech; and consequently, audacitie to utter the truth; without which, neither

ther experience nor quickenesse of wit availeth ought : for many there be, who putting in practise, and making use of that which commeth quickly into their heads, speed better, and have greater successe, than those who warily, cautelously, and with much subtiltie, seeme to conceale and keepe in that which presenteth it selfe unto them, and be very lateward in delivering their opinion : we are not therefore to feare wine in this regard, that it stirreth up the passions of the minde; for it inciteth not the worst, unlesse it be in the wickeddest men, whose counsell is at no time sober: but as *Theophrastus* was wont to call barbars shoppes, drie bankets without wine; even so, there is a kind of winelesse drunkennesse, and the same, fowre and unpleasant, dwelling continually within the mindes of men that be vicious and without good bringing up; troubled and vexed alwaies with some anger, with grudge, malice, envie, emulation, contention, or illiberal basenesse; of which vices, wine abating the edge of a great part, rather than sharpening them, maketh men not fottill fooles, and blockish dolts, but ready and apt, and yet circumspect, cautelous, and wary; not supine and negligent in matters concerning their profit; but yet indolent, and making choise of that which is good and honest: but such as teame wily-craftinesse, by the name of fine wit, and take erroneous opinion and mechanical nigardise, for wisdom, may even as well and with as good reason say, that as many as when they be drinke at the table, speake their mindes roundly, and utter with libertie what they thinke, be senselesse fooles: but contrariwise, our ancients called *Bacchus*, *Endeavor* and *Deliverer*, which is as much to say, as Deliverer and Freer; being of opinion, that there was to be ascribed unto him, a great part of divination, not for that he was furious, raging & mad, as *Enripides* said, but because he delivereth the minde, and freeth it from all servile feare, diffidence and cowardise, giving us freedom and libertie to speake the truth, and use franknesse of speech one to another.



THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR TABLEDISCOURSES.

The Summarie.

- 1  *Of those daies, upon which were borne certeine notable and famous persons, and withall, as touching that progenie, which is said to descend from the gods.*
- 2 *In what sense Plato said, that God alwaies exerciseth Geometrie.*
- 3 *What is the reason that fowls be more audible in the night, than in the day.*
- 4 *What is the cause, that of the sacred games, some have this owl, and others that, but all, the date-tree branch; as also, why the great dates be called Nicolai.*
- 5 *Wherefore they that saile upon the river Nilus, draw up water for their use, before it be day.*
- 6 *Of those that come late to supper; and therewith, whereupon came these names of refectiōs, or dinner, dinner, and dinner.*
- 7 *Of certeine Pythagorean precepts, by which forbidden we are to enterteine swallows within our houses; and when we are newly risen out of our beds, to ruffle the clothes.*
- 8 *What might be the motive that induced the Pythagoreans among all other living creatures, to abstaine most from fish.*
- 9 *Whether it be possible, that by our meats there should be engendred new diseases.*
- 10 *What is the cause that we take least heed of our dreames in Autumne.*

THE

THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or table-discourses.

The Proëme.



Hey that chase philosophie out of feasts and banquets (*ô Sossus Senecio*) do not the same, but worse farre, than those who take away the light from thence; for that when the lampe is gone, such persons as be made temperate and well disposed, will be nothing the woofe therefore, making, as they doe, more account of a reverent regard, than of the mutual sight one of another: whereas, if rudenesse, ignorance and leaneheesse be joined with wine, the very golden lampe of *Minerva*, if it were there, could not possibly make the feast or banquet lovely, gracious, modest, and well ordered: for that men should feed and fill themselves together in silence, without a word saying were the fashion that favoured very much of still swine at their drafte, and perhaps a thing impossible: but whosever reserveth speech in a feast, and withall, admitteth not the wife and profitable use thereof, is more worthy to be laughed at, than he who thinketh verily, that guests should be ever eating and drinking at a supper, but not filletth unto them, wine undeaied, unseasoned, and which is meer of it selfe; or seteth before them, viands unseasoned, without salt or sauce, and the same not cleanly dressed; for that there is no meat or drinke so unflavorie, unpleasant and hurtfull, for want of good and orderly handling, as words carried unseasonably, and without discretion, at a banquet: which is the reason, that philosophers when they reprove drunkennesse, call it a doting by wine; and surely, this dotage is no other thing, but raving or vaine, foolishly and undiscerning use of words: now when disordinate babbling and foolish talke, meeteth once with wine in a banquet, it can not chuse but the issue thereof will be reprochfull contumelie, insolencie, brainicke follie and villanie, which of all others, is a most unpleasant end, and farthest from all mutes and graces: and therefore it is no foolish ceremonie and absurd fashion, which the women in our countrey observe at their feasts called *Agronia*, where they make semblance for a while, as if they fought for *Bacchus*, being fled out of the way, but afterwards give over seeking, and say that he is gone away, and run to the mules, and there lurketh, and lieth hidden among them: and anon, when supper is ended, they use to put forth darke riddles, and propose questions one to another, hard to be solved: the mysterie whereof, teacheth us thus much, that both we, ought at the table, to use such speech as doth containe some good learned speculation and erudition; and also, that when those discourses are joined with wine and drunkennesse, then they be the mules who hide and cover all furious outrage and enormitie, which also is willing to be detested and kept by them.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

As touching those daies which are ennobled by the nativitee of some renowned persons; and withall of that progenie or race which is said to be derived from the gods.

This booke then, which is the eighth in order of our symposiaques or discourses at the table, shall containe in the first place, that which not long since we chanced to heare and speake, that day whereon we celebrate the feast of *Platoes* nativitee: for having solemnized the birth day of *Socrates* upon the sixth of February; the morrow after, which was the seventh of that month, we did the like by *Plato*, which gave us occasion, and ministred matter first to enter into a discourse fitting the occurrence of these two nativities; in which *Diogenianus* the Pergamian, began first in this manner: *For* the poet (quoth he) said not amiss of fortune, that being as she was, different from wisdom in many things, yet she brought forth effects not a few like unto her; and as for this, it seemeth that she bath caused it to fall out very well and fitly, and not without some skill, (nath though she be otherwise) not only for that these two birth-daies jumpe so nere one unto the other, but also because, that of the master who was of the twaine more ancient, commeth also in order before the other. Whereupon it came into my head also to alledge many

many examples of occurrents happening likewise at one and the same time; and namely, as touching the birth and death of *Euripides*, who was borne that very day whereon the Greeks fought the navall battell of *Salamis* at sea with the king of *Perfia*, and whole fortune it was to die the same day that *Darius* the elder tyrant of *Susie* was borne; as if fortune of purpose (as *Timaeus* saith) had taken out of the world a poet, who represented tragicall calamities, the very same day that he brought into the world the actour thereof. Mention also was made of the death of king *Alexander* the Great, which fell out just upon the same day that *Diogenes* the Cynicke philosopher departed this life: and by one generall voice accorded it was, that king *Attalus* left his life, the very day that hee celebrated the memoriall of his nativite: and some there were who said, that *Pompey* the Great died in *Aegypt*, the same day of the yere that he was born; though others affirmed that it was one day sooner: semblably, there came into our remembrance at the same time *Pindarus*, who being borne during the solemnitie of the Pythicke games, composed afterwards many hymnes in the honour of that god, for whom those games were solemnized. Then *Florus* said, that *Carnades* was not unworthy to be remembered upon the day of *Plato*'s nativity, considering he was one of the most famous pillars that supported the schoole of Academics; and both of them were borne at the festival times of *Apollo*; the one in *Athens*, what time as the feast *Thargelia* was holden; and the other, that very day when as this Cyrenians solemnized it, which they call *Carnes*; and both of them fell out just upon the seventh day of Februarie; on which day you my masters, who are the prophets and priests of *Apollo*, doe say that himselfe was borne, and therefore you call him *Hebdomagenes*: neither doe I thinke, that they who attribute unto this God, the fatherhood of *Plato*, doe him any dishonour, in that he hath begotten and provided for us a physician, who by the meanes of the doctrine of *Socrates*, even another *Chiron*, curd and healeth the greater infirmities and more grievous maladies of the soule. Moreover, it was not forgotten, how it was held for certaine, that *Apollo* appeared in a vision by night, unto *Ariston* the father of *Plato*, and a voice besides was heard, forbidding him expressly not to lie with his wife, nor to touch her for the space of ten moneths. Hereupon *Tyndares* the Lacedaemonian seconded these words, and said, that by good right we were to sing and say thus of *Plato*:

*He seemed not the sonne of mortall wight;
Some god for sire, he may avouch by right.*

Howbeit, for my part, I am afraid, that to begett repugneth no lesse with the immortalitie of the deitie, than to be begotten; for surely, even the act of generation, implieth also a mutation and passion: and king *Alexander* the Great signified no lesse one time, when he said, that he knew himselfe principally to be mortall and subject to corruption, by having companie with a woman, & by his sleep: for that sleepe is occasioned by a relaxation proceeding from feebleness: and as for all generation, performed it is by the passage of some portion of ones selfe into another; and so much therefore is lost & gone from the principall: and yet on the other side, I take heart againe, and am confirmed, when I heare *Plato* himselfe to call the eternall God, who never was borne nor begotten, Father and Creatour of the world, and of other things generable; not that God doth engender after the manner of men, by the meanes of naturall seed; but by another power doth ingenerate and infuse into matter, a vertue generative, and a principle, which altereth, moveth, and transmuted the same:

*For even by winds that female birds inspire,
Conceive'd they be, when they to breed desire.*

Neither doe I thinke it any absurditie, that a god companying with a woman, not as man, but after another sort of touching & contractation, and by other meanes, altereth and replenisheth her, being a mortall creature, with divine and heavenly seed: And this is (quoth he) no invention of mine; for the Aegyptians hold that their *Apis* is in that manner engendered by the light of the moone, striking upon his dam, whereby he is conceived; and generally they admit thus much, that a god of the male sex, may deale with a mortall woman: but contrariwise, they thinke not that a mortall man is able to give unto any goodesse the beginning of conception or birth; for they are of opinion, that the substance of these goddesse, consisteth in a certaine aire, and spirits, yea and in certaine heats and humors.

T H E

• THE SECOND QUESTION.

How Plato is to be understood, when he saith: That God continually is exercised in Geometry.

After these words, there ensued some silence for a while; and then *Diogenianus* beginning againe to speake: How thinke you masters (quoth he) are you contented & well pleased, considering that we have had some speech already of the gods, and that on the day wherein we solemnize the nativite of *Plato*, that we make him partaker also of our conference, and take occasion thereby, to consider upon what intention and in what sense he hath said, that God continually practiseth Geometry, at leastwise if we may presuppose and set down; that he it was who was the author of this sentence: Then said I: Written it is not in any place of all his books; howbeit, held to be a saying of his, and it favoureth much of his stile and manner of phrase. Whereupon *Tyndares* immediately taking the words out of his mouth: Thinke you (quoth he) *Diogenianus*, that this sentence covertly and in mysticall termes, significeth any darke subtiltie, and not the very same, which *Plato* himselfe hath both said and written in praising and magnifying Geometry, as being the thing which plucketh those away who are fastened unto sensible objects, and averteeth them to the consideration of such natures, as be intelligible and eternall; the contemplation whereof is the very end of philosophic, even as the view and beholding of secret sacred things, is the end of religious mysteries: for the naile of pleasure and paine, which fasteneth the soule unto the bodie, among other mischiefs that it doth unto man, worketh him this displeasure as it should seeme above all, that it causeth sensible things to be more evident unto him, than intellectuall, and forceth his understanding to judge by passion more than by reason: for being accustomed by the sense and feeling of extreame paine, or exceeding pleasure of the body, to be intensive unto that wandring, uncertein, and mutable nature of the bodie, as seeming a thing subsistent, blinded hee is, and loseth altogether the knowledge of that which is essentiall indeed, and hath a true being, forgoing that light and instrument of the soule, which is better than ten thousand bodily eyes, and by which organ alone, he might see the deitie and divine nature: for so it is, that all other sciences which we name mathematicall, as in so many mirrors, not twining and warping, but plaine, smooth, and even, there appeere the very tracts, prints, and images of the truth of things intelligible: but Geometry especially which *Philo* calleth the mother citie, and mistress commanding all the rest, doth divers and gently withdraw by little and little, the minde purified & cleansed from the cogitation of sensuall things: and this is the reason that *Plato* himselfe reprooved *Endoemus*, *Architas*, and *Menachmus*, who went about to reduce the duplication of the cube or solide square into mechanicall instruments, and artificiall engines, as if it had not bene possible, (if a man would set unto it) by demonstration of reason to finde out and comprehend, two middle lines proportionall; for he objected unto them: That this was as much as to destroy and overthrow the best thing in Geometry, when by this meanes they would have her turne backe againe unto sensible things, and keepe her from mounting up aloft, and embracing those eternall and incorporall images upon which God being continually intensive, is therefore alwaies God.

After *Tyndares*, *Florus* a familiar friend of his, and one who made semblant alwaies by way of sport and gave it out in word, that he was timorous of him: Well done of you (quoth hee) in that you would not have this speech to be your owne, but a common saying of every man, and you would seeme to argue and prove, that *Plato* sheweth how Geometry is not necessary for the gods, but for men: for God hath no need of any mathematicall science, as an engine or instrument to turne him from things ingendered, and to bring about and direct his intelligencie and understanding unto those that be of an eternall essence: For why? In him, with him, and about him they be albut take heed rather, & see whether *Plato* hath not covertly under these dark words slipped and signified somewhat that is pertinent and proper unto you, which you have not marked and observed, in that hee joineth *Lycurgum* with *Socrates*, no lesse than *Pythagoras*, as *Diocarchus* was of opinion: for *Lycurgus* as you know very well, chased out of *Lacedaemon*, arithmetically proportion as a popular thing, turbulent and apt to make commotions; but hee brought in the Geometrical, as besetting the civill and modest government of some few wise sages, and a lawfull roialtie and regall dominion: for the former giveth equally unto all according to number; but the other unto every one, by reason and with regard of desert and worthinesse; this proportion (I say) maketh no confusion of all together, but in it there is an appa-

rent

rent discretion and distinction between the good and the bad, dealing alwaies unto every one their owne, not by the balance or lot, but according to the difference of vice and vertue: God therefore useth this proportion, and applyeth it unto things: and the same it is (my good friend *Tyndares*) which is called *Dice* and *Nemesis*; teaching us there by, that we ought to make of justice, equalitie, and not of equality; justice, for the equalitie which the common folk seeketh after, and is indeed the greatest injustice that may be, God taketh out of the world, and as much as possibly may be, observeth that which is fit and meet for every one according to desert and worthinesse, going heerein Geometrically to worke, by reason and law defining and distributing accordingly.

When we had praised this exposition and interpretation of his, *Tyndares* said: That he envied such commendation, exhorting *Autobulus* to set against *Florus*, to confute him, and correct that which he had delivered. That he refused to do; howbeit, he opposed and brought forth a certaine opinion and conceit of his owne: Thus it is (quoth he) Geometrie is not a speculative skill of mens manners and behaviour, nor yet occupied about any subject matter whatsoever, but the symptoms, accidents, and passions of those extremities or termes which accomplish bodies: neither hath God by any other means framed and made the world, but only by determining or making finite that matter which was infinite in it selfe, not in regard of quantity, greatnesse, and multitude; but for that being as it was, inconstant, wandering, disorderly, and imperfect, our ancients were wont to call it infinite, that is to say, undetermined and unfinished: for the forme and figure is the terme or end of every thing that is formed and shapen; the want whereof made it of it selfe to be shapelesse and disfigured: but after that numbers and proportions come to be imprinted upon the rude and formelesse matter, then being tied and bound (as it were) first with lines, and after lines, with superficies and profundities, it brought forth the first kinds and differences of bodies, as the foundation and ground-work for the generation of aire, earth, water, and fire: for impossible it had beene, and absurd, that of matter to wandering, so errant, and disorderly, there should arise equalities of sides, and similitudes of angles, in those solide square bodies, which were called *Octaedra* and *Eicosaedra*, that is to saie, with eight and twentie bales: likewise in pyramidals and cubes, unless there had been some worke-man to limit, ordeine, and dispose every thing Geometrically; thus a limit or terme being given unto that which was infinite; all things in this universall world, composed, ordered, and contented accordingly in excellent manner, were first and made, and are made now every day; notwithstanding the said matter striveth and laboureth daily to returne unto her infinite estate, as very loth and refusing to be thus geometrized, that is to say, reduced to some finite and determinate limits; whereas reason on the contrarise, restraineth and comprehendeth her; distributing her into divers Ideaes, from which all things which are ingendered, take their generation and constitution.

He had no sooner thus said, but he requested me to contribute somewhat also of mine owne unto this discourse and question in hand: but I for my part, commended highly their opinions, thus delivered, as being naturally and directly devised by themselves and their owne proper inventions, saying withall: That they caried with them sufficient probability: But for that (quoth I) you should not be displeased and offended with your selves, nor altogether have your eie abroad and looke unto others, listen and heare what meaning and interpretation of the said sentence, was most approved unto our masters and teachers: for there is among the propositions, or positions rather, and theoremes geometricall, one above the rest, to wit; When two formes or figures are given and put downe, to set a third thereto, equall to the one, and sensible to the other; for the invention whereof, it is said, that *Pythagoras* sacrificed unto the gods: for this *Theorem* without all doubt is more gallant, witty, and learned, than that, by which he did demonstrate, and prove that the slope line *Hypotimusa*, avaleith as much as the two laterales, which make a right angle in a triangle: Well said of you (quoth *Diogenianus*) but what serveth this for the matter now in question? You shall understand soone (quoth I) in case you will call to memory that division in *Timaeus*, whereas the philosopher made a tripartite distribution of those principles, whereby the world had the beginning of generation; of which, the one he called by a most just name, God; the second Matter; and the third Forme or Idea: So the matter of all subject things is most indordinate; the Idea of all mouldes and patterns, most beautifull; but God of all causes simply the best: Thus would not he admit, or leave any thing, as farre forth as possibly might otherwise be, infinite and undetermined; but adorne nature with proportion, measure, and number, making of all subjects one thing, in quantitie

quantity equal to the matter, & in quality sensible to the forme; sending therefore before him this proportion, having already twain a third to it he made, doth make and preserve for ever, equal to the matter, & sensible to the forme, to wit, the world; which being alwaies in regard of that inbred necessity of a bodie, subject to generation, alteration, & all kinds of passion, is aided and succoured by the creatour and father thereof, who determineth the substance by reason of just proportion, according to the image of the patron, whereby the surpris and circuit of this universall world is more beautifull, being thus vast and great, than if it had beene lesse and competent.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the reason that the night is more resonant or resounding than the day?

As we sat at supper one evening in *Athens* with *Ammonius*, we heard a great tumult & noise which rang all the house over, of people in the street without, crying aloud; Captaine, captaine: now was *Ammonius* then the third time praetor or captaine of the citie: Hee sent forth immediately some of his men about him, to see what the matter was: who presently appeared the hurly, and dismissed those who had raised this outcrye: upon which occasion wee in the meane while entered into question: Why those who are within house heare them very well that cry without; but they that are abroad heare not so easily those within, crying as loud? *Ammonius* incontinently made answer and said, that this question had already beene solved by *Aristotle* in this wise: For that the voice of those within being once gotten forth and flown into a wide place of much aire, vanisheth away, and is dissipated immediately; whereas the voice of them without, when it is entered in, doth not the like, but is retained and kept close, and so by consequence more easie to be heard: But there is another thing (quoth he) which requireth rather to have a reason rendered thereof; namely: Why in the night season all voices doe resound greater than in the day time, and besides the greatnesse, are more cleere, distinct, articulate, & audible? For mine owne part (quoth he) I am of this minde, that the divine providence hath in great wisdom ordeined, that our hearing should be more fresh and quicke, when as our sight serveth us in little or no stead at all; for seeing that the aire of the night which according to *Empedocles*,

*Wandereth alone, and solitary,
And doth blind eyes about her cary.*

is obscure and darke, looke how much defect it maketh in our sight, so much it supplieth and requieth in our eares: but for that of things also which necessarily are done by nature, the causes ought to be sought out, and the proper & peculiar office of a philosopher and naturalist, is to busie himselfe in seeking after the materiall causes, & instrumentall principles; which of all you will first come forth with some probable reason, as touching this matter? whereupon there being some pause & silence for a time, *Boethius* said thus: When I was my selfe a young man, and a student, I made use otherwhiles of those principles which are in Geometrie called Positions: and certaine propositions I supposed as undoubted truthe, without any need of demonstration: but now will I use some of those which heere tofore have beene proved by *Epicurus*, as for example: Those things which be, are caried in that which is not, nor hath any being: for much vacuities or voidnesse there is stored as it were, and intermingled among those atomes or indivisible little bodies of the aire, which when it is spread abroad in spacious capacite, and by reason of the raritie and thinnesse thereof, runneth too and fro round about: there be a number of small, void, and emptie places, among those little motes or parcels scattered here and there, and taking up the whole region: but contrariwise, when they are pent in, and a restraint and compression made of them, being thrust together into a little space; these small bodies being so hindered perforce one upon another, leave a large void space, to vague and range abroad: and this doth the night by reason of cold; for heat doth loosen, disgregate, scatter and dissolve all thicke things, which is the reason why those bodies which either boile, thaw, or melt, occupie more roome: contrariwise, such which gather, congeale, and be frozen, come together close, and be united, leaving an emptie place in those vessels wherein they were contained, and from which they be retired: The voice therefore coming among, and lighting upon many of these bodies thus scattered and dispersed thicke everie where, either is drowned altogether at once or disgregated and broken as it were in pieces, or else meeteth with many impeach-

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ments to withstand and stay it: but where there is a space void, and wherein there is not a bodie, it having a free and full course, and the same not interrupted, but plaine and continued, cometh so much the sooner unto the eare, and together with that swiftnesse, retaineth still the articulate, expresse, and distinct found of every word in speech: for you see how empty vessels, if a man knocke upon them, answer better to every stroake, and carrie the found and noise a great way off; yea, and many times they yeeld a found that goeth round about, and continueth a good while, redoubling the noise; whereas let a vessell be filled either with solid bodies, or els with some liquor, it is altogether deafe and dumbe, if I may so say, and yeeldeth no found againe; for that it hath no place nor way to passe throw. Now among solid bodies, gold and stone, because they be full and massive, have a very small and feeble found, that will be heard a way, 10 and that little which they doe render, is soone gone: contrariwise, brasse is verie vocall, resonant, and (as one would say) a blab of the tongue; for that it hath much emptinesse in it, and the substance or masse thereof, is light and thinn; not compact of many bodies, huddled together, and thrust one upon another; but hath foison and plentie of that substance mingled together, which is soft, yeelding and not resisting the touch or the stroake, which affordeth easinesse unto other motions, and so entreteining the voice gently and willingly, sendeth it untill it meet something in the way which stoppeth the mouth; for then it staeth and ceaseth to pierce any further, because of the stoppage that it findeth. And this is it (quoth he, in mine opinion) that causeth the night to be more resonant, and the day lesse; for that the heat in day time which dissolveth the aire, causeth the intervalles betweene the atomes or moles above said, to be the smaller: 20 this onely I would request, that no man here doe oppose himselfe to contradiet the premises and first suppositions of mine. Now when as *Ammonius* willed me to say somewhat, and replie against him: As touching your former supposalls, friend *Boethius* (quoth I) about the great emptinesse, let them stand, since you will have it so; but whereas you have set downe, that the said emptinesse maketh much for the motion and easie passage of the voice, I like not well of that supposition; for surely, this qualitie not to be touched, smitten, or made to suffer, is rather proper unto silence and still taciturnitie; whereas the voice is the striking and beating upon a sounding bodie; and a sounding bodie is that which accordeth and correspondeth to it selfe, moveable, light, uniforme, simple and pliable, like as is our aire; for water, earth and fire, be of themselves dumbe & speechlesse; but they sound & speake all of them, when any spirit or aire is gotten in, then (I say) they make a noise: as for brasse, there is no voidnesse within it; but for that 30 mixed it is with an united and equall spirit, therefore it answereth againe to claps and knocks, and therewithall reboundeth: and if wee may conjecture by that which our eie seeth and judgeth, yron seemeth to be spongy, and as it were worne-eaten within, full of holes, and hollowed in manner of hony-combs; howbeit, a mettall it is of all other, that hath the woofte voice, and is most mute: there was no need therefore to trouble the night so much in restraining, compressing, and driving in the aire thereof to close of the one side, and leaving so many places and spaces void on the other side; as if the aire impeached the voice, and corrupted the substance thereof, considering it selfe is the very substance, forme and puissance of it: over and besides, it should follow thereupon, that unequal nights, namely, those that be foggie and mistie, or exceeding colde, were more resonant than those that be faire and cleere; for that in such nights, those atomes are clunged close together, and looke where they come, they leave a place void of bodies: moreover, (that which is easie and evident to be seene) the colde Winter night ought by this reckoning to be more vocall and fuller of noise, than the hot Summer night; whereof, neither the one nor the other is true: and therefore (letting this reason, such as it is, goe by) I will produce *Anaxagoras*, who saith: That the sunne causeth the aire to move and stirre after a certaine trembling motion, as if it did beat and pant; as it may appeare by those little mores and shavings (as it were) in manner of dust, which flutter and flie up and downe thorow those holes; whereas the sunne-thine passeth, such as some Greeks call *πύρρι*: which (saith he) chimring (as it were) and making a humming in the day time, cause by their noise, any other voice or sound 40 not so easie to be heard; but in the night season, as their motion ceaseth, so consequently their noise also is gone.

After I had thus said, *Ammonius* began in this wise: We may be deemed haply ridiculous (quoth he) to thinke that we can refute *Democritus*, or to go about for to correct *Anaxagoras*; howbeit, we must of necessitie take from these little bodies of *Anaxagoras* his devising, this chimring noise before said, which is neither like to be so, nor any waies necessarie: sufficient it will be to admit the trembling motion and stirring of them, dancing as they doe, in the same light, and by

by that means disgregating and breaking the voice many times, and scatter it to and fro: for the aire (as hath bene said already) being the very body and substance of the voice, if it be quiet and settled, giveth a direct, united and continued way unto the small parcels and movings of the voice, to passe along a great way: for calme weather and the tranquillitie of the aire, is resonant, whereas contrariwise, tempestuous weather is dumbe and mute: according to which, *Simonides* hath thus written:

*For then, no blasts of winde arose on him,
Shaking tree-leaves; that men need once to feare
Lest they might breake sweet songs and melody,
Stopping the sound from passage to their eare.*

10 For often times the agitation of the aire, permitteth not the full, expresse and articulate forme of the voice, to reach unto the sense of hearing; howbeit, somewhat it carrieth alwaies thorow from it, if the same be multiplied much and forced aloud: as for the night, in it selfe it hath nothing to stirre and trouble the aire; whereas the day hath one great cause thereof, to wit, the sun, as *Anaxagoras* himselfe hath said.

Then *Thrasylus* the sonne of *Ammonius*, taking his turne to speake: What should we meane by this I pray you in the name of *Jupiter* (quoth he) to attribute this cause unto an invisible motion of the aire; and leave the agitation, tossing and divulsion thereof, which is so manifest and evident to our eies? for this great ruler and commander in the heaven, *Jupiter*, doth not after an 20 imperceptible manner, nor by little and little, stirre the smallest parcels of the aire, but all at once, so soone as he sheweth his face, excitereth and moveth all things in the world,

*Giving forth with a signall in such wise,
As men thereby unto their works may rise.*

which they no sooner see, but they obey and follow; as if together with the new day, they were regenerate againe, and entred into another manner of life; as *Democritus* saith; setting themselves unto their businesse and affaires, not without some noise & effectual cries: in which sense *Thyestes* called not impertinently the morning, or dawning of the day *Clytus*, for that now we begin 30 againe, that is to say, to heare others, yea, & to speake aloud our selves: whereas the aire of the night being for the most part calme and still, without any waves and billowes; for that everie thing is at rest and repose, by all likelihood conveyeth the voice entier and whole unto us, nor broke nor diminished one jot. At these words, *Aristodemus* of *Cyprus*, who was one of our company: But take heed *Thrasylus*, (quoth he) that this which you say be not convinced and refuted by the battels and marches of great armies in the night season; for that upon such an occasion the noise and outcries be no lesse resounding and cleere; how troubled and waving soever the aire be, than otherwise: and peradventure there is some cause thereof, proceeding also from our selves; for the most part of that which we speake in the night season, is of this nature, that either we command some body after a turbulent manner, as if a passion urged us thereto, or if we demand and aske ought, we crie as loud as we can; for that the thing which wakeneth and maketh us to rise at such a time (when as we should sleepe and take our repose) for to speake or 40 doe any thing is no small matter or peaceable, but great and important, halting us for the urgent necessitie thereof unto our businesse, in such sort, that our words and voices which then we utter, goe from us in greater force and vehemency.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

How it comes to passe, that of the sacred games of prize some use one manner of chaplet, and some another, yet all have the branch of the date tree? Also why the great daies bee called Nicolai?

50 DURING the solemnitie of the Isthmick games, at what time as *Sophs* was the judge and directour thereof now the second time: other feasts of his I avoided; namely, when as hee invited one while many strangers together; and otherwises a number of none else but citizens, and those one with another; but one time above the rest; when as hee feasted those onely who were his greatest friends; and all, men of learning; I my selfe also was a bidden guest, and present among them; now by that time that the first service at the table was taken awaie, there came one unto the professed orator and rhetorician *Herodes*, who brought unto him from a scholar and familiar of his, who had wonne the prize, for an encomiasticall or laud-
T t 2 toric

toric oration that he had made, a branch of the date tree, together with a plaited and broided coronet of flowers; which when he had curiously received, he returned them backe to him again, saying withall: that hee marvelled why some of these sacred games had for their prize this crowne, and others that, but generally all, a branch of date tree: For mine owne part (quoth he) I cannot perswade my selfe that this ariseth upon that cause which some alledge; namely, the equality and uniformitie of the leaves, springing and growing out as they doe, alwaies even and orderly, one juſt againſt another directly, wherein they ſeeme to contend and ſtrive a vie, reſembling thereby a kinde of combat; and that victorie it ſelfe tooke the name in Greeke *Nika*, as it were *conquer*, that is to ſay, not yeelding nor giving place: for there be many other plants which as it were by weight and meature, distribute nourishment equally unto their boughes and branches growing oppoſite in that manner, and heerein obſerve exactly a woonderfull order and equality: but in my conceit, more probability and appareance of reaſon they alledge, who imagine & ſuppoſe, that our auncients made choiſe of this tree, becauſe they tooke a love to the beautie, talneſſe, and ſtreight growing thereof; and namely *Homer*, who compareth the beautie of *Xanthia* the Phaeocian queene, unto the plant or ſtem of a faire date tree: for this you all know verie well, that in old time they were wont alwaies to caſt upon thoſe victorious champions who had wonne the prize, roſes, and roſe champion flowers; yea and ſome other-whiles apples and pomegranates, thinking by this meanes to recompence and honour them: but there is nothing elſe ſo much in the date tree, to commend it ſo evidently above other trees: for in all *Greece* fruit it beareth none that is good to be eaten, as beeing imperfect and not ripe enough; and if it bare here as it doth in *Syria* and *Aegypt*, the date which of all fruits for the lovely contentment of the eie, is of all ſights moſt delightſome, and for the ſweetneſſe of taſte, of all banquetting diſhes moſt pleaſant, there were not a tree in the world comparable unto it: and verily the great monarch and emperor *Augustus* by report, for that he loved ſingularly well, one *Nicolaus* a philoſopher Peripateticke, in regard that he was of gentle nature and ſweet behaviour, tall and ſlender withall of ſtature, and beſides of a ruddy and purple colour in his viſage, called the faireſt and greateſt dates, after his name, *Nicolaus*, and to this day they beare that denomination.

In this diſcourſe, *Herodes* pleaſed the company no leſſe with the mention of *Nicolaus* the philoſopher, than he did with that which he had ſpoken to the queſtion: And therefore (quoth *Sophs*) ſo much the rather ought we every one to devide for to conferre unto this queſtion propounded, whatſoever hee is perſwaded concerning it: Then I for my part firſt, brought forth mine opinion as touching the ſuperioritie of this date tree at the ſacred games, becauſe the glorie of victours and conquerors, ought to endure and continue incorruptible, and as much as poſſibly may be not age and waxe old: for the date tree liveth as long as any plant whatſoever that is longeſt lived: and this is teſtified by theſe verſes of *Orpheus*:

*Living as long as plants of date trees tall,
Which in the head be Greene and ſpread withall.*

And this is the onely tree in manner, which hath that propertie indeed, which is reported though not ſo truly, of many others: And what is that? namely, to carie the leaves firme and ſtill, ſo as they never fall off; for we do not ſee, that either the lawrell or olive tree, nor the myrtle, nor any other trees which are ſaid to ſhed no leafe, keepe alwaies the ſame leaves ſtill; but as the firſt fall, others put forth, and by this meanes they continue alwaies freſh and Greene, living evermore as cities and great towneſe doe; whereas the date tree never loſeth any of thoſe leaves which once came forth, but continueth ſtill clad with the ſame leaves; and this is that vigour as I take it which men dedicate and appropriat eſpecially to the force or ſtrength of victorie.

When *Sophs* had made an end of this ſpeech, *Protagenes* the Grammarian calling by name unto *Praxitelis*, the diſcourſer and hiſtorian: Shall we ſuffer theſe oratours and rhetoricians (quoth he) after their uſuall manner and profeſſion, to argue thus by conjectures and likely probabilities; and can we alledge nothing out of hiſtories pertinent directly unto this matter? and verily for mine owne part, if my memorie faile me not, I have not read long ſince in the Attique annales, that *Theſeus*, who firſt ſet out games of prize in the iſle *Delos*, brake & plucked from the ſacred date tree, a branch, which thereupon was called *Spadis*; and *Praxitelis* ſaid as much: But ſome men (quoth he) might aſke of *Theſeus* himſelfe, what reaſon induced him (when he propoſed the prize of victorie) to pull a branch from the date tree, rather than from the lawrell or olive tree? and what will you ſay, if this be a Pythicke prize? for that the *Amphyctimes* honored firſt

firſt at *Delphos*, the victours, with a branch of date tree and lawrell, in honour of *Pythius Apollo*, conſidering that the maner was not to conſecrate unto that God, the lawrell or olive onely, but alſo the date tree; like as *Nicias* did, when in the name of the Athenians, he defraied the charges of games, in *Delos*; and the Athenians, at *Delphi*; and before them, *Cypſellus* the Corinthian; for otherwiſe, this God of ours hath evermore loved thoſe games of prize, yea, and was deſirous to win the victorie, having ſtrove perſonally himſelfe in playing upon the harpe, in fingring, and flinging the coit of braſſe; yea, and as ſome ſome ſay, at hurl-bats and fiſt-fights; favouring men alſo, and taking their part at ſuch combats; as *Homer* ſeemeth to teſtifie, when he bringeth in *Achilles*, ſpeaking in this wiſe:

*Two champions now, who ſimply are
Of all the armie beſt,
My pleaſure is, ſhall forth advance;
and looke who is ſo beſt,
And favoured at buſſet-fight,
By god Apollos grace,
As for to win the victorie,
and honour, in that place.*

Alſo when he ſpeaketh of archers, he ſaith expreſſely, that one of them who invocated upon *Apollo*, and praied unto him for helpe, had good ſucceſſe, and carried away the beſt prize; but the other, who was ſo proud, and would not call upon the god for his aid, miſſed the marke & ſcope whereat he ſhot. Neither is it likely or credible, that the Athenians dedicated their publicke place of exerciſe, unto *Apollo*, for nothing, and without good cauſe; but ſurely thus they thought, that the ſame God unto whom we are beholden for our health, giveth us alſo the force and ſtrong diſpoſition of bodie, to perſorme ſuch games and feats of activitie. But whereas, ſome combats there be, ſleight and eaſie; others, hard and grievous: we finde in writing, that the Delphians ſacred unto *Apollo*, by the name of *Pyſtes*, that is to ſay, the champion at fiſt-fight: but the Candians and Lacedaemonians offered ſacrifice unto the ſame God, ſurnamed, the Runner. And ſeeing as we do, that the maner is to preſent in his temple within the citie of *Delphos*, the primices or dedications of the ſpoiles and bootie gained from the enemies in war, ſo as alſo to conſecrate unto him the Trophies; is not this a great argument and teſtimonie, that in this God it lieth moſt to give the victorie and conqueſt? And as he went forward, and was minded to ſay more, *Cephiſus* the ſonne of *Theon*, interrupted his ſpeech, ſaying: Theſe allegations (beleeve me) favour not of hiſtories, nor of Coſmographically books; but being fetched immediately out of the minds of thoſe Peripateticall diſcourſes, are handled and argued probably to the purpoſe: and beſides, whiles you take up the fabricke or engine, after the maner of tragedian plaiers, you intend as it ſhould ſeeme, to aſtright by intimating the name of *Apollo*, thoſe that contradict and gainſay your opinions; and yet (as well beſeemeth his goodneſſe and bountie) he is indifferent and alike affected unto all, in clemencie and benignitie: but we following the traicts & ſteps of *Sophs*, who hath led us the way verie well, keepe our ſelves to the date tree, which affordeth us ſufficient matter to diſcouſe thereof againe: for the Babylonians doe chaunt and ſing the praifes of this tree; namely, that it bringeth unto them three hundred and threeſcore ſorts of ſundry commodities; but we that are Greeks, have little or no profit thereby: howbeit, good philoſophie may be drawn out of it, for the better inſtruction of champions and ſuch as are to perſorme combats of prize, in that it beareth no fruit with us: for being a right goodly, faire, and very great tree, by reaſon of the good habit and diſpoſition thereof, yet is it not here among us, fruitfull; but by this ſtrong conſtitution that it hath, it impleieth and ſpendeth all nouriture to feed and fortiſie the bodie, after the maner of champions, by their exerciſe, ſo as there remaineth but a little behinde, and the ſame not effectually for ſeed: over and above all this, one qualitie it hath, proper, and peculiar to it ſelfe alone, and that which agreeth not to any other tree, the which I intend to ſhew unto you: For the woodie ſubſtance of this date tree a-loſt, if a man ſeeme to weigh and preſſe downe with any heaive burden, it yeeldeth not; nor ſtoupeth under the poſſe, but curbeth upward archwiſe, as withſtanding that, wherewith it is charged and preſſed; and even ſo it is with thoſe combatants in ſacred games: for ſuch as through feebleneſſe of bodie, or faintneſſe of heart ſeeme to yeeld, thoſe, the ſaid exerciſes doe bend and keepe under; but as many as ſtoutly abide, not onely with their ſtrong bodies, but alſo with magnanimous courage, theſe be they that are raiſed up on high, and mount unto honour.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that they who saile upon the river Nilus, draw up water for their use, before day-light?

ONE there was, who demanded upon a time the reason, why the water-men who saile and row upon the river *Nilus*, provided themselves of that water which they drinke, in the night, and not by day. Some said, it was, because they feared the sunne, which by enchaunting and heating the water, maketh it more subiect to corruption and putrefaction: for whatsoever is warmed or made hot, the same is alwaies more ready and disposed to mutation, and doth soone alter, by relaxation of the proper and native qualitie that it hath: whereas colde, by restraining, seemeth to containe and keepe each thing in the owne kinde or nature; and water, especially. Now, for the truth of this, that the coldnesse of water hath vertue to preserve, the snowe is a sufficient testimonie, which keepeth flesh a long time sweet, and without corruption; but contrariwise, heat causeth all things to goe out of their owne nature, yea, even honie it selfe; for being once boiled, marred it is; but if it continue raw, it not onely keepeth it selfe well enough, but helpeth to preserve other things: and for a further proove of this matter, the water of lakes and pooles is a principall thing to confirme the same; for as potable it is, and as good to drinke in Winter, as any other waters; but in Summer, the same is sturke naught, and breedeth diseases; and therefore, since the night answereth to Winter, and the day to Summer, those water-men of *Nilus* above said, are of this opinion: That water will continue longer before it turne and corrupt, if it be drawn in the night season. To these allegations, which of themselves seemed to carry probabilitie enough, reason also inclineth as an evident & iustificall proove to strengthen and confirme the experience and beleefe of these water-men; for they said, that they drew water, while the river was yet still and quiet; for in the day time, many men either saile upon it, or otherwise, fetch water from it; many beasts also, passe to and fro in it; whereby it is troubled, thicke and muddie; and such water will soone putrefie: for whatsoever is mixed, more easily taketh corruption, than that which is pure and simple, considering that mixture maketh a fight, and fight causeth change and alteration. Now, who knoweth not that putrefaction is a kinde of mutation? which is the cause that painters call the mixtures of their colours, by the name of *σύνεσις*, that is to say, corruptions; and the poet *Homer*, when he speaketh of dying, saith, they did *πύλαι*, that is to say, staine and infect: the common use also of our speech carrieth it, to call that which is unmixt and meere of it selfe, *ἀσύνετον ἢ ἀκατάστατον*, that is to say, incorrupt and sincere: but principally, if earth be mingled with water, it changeth the qualitie, and manereth the nature of it quite for ever, for being potable and good to drinke: and therefore it is, that dormant and dead waters, which stand in hollow holes, are more subiect to corruption than others, as being full of earthie substance; whereas, running streames escape this mixture, and repell the earth which is brought into them: good cause therefore, had *Hesiodus* to commend

*The water off some lively spring,
that alwaies runnes his course,
And which no muddie earth among,
doth trouble and make worse.*

For holmes we holde that which is incorrupt; and uncorrupt we take that to be, which is all simple, pure and unmixt: and hereto may be adioined, for to confirme this opinion of theirs, the sundrie kinds and differences of earth: for those waters which run thorow hillie and stonie grounds, because they carrie not with them, much of the earth or soile, are stronger and more firme, than such as passe along marishes, plaines and flats. Now the river *Nilus* keeping his course within a level and soft country; and to speake more truly, being (as it were) blond tempered and mingled with flesh, is sweet doubtlesse, and full of juices that have a strong and nutritive vertue; but ordinarily, the same runneth mixed and troubled; and so much the rather, if it be stirred and disquieted; for the moving and agitation thereof, mixeth the terrestriall substance with the liquid humour; but when it is quiet and at repose, the same seeth downe to the bottom, by reason of the weight. Thus you see why they draw up their water in the night-season; and withall, by that means they prevent the sun-rising; which alwaies doth catch up and corrupt that which is in all waters most subtle and light.

THE

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of those who come late to supper; where, discourse it is, from whence be derived these names of refectiōs in Greeke ἀκίνητος, δειπνον, and δείπνον.

MY younger sonnes upon a time had staid longer at the theater, than they should, to see the fights, and heare the eare-sports which there were exhibited; by occasion whereof, they came too late to supper; whereupon *Theraps* somes called them in mirth & sport *ακίνητοι* and *ζωροφύδοι*, as one would say, supper-letting, and night-supper-lads, with other such like names; but they, to be meet & quit with them againe, gave them the termie of *σπερχιδωροί*, that is to say, runners to supper. Heerewith one of the elder fort there present, said: That hee who came late to his supper, ought rather to be called *σπερχιδωρος*, because he maketh more haste with an extraordinary pace, for that he hath seemed to staie too long: to which purpose he related a pretie termie of *Battus*, the buffon or pleasant jester to *Cesar*, who was wont to call those, *σπυροφύδοι*, that is to say, desirous of suppers, who at any time came tardie: For (quoth he) although they have businesse to call and keepe them away, yet for the love of good cheere and sweet morcels, they refuse not to come (late though it be) whensoever they are invited. Heere came I in with the testimonie of *Polychrmus*, one of the great oratours, who managed the State of *Athens*: in an oration of his, where making an apologetic of his life unto the people in a frequent assembly, he spake in this wise: Lo, my masters of *Athens* how I have lived: but besides manie other things which I have already alledged, take this moreover: that whensoever I was bidden to any supper, I never came last, for this seemed to be very popular and plausible; whereas contrariwise, men are wont to hate them as odious persons, and furlly lords, who come late; and for whom the rest of the companie are forced to staie. Then *Soelarus* willing to defend the young boies: But *Alceus* (quoth he) called not *Pittacus*, *Zophodoridas*, because he supped late in the night, but for that it was ordinary with him to delight in none other guests, and table companions, but base, vile, and obscure persons; for to eat early or betimes, was in old time counted a reproch; and it is said, that this word *ἀκίνητος*, that is to say, a breakfast, was derived of *ἀκίνητος*, that is to say, intemperance. Then *Theon* interrupting his speech: Not so (quoth he) but we must give credit rather unto those who report the ancient manner of life in old time: for they say, that men in those daies being laborious, painful, and temperate in their living withal, tooke for their repast early in the morning, a piece of bread dipped in wine, and no other thing, and therefore they called this breakfast of theirs, *Αερασίμα*, of *Aeration*, which is meere dūd pure wine: and as for *δείπνον*, it signifieth those viands which were prepared for repast in the evening; for *δείπνον*, betokeneth late in the evening, at what time their manner was to suppe; namely, after they had dispatched their other affaires. Here occasion was given to demand from whence were derived these words *δειπνον*, that is to say, supper, and *δειπνον*, dinner: and thought it was that *Ariston* and *Αερασίμα*, signified both one thing: and for proove hereof, they reported them to *Homer*, who saith: That *Eumaeus* provided *Ariston* by the breake of day, as appeareth by this verse:

*No sooner did day light appeere,
But they prepared their owne dinner.*

And it seemeth very probable that this repast *δειπνον*, tooke the name of the mornie-tide, and is as much to say, as *δειπνον*, now for the refectiō called *δειπνον*, that is to say, supper, it was so called, in *τὸν πρῶτον διαμανδρῆ*, because it gave repose from their labours; for men used to take their supper after they had done some businesse, or else in the very time that they were about the same; this also may be shewed by the testimonie of *Homer*, who saith:

*But what time as the woodman minding rest,
From heaving trees, his supper soone had drest.*

unless a man will haply say, that *Ariston*, that is to say, a dinner or breakfast, tooke that name, because folk use to dine or breake their fast, with that which first came to their hands, without any labour or dressing thereof in the kitchen: and *δειπνον*, that is to say, supper was so called, because there was some labour employed about the dressing thereof; and therefore *δειπνον*, is as much to say, as *δειπνον*, that is to say, very easily, and soone provided; but *δειπνον*, as one would say, *δειπνον*, that is to say, done with much paine and travell. But our brother *Lamprias*, who naturally was given to scoffing, and loved a life to be merry and to laugh: Since that (quoth hee) we are allowed

allowed ſo great libertie for to prate thus and talke ſo idly as we doe, I am able to proove unto you, that the Romane words are ten thouſand times more properly deviſed, and expreſſe theſe things better than the Greeke: for they called a ſupper, *Cena*, which is as much as *meate*; for the good fellowſhip and companie of thoſe that ſupped (as it were) in common together: for the olde Romans, howeuer they dined or brake their ſalt ordinarily by themſelves alone, yet they ſupped ever with their friends about them. Now their dinner, they called, *Prandium*, of the houre or time thereof, as if they would ſay *prandior*; for *prandior* is as much as *ſcannor*, that is to ſay, morning or noone-tide at the fartheſt; and to repoſe or reſt after dinner, is expreſſed by the word *ſcandior*; or els perhaps, *Prandium* ſigniſieth a breakefaſt or morning repaſt, when as men do eat before they be *ſcandior*, that is to ſay, before they have any need or want of victuals: and now to ſay nothing of many things, which they expreſſe by meere Greeke words; as for example, how they call beds, *Strata*, of *ſtratus*; wine, *Vinum*, of *vinu*; oyle, *Oleum*, of *oleu*; hony, *Mel*, of *melis*; to talte, *Gulaſtare*, of *gulaſtare*; to drinke one unto another, *Propinare*, of *propin*; who can denie, but their word, *Comeſſatio*, that is to ſay, Banqueting, is derived of our Greeke word *comis*; and *Miſcece*, that is to ſay, to temper and mixe wine, of *miſcece* in Greeke? for thus ſaith *Homer*:

*She tooke the cup, and once againe,
In it ſhe tempered pleaſant wine.*

alſo a table, they called *Menſa*, becauſe it ſtood *in medio*, that is to ſay, in the mids; and bread, *Panis*, for that it ſlaked *panis*, that is to ſay, hunger; alſo a chaplet or garland of flowers, *Corona*, of the word *coris*, an helmet, or *coris*, the head; for in one place, *Homer* called an helmet or head-piece, *coris*, that is to ſay, *Corona*, a coronet; likewise, *Cadere*, that is to ſay, to beat or kill, of *cadere*; and *Dentes*, that is to ſay, teeth of *dentes*; and laſt of all, *Labra*, that is to ſay lips, of *labra*; that is to ſay, receiving and taking in meat with them. To conclude therefore, either we are to heare ſuch derivations theſe, without laughing thereat; or els we muſt not give them to caſie acceſſe (as it were by undermining) unto words, as unto walles; partly to overthrow and beat downe ſome, and in part to batter and breake others.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of certaine Pythagorean precepts, for bidding in any wife to admit ſwallowes into the houſe, and commanding to ruſſle the bed-clothes, ſo ſonne as a man is riſen.

Sylla of *Carthage*, upon my returne to *Rome*, after I had bene long abſent, invited me to a ſupper for my welcome home; for ſo the Romans termed ſuch a courteſie; and to beare mee companie, he had other friends, and thoſe not many in number; among who was one *Lucius* of *Tuſcane*, a diſciple of the Pythagorean philoſopher, *Moderatus*: this *Lucius* perceiving that our *Philinus* did eat of nothing which ever had life (as the uſuall maner of him and other Pythagoreans was to doe) fell into ſpeech as touching *Pythagoras* himſelfe, and affirmed that a Tuſcane he was, not as ſome others, becauſe his father, and his anceſtours, were Tuſcans, from whom he was defended; but for that he was himſelfe borne, reared, brought up, and taught in *Tuſcane*; which he proved principally, by certaine ſymbolicall and allegoricall precepts of his; as for example, among others, that he commanded thoſe who were new riſen out of their beds, to ruſſle the clothes together; alſo that the print of a pot or cauldron, ſhould not be left upon the aſhes, after it is taken away, but that the aſhes ought to be ſtirred together; *item*, that no ſwallowes ſhould be admitted into the houſe; likewise, that no man ſhould ſtep over a beſome, nor keepe within houſe, thoſe creatures which had hooked claws: For theſe rules, and ſuch like (quoth he) which the Pythagoreans deliver in word, and ſet downe in writing, the Tuſcans onely obſerve and keepe in deed. Which when *Lucius* had ſaid, ſtrange it was thought, and abſurd above the reſt, to chaſe and keepe out of the houſe, ſillie ſwallowes, harmeleſſe and gentle creatures, as well as thoſe that have crooked clees, which are the moſt bloudy and cruell of all others: for whereas ſome ancient interpreters gave the ſolution and expoſition onely, as if covertly it implied thus much, that we ſhould avoid the companie of ſecret whiſpers, backbiters and ſlanderers; *Lucius* himſelfe approved not thereof; for the ſwallow whiſpereth not at all; it chattered in deed and talketh (as one would ſay) loud enough; and yet not more than pies, partridges and hennies. But what thinke you by this (quoth *Sylla*) that in regard of the tale that goes of *Progne*, who killed her young ſonne *Trys*, they hate ſwallowes for that abominable act, and therefore would ſeeme to cauſe us for to deteſt a ſwarre off, ſuch infamous caſes, for which they

* For *Philinus* law was turned (as the poets ſay) into a ſwallow; who produced her ſiſter *Progne* to kill her own child, by *Trys*, and ſerve it up before him as a diſh of meat, to the board, for that he had deſtroyed the ſaid *Philinus*.

ſay, both *Tereus* and the women, partly did perpetrate, & in part ſuffered horrible and unlawfull things; whereupon, to this very day, theſe birds be called *Daulides*; But *Gorgias* the ſophiſter, by occaſion that a ſwallow mewted over his head, and ſquirted her dung upon him, looking up unto her: Theſe be no faire caſts (quoth he) *Philomela*; or is this alſo common to the reſt? for the Pythagoreans doe not exclude or baniſh out of houſe the nightingale, * which beareth a part in the ſame tragedies, and is faultie with the reſt. Peradventure (quoth I then) there is as much reaſon in the one as the other (*ſylla*) but conſider, and ſee whether the ſwallow be not an odious and infamous with them for the ſame cauſe, that they reject and wil not entertaine thoſe creatures which have hooked talons; for the likewiſe feedeth upon fleſh, and beſides, killeth and devoureth eſpecially, graſhoppers, which are ſacred and muſicall: moreover, the fleſh cloſe by the ground, hunting and catching little ſillie creatures (as *Aristotle* ſaith) furthermore, ſhe is the onely creature of all the other, that be under the ſame roſt with us, which lodgeth there of free coſt, living without contributing ought, or paying any rent: yet the ſtorke which hath no covert by our houſe, nor warmth by our fire, ne yet enioicth any benefit, pleaſure, or helpe at all by our meanes, giveth us otherwhiles ſome tribute and cuſtome (as it were) for marching onely upon the ground; for up and downe ſhe goes, killing toades and ſerpents, mortall enemies to mankind; and lying in wait for our lives; whereas the ſwallow having all thoſe commodities at our hands, no looner hath nourished her young ones, and brought them to ſome perfection, but away ſhe goes and is no more to beſeece, ſo diſſolial and unthankfull the is: and that which of all others is worſt, the ſie and the ſwallow be the onely creatures haunting our houſes as they doe, that never will be tamed, nor ſuffer a man to touch and handle them, nay they will not admit any fellowſhip, ſocietie, or communion with him, either in worke or play: the ſie indeed hath ſome reaſon to be afraid of us, for that ſhe ſuſtaineth harme by us, and is chaſed and driven away ſo often: but the ſwallow hateth man naturally, ſhe will not truſt him, but remaineth alwaies ſuſpicious and untamed: now if we are to take theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, not directly according to the literall ſenſe, and as the words onely doe imple, but rather by way of an oblique reflexion; as the reſemblances of things appearing in others: certes *Pythagoras* propoſeth unto us heerein; the very pattern of an unthankfull and faithleſſe perſon, admoniſhing us not to receive unto our familiar acquaintance and amitie, thoſe who for the time, and to ſerve their owne turne, draw neere unto us, and retire themſelves under the roſt of our houſe, and that we ought not to make them inward with us, communicating with them, our houſe, our domeſticall altar, and thoſe things which are in ſtead of moſt ſacred obligations. When I had thus ſaid, it ſeemed that I had given the companie encouragement and affurance to ſpeake, for they began boldly to apply unto the other ſymbolicall precepts, their morall expoſitions: And *Philinus* for his part ſaid, that in commanding to confound the forme of the pot or cauldron imprinted in the aſhes, they taught us this leſſon, not to leave any marke or apparent impreſſion of anger; but after it hath once done boiling what it will, and is ſetled and cooled againe, to ridde away all ranckor and malice, yea and to burie all in perpetuall oblivion. As for the ſtuffing of the bed clothes together, when we are newly riſen, ſome thought there was no hidden matter meant thereby, but ſignified onely, that it was not ſeemely or honeſt, that the marke or print in the bed ſhould remaine as an expreſſe image to be ſcene, of the place, wherein man and wife had lien together: But *Sylla* gueſſed otherwiſe and conjectured that heerein was contained a dehortation to divert uſ from ſleeping on bed in the day time, when as even in the very morning the preparation and meanes to ſleepe was ſo immediately taken away: for that we ought to take our reſt and repoſe in the night, but in the day time to be ſtirring and about our buſineſſe, not ſuffering to remaine in our beds ſo much as the tract of our bodie; for a man lying aſleepe, is good for nothing, no more than when he is dead: and heere to ſeemeth to allude and accord, another precept of the Pythagoreans which they give unto their friends, forbidding them not to caſe any man of his burden, but rather to lay on more, and ſeeme to ſurcharge him ſtill, as not approving any floth or idleneſſe whatever: now for that during theſe diſcourſes, *Lucius* neither approved nor diſproved ought that was ſaid, but ſat ſtill, heard all, ſaid nothing, and pondered every thing in himſelfe: *Empedocles* calling unto *Sylla* by name, ſaid as followeth.

* For *Progne* (as the tale goes) was turned into a nightingale. See *Philoſophus* *De Myſthologia* *lib. 7. cap. 10.*

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

Why the Pythagoreans, among all other living creatures, abstaine most from eating fish.

IF *Lucius* our friend (quoth he) be offended, or take no pleasure in our sayings, it is high time that we should give over and make an end: but if these things fall within the compass of their precept for silence; yet this I think ought not to be concealed, but may well be revealed and communicated unto others, namely: What the reason is, that the Pythagoreans abstained principally from eating fish: for so much we finde written of the ancient Pythagoreans: and I my selfe have fallen into the company and conference of certaine disciples of *Alexicrates*, a man of our time; who fedde a litle sometimes of other living creatures, yea and sacrificed them unto the gods; but for no good in the world would they so much as taste of a fish: not as I take it for that cause which *Tyndares* the Lacedaemonian alledged, who thought that this was done for the honour they had to silence; in regard whereof, the philosopher *Empedocles* whose name I beare, who was the first that ceased to teach Pythagorically, that is to say, to give rules and precepts of hidden wisdom, called fish *Ellopos*, as having *ἑλλοπον* *ἑλλοπον*, that is to say, their voice tied and shut up within; but for they thought, taciturnitie to be a singular and divine thing, and in one word, that even the gods themselves doe shew by deeds and effects, without voice or speech unto wise men, what their will and pleasure is: Then *Lucius* mildly and simply answered: That the true cause indeed might peradventure lie hidden full and not be divulged: howbeit, there is nothing to hinder or let us, but that we may render one reason or other which carrieth with it some likelihood: & probability: so *Then* the grammarian began first to discourse upō that point saying: it was very difficult to shew & prove that *Pythagoras* was a Tuscan borne; but for certaine knownen it was, that he had made his abode a long time in *Aegypt*, & conversed with the fages of that country, where he approoved, embraced, and highly extolled manie of their religious ceremonies, and namely, that as touching beanes: for *Herodotus* writeth, that the Aegyptians neither sowe, nor eat beanes, no nor can abide so much as to looke upon them: and as for fishes, we are assured that their priests, even at this day, abstaine from them, and living as they doe, chaste and unmarried, they refuse salt likewise; neither will they endure to eat it as a meat by it selfe, nor any other viands, wherein any sea salt commeth; whereof divers men alledge divers & sundry reasons: but there is one true cause indeed, & that is the enmitie which they beare unto the sea, as being a savage element, a meere alien, & estranged frō us, or to speak more truly, a morall enmitie to mans nature; for the gods are not nourished therewith, as the Stoicks were of opinion: that the staries were fed from thence: but contrariwise, that in it was lost the father and favour of that country of *Aegypt*, which they call the delflux or running out of *Osis*, and in lamenting his generation on the right hand, and corruption on the left, covertly they give us to understand, the end and peidition of *Atilus* in the sea: In which consideration, they are of opinion, that lawfull it is not, once to drinke of the water; as being not potable; neither doe they thinke, that any thing which it breedeth, bringeth forth, or nourisheth, is cleane and meet for man; considering that the same hath not breath and respiration common with us, nor food and pasture agreeable unto ours; for that the very aire which nourisheth and maintaineth all other living creatures, is pernicious and deadly unto them, as if they were engendered first, and lived afterward in this world against the course of nature, and for no use at all: and marvel we must not, if for the hatred they beare unto the sea, they hold the creatures therein, as strangers, and neither meet nor worthy to be intermingled with their blood or vitall spirits: seeing they will not deigne so much as to salute any pilots or mariners whensoever they meet with them, because they get their living upon the sea.

Sylla commending this discourse, added moreover, as touching the Pythagoreans, that when they sacrificed unto the gods, they wuld especially tast of the primices or parcels of flesh which they had killed: but never was there any fish that they sacrificed or offered unto the gods. Now when they had finished their speech, I came in with mine opinion: As for those Aegyptians (quoth I) many men there be as well learned, as ignorant, who contradict them, & plead in the behalfe and defence of the sea, recounting the manifold commodities thereof, whereby our life is more plentifull, pleasant, and happie: as touching the furcates as it were of the Pythagoreans, and their forebearing to lay hand upon fishes, because they are such strangers unto us, it is a very absurd and ridiculous device; or to say more truly, it is a cruell and inhumane part, and

favoring

favoring much of a barbarous *Cyclops*, seeing that to other living creatures they tender a reward and recompence, for their kintred, coulénage and acquaintance, by killing, eating, and consuming them as they doe: and verily reported it is of *Pythagoras*, that upon a time hee boight of the fishers a draught of fish; and when he had so done, commaunded that they should beall let out of the net into the sea againe: surely this was not the act of a man, who either hated or despised fishes as his enemies or strangers; considering that finding them prisoners as he did, he paid for their ransom, and redeemed their liberty, as if they had bene his kinsfolke & good friends: and therefore the humanitie, equitie, and mildnesse of these men, induceth us to thinke and imagine cleane contrary, that it was rather for some exercise of justice; or to keepe themselves in ure and custome thereof, that they spared and pardoned those sea-creatures; for that al others, give men cause in some sort to hurt them; whereas poore fishes offend us in no maner: and say their nature and will were so disposed, yet cannot they execute the same: moreover, conjecture we may and collect, by the reports, records, and sacrifices of our ancients, that they thought it an horrible & abominable thing, not only to eat, but also to kill any beast that doth no hurt or damage unto us: but seeng in processe of time how much pestered they were, with a number of beasts that grew upon them, and overpiled the face of the earth; and withall being as it is said, commaunded by the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, to succour the fruits of the earth, which were ready to perish; they began then to kill them for sacrifice unto the gods: yet in so doing, they seemed to tremble and feare, as troubled in minde, calling this their action *ἱερὸν* *καὶ* *καὶ*, that is to say, to doe or perpetrate, as if they did, and committed some great deed in killing a creature having life; and even still at this day they observe a ceremony with all religious precisenesse, not to massacre any beast before it hath given a nod with the head, after the libations and effusions of wine upon it, in signe and token of consent; so strict they were and wary to commit no unjust act. Certes, to say nothing of other beasts, if all men had forborne to kill and eat no more, but pullen and conies, within short time they should not have bene able to have dwelt within their townes or cities, nor enjoyed any fruits of the earth: & therefore although needesse at the first had brought in the use of eating flesh; a very hard matter it were now, in regard of pleasure, to put down & abolish the same: whereas the whole kind of sea-creatures using neither the same aire and water with us, nor comming neere unto our fruits, but being (as a man would saie) comprised within another world, & having distinct bounds and limits of their owne, which they cannot passe, but immediately it costeth them their life, for punishment of their trespass, giveth unto our belly none occasion or pretence at all, more or lesse, to runne upon them: so that the whole hunting, catching, and running after fish, is a manifest worke of guarmandise and daintie feeding; which without any just or lawfull cause, troubleth & disquieteth the seas, and descendeth into the very bottom of the deepe; for we have no reason at any time to call the red sea-barbell *αὐστρινες*, that is to say, come devourer; nor the guilt-head *πικρινες*, that is to say, vine waster, or grape eater, nor yet any mullets, lobins, or sea-pikes, *εὐπικρινες*, that is to say, seed gatherers, as we name divers land beasts, noting them thereby for the harme and annoiance they doe unto us: neither can we impute unto the greatest fish in the sea, the least wrong or shrewd turne, wherewith wee charge, in our exceeding neere nesse and parsimonie, some cat or wezill, a * mouse, or rat which haunt our houses: in which regard, they precisely concerning themselves, not for feare of law onely, to doe wrong unto men, but also by the very instinct of nature, to offer no injurie unto any thing in the world that doth them no harme, nor displeasure, used to feed on fish lesse than on any other meat: & admit there were no injustice in the thing, all buile curiousitie of men in this point, being so needlesse as it is, bewaierh great intemperance and wastfull gluttony: and therefore *Homer* in his poeme deviseth this, that not only the Greeks encamping upon the streight of *Hellepont*, abstained wholly from eating fish, but also that the delicate and daintie toothed Pharaicians, the wanton and licentious woers likewise of lady *Penelope*, dissolute though they were otherwise, and all

islanders were never served at their tables with any viands or eates from the sea: no nor the companions of *Ulysses* in that great and long voiage of theirs which they had at sea, ever laid hooke, leape, or weele, or cast net into the sea for fish, so long as they had a bit of bread, or handfull of meale left:

But when their ship had vintales none,

But all therein was spent and gone.

even a litle before that they laid hands upon the kowes of the sunne, then began they to fish; notwithstanding for any daintie dishes, but even for necessary food:

With

* Some reade
mice, a flea.

*With bended bookes, for now their maw,
Great hunger bit, and guts did gnaw.*

So that for extreme need they were forced to eat fish, and to kill the finnes kine: whereby wee may perceive that it was a point of sanctimonia and chastitie, not onely among the Aegyptians and Syrians, but the Greeks also, to forbear feeding upon fish; for that beside the injustice of the thing, they abhorred as I thinke, the superfluous curiositie of such food.

Heereupon *Neptor* tooke occasion to speake: And why (quoth he) is there no reckoning made of my country-men and fellow-citizens, no more than of the Megarians? and yet you have heard me to say often times, that the priests of *Neptune*, whom we call *Hieromemones*, never eat fish: for this god is furnished *Phytalmis*, that is to say, the President of breeding and generation in the sea; and the race descending from that ancient *Etellen*, sacrificed unto *Neptune*, by the name and addition of *Patrogenios*, that is to say, the flock-father and principall Progenitor, being of opinion, that man came of a moist and liquid substance, as also, be the Syrians, which is the very cause that they worship and adore a fish, as being of the same kinde, generation, and nouriture with themselves; philosophizing and arguing in this point, with more appearance and shew of reason, than *Anaximander* did, who affirmed not, that men and fishes were bred both in the same places; but avouched that men were first engendered within fishes themselves, and there nourished like their young frie; but afterward, when they became sufficient and able to shift and helpe them, they were cast forth, and so tooke land: like as therefore, the fire eateth the wood, whereby it was kindled and set a burning, though it were father and mother both unto it; according as he said, who inserted the marriage of * *Ceyx* among the works of *Hesiodus*; even so *Anaximander* in pronouncing, that fish was both father and mother unto men, taxeth and condemneth the feeding thereupon.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

Whether it be possible, that new diseases may be engendered by our meats?

Philo the physician constantly affirmed, that the leprosie, called *Elephantiasis*, was a disease not known long since; for that none of the ancient physicians made any mention of this maladie; whereas they travelled and busied their braines, to treat of other small trifling matters, (I wot not what) and yet such subtilties as the common sort could hardly comprehend. But I produced and alledged unto him for a witnesse out of philosphie, *Arbenodoros*, who in the first booke of his Epidemiall or popular diseases, writeth, that not onely the said leprosie, but also *Hydrophobie*, that is to say, the feare of water, occasioned by the biting of a mad dogge, were first discovered in the daies of *Aselepiades*: now as the companie there present, marvelled that these maladies should newly then begin, and take their consistence in nature; so they wondered as much on the other side, how so great and grievous diseases could be hidden so long, and unknown to men: howbeit, the greater part inclined rather to this second & later opinion, as being more respective and favourable to man; for that they could not be perswaded, that nature in such cases should in mans bodie (as it were in some citie) studie novelties, and be evermore inventing and working new matters. As for *Diogenianus*, he said, that the passions and maladies of the soule, held on their common course, and went the accustomed way still, of their predecessours: And yet (quoth he) wickednesse is very manifold in sundry sorts, and exceeding audacious, to enterprise any thing: and the mind is a mistresse of herselfe, and at her owne command; having puissance to tume and change easily as she thinketh good: and yet that discordant confusion of hers, hath some order in it; keeping a measure in her passions, and containing herselfe within certaine bounds, like as the sea, in the flowings and tides; in such sort, as that the bringeth forth no new kinde of vice, such as hath not bene known unto those in old time, and of which they have not written: for there being many different sorts of lusts and desires, infinite motions of feare, as many kinds of paine, and no fewer formes of pleasure; which would require great labour to reckon up, and not to give over.

*These neither now nor yesterday
Began; but all have lived ay:
And no man knows, nor can say well,
Since when they first to men befell,*

nor yet whereupon any new maladie or moderne passion hath arisen in our body; considering it

it hath not of it selfe the beginning of motion properly as the soule hath, but is knit and conjoined with nature by common causes, and composed with a certaine temperature: the infinite varietie whereof, wandereth notwithstanding within the poitprife of set bounds and limits; like unto a vessell which lying at anchor in the sea, nevertheless doth wave, and is tossed within a round compasse: for neither the fester constitution of a disease is without some cause, bringing into the world irregularly and against all law of nature, a generation and power from that which hath no being at all: nor, as easie matter is it for a man to finde out a new cause, unless withall, he do set downe a new aire, strange water, and such meats as our forefathers never tasted of, imagining, that they are run hither to us now and never before, out of (I wot not what) other worlds; or imaginative inter-worlds and spaces betwene; for sicknesse fall by means of the same things whereof we live; and no peculiar and proper seeds there be of diseases; but the naughtinesse and corruption of such things whereby we live; in regard of us, and our owne faults and errors besides, about them, are they which trouble and offend nature: these troubles have perpetually the same differences, though the same many times take new names; for these names are according to the ordinance and custome of men; but the maladies themselves are the affections of nature: and so those diseases of themselves finite, being varied & diversified by these names infinite, have deceived and beguiled us: and as there is not lightly and upon a sudden, committed in the Grammaticall parts of speech, or in the Syntaxis; and construction thereof, any new barbarisme, solecisme, or incongruities; even so the temperatures of mens bodies, have their falles, errors and transgressions, which be certaine and determinate, considering that in some sort, even those things which are against nature, be comprised and included in nature: and this is it, that the witty inventors and devisers of fables, would signifie in faying: That when the giants made war against the gods, there were engendered certaine strange and monstrous creatures every way, at what time as the moone was turned cleane contrary, and arose not as she was wont: and verily, their meaning was, that nature produced new maladies, like unto monsters, but withall, imagine and devise a cause of such change and alteration, that is neither probable nor yet incredible; but pronouncing and affirming, that the augmentation more or lesse of some diseases, causeth that newnesse and diversitie in them, which is not well done of them (my good friend *Philo*;) for this intention and augmentation may well addeth thereto frequency and greatnesse; but surely it transpotheth not the subject thing out of the first and primitive kinde: and thus I suppose the leprosie or *Elephantiasis* to be nothing els; but the vehemencie of these curvie and scabbie infections; as also the *Hydrophobie*, or vaine feare of water, no other but an augmentation of the passions of stomacke or melancholic: and verily, a wonder it were, that we should not know how *Homer* was not ignorant hereof; for this is certaine, that he called a dogge *Lycaon*, of this raging accident whereto he is subject: and hereupon men also, when they are in a rage, be said likewise *Lycaon*. When *Diogenianus* had thus discoursed, *Philo* himselfe, both seemed somewhat to answer and refute his reasons; and also requested me to speake in the behalfe of the ancient physicians, who were thus challenged and condemned for their ignorance or negligence in these principall matters, in case it were true, that these maladies were not of a later breed and more moderne than their age. First therefore, it seemed unto me, that *Diogenianus* put not this well downe for a good supposal, that tensions and relaxations, according to more or lesse, make no differences, nor remove the subject matters out of their kinde: for by this meanes we should likewise say, that vinegar differed not from wine that is souring, nor bitternesse from stypticitie or fourenesse, nor damell from wheat, nor yet garden mints from the wilde mint: but evident it is, that these do degenerate, yea, and become altered in their very qualities; partly by relaxations, as the things doe languish and lose their heat; and in part, by tensions, as they be reinforced, and take vigor: for otherwise, we must be forced to say, that the flame differed not from a white or cleere winde, nor a light from a flame, nor frost from dew, nor haile from raine; but that all these be but the inforcements onely and tensions of the same things; and so constantly we shall be driven to affirme, that blislesse and dimme sight differ not, and inordinate passion of vomiting, called *Cholera*, is nothing different from a keckish stomacke and a desire to cast, but onely according to augmentation and diminution, more or lesse: and all this is nothing to the purpose; for if they admit and say, that this very tension and augmentation in vehemencie, came but now of late, as if this noveltie were occasioned by the quantitie and not the qualitie, yet the absurditie of the paradox remaineth nevertheless: moreover, seeing that *Sophocles* (speaking of those things, which because they had not bene in times past, men would not beleve to be at this present) said very well in this wise:

*All kind of things both good and bad,
Once at the first their being had.*

This also seemeth very probable and to stand with great reason, that maladies ran not forth all at once, as if the barriers had bene let open for the race, and they let out together: but some came alwaies successively behinde at the taile of others, and each one tooke the first begining at a certaine time: And a man may well conjecture and guesse (quoth I) that such as arose of want and indigence, as also those that came of heat and colde, were the first that affailed our bodies; but repletions, glutonies, and delicate pleasures, came afterwards together with sloth and idleness; which by reason of abundance of victuals, caused great store of superfluities and excrements, from whence proceeded sundry sorts of maladies; the complication whereof and intermixture one with another, bringeth evermore some new thing or other: for every naturall thing, is orderly, and limited; because that nature is nothing els but order it selfe, or at leastwise the worke of order: whereas disorder (like to the fable that *Pindarus* speaketh of) is infinit, and can not be comprised within any certaine number; so that whatsoever is unnaturall, the same immediately is unlimited and infinit: for the truth we can not deliver but one way; marie to lie, a man may finde an infinit number of meanes; by occasion of innumerable occurrents; also accords musical and harmonies, stand upon their certaine proportions; but the errors that men commit in playing upon the harpe or other instrument, in long, and in dauncing, who is able to comprehend? although *Phrynichus* the tragedian poet said of himselfe thus:

*In daunce I finde as many sorts
And formes of gestures and disports;
As waves in sea, and billowes strong
Arise by tempest all night long.*

And *Chrysippus* writeth that the divers complications of ten propositions, which they call *Axioms*, and no more, surmount the number of ten hundred thousand: but *Hipparchus* reprooved this, and taught that the affirmative doth containe of connexed propositions, one hundred thousand, and besides, one thousand fortie and nine; but the negative of the same propositions comprehendeth three hundred and ten thousand, with a surplusage of nine hundred, fiftie and two: and *Xenocrates* hath set downe, that the number of syllables, which the letters in the alphabet, being coupled and combined together, do afford, amount to the number of one hundred millions, and two hundred thousand over: why should it therefore bee thought strange and wonderful, that our body having in it so many faculties, and gathering still daily, by that which it eateth and drinketh, so many different qualities, considering withall, that it useth motions and mutations, which keepe not one time nor the same order alwaies; the complications and mixtures of so many things together, bring evermore new and unusuall kinds of maladies, such as *Thucydides* wrot, was the pestilence at *Athens*, conjecturing that this was no ordinarie and usuall maladie, by this especially, for that the beasts of prey, which otherwise did eat of flesh, would not touch a dead bodie: those also who fell sicke about the red sea (as *Agathirides* maketh report) were afflicted with strange symptomes and accidents, which no man had ever read or seene, and among others, that there crawled from them certeine vermin like small serpents, which did eat the calves of their legs and the brawnes of their armes; and looke whensoever a man thought to touch them, in they would againe, and winding about the muskles of the flesh, ingendered inflammations and impostumes with intolerable paine. This pestilent disease, no man ever knew before, neither was it ever seene since by others, but by them alone, like as many other such accidents; for there was a man who having bene a long time tormented with the disurie or difficultie of his urine, delivered in the end by his yard, a barley straw knotted as it was with joints: and we know a friend and guest of ours, a yong man, who together with a great quantitie of naturall seed, cast forth a little hairie worne or vermin with many feet, and therewith it ranne very swiftly: *Aristotle* writeth also, that the mouse of one *Timon* of *Cileia*, retired her selfe for two moneths space every yeere, and loked in a certeine cave all the while, without drinke or meate, or giving any other appearance of life, but onely that thee tooke her breath: certes recorded it is in the Melonian books, that it is a certeine signe of the liver diseased, when the sicke partie is verie busie in spying, seeking, and chasing the mice and rats about the house; a thing that now a daies is not seene: let us not marvell therefore, if a thing be now engendered that never was seene before, and the same afterward cease as if it had never bene; for the cause lieth in the nature of the bodie, which sometime taketh one temperature, and one while another: but if *Diogenes* bring in a new airc, and a strange water, let him alone, seeing he

he is so disposed: and yet we know well that the followers of *Demoeritus* both say, and write, that by the worlds which perish without this, and by the strange bodies which from that infinitie of worlds runne into this, there arise many times the beginnings of plague and pestilence, yea and of other extraordinarie accidents: we will passe over likewise the particular corruptions which happen in divers countries, either by earthquakes, excessive droughs, extreme heats, and unusuall raines, with which it cannot be chosen, but that both winds and rivers which arise out of the earth, must needs be likewise infected, diseased, and altered: but howsoever those causes wee let goe by, yet omit we must not, what great alterations and changes be in our bodies, occasioned by our meats and viands, and other diet and usage of our selves: for many things which before time were not wont to bee tasted or eaten, are become now most pleasant dainties; as for example: the drinke made of honie and wine; as also the delicate dith of a farrowing swines shape or wombe; as for the braine of a beast, it is said, that in old time they were wont to reject and cast it from them, yea, and so much to detest and abhorre it, that they would not abide to heare one to name it; and for the cucumber, the melon or pompon, the pomecitron and pepper, I know many old folke at this day, that cannot away with their taste: credible it is therefore, that our bodies receive a woondfull change and strange alteration by such things in their temperate, acquiring by little and little a divers qualitie, and superfluitie of excrements farre different from those before: seemably wee are to beleieve that the change of order in our viands, maketh much heere to; for the services at the board, which in times past were called the cold tables, to wit, of oysters, sea-urchings, Greene fallads of raw lettuce, & such other herbs, be as it were the light forerunners of the feast, as transferred now by *Plato*, from the rearward to the forefront, and have the first place, whereas before in old time, they came in last: a great matter there is also in those beavers or fore-drinkings called *Propomates*, for our ancients would not drinke so much as water before they did eat, and now a daies, when as men are otherwise fasting, have eat nothing, they will be in manner drunke, & after they have well drenched their bodies, they begin to fall unto their meats, and whiles they be yet boiling, they put into the stomacke those things that bee attenuat, incisive and sharpe, for to provoke and stirre up the appetite, and still fill themselves up full with other viands: but none of all this hath more power to make mutation in our bodies; nor to breed new maladies, so than the varietie of fashions, of bathing of the flesh for first & forme it is made soft, liquid, and fluid as iron is by the fire, and afterwards it receiveth the temper and tincture of hard Steele, by cold water: so that me thinks if any one of those who lived a little before us should see the dore of our stoupes and baines open, he might say thus:

*Heere into runneth Acheron,
And fire-like burning Phlegethon,*

Whereas in our forefathers daies, they used their bathes and hot-houses, so milde, so kinde, and temperate: that king *Alexander* the Great, being in a fever, lay and slept within them: yea the Gauls wives, bringing thither their pots of portage, and other viands, did eat even there with their children, who bathed together with them: but it seemeth in these daies; that those who are within the stoupes and baines, be like unto those that are raging madde, and baite as dogs, they puffle and blow like fed swine, they lay about them and tolle every way: the aire that they draw in, as it were mingled with fire & water, suffereth no piece nor corner of the body in quiet and rest, it shaketh, tosseth, and remooveth out of place, the least indivisible parcell thereof, untill such time as we come to quench and allay the same thus inflamed and boiling as they doe: There is no need therefore to *Diogenianus* (quoth I) of forren and farre fetched causes from without, neither of those new worlds and intervals betwene: for to goe no further than to our selves, the very change onely of the fashion of our diet, is a sufficient meanes both to breed, and also to abolish and cause to cease any maladie in us.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that we take least heed of dreames in the end of Autumne, and give small credit unto them?

For lighting upon physycall problemes or naturall questions of *Aristotle*, which were brought to *Thermopylae*, for to passe the time away, filled both himselfe with many doubts, as ordinarily men do, who are by nature studious, and also put as many into the heads of others, giving testimony heerein to *Aristotle* who saith: That much knowledge breedeth many occasions


sions of doubt; as for other questions, they afforded unto us no unpleasant pastime and recreation, in the day time as we walked in the galleries abroad; but that probleme concerning dreams, (namely, that they be uncertein, lying, & false, especially during those moneths whē trees shed their leaves) was set on foot againe (I wot no how) after supper by *Phavorinus*, when he had done with other discourses: As for your familiar companions my children, they were of opinion, that *Aristotle* himselfe had sufficiently solved the question, & there needed no farther enquire into the matter, nor any speech more to be made thereof, but even to attribute the cause, as he did, to the new gathered fruits of that season: for being as they were, fresh and Greene still in their strength and full of vigour, they engendered in our bodies many ventosities and bred much trouble and agitation in the humours: for likely it is not, that new wine alone doth worke, 10 boile, and chauf, nor that oile onely, being new drawn and pressed, yeeldeth a noife as it burneth in lampes, by occasion that the heat causeth the windinesse and spirit thereof to evaporate and walne out: but we see that come also newly inned, & all fruits of trees presently upon their gathering, are plumpe, full, and swelled againe, untill such time as they have exhale forth all that is flatuous, and breathed out the crudities thereof: now that there be certeine meates that cause troublefome dreames, and engender turbulent visions and fancies in our sleepe, they brought in and alledged for their testimony the instance of beanes, and the head of the pulpe or pour-cuttle fish, which they are bidden to abstaine from, who would divine and foretell things that come by dreames. As for *Phavorinus*, howsoever he was himselfe at all times wonderfully affected & addicted to *Aristotle*, and one who attributed unto the Peripateticks schole 20 this singular commendation, that their doctrine carried more probabilitie and resemblance of the truth, than other philosophers whatsoever; yet at this present he came out with an old ruffie reason of *Democritus*, taken out of the smoake (where it had gathered a deale of thicke soot) for to furbish, scoure, and make it bright againe: for this was the vulgar opinion which *Democritus* put downe for a supposition: That certeine images doe enter and pierce deepe into our bodies thorough the pores, which as they rise againe from the bottome, cause those visions which appear unto us as we sleepe; that these came out of all parts wandering, as presented from utensils, habilliments, & plants, but principally from living creatures, for that they moove & stir much, and besides are hot, having not onely the expresse similitudes and sundry formes of bodies imprinted in them, as *Epicurus* thinketh (who thus farre forth followeth *Democritus*, and leaveth him there) but also drawing therewith the appearances of the motions of the minde, of counsel, of usuall milde affections, as also of vehement passions, wherewith they enteing in, doe speake 30 as if they were living things, and distinctly carie unto those that receive the same, the opinions, the words, the discourses and affections of such as transmit the same, if in their entrance they retaine still the expresse figures and nothing confused; which they doe especially, all while that their way and passage thorough the aire, cleere and united, is speedy, quicke, and not empeached by any hinderance: considering than, that the aire of the Autumnall quarter, in the end when as trees doe cast their leaves, hath much asperitie and inequality, it turneth aside and putteth by diversly those images, causing their evidence to be feeble and transitorie, as being darkened by the tardity and slownesse of their pace in the way: whereas contrariwise, when they 40 runne forth in great number, and swiftly out of those things that swell with fullnesse, and burne, as it were, with desire to be delivered of them, then as they passe they yeeld their resemblances all fresh and very significant. After this, calling his eie upon *Autobulus*, and smiling withall: Me thinks (quoth he) that I perceive you, and those about you, to adresse your selves already for to maintaine a kinde of fight against these images, & that you meane to fasten with your hands and catch hold of this old opinion, as if it were some rotten picture, to doe it some violence: Goe to (quoth *Autobulus*) will you never leave these fashions, to play with us in this manner? for wee know well enough iwis, that you hold and approve the opinion of *Aristotle*, and that for to give a lustre therunto, you have set this of *Democritus* by it, as a shadow and foile: that conceit therefore of *Democritus*, we will turne over and put by, and take in hand 50 for to impugn the reason of *Aristotles*, which imputeth all to these new fruits, and unjustly without all reason, blaming & discrediting that which we all love so well; for both Summer & Autumnne will beate winnell, that when we eat these fruits, more fresh and Greene, even at such time as they are most succulent, and verdant: (as *Antimachus* said) our dreames are lesse lying and deceitfull: but these mouthes which we name, the Fall of the leafe, pitching their tents as it were, and taking up their standings close to the Winter, have reduced already, both come of the field, and also the fruits of trees, which remaine unteat by their perfect concoction, to this

this passe that they looke slender, and in some sort riveled, as having lost by this time, that violent, heady, and furious force which was in them. As touching new wine, they that drinke it soonest, doe it in the moneth * *Anthiheron*, that is to say, Februarie, presently after winter, and that day upon which they begin to taste it, we in our country call *αγστής δαίμων*, that is to say, the day of good fortune; but the Athenians name it, of opening their tunnes or wine vessels, *Πιθηγία*: but so long as the Must or new wine is working still, and in the heat, wee see, that all men even the very artificers and labourers are afraid to taste of it, and to meddle withall: let us forbear therefore to slander and blame the good gifts of the gods, and goe we rather another way to worke for the inquisition of the cause, unto which the very name of the season, and of these 10 windie and vaine dreames doth lead us: for this time is called *συνωages*, that is to say, the fall of the leafe, to wit, the end of Autumnne; when by reason of cold, and drinessse, trees shedde their leaves, unlesse it bee some which are hot and fatty, by nature, as the olive, the lawrell, and the date trees, or very moist, as the ivie and myrtle; for such as these, their temperature helpeth, others not, by reason that this glutinous humour which holdeth the leaves upon the tree, continueth not; because that their naturall humiditie is congealed with cold, or else dried up, being so feeble and little withall: to flourish therefore, to grow, and to be fresh, in plants, and much more in living creatures, cometh of moisture and heat; and contrariwise, cold & drinessse are deadly enemies: & therefore *Homer* very properly, is wont to call men who are fresh and lusty *δυσπες*, that is to say, moist and succulent; as also to joy and be merry, he ex- 20 presseth by the verbe *αδύς*, that is to say, to be hot; contrariwise, that which is dolorous and fearefull, he termeth *στυγερή*, that is to say, stiffe & starke for cold; a bodie that is dead, he termeth *αδύς*, that is to say, without moisture; as also *σκληρός*, that is to say, a verie anatomy, dried in the smoake, or against the sunne; which are two words devised to traduce & note their extreme drinessse: moreover, blood which is the thing within us, of principall strength & vertue, is both hot and moist; but old age is destitute both of the one and the other: now it seemeth that the later end of Autumnne is the very age of the yere, having performed his revolution; for as yet the moisture is not come, but the heat is gone already, or at leastwise is very feeble, & that (which is a great signe of cold & drinessse) this season causeth bodies to be disposed unto diseases. This being laid for a ground, necessary it is that the soule should have a sympathy & fellow feeling of the indispositions of the bodie, & that when the spirits be incrassate & thickened, and the power and facultie of divination or foreseeing future things, must needs be dimmed and 30 dulled, much like as a mirrour or looking glasse, overcast with some thicke mist: no marvell therefore if it send and transmit nothing in phantasie and imaginations, that is plaine, expresse, articulate, evident, and significant, so long as it is rough and unpolished, not smooth and resplendent.



THE NINTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-DISCOURSES.

The Summarie or principall chapters thereof,

- 50
1  *Q* verses which have beene cited and alledged stily in good season or otherwise.
2 What is the cause that the letter Alpha, or A, standeth first in the alphabet, or A, b, c.
3 In what proportion hath beene composed and ordained, the number of vowels and semi-vowels?
4 Whether hand it was of Venus, that Diomedes wounded?

Vvv 3

5 What

* Some reade November, before written, according to Theodorus Gazg.

- 5 What was the reason of Plato, when hee said, that the soule of Ajax, came in the 20. place so the lot?
- 6 What is covertly signified by the fable wherein Neptune is feigned to be vanquished; and why the Athenians put out of their kalender the second day of August?
- 7 What is the cause that the accords in musike are divided into a ternarie?
- 8 Wherein differ the intervals, melodious, and accordants in musike?
- 9 What is it that maketh accord or symphonie; and what is the reason that when a man striketh two strings accordant together, the melode is more base?
- 10 How it cometh to passe that the ecliprick revolutions of sunne and moone, being in number equal, yet the moone is seene to be oftner eclipsed than the sunne?
- 11 That we continue not alwaies one and the same, for that our substance evermore passeth still away.
- 12 Whether is more probable of the swaine, that the starres be in number even or odd.
- 13 A question of contrary lawes and covenants, drawn out of the third booke of the Rhapsodie of Homers *Iliad*.
- 14 Of the number of the Muses, certaine discourses and reasons, not after a vulgar and common manner delivered.
- 15 That there be three parts of dancing, * motion, gesture, and shew; and what each of these is: also what commistie there is betwene the art of poetrie, and the skill in dancing.

* *ῥυθμός, ἔκφρασις, ὁμιλία.*

THE NINTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-discourses.

The Proëme.



His ninth booke of Symposiaques (*ὁ δέκατος Σενεκιό*) containeth the discourses held at Athens, during the festivall solemnities of the Muses; for that this number of nine, forteth and agreeeth well with the said Muses. Now if the number of questions handled in this booke, surmount the ordinarie Decade of the former books, you are nothing to marvell thereat, because we ought to tender unto the Muses all that appertaineth unto the Muses; without taking away or detaining ought from them, no more than from holy sacrifices; considering that we owe unto them many things besides, and the same more beautifull than this.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Of verses cited and pronounced in season and to good purpose, or otherwise.

Ammenius being captaine of the citie of Athens, was desirous in favour of *Diogenitus*, to take view and knowledge, how the yong men profited, who were students in Grammar, Geometricke, Rhetoricke and Musike; whereupon he invited to supper, the most famous regents and masters, that were thoroughout the whole citie. There met also with them, and were present, many other learned and studious persons, in great frequencie, yea, and in maner all his friends and familiars: As for *Achilles*, verily, at the funerall games and solemnities of *Patroclus*, he had onely those to sup with him, who had fought hand to hand in single combat to the utterance, with this intent (as it is said) that if haply there had bene any choler or heat of revenge inkindled and inflamed betwene these men, whiles they were in armes, they should now lay downe and quit the same, meeting thus at one feast, eating and drinking together at one table: but it hapned cleane contrary at this time unto *Ammenius*; for the jealousie, contention, and emulation of these schoolemen and masters of art aforesaid, became the hotter, and grew to the heighth amid their cups; for by this time, they fell to argue, yea, and to challenge and desie one another, reasoning, and disputing without all order or judgement: whereupon, at the first he commanded the musician *Eraton*, to sing unto the harpe; who began his song in this wise, out of the works of *Hesiodus*:

of

Of quarrell and contention,
There were as then, more sorts than one.

for which I commended him, in that he knew how to applie the dittie of his song so well unto the present time; which gave occasion afterwards unto *Ammenius* of this argument; namely, to discourse of verses in season, and to good purpose pronounced; saying: That herein there appeared not onely a good grace, but also ensued otherwhiles great commoditie thereof. And presently every mans mouth was full of that Rhapsodian poet; who at the marriage of king * *Proteus*, when he espoused his owne sister, and was thought herein to commit a strange and unlawfull act, began his song with these verses out of *Homer*:

Great Jupiter, to Juno then, did call
His sister deere and wedded wife withall.
as also another, who being to sing after supper before king *Demetrius*, at what time as he sent unto him his sonne *Philip*, being as yet a very infant, came readily forth with these verses:
This child, see that you well bring up
in vertuous discipline;
As fits the race of Hercules,
and eke a sonne of mine.

Anaxarchus likewise, when *Alexander* at supper time flung apples at him, arose from the boord, rehearsing this verse out of *Euripides*:

Some god one day, in civillie
By mortal hand, shall wounded be.

But most excellently of all others, a Corinthian lad, who being led away prisoner, as the citie was forced and loft, when *Mummius* taking a survey of those children who were free borne, commanded as many of them as had any knowledge in literature, for to write before him, wrote *ex tempore* these verses:

Thrice and a foure times those Greeks were blest, I say,
Whose hip it was, to die before this day.

And by report *Mummius* tooke such ruth and compassion heereat, that he shed teares, and for this youths sake, set at libertie as many as were of his kindred and alliance. There was remembered also, the wife of *Theodorus* the tragedian, who when the time drew neere, that such poets and actors were to strive for the best game, would not suffer him to lie with her; but after he was returned home from the theater, where he had gotten the victorie, and gained the prize, when he came toward her, she kissed and welcomed him home with these verses:

O noble sonne of Agamemnon, now
To do with me your will, good leave have you.

Semblably, some there were in place, who heereupon inferred many other verses as unfitly acknowledged, and altogether out of season; for that it was not thought amiss or unprofitable, both to know the same, and to beware thereby; and namely, that which is reported concerning *Pompeius Magnus*, when he returned from a great expedition and warlike voiage; unto whom his little daughter was presented by her schoolemaster; and for to shew unto him how she had profited in learning, when a booke was brought unto her, the said schoolemaster opened it, and turned to this place for her to reade, which beginneth thus:

From warre thou art returned safe and sound,
Would God thou hadst bene there lesse dead on ground.

Also, when uncerteine newes (without any head or author) was brought unto *Cassius Longinus*, that his sonne was dead in a strange countrey, so as he could neither know the truth, nor yet do away the doubtfull suspicion thereof, there came an ancient fenator to visit him, and said: What *Longinus*, will you not contermine and neglect this vaine bruit and headlesse rumor, raised (no doubt) by some malicious person? as if you neither had knownen nor read this sentence:

No publicke fame, nor vox populi
Was ever known in vsine to die.

As for him, who when a Grammarian in the isle of *Rhodes*, called for a theame, to varie upon; and to shew thereby his learning before the people in a frequent theater, gave him this verse:

Avant out of this isle, I do thee need,
Most wicked wretch that lives, and that with speed.

It is hard to say, whether he did it of purpose, consumeliously, to deride this poore Grammarian,

rian, or committed an error against his will? But to conclude this discourse of verses inserted aptly and otherwise alledged, did very prettily appease the stirre and tumult among the regents and masters of art above said.

THE SECOND QUESTION AND THE THIRD.

What is the cause why Alpha, (or A) was ranked first of all other letters? as also, what proportion, the number of vowels and semi-vowels hath bene composed and ordained?

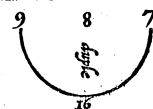
Whereas the use and custome was at *Athens*, during the foresaid feasts in the honour of the Muses, that lots should be carried round about the city, and they that chanced by drawing to be matched together, propound one unto another questions of learning: *Ammonius* fearing lest some professors of one and the same art, should be committed in opposition together, tooke this order, and ordained, that without any lottery at all, a Geometrician might propose a question unto a Grammarian; the Rhetorician unto a Musician, and so reciprocally answer them againe by turnes: Heereupon *Hermias* the Geometrician put forth first unto *Protagoras* the Grammarian, a question, urging him to tell the cause, why, *A* was set foremost of all the letters? who rendred unto him a reason which goeth for currant in the schooles: For this is certaine (quoth he) that vowels may claime by a most just title, the place before all consonants, whether they be mute or semi-vowels: and seeing that of vowels some be long, others short, and a third sort doubtfull, and as they say, of adouble time: these of the last kinde, ought by good right to be esteemed of greater worth and puissance than the rest; and of them, that is, to have and hold the place of a capitaine, which in composition and making of a diphthong, goeth alwaies before the other two, and never cometh behinde; and that is *Alpha*, which nether secondeth *Jota*, or *Upsilon* so, as that it will in such composition yeeld or helpe to make one syllable of those twaine: but in a kinde of anger and indignation, leape backe againe unto her proper place: contrariwise, let *Alpha* with whether you will of the other two, so as the may goe before, she will accord very well, and both together will make one entire syllable, as we may see in these words, *αἰών, φάνης*, as also in *αἰός, αἰετός*, and an infinite number of others: thus in these three respects she hath the victorie, and carrieth the prize, like unto those champions who are winners in *Quinque Lium*, or the five severall games, for she hath the vantage above the multitude of other letters, in that she is a vowel above vowels, because she hath two times, as being one while long, and another while short, and even of these double timed vowels she hath the preeminence, by reason that she standeth alwaies before, and never followeth or cometh behinde others.

When *Protagoras* had made an end of his speech, *Ammonius* called unto me by name and said: How now *Plutarch*, wilt thou not say *Cadmus*, being (as you are) a Boeotian as he was? for it is said, that he placed *Alpha* before all other letters, for that *Alpha* in the Phœnician language signifieth a beefe, reputed among them, not in the second or third place, according to *Hejodius*, but even the very first and principall of necessarie mooveables belonging to a man: Not I (quoth he) for I am bound to succour (what I can) mine owne grand-father, rather than the very grand-fire of *Bacchus*; for my grand-father *Lamprias* was wont to say: That the first distinct and articulate voice which a man pronounceth, is by the power of *Alpha*; seeing that the breath and spirit within the mouth, is formed principally by the motion of the lips, which as they are opened and divided a sunder, yeeld by that simple overture this voice first, which of all others likewise is most simple, and performed with least adoe, calling neither for the tongue to helpe it, nor waiting for the use thereof, but issueth forth, even when it lieth still and lieth not out of the owne place: and therefore it is the first voice that infants utter: heereupon all cometh this word *αἰών* in Greeke, which signifieth as much as to heare any voice, for that alwaies such a sound as *A* is usually heard: yea, and many other like vocables, as *αἰετός*, that is to say, to sing; *αἰετός*, that is to say, to pipe; and *αἰετός*, to crye or holla; yea and these words *αἰετός* to elevate or lift up, and *αἰετός*, that is to say, to open: not without good cause tooke these names upon the deduction and lifting up of the lips, whereby such a sound as *A*, is let forth, and falleth out of the mouth, and therefore the names of other mute consonants, all save one, are helped by this *A*, which serveth as a light to cleere their blindness: for there is but *Ph*, or *P* only

only, wherein the power of this letter or sound is not employed: as for *Phi* and *Chi*, the one of them is *P*, and the other *K*, pronounced with (*h*) or an aspiration.

Heereupon when *Hermias* said, that he approved well of both reasons: Why doe not you then (quoth I) expound and deliver unto us, what is the proportion if there be any, in the number of letters; for in mine opinion there is, which I collect by this argument, in that the multitude of mute consonants and semi-vowels, in regard one of another, as also in respect of vowels, ariseth not so by chance, but according to the first proportion which we call Arithmetically, for there being 9. and 8. it cometh to passe that the middle number betwene, as it summounteth one, so it is equally surmounted of the other, and the two extremes being brought together, the greater in respect of the lesse, beareth the just proportion of the number of mules, to that of *Apollo*, for 9. is attributed to the mules, like as 7. to *Apollo*, which being joined together, make the duple of that which is in the middles, to wit, of 8. and that by good reason; for that the semi-vowels betwene both, doe participate the power and efficacy of the extremes, to wit, mutes and vowels; according to the figure here represented:

Mutes. Semi-vowels. Vowels.



Mercurie (quoth hee) was the first god who found out letters in *Aegypt*: therefore the *Aegyptians* when they would represent the first letter, doe paint *Ibis*, a fowle dedicated to *Mercurie*: but not well in my judgement, thus to give the precedence and superiortie of all other letters unto a beast that uttereth neither voice nor sound at all: Moreover, unto *Mercurie* is consecrated all numbers, the quaternarie especially, and many there be who have written, that borne he was upon the fourth day of the month: now if you multiply fowre by fower, you arise to sixtience, the just number of those first letters which were called Phœnician, invented first by *Cadmus*. Of the other letters which afterwards were added to the rest, *Palamedes* devised one fower; and *Simonides* put therto another fower: moreover, the first perfect number of all others is 3, as having a beginning, a middle, and an end: after it the number of 6. because it is known very well to be equall in all the parts thereof: of these now, if 6. be multiplied by 4. and the first quadrat or cube (8) by the first perfect number (3) they bring forth 24. the full number of all the letters in the alphabet. Whiles he thus spake still, *Zopyrion* the Grammarian was perceived evidently to laugh at him and mumble somewhat betwene his teeth secretly: but so soone as he had made an end of speech, he could hold no longer but out hee spake and said: That all this was nothing else but frivolous bibble-babble: For that (quoth *Zopyrion*) there can no sound reason at all be given, but even by adventure and chaunce it fell out, that so many letters there were, and those placed in such order as they be: Like as (quoth he) that the 40 first verse of *Homers Iliad*, should containe so many syllables just, as the first of his *Odyssey*: and againe, that the last of the one, should answer in number of syllables even, to the last of the other, is altogether a casuall thing, hapning so by mere fortune and not otherwise.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether hand it was of Venus that Diomedes wounded?

After this, when *Hermias* addressed himselfe to propose unto *Zopyrion* a question, we inhibited and staid him. But *Maximus* the Rhetorician, came with a long fetch a farre off out of *Homer*, and demanded of him: Whether hand it was of *Venus* that *Diomedes* wounded? With that *Zopyrion* to quit him againe, asked him presently: Of whether legge king *Philip* haulted? The case quoth *Maximus* is not all one and the same: for *Demosthenes* hath left unto us no meanes for to answer this question: but if you confesse once that you know not 3. others there be who will shew you the very place where *Homer* telleth them who have any wit to conceive, which hand of hers was hurt? *Zopyrion* at this speech seemed to be astounded and stand in a maze: whereupon whiles he held his peace, we requested *Maximus*, to point unto us the place afore said:

aforefaid: Firft and formoft (quoth *Maximus* then) considering that the verses runne in this wise:

*Then leapt aside bold Tidesus sonne,
and trauersing his ground,
stept so, and with sharpe pointed speare,
her hand aloft did wound.*

It is plaine and evident, that if he had meant to haue smitten her left hand, hee needed not to haue leapt at one side, for he had the left hand of *Venus* iust opposit to his owne right hand, when he directly affronted her: and more propable it is, and stands to greater reason, that his intent was to hurt the stronger hand, and that which held *Aeneas* her sonne, whom these 10 med with violence to carie away, and which being wounded, the might be forced to forgoe her hold, and let his body goe. Secondly, when *Venus* was returned up into heaven, *Minerua* by way of scoffing, laughed at her, and said to *Jupiter* in this wise:

*No doubt faire Venus hath suborn'd
some Greekeish dame to love,
And follow one of these Troy knights,
whom she affects above
All other wights: and whilst she stroak't
this lady gently, see,
Her soft hand met with some gold-cloffe,
and so came ras'd to bee.*

And verily I suppose, that even your selfe good sir, an excellent regent and professour as you are, if at any time you would seeme in making much of one of your scholars, to stroake and softly to handle him, will not doe it with your left hand, but with the right; and even so, verie like it is, that *Venus*, the most gentle and courteous goddesse of all others, in this manner dealt with the Grecian ladies, when the perswaded them unto her minde.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that Plato said, how the soule of Ajax came to the lot, in the 20. place.

THIS prettie discourse aforefaid, pleased the whole company, and made them all merrie, but one Grammarian named *Hylas*, whom *Sossus* a professour in Rhetoricke, seeing to sit all silent, sad and heavy, (for that in deed he had sped not very well, whensoever he made prooffe of his scholars proceedings) came out with these verses aloud:

*Ajax soule, the sonne of Telamon,
Remained still, and all alone.*

and the rest of the verses following, he delivered in an higher note than ordinarie, and rehearsed them aloud unto him, in this wise:

*But now good sir come hither, that
my words you may well heare,
Repreffe your ire, this anger quench,
and tame your moodie cheere.*

But *Hylas* grumbling still in anger, bewraied no lesse by his crosse and impertinent answer, saying: That the ghost of *Ajax* in hell, tooke her turne in the 20. place, and her lot was according to *Plato*, to be transfused into the nature of a lion: But for mine owne part (quoth he) I thinke many times of the old mans saying in the comedie:

*Better it were an asse to bee
Indeed, than for a man to see
Those live prefer'd in worldly pelfe,
Who are for worth behind him selfe.*

I heereat *Sossus* laughing heartily: But I beseech you good *Hylas* (quoth hee) meane while that we are turning into asses, and taking pack-saddles on our backs (if you regard and respect any thing the honour of *Plato*) declare unto us the reason, why hee said: That the soule of *Ajax* (him I meane who was *Telamon* sonne) came in the twentieth place to haue her choice from the lottery? VVhich when *Hylas* flatly refused to doe, (for he thought that they made a mock-
ing

ing stocke of him, because he had but had successe in his former trials:) my brother tooke the matter in hand: And what say you (quoth he) to this; may it not bee; for that *Ajax* caried the name alwaies for beautie, greatnesse and valour,

*Next after Peleus sonne (1537.)
Who was faine to see for promise as?*

And you know that twentie makes up the second decade; and the decade or number of ten, is of all numbers principall and most puissant, like as *achilles* was among the princes of the Grecks. With that weal set up a laughter: Then *Ammonius*, Well (quoth he) *Lamprias*, you are disposed thus to jest and play with *Hylas*, but since of your owne accord, you have undertaken the charge 10 to deliver the cause hereof, let us intreat you to impart it unto us; not by way of sport and merriment, but in good earnest. *Lamprias* was at the first not a little troubled in this challenge; but after he had paused; and thought upon the matter a while, in the end he spake to this effect: It is an ordinary thing (quoth he) with *Plato*, to play with us many times merrily; by certaine devised names that he useth: but whensoever hee intereth some thing in any treatise of the soule, he doth it right soberly, and hath a deepe meaning; and profound sense therein: for the intelligent nature of heaven, he calleth; a Chariot volant; to wit, the harmonickall motion and revolution of the world: and heere in this place whereof we are now in question (to wit, in the end of the tenth booke of his Common-wealth) he bringeth in a messenger from hell, to relate 20 newes of that which he had there himselfe seene; and calleth him by the name of *Eras*, a *Phanias* borne, and the sonne of *Armonius*, giving us covertly (by an enigmaticall conveiance) thus much to understand: That our soules are engendred by harmony, and so joined to other bodies, but when they be disjoined, and separate from them, they runne together all into aire from every side, and so returne againe from thence unto second generations: what should hinder then but this word *harmony*, was put downe by him, not to shew a truth whereof he spake, but rather *allegorically*, as a probable speech, and conjecturall fiction, or else, a thing spoken (as it should seeme) to a dead bodie, and so uttered * vainly and at a venture in the aire: for *Plato* alwaies toucheth three causes, as being the philosopher who either first knew, or principally understood how fatall destiny is mingled with fortune; and againe, how our freewill is wont to be 30 joined with either of them, or is complicate with both: and now in this place before cited, hee sheweth excellently well, what power each of these causes hath in our humane affaires, attributing the choice and election of our life unto free will, (for vertue and vice befree, and at the command of no lord) and trying to the necessitie of fatall destinie, a religious life to Godward in them, who have made a good choise, and contrariwise in those who have made a choise of the worst: but the cadences or chaunces of lots, which being cast at a venture, and lighting here and there, without order, befall to every one of us, bring in fortune, and preoccupate or prevent much of that which is ours, by the sundry educations or governments of common-wealth, wherein it hapneth each of us to live: for this I would have every one of you to consider, whether it bee not meere folly and without all reason, to seeke for a cause of that which is done by fortune and casually; for if lot should seeme to come by reason, there were to be im- 40 puted no more to fortune or adventure, but all to some fatall destinie or providence.

Whiles *Lamprias* delivered this speech, *Marcus* the Grammarian, seemed to count and number (I wot not) what upon his fingers to himselfe apart: but when he had made an end, the said *Marcus* named aloud all those soules or spirits which are called out in *Homers Nereia*: Among which (quoth he) the ghostly one of *Elpenor* wandering still in the middle confines, is not reckoned with those beneath in another world, for that his bodie as yet is not interred and committed to the earth: as for the soule of *Tiresias* also, it seemeth not to be numbered with the rest,

*To whom now dead Proserpina,
above the rest did give,
This gift alone right wise to be,
although he did not live.*

as also the power to speake with the living, and to understand their state and affaires; even before he had drunk the blood of sacrificed beasts: If then (quoth hee) *o Lamprias* you subtract these two, and count the rest, you shall finde that the soule of *Ajax* was just the twentieth of those which presented themselves to *Ulysses*; and heere too alluded *Plato*, as it should seeme by way of mirth, joining his fable together with that evocation of spirits, otherwise called *Necra* in *Homers Odyssey*.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is covertly meant by the fable, wherein Neptune is feigned to have bene vanquished: as also, why the Athenians take out the second day of the moneth, August?

NOW when the whole company were grown to a certaine upore; *Menepylus* a Peripateticke philosopher calling unto *Hylas* by name: You see (quoth he) now, that this question was not propounded by way of mockerie and contumelious flouting: but you my good friend (leaving this froward and mal-contented *Ajax*; whose name as *Sophocles* saith, is ominous, and of ill presage) betake your selfe unto *Neptune*, and side with him a while; who is wont to recount unto us himselfe, how he hath bene oftentimes overcome, to wit, in this city, by *Minerua*; at *Delphi*, by *Apollo*; in *Argos*, by *Juno*; in *Aegina*, by *Jupiter*; and in *Naxos*, by *Dacchus*; and yet in all his repulses, disfavours, and infortunities, he bate himselfe alwaies mild, and gentle, carying no ranckor or malice in his heart: for prooofe heereof, there is even in this city a temple common to him and *Minerua*, in which there standeth also an altar dedicated to Oblivion: Then *Hylas* who seemed by this time more pleasantly disposed: But you have forgotten (quoth he) *Menepylus*, that we have abolished the second day of the moneth, August, not in regard of the moone, but because it was thought to be the day upon which *Neptune* and *Minerua* pleaded for the feignorie of this territorie of *Attica*. Now I assure you (quoth *Lamprias*) *Neptune* was every way much more civill and reasonable than *Thrasibulus*, in case being not a winner as the other, but a loser, he could forget all grudge and malice.

A great breach and defect there is in the Greeke originally, wherein wanteth the farther handling of this question, as also 5. questions entier following, and a part of the 6. to wit.

- 7 Why the accords in musicke are divided into three? 30
- 8 Wherein differ the intervals or spaces melodious, from those that be accordant?
- 9 What cause is it that maketh discord? and what is the reason that when one toucheth two strings accordant together the melody is ascribed to the base?
- 10 What is the cause that the eclipses revolutions of sunne and moone being in number equal, yet we see the moone oftner eclipsed than the sunne?
- 11 That we continue not alwaies one and the same, in regard of the daily flux of our substance.
- 12 Whether of the twaine is more probable, that the number of starres is even or odde?

Of this twelfth question thus much remaineth as followeth.

LYANDER was wont to say: That children are to be deceived with cockall bones, but men with outwies: Then *Glauces*, I have heard (quoth he) that this speech was used against *Polyrates* the tyrant; but it may be, that it was spoken also to others: But whereby do you demand this of me? Because verily (quoth *Sophs*) I see, that children snatch at such bones, & the Academics catch at words: for it seemeth unto me, that these stomachs differ in nothing from them, who holding out their clutched fists, play at handy dandy, & aske whether they hold in their close hand even or odde? Then *Protagenes*, arose, and calling unto me by name: What aile we (quoth he) and what is come unto us that we suffer these Rhetoricians and oratours thus to brave it out, and to mocke others, being demanded nothing in the meane time, nor put to it for to contribute their skot and part unto this conference and these discourses? unless peradventure they will come in with this plea, that they have no part of this table talke, in drinking wine, as being those who admire and follow *Demophilus*, who in all his life time never dranke wine: This is not the cause (quoth I) but the reason is, because we have spared them no questions: but if you have no better thing to aske, I will propose unto them a case of repugnancie in contrarie lawes or conditions, and the same drawn out of *Homer*.

THE

THE THIRTEENTH QUESTION.

A question as touching repugnant lawes, taken out of the third Rhapsodie or booke of Homers Ilias.

AND what is that case, demanded he againe? I will tell you (quoth I) and withall propose it unto these here: and therefore let them give attentive eare: *Alexander Paris*, in the third booke of *Homers Ilias*, giveth defiance to *Menelaus*, and chalengeth him to a single fight, with certain conditions protesting in this manner:

Let us betwene both armies meet without,
My selfe I meane and *Menelaus* fount;
To try in single fight upon this plaine
To which of us by right shall appertaine
Dame *Helene*, with her goods: For looke who shall
Make good his ground, and quit himselfe withall
So bravely, that the victorie he gaine,
Have he her selfe, and jewels in domaine.

Hector againe publishing unto all, and declaring as well to Greeks as Trojanes the same challenge and defiance of his brother *Paris*, useth in manner the verie same words, saying:

His meaning is, that Greeks and Trojanes all
Besides should for the time surcease and quite
Lay downe all armes upon the ground withall,
Whiles he and *Menelaus* hardy knight,
For *Helene* faire, and all her jewels fight:
And he that shall the better hand o' reine,
With him both lady shall and goods remaine.

Now when *Menelaus* had accepted of these conditions, and both sides were sworne to the articles accorded, *Agamemnon* to ratifie the same by his roiall assent, spake in this wise:

- 30 If *Alexander* in plaine fight,
shall *Menelaus* kill:
Dame *Helene* he may leade away,
and her goods at his will:
But say that *Menelaus* brave,
doe *Alexander* slay,
The woman then and what she hath,
let him straight have away.

Now for that *Menelaus* vanquished *Paris* indeed, but yet bereft him not of his life; either side had good plea to defend their cause opposite unto their enemies: for the Greeks pretended a right claime unto *Helena*, for that *Paris* was overcome: and the Trojanes impleaded and denied to redeliver her, because he was not left dead in the place: how shall this case then be decided and judged right in so great a difference and contrarietie? Certes it belongeth not to Philosophers nor Grammarians alone; but it is for Rhetoricians also to determine heereof, who are both learned in Grammar and good letters; and withall, well seene in Philosophie, as you be. Then *Sophs* gave his opinion and said: That the cause and plea of the defendant challenged, was faire better and stronger, as having the law directly on his side: for the assailant and challenger himselfe, denounced under what conditions the combat should be performed; which seeing the defendant accepted of, and yielded unto, it lieth not in their power any more to adde ought thereto: for the condition comprised in the challenge, caried no words implying slaughter or death of any side; but the victory of the one, and the discomfiture of the other; and that with very great reason: for by right the lady belonged to the better man, and more valiant; and the more valorous man is he who vanquisheth: for otherwise it falleth out many times, that valiant and hardie men are slaine by very cowards; as afterwards *Achilles* himselfe chaunced to be killed by *Paris* with the shot of an arrow: neither will any man (I trow) say, that *Achilles* thus slaine, was the lesse valiant, or call this the victorie; but rather the good fortune of *Paris* unjustly dealt, whose happe it was to shoot so right; whereas on the other side, *Hector* was vanquished by *Achilles*, before he was slaine, for that he would not abide his coming, but

X x x

for

for feare abandoned his ground and fled: for he that refuseth combat and runneth away, is in plaine termes vanquished, & hath no excuse to palliate or cloake his defeature; but flatly confesseth his enemy to be his better. And therefore *trus*, comming at first to *Helen* for to give her intelligence of this combat, saith unto her:

*They will in combat fight it out
with long speares now for thee:
And looke who winnes the victory,
his wife thou nam'st shalt be.*

And afterwards *Jupiter* himselfe adjudged the prize of victorie unto *Menelaus* in these words;
*Now plume it is, the champion bold,
for Menelaus fight,
Hath quit himselfe a man, and wonne
the prize in single fight.*

For it were a ridiculous mockerie to say: That *Paris* had conquered *Achilles*, because he stood behind a farre off, & with the shot of an arrow wounded him in the foote; who never was ware of him, nor so much as looked for any such thing; & that now when he refused combat, distrustful himselfe, & ran out of the field like a coward, to shroud & hide himselfe within the bosome, & betweene the armes of a woman, being as a man would say disarmed and despoiled of his weapons, even while he was alive, his concurrent should not deserve to carie away the victorie, shewing himselfe the conquerour in open field; even according to the conditions offered by *Paris* the challenger. Then *Glaucus* taking the matter in hand, imploded and argued against him thus: First (quoth he) in all edicts, decrees, lawes, covenants and contracts, the last are reputed alwaies of greater validitie, and doe stand more firme than the former: but the second covenants and the last, were they which were declared and published by *Agamemnon*; in which was comprised, expresse death for the end of the combat, and not the discomfiture or yielding of the partie conquered: moreover the former capitulation of covenants, passed onely by parole & bare words; but the other which followed after, was sealed & confirmed with an oath, yea & a curse and execration was set therupon, for whosoever should transgresse the same: neither was it approved & ratified by one man alone, but by the whole arm^y: together in such sort as this latter pactiō and covenant, ought properly and by right, to be so called; whereas the former was nothing else but the intimation of a challenge and defiance given; in testimonie whereof, *Priamus* also after the articles of combat were sworne unto, departed out of the field saying:

*Great Jupiter and other gods
immortall now doe know,
Whose destiny it is to die
upon his overthrow.*

For he wist well enough that the covenants of combat were capitulated and accorded upon this condition: and therefore it was, that a little while after, *Heitor* saith:

*God Jupiter aloft in heaven
who sits upon his throne,
The covenants sworne but not perform'd
which were agreed and sporne.*

For as yet the combat remained unatched and imperfect, neither had it a certaine and doubtlesse conclusion, considering neither the one nor the other of the champions was slaine: so that in mine opinion, there is no contrarietie here at all, because the former articles and conditions were comprised in the second: for no doubt, he that killeth hath overcome; but it followeth not, that he who vanquisheth hath killed his enemy: but to say a truth, we may well plead thus: That *Agamemnon* did not reverse or annull the challenge or defiance pronounced by *Heitor*, but explained and declared it; neither altered he it, but added rather the principall point thereof, setting downe expresse, him for victour who killed his enemy; for this indeed is a compleat and absolute victory; whereas all others have evasions, pretended excuses and oppositions, such as this of *Menelaus*, who wounded not his enemy, nor so much as pursued and followed after him: like as therefore in such cases wherein there is an evident contradiction of lawes indeed, the judges are wont to pronounce award and sentence, according to that which is most expresse and cleerely set downe, leaving that which is doubtfull and obscure, even so in this present case now in question; that covenant which hath an evident conclusion, and

and admitteth no reſpiverſation at all, we ought to esteeme more firme and effectual: furthermore, that which is the chiefe and most principall point of all, even he himselfe who is supposed to be the victour, in that he retired not backe, nor gave over seeking for him that fled, but went up and downe, to and fro among the troupes searching all about,

*If haply of this gallant knight
Sir Paris he might have a fight.*

testified plainly, that his victory was imperfect and of no validitie; considering that his concurrent was escaped out of his hands, which put him in minde of the words which himselfe a little before had said:

*The hour of death, to whether of us twaine
Is come, let him lie dead upon the plaine:
As for the rest, see every one apart,
And that with speed, you home in peace depart.*

And therefore it stood him upon necessarily, to seeke out *Alexander*, to the end, that having slaine him, he might accomplish the entire execution of the combat, and gaine the end thereof; whereas, neither killing him out of the way, nor taking him prisoner, without all right he demanded the prize of victorie: for in very truth, he did not so much as vanquish him, if we may gather presumptions and conjecturall arguments, even out of his owne words, complaining as he doth of *Jupiter*, and lamenting to himselfe, that he missed of his purpose, in these words:

*O Jupiter, in heaven above,
no God there is againe,
More swift full than thy selfe to me,
nor cruel; to be plaine,
I made account, and so gave out,
of Paris in this place,
Revenge'd to be for all his wrongs,
and working my disgrace:
But now my sword in hand is burst,
my javelin launc'd in vaine
With force of armes, hath done no hurt,
nor wrought him any paine.*

For himselfe confesseth, that it was to no purpose, that he pierced thorow his enemies shield, and tooke away his armor that fell from his head, unlesse he had wounded him therewith, and slaine him outright.

THE FOURETEENTH QUESTION.

As touching the Muses and their number, certaine points not after a vulgar and common manner handled.

THIS discourse being thus finished, we performed our oblations and libaments to the Muses; and after we had sung an hymne to *Apollo*, the leader and conductour of the Muses, we chanted also to the found of the harpe, as *Erato* plaied thereupon, those verses which *Hesiodus* wrote concerning the generation and birth of the Muses: when our song was ended, *Herodorus* the rhetorician began his speech in this wise: Listen lordings (quoth he) you that would distract and plucke from us, *Calliope*: they say (forsooth) that she converse with kings, and not with those who can skill of unfolding syllogismes, or who propose difficult questions to such as speake big, and are of magnificent speech, but those rather who do and effect great matters, the works I mean which concerne orators, politicians & Statemen: and as for *Clio*, of all the Muses, she admitteth and avoweth the encomiasticall orations, wherein are contained the praises of other artizans; for that in old time, our ancestours called praises, *Clea*: and *Polymnia* entertaineth histories; which is nothing els, but the memorie or remembrance of many antiquities: and it is reported, that in some places, and namely, in *Chios*, they name all the Muses *poietes*, that is to say, memories: as for me, I challenge also to my selfe some part of *Euterpe*, if it be as *Chrysippus* saith, that she it is, who hath allotted unto her the gift to entertaine meetings and conferences, with pleasure, delectation and grace: for an orator is no lesse affable in familiar conversation, than eloquent in pleading causes at the barre, or in opining and delivering his minde

minde in consultations at the counsell table; considering that the art and profession of an orator, containeth the facultie and feat to win good will, do defend, mainreine, and iustifie; but principally, and most of all, we imploy our greatest skill in praising and dispraising; which if we can order artificially and with dexteritie, we are able to bring about and effect no small matters; and contrariwise, if we do unskillfully, and without art, we faile of the marke which we shoot at: for this commendable title,

*O God, thū man how acceptable
Is he to all, and venerable!*

agreeth in my judgement, to orators, rather than to any other persons, who have the skill to speake well and to perfwade: a gift most requisite, fit, and becoming those that are to converse with men. Then *Ammonius*: It were not well done of us (quoth he) *Herodes*, if we should be offended and angry with you, although you seeme to comprehend all the Muses together in your hand: for that among friends, all things are common: and therefore it is, that *Jupiter* hath begotten many Muses, that every man might draw abundance from them of all good things, and make no spare: for we have not all of us need, of the skill in hunting, of militarie science, of the art of navigation, nor of the mechanick handicrafts of artizans; but we all stand in need of learning and erudition,

*As many as on fruits do feed,
Which for our use the earth doth breed.*

And hereupon it is, that *Jupiter* hath procreated one *Minerva*, one *Diana*, and one *Vulcane*; but 20 many Muses: now that there should be nine of them in number just, and neither more nor fewer, you will be so good (will you not) as to yeld us a reason? for I suppose you are well studied in this point, being as you are, so well affected unto them, and so much adorned by their graces. And what great learning (quoth *Herodes* againe) should there be in that? for every man hath in his mouth, the number of nine, and there is not a woman, but singeth thereof, and is able to say, that as it is the first square arising from the first odde number, so it is unevenly odde it selfe, as being divided into three odde numbers equall one to the other. Now surely (quoth *Ammonius*, and therewith smiled) this is manfully done of you, and stoutly remembered: but why do you not adde thereto, thus much more, for a corollary and over-measure, that it is a number composed of the two first cubes, considering that it is made of an unitie and an octonarie: and after another manner likewise of composition, it standeth of two triangled numbers, to wit, a senarie and a ternarie, whereof, both the one and the other is a perfect number: but what is the reason, that this novenarie or number of nine, agreeth better unto the Muses, than to any other gods or goddes? for nine Muses we have, but not nine *Cerces*, nor nine *Minervæ*, nor yet nine *Dianæ*? you are not (I trow) perswaded that the cause hereof is, because the name of their mother *Metegwin*, containeth just to many letters? *Herodes* laughed heartily hereat; and after to some time of pause and silence, *Ammonius* solicited us to take the matter in hand, and search the cause thereof. With that, my brother beganne, and said: Our ancients in olde time knew of no more than three Muses; but to prove so much by way of demonstration, before this company, where there be so many wise men and learned clerks, were a mere uncivill and 40 rusticall part, favouring of vanitie and ostentation: but I assure you, the reason of this number, was not (as some affirme) the three kinds of musike or melodie, to wit, * *Diatonique*, * *Chromaticke*, and * *Harmonique*; nor by occasion of the three termes or bounds which make the intervals in an octave or eight, of musike harmonically, to wit, *Nete*, *Mese*, and *Hypate*, that is to say, the Treble, the Meane, and the Base: and yet verily, the Delphians so called the Muses; wherein they did amisse, in my judgement, to restraine that generall name of them all, to one science, or rather to one part of a science, to wit, the harmonie of musike: but our ancients (knowing well, that all arts and sciences were practised & performed by reason and speech, are reduced to three principall kinds, Philosophicall, Rhetoricall, and Mathematicall) reputed them to be the gifts and beneficiall graces of three deities or divine powers, which they called 50 Muses: howbeit, afterwards, and about the time wherein *Hesiodus* lived, when the faculties of these generall sciences were better revealed and discovered, they perceived that each of them had three differences; and so they subdivided them into three subalternall sorts; namely, the Mathematicall, into Arithmetick, Musick, and Geometrie; Philosophy, into Logick, Ethicke, or Morall, and Physicke or Naturall; as for Rhetoricke, it had at the beginning for the first part, Demonstrative, which was imployed in praises; for the second, Deliberative, occupied in consultations; and for the third, Judiciall, used in pleas and judgements: of all which faculties, they thought

* Plain-song
or vocal
musick.
* Full or de-
fect, qua-
vers, and fair-
nes voices.
* Metaphor
and sounding
mus. for plea-
sure content
and record.

thought there was not so much as one, that was invented, or could be learned without some gods or Muses, that is to say, without the conduct and favour of some superiour puissance: and therefore they did not devide and make so many Muses, but acknowledged and found that so many there were: like as therefore, the number of nine is divided into three ternaries, and every one of them subdivided into as many unities; even so the rectitude of reason in the precellent knowledge of the truth, is one puissance, and the same common: but each of these three kinds is subdivided into three others; and every of them hath their severall Muse, for to dispose and adorne particularly one of these faculties: for I doe not thinke, that in this division, poets and astrologers can of right complaine of us, for leaving out their sciences; knowing 10 (as they do) as well as we can tell them, that Astrologie is contributed unto Geometrie, & Poetrie to Musick. upon this speech, *Tryphon* the physican brake out into these words: But what meane you (I pray you) and how hath our poore art offended you, that it is excluded thus out of the temple and societie of the Muses? Then *Dionysius of Melitus*, added moreover, and said: Nay you have provoked many of us besides, to complaine upon our discontentment in the same behalfe: for we that are gardeners and husbandmen imployed in agriculture, challenge a right and propertie in lady *Thalia*, ascribing unto her, the care and charge of plants and seeds, that they may come up, grow, flower, increase, and be preserved. But herein (quoth I) you doe the man manifest wrong; for you have *Ceres* for your patronesse, furnished *Arundines*, for giving us so many gifts; to wit, the fruits of the earth: yea, and *Bacchus* may goe for a patron in this re-

20 spect, who (as *Pindarus* saith)

*Taking the charge of trees that grow,
Doth cause them for to bud and blow:
The verdure fresh and beautie pure,
Of lovely fruits he doth procure.*

And we know besides, that physicians have *Aesculapius* for their president and tutelard god, who ordinarily also use *Apollo* as he is furnished, *Pæan*, that is to say, the appealer of all paines and maladies; but never as he is, *Musegetes*, that is to say, the prince and guide of the Muses: True it is indeed, that according to *Homer*:

*All mortall men of gods have need,
That they in their affaires may need.*

30 Howbeit all men require not the helpe of all gods: But I wonder much at this, that *Lamprias* should either forget or be ignorant of that common saying of the Delphians, who give out: That among them the Muses beare not the name, either of founds and notes, or of strings; but whereas the whole world is divided into three principall parts or regions; whereof the first is of those natures which be fixed and not erratically; the second of such as are wandring; and the third, of bodies under the sphere of the moone: these are every one distinctly digested, composed, and ordered by harmonickall proportions, and each of them (as they say) hath a Muse to their keeper and president, to wit, the first or highest region, *Hypate*; the last or lowest, *Nete*; & as for *Mese* which is in the middle betwene, the doth both comprehend and also turne a- 40 bout mortall things, (as much as it is possible, considering they come after) with divine and immortal, yea, and earthly natures with heavenly and celestiall, according as *Plato* himselfe after a covert & enigmatikall manner hath given us to understand, under the names of the three Destinies, calling one, *Atropos*; another, *Lachesis*; and a third, *Cloto*: for as touching the motions and revolutions of the eight heavenly Spheres, hee hath attributed as presidents unto them so many Syrenes in number, and not Muses.

Then *Menophylus* the Peripateticke coming in with his speech: There is (quoth hee) some reason and probability in the Delphians saying; but surely the opinion of *Plato* is absurd, in that unto those divine and eternall revolutions of the heavens, he hath assigned in stead of Muses, the Syrenes which are dæmons, or powers not verie kinde and good, nor beneficiall, 50 either leaving out as he doth the Muses altogether, or els calling them by the names of the Destinies, and laying they be the daughters of Necessitie: for surely Necessitie is a rude thing and violent; whereas Perswasion is gentle and gracious; by the meanes of Muses amiable, taming what it will, and in my minde,

*Detesteth more the duritie,
And force of hardnecessitie.*

than doth that grace and *Venus of Empedocles*. That is true indeed (quoth *Ammonius*) it abhorreth that violent and involuntarie cause which is in our selves, enforcing us to doe against

* *Odyss.* 14.
167.

our evils: but the necessitie which is among the gods is nothing intollerable, nor violent, nor hard to be obeyed or perswaded, but to the wicked, no more than the law of a citie, that unto good men is the best thing that is, & which they cannot pervert or transgress; not because it is impossible for them to do, but for that they are not willing to change the same. Moreover as touching those Syrenes * of *Homer*, there is no reason that the fable of them should affright us: for (after an enigmaticall and covert sort) even he signifieth very well unto us, that the power of their song and musicke, is neither inhumane, nor pernicious or mortall; but such as imprinteth in the soules which depart from hence thither, as also to such as wander in that other world after death, a vehement affection to divine and celestiall things, together with a certaine forgetfulness of those that be mortall and earthly, detaining and enchanting them as it were with a pleasure that they give unto them; in such sort as by reason of the joy which they receive from them, they follow after and turne about with them: now of this harmonie, there is a little echo or obscure resonance commeth hither unto us, by the means of certaine discourses, which callet into our soules, and putteth into her minde, such things as then and there are, whereas the greatest part is enclosed and stopp'd up with the abstractions of the flesh, and passions that are not sincere: howbeit, our soules, by reason of the generositie wherewith it is endued, doth understand, yea, and remember the same, being ravished with so vehement an affection thereof, that her passion may be compared properly unto most ardent and furious fits of love, whiles she (still affected and desirous to enjoy, but is not able for all that, to loosen and free herselfe from the bodie; howbeit, I do not accord and hold with him altogether in these matters: but it seemeth unto me, that *Plato* as he hath somewhat strangely in this place, called the axes and poles of the world and heavens, by the names of spindels, rocks, and distaves, yea & teamed the starres, wherwes: so, to the Muses also he hath given an extraordinarie denomination of Syrenes, as if they related, and expounded unto the soules and ghosts beneath, divine and celestiall things: like as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* saith, that the Syrenes were come:

*The daughters who of Phorcis were,
That doth of hell the lawes declare.*

As for the Muses they be assigned unto the eight heavenly spheres: and one hath her portion the place and region next to the earth: those then which have the preferencies & charge of the revolution of those eight spheres, do keepe, preserve and maintaine the harmony and consonance, as well betwene the wandering planets and fixed starres, as also of themselves one to another; and that one which hath the superintendence of that space betwene the moone and the earth, and converseth with mortall and temporall things, bringeth in and insulseth among them, by the means of her speech and song (so farre forth as they be capable by nature and apt to receive the same) the perswasive facultie of the Graces, of muscicall measures and harmonie: which facultie is very cooperative with civile policie and humane societie, in dulcing and appeasing that which is turbulent, extravagant and wandering in us, reducing it gently into the right way, from blind by-patches and errors and there setteth it: but according to *Pindarus*:

*Whom Jupiter from heaven above
Vouchsafeth not his gracious love,
Anna: as they be and she for feare
When they the voice of Muses heare.*

Whereto when *Ammonius* had given acclamation, alluding (as his maner was) unto the verse of *Xenophanes* in this wise:

*These things doe carry good credence
And to the truth have reference,*

and withall moved us every one to opine and deliver his advice: I my selfe after some little pause and silence, began thus to say: That as *Plato* himselfe by the etymologie of names (as it were by traces) thought to finde out the properties and powers of the gods; even so let us likewise call in heaven & over celestiall things, one of the Muses, which seemeth of the heaven to be called *urania*. Certes, it standeth to great reason, that these heavenly bodies require not much variety of government, for that they have but one simple cause, which is, nature: but whereas there be many errors, many enormities & trespasses, thither we must transfer those eight one to correct one sort of faults and disorders, and another for to amende & reforme another: and for that of our life, one part is bestowed in serious & grave affaires, and another in sport & game; & throughout the whole course thereof, it hath need of a moderate temperature & muscicall consent: that which in us is grave & serious shall be ruled and conducted, by *Calliope*, *Clio* and

and *Thalia*, being our guides in the skill and speculation as touching gods and goddeses: as for the other Muses, their office and charge is to support and hold up that which is inclined and prone to pleasure, plaice and disport, not to suffer it through weakness and inbecillity to runne headlong into loosenesse and bestiality; but to keepe in, repress and hold it in good and decent order with dauncing, singing and playing such as hath their measures, and is tempered with harmonie, reason, and proportion: For mine owne part, considering that *Plato* admitteth and setteth downe in every one two principles and causes of all our actions, the one inbred and naturall; to wit, a desire and inclination to pleasures: the other coming from without forth; to wit, an opinion which covereth the best; inso much, as the one he calleth some time, Reason, and the other, Passion; and seeing that either of these againe admitteth distinct differences; I see certainly, that both of them require a great government; and in verie truth, an heavenly and divine conduct: and first as touching Reason, one part thereof is civill and roiall; namely, that which medleth in policie government, and matters of State: over which is placed as *Hesiodus* saith, *Calliope*; *Clio* is allotted for her part principally, to advance, collaud, and encourage, ambition or desire of honour; *Polymnia* ruleth and preserveth the verue memorative, and the desire of knowledge and learning, which is in the soules: and hereupon it is, that the Sicyonians of those three Muses which they honour, call one, *Polymnathia*; and unto *Euterpe*, who attributeth not the skill and speculation of truth in nature, as acknowledging no delights and recreations more pure, beautiful, and honest than it. To come now unto appetites and affections, that which concerneth eating and drinking, *Thalia* maketh civill, focicable, and honest: whereas, otherwise it would be inhumane, beastly, and disordered; which is the reason that we say, those men doe *Bacaulon*, when they meet together friendly and merrily to make good chere: but in no wise such as become drunke, and grow to excessive and riotous misdemeanors. As for the accords of love and *Venus*, *Erato* is she that performeth them with her presence; perswading that the action thereof should respect reason and the opportunity of time, cutting off wantonnesse, and quenching the furious heat of lust and pleasure, making it for to determine and rest in faithfull love and amitie, and not to end in dissolute and lascivious intemperance. There remaineth yet the pleasure of hearing and seeing, whether the same belong to reason or to passion; or rather appertene in common to both: the other two Muses, to wit, *Melpomene* and *Terpsichore*, are regents over them, which they compose and order in such sort, that as the one becommeth an honest delight, and not an enchantment of the eares; so the other contenteth the eies as much, though it doe not bewitch and corrupt the same.

The whole chapter following is so defective and faultie in the original, that we know not by any conjecturall means to supply or reforme it.

THE FIFTEENTH QUESTION.

40 That in dauncing there be three parts, Motions, Gesture, and Shew: what every of them is? also, what committie there is betwene the art of Poetry and the feat of dauncing.

40 After this, there was propofed a tart or cake called *Pyramus*, as the prize of victory for children, who daunce best: and for umpires & judges were chosen *Menifus* the schoole master, and *Lampryas* my brother: for before time he had daunced the warlike moriske verie prettily, and was held in the dauncing schooles and places of exercise, to have the best grace in gestification with his hands when he daunced, above all other boies whatsoever: now when as many had daunced and shewed therein more affection than elegancie, and more heart than art; some there were of the companie, who having chosen two more expert than the rest, and who 50 affected greatly to observe the rules of art, praised them to daunce *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο*, as one would say, motion after motion, or one bout after another. Hereupon *Thrasibulus* the sonne of *Ammonius*, demanded what this tearme *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο*, that is to say, motion, signified in this place, which ministred matter, and gave occasion unto *Ammonius* to discourse more at large concerning the parts of dauncing; for he said: That there were three parts thereof, namely, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο*, and *δύσις*: For that (quoth he) a daunce is compounded of motions, gestures, or countenances, like as songs standeth upon founds, and times, or rests betwene; for pauses and staies are the ends of motions herein; and verily those motions, professors call *ῥυθμίς* but the dispositions and habitudes,

habitudes, *ῥαυτά*, unto which the motions doe tend, and wherein they rest and end; namely, when in the forme and gesture of their body, they represent *Apollo* or *Pan*, or some of these ranging *Bacchic*, so as a man at the first sight may acknowledge their part expressly resembled: as for the third part called *ῥαυτά*, it is not a feigned imitation, but a lovely and true demonstration of the subject matters in the daunce: for like as the poets when they would plainly and barely name *Achilles*, *Ulysses*, the Earth or Heaven, use their proper teames to expresse them, and even such as the vulgar know them by; but for the greater emphasis and representation as it were to the life of that which they meane to deliver, they use otherwhiles words of their owne making, and borrowed Metaphors; as namely, when they would signifie the noise of running mates, they are wont to say, they doe *ῥαυτά*, and *ῥαυτά*: and for to expresse the flight of 10 arrows, they tell us that they flie *ῥαυτά*, that is to say:

*What hot desire and haste they make,
Of flesh and blood their fill to take.*

Also to shew a doubtfull battell, wherein it is hard to say whether part shall have the better hands, they come with these teames:

*ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά,
The fight two heads aloft in view,
Confronting equally did shew.*

Likewise to expresse that which they would say, they devise and coine many compositions of names in their verses, as for example: *Enripides* speaking of *Perseus*:

*Then Gorgon-slayer mounting bie,
In aire of Jupiter did flie.*

Semblably *Pindarus* writing of the horse:

*What time as he with courage stout,
* Spur-leffe, his bodie gave so stout,
To runne a race from bout to bout,
Upon Alphicus banks along.*

Yea and *Homere* describing a course at horse-running:

*The chariots with brasse and sin,
bedight upon the plaine,
And drawne by sure swift-footed steeds,
were seene to runne amaine.*

Even so it is in dauncing, for that which they call *ῥαυτά*, that is to say, gesture, representeth the forme & the visage: *ῥαυτά*, that is to say, the motion, expresseth emphatically some affection, action, or power of the minde; but by the shewes, which they call *ῥαυτά*, properly and promptly, the very things themselves; as for example: the earth, the heaven, the assistants or standers by; which being done in order, number, and measure, resemble those proper names which otherwhiles in poeirie are used, running roundly with the ornaments of their attributes and epithits in this manner:

*Themis made fit, venerable:
Venus black-eyed, aviable:
Queene Juno with her gold-crowne honoured,
Faire Dion and well-favoured.*

Also:
*From Helen came renowned kings,
of * Laves protectors grave,
Sir Doris, Xanthus, Aeolus,
* who joied in horses brave.*

for otherwise if poets should not thus doe, their stile would be very base, and their verses stinke naught, and without all grace, as if one should pen them in this sort simply without all epithits:

*From one descended Hercules,
And from another Iphitus,
This ladies sire, her husbande ke,
And sonne were kings all in their comse:
Her brethern also were the like,
And so were her progenitors.*

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*Who first to know what daunce she was
Greece cleaped her Olympias.*

For the like faults and errours are committed at dauncing in the foresaid shewes, if they carry not a probable likelihood and a grace with them, and the same accompanied with decencie and an unaffected simplicitie: in one word, we may fitly transference the Apophthegme of *Simonides*, from painting unto dauncing, and say thus: That a daunce is a mute poeie, and poeie a speaking daunce; inasmuch (quoth hee) as neither painting dependeth upon poeie, nor poeie of painting, as having no need at all, one of the other: whereas betwene dauncing and poeirie, all things are common, are participating one with another in every thing, and representing, both 10 of them, one and the same thing, especially in those songs to daunce, which they call *Hyporchemata*, wherein is performed the most effectfull and lively resemblance, of the one, by gesture, and of the other, by words and names: so that poeimes seeme aptly to be compared unto the lines and pouring in a picture, by which the formes of visages are drawn; inasmuch, as hee who hath proceeded well in those *Hyporchemata*, and is become excellent in that feat, sheweth plainly, that these two arts, necessarily have need the one of the other: for he who chaunteth out this song,

ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά, ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά, &c.

That is to say:

*I play the horse of Theffaly,
Or els the hound of Amycely.*

20 following and pursuing with his foot, the measures, and expressing the winding and turning found of the voice; or this other song,

** ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά
ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά
ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά ῥαυτά, &c.*

declareth thereby, that poeimes doe in maner provoke the disposition and gesture of dauncing, drawing with the found of verses, as it were with certaine cords, both hands & feet, or the whole bodie rather, stretching out every member thereof in such sort, as when they be pronounced and chanted forth, there is not one of them that can rest in quiet: by occasion whereof, the participant who singeth such songs, is not abashed to praise himselfe no lesse for his sufficiency in the 30 art of dauncing, than his accomplished skill in poeie; and as if he were rapt with some divine instinct, breaketh out into this note:

*How olde soever that I be,
I can yet foot it merrily.*

And this maner of dauncing to the measures, they call the Candiot daunce; howbeit, now a daies there is nothing so ill taught, so badly practised, and so much depraved and corrupted, as is this feat of dauncing: and therefore that is befallen unto it, which *Thyus* the poet fearing, wrote of himselfe in these verses:

*For honour lost among the gods, I dread,
With men alone I shall be honoured.*

40 For having associated her selfe to (I wot not what) trivial and vulgar poeie, & being fallen from that which was ancient, divine and heavenly, the ruleth and beareth sway onely in foolish and amated theaters, where like a tyrannesse she hath in subjection a small deale of musicke (God wot) good enough to please and content the vulgar sort; but among wise men and divine indeed, it hath (to say a trueth) lost all honour and reputation.

These were in maner the last philosophicall discourses (*ῥαυτά ῥαυτά*) which were held at that time, in good *Ammonius* his house, during the festivall solemnitie of the Muses.

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THE



THE OPINIONS OF PHILOSOPHERS.

10

The Summarie.



Inasmuch as in the Preface to the second tome, containing the Miscellany or mixed works of Plutarch, he spake of these gatherings out of naturall philosophie, and of the fruit that may be reaped thereof, by discerning true opinions from false; we will not rehearse againe here, that which was delivered in that place; but propose onely to the eyes of the reader, the bare titles of every chapter throughout these five books, which the author hath joined together, for to shew the opinions of the ancient philosophers, as touching the exposition of the principall points of naturall philosophie.

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Chapters of the first Booke.

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| 1 What is Nature. | 15 Of Colours. | |
| 2 What difference there is betwene a principle and an element. | 16 Of the section of bodies. | |
| 3 As touching Principles, what they be. | 17 Of Mixture and Temperature. | |
| 4 How the world was composed. | 18 Of Voidnesse. | |
| 5 Whether All be One. | 19 Of Place. | 20 |
| 6 How it cometh that men have a notion of God. | 20 Of Space. | 20 |
| 7 What is God. | 21 Of Time. | 30 |
| 8 Of heavenly intelligences or powers called Demons, and of Demi-gods. | 22 Of the effence of Time. | |
| 9 Of the first Matter. | 23 Of Motion. | |
| 10 Of the Forme called Idea. | 24 Of Generation and Corruption. | |
| 11 Of Causes. | 25 Of Necessitie. | |
| 12 Of Bodies. | 26 Of the effence of Necessitie. | |
| 13 Of the least indivisible bodies or Atomes. | 27 Of Destinie. | |
| 14 Of Figures. | 28 Of the substance of Destinie. | |
| | 29 Of Fortune. | |
| | 30 Of Nature. | 40 |

Chapters of the second Booke.

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| 1 Of the world. | 11 Of heaven, and what is the substance thereof. | |
| 2 Of the figure of the world. | 12 The division of heaven, and how many circles it is divided into. | |
| 3 Whether the world be endued with soule, and governed by providence. | 13 What is the substance of the starres, and how they be composed? | |
| 4 Whether the world be incorruptible. | 14 The figure of the starres. | 50 |
| 5 Whereof the world is nourished. | 15 The order and situation of the starres. | |
| 6 With what element God began to frame the world. | 16 The lation or motion of the starres. | |
| 7 The order of the worlds fabrick. | 17 Whence the starres have their light. | |
| 8 For what cause the world bendeth or copeth. | 18 Of the starres called Diocuri, that is to say, Castor and Pollux. | |
| 9 Whether there be any voidnesse without the world. | 19 The signification of starres: how cometh winter and summer. | |
| 10 Which is the right side of the world, and which is the left. | 20 The substance of the sunne. | 21 The |

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| 21 The greatnesse of the sunne. | 28 The illumination of the moone. |
| 22 The forme of the sunne. | 29 The eclipse of the moone. |
| 23 The solstices or sunne-steads, or the conversions of the sunne. | 30 The face or apparence of the moone; and why she seemeth earthly. |
| 24 The eclipse of the sunne. | 31 The distance that is betwene sunne and moone. |
| 25 The substance of the moone. | 32 Of the yeere, and how much is the great yeere; & the revolution of each planet. |
| 26 The bignesse of the moone. | |
| 27 The forme of the moone. | |

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Chapters of the third Booke.

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| 1 Of the circle Galaxia, or the milke way. | 10 The forme of the earth. |
| 2 Of comets or blazing starres; of starres that seeme to shoot or fall; as also of the fire-balls, or meteoros called beames. | 11 The posture or situation of the earth. |
| 3 Of thunders, lightning, flashings, of the burning winds, called Prelethers and Typhons. | 12 The bending of the earth. |
| 4 Of clouds, raine, snowe, and haile. | 13 The motion of the earth. |
| 5 Of the rainbowe. | 14 The division of the earth. |
| 6 Of frosts or frakes in the skie. | 15 The zones or climates of the earth, how many and how great they be. |
| 7 Of winds. | 16 Of earth-quakes. |
| 8 Of winter and summer. | 17 Of the sea: how it is coneret; and how it comes to be bitter. |
| 9 Of the earth: what is the substance thereof: and how bigge it is. | 18 How come the tides, that is to say, the ebbing and flowing of the seas. |
| | 19 Of the circle called Halo. |

Chapters of the fourth Booke.

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| 1 Of the rising of Nilus. | en, imaginable, and imagined. |
| 2 Of the soule. | 13 Of sight, and how we doe see. |
| 3 Whether the soule be corporall: and what is her substance. | 14 Of the reflexions or resemblances in mirrors. |
| 4 The parts of the soule. | 15 Whether darknesse be visible. |
| 5 Which is the mistresse or principall part of the soule, and wherein it doth consist. | 16 Of hearing. |
| 6 Of the soules motion. | 17 Of smelling. |
| 7 Of the soules immortalitie. | 18 Of tasting. |
| 8 Of the senses and sensible things. | 19 Of the voice. |
| 9 Whether the senses and imaginations be true. | 20 Whether the voice be incorporall: and how cometh the resonance called echo. |
| 10 How many senses there be. | 21 How it is that the soule hath sense: and what is the principal & predominant part thereof. |
| 11 How sense and notion is performed, as also how reason is ingendred according to disposition. | 22 Of respiration. |
| 12 What difference there is betwene imaginati- | 23 Of the passions of the body: and whether the soule have a fellow-feeling with it of paine. |

Chapters of the fifth Booke.

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| 1 Of divination or foreknowledge of future thing. | 7 How males and females are engendred. |
| 2 How dreames come. | 8 How monifers are ingendred. |
| 3 What is the substance of naturall seed. | 9 What is the reason that a woman accompanying often times carnally with a man, doth not conceive. |
| 4 Whether naturall seed be a body. | 10 How twinnes, both two and three at once, be occasioned. |
| 5 Whether females as well as males doe yeeld naturall seed. | 11 How cometh the resemblance of parents and |
| 6 After what maner conceptions are. | |

- and progenitours, in children.
 12 What is the cause that infants be like to some other, and not to the parents.
 13 How women proove barren, and men unable to ingender.
 14 What is the reason that mules be barren.
 15 Whether the fruit within the wombe, is to be accounted a living creature or no.
 16 How such fruits be nourished within the wombe.
 17 What part is first accomplished in the wombe.
 18 How it cometh to passe, that infants borne at seven months end, doe live, and are livelike.
 19 Of the generation of living creatures; how they be ingendered, and whether they be corruptible.
 20 How many kindes there be of living creatures; whether they all have sense and use of reason.

- 21 In what time living creatures receive forme within the mothers wombe.
 22 Of what elements is every generall part in us composed.
 23 How cometh sleepe and death; whether it is of soule or bodie.
 24 When and how a man beginneth to come unto his perfection.
 25 Whether it is soule or bodie, that either sleepe, or dieth.
 26 How plants come to grow, and whether they be living creatures.
 27 Of nourishment and growth.
 28 From whence proceed appetites, lusts and pleasures in living creatures.
 29 How the feaver is ingendered; and whether it be an accessorie or symptome to another disease.
 30 Of health, sicknesse, and olde age.

20

THE FIRST BOOKE OF Philosophers opinions.

The Proæme.



Being minded to write of naturall philosophie, we thinke it necessary in the first place, and before all things els, to set downe the whole disputation of Philosophie, by way of division; to the end that we may know which is naturall, and what part it is of the whole. Now the Stoicks say, that sapience or wisdom is the science of all things, aswell divine as humane; and that Philosophie is the profession and exercise of the art expedient thereto, which is the only supreme and soveraigne vertue; and the same divided into three most generall vertues; to wit, Naturall, Morall, and Verball: by reason whereof, Philosophie also admitteth a three-folde distribution; to wit, into Naturall, Morall, Rationall or Verball: the Naturall part is that, when as we enquire and dispute of the world and the things contained therein: Morall, is occupied in treating of the good and ill that concerneth mans life: Rationall or Verball, handleth that which pertaineth unto the discourse of reason and to speech, which also is named Logique or Dialectique, that is to say, Disputative. But Aristotle and Theophrastus, with the Peripateticks, in manner all, divide Philosophie in this manner; namely, into Contemplative and Active: For necessary it is (say they) that a man (to attaine unto perfection) should be a spectator of all things that are, and an actor of such things as be seemely and decent, and may the better be understood by these examples: The question is demanded, whether the Sunne be a living creature, according as it seemeth to the sight to be, or no? He that searcheth and enquireth into the truth of this question, is altogether therein speculative, for he seeketh no farther than the contemplation of that which is; sensibly, if the demand be made, whether the world is infinite? or if there be any thing without the pourpise of the world? for all these questions be mere contemplative. But on the other side mooved it may be, How a man ought to live? how he should governe his children? how he is to beare rule and office of State? and lastly, in what manner, lawes are to be ordeined and made? for all these are sought into, in regard of action, and a man conversant therein, is altogether active and practique.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

What is Nature?

Since then, our intent and purpose is to consider and treat of Naturall philosophie, I thinke it needfull, to shew first, what is Nature: for absurd it were, to enterprise a discourse of Naturall things, and meane-while to be ignorant of Nature and the power thereof. Nature then (according to the opinion of Aristotle) is the beginning of motion and rest, in that thing wherein it is properly and principally, not by accident: for all things to be seene (which are done neither by fortune nor by necessitie, and are not divine, nor have any such efficient cause) be called Naturall, as having a proper and peculiar nature of their owne; as the earth, fire, water, aire, plants, and living creatures. Moreover, those other things which we see ordinarily engendered, as raime, haile, lightning, presteres, winds, and such like; for all these have a certaine beginning; and every one of them was not so for ever, and from all eternitie, but did proceed from some original: likewise, living creatures and plants, have a beginning of their motion; and this first principle, is Nature: the beginning not of motion onely, but also of rest and quiet; for whatsoever hath had a beginning of motion, the same also may have an end: and for this cause, Nature is the beginning aswell of rest as of moving.

CHAP. II.

What difference there is betweene a principle and an element.

Aristotle and Plato are of opinion, that there is a difference betweene a Principle and an Element; but Thales Milesius thinketh they be both one: howbeit, there is a great difference betweene the one and the other; for elements be compounded; whereas we holde, that the first Principles neither be compounded, nor are any complet substance: and verily, earth, water, aire, and fire, we tearme Elements; but Principles we call other Natures in this respect, that there is nothing precedent or before them, whereof they are ingendered; for otherwise, if they were not the first, they should in no wise be Principles; but that rather were to be so called, whereof they be ingendered. Now certaine things there are precedent, whereof, earth and water, &c. be composed; to wit, the first matter, without all forme and shape; as also the first forme it selfe, which we call *Entelechia*; and thirdly, Privation. Thales therefore is in an error, when he saith, that water was both the Element and Principle of first beginning of all things.

CHAP. III.

Of principles or first beginnings, what they be,

Thales the Milesian affirmed, that Water was the first principle of the whole world: and this man seemeth to have bene the first author of philosophie; and of him tooke the Ionique sect of Philosophers their name (for many families there were successively of Philosophers) who having studied Philosophie in *Aegypt*, went to *Miletum*, when hee was farre steep in yeeres, where he maintained this position: That all things were made of Water; so all things were to be resolved againe into Water. The reasons of this conjecture of his, were these: first, because naturall feed is the principle and beginning of all living creatures, and that is of a moist substance; therefore probable it is, that all other things likewise have humiditie for their principle: secondly, for that all sorts of plants be nourished by moisture, which if they want, they wither and fade away: thirdly, considering that the fire or the sunne it selfe, and the starres is nourished and maintained by vapours proceeding from the waters, the whole world also by consequence consisteth of the fume: which is the reason, that Homer (supposing all things to be engendered of water) saith thus:

*The ocean sea, from whence ebbeth
Engendered is, and hath beginning.*

But Anaximander the Milesian holdeth: that Infinitie is the principle of all: for every thing proceedeth from it, & resolveth into it againe; & therefore there be engendered infinite worlds, and those vanish againe into that whereof they be engendered: and why is there this Infinitie? Because (quoth he) there should never faile any generation, but still have subsistence, howbeit,

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even he also erreth heerein; for that he declareth not what is this Infinitie whereof he speaketh, whether it be aire, water, or any other body? he faileth likewise in this, that he putteth downe a subiect matter, but overthroweth the efficient cause: for this Infinitie whereof he talketh, is nothing else but matter; and matter cannot attaine to perfection, nor come into act; unless there be some mooving and efficient cause. ANAXIMENES the Milesian, maintaineth that aire is the principle of the world; for that all things come of it, and returne unto it: Like as, (quoth he) our soule which is aire, keepeth us alive; even so spirit and aire maintaine the Being of the whole world: for spirit and aire be two words, signifying both one thing. But this Philosopher is out of the way as well as the rest, in that hee thinketh that living creatures be composed of a simple spirit, or uniforme aire: and impossible is it that there should be but one principle of all things, to wit, matter; but there ought withall to be supposed an efficient cause: for it is not enough to be provided of silver or gold, for to make a vessel or piece of plate, if there come not unto it, the efficient cause, to wit, the gold-smith: fembably we are to say of brasse, wood, and all other sorts of matter.

ANAXAGORAS the Clazomenian, is perswaded, and so teacheth: That the principles of the world, and all that therein is, are small like parcels; which hee termeth *Homœomeris*; for hee thought it altogether absurd and impossible, that any thing should be made of that which is not; or bee dissolved into that which hath no being; for howsoever we take our nourishment simple and uniforme; as for example; eat bread of corne, and drinke water, yet with this nutriment, are nourished, haire, veines, arteries, sinewes, bones, and other parts of the bodie, which being so: Confesse wee must (quoth hee) likewise, that in this food which wee receive are all things which have their Being; and that all things doe grow and increase of that which hath Being: so that in this nutriment be those parcels which breed blood, sinewes, bones, and other parts of our body, which may be comprehended by discourse of reason; for we are not to reduce all unto the outward sense, to shew and proove that bread and water effect these things: but it may suffice, that in them these parts are conceived by reason: Inasmuch therefore as in nourishment there be parcels fembable unto that which they breed, in that regard hee called them *Homœomeris*, affirming them to be the principles of all things; and even so he would have these fembable parcels, to be the matter of all things; and for efficient cause, he setteth downe a Minde or understanding, that ordereth and disposeth all. And thus be-
ginneeth he to goe to worke, and reasoneth in this wise. All things at first were confounded and huddled together pell mell; but that Minde or understanding doth sever, dispose, and let them in order: in this one thing yet he hath done wel, and is to be commended, that unto the matter he hath adjoined a workman.

ARCHELAUS an Athenian, the sonne of *Apollodorus*, affirmeth, that the principle of all things was the infinit aire, together with the condensation, and rarefaction thereof; of which the one is fire, and the other water: and these Philosophers, following by continuall succession one upon another after *Thales*, made that sect which is called *Ionique*. But from another head, PYTHAGORAS the sonne of *Mnesarchus*, & a Samian borne, the first author of the name of Philosophie: held that the principle of all things were Numbers, and their symmetries, that is to say, the proportions that they have in their correspondency one unto another; which hee calleth otherwile Harmonies: & those elements that be composed of them both, are termed by him Geometricall: furthermore, hee reckoneth among Principles, unitie, and Twaine indefinite; of which, the one tendeth and hasteneth to an efficient and specificall cause, to wit, a Minde, and the same is God; the other unto a passive and materiall cause, namely, the visible world: Moreover, he thought that the Denarie or Ten, was the absolute nature and perfection of numbers; for that all men, as well Greeks as Barbarians, count untill ten, and when they be thither come, they returne backe againe unto unitie: over and besides hee said: That all the power of ten, consisted within fower, and in a quaternarie; the reason is this: that if a man begin at one, and reckon on still, numbering upright unto foure, hee shall make up ten; surpass he once the quaternarie, he is gone beyond the denarie; as for example; one and two make three, three thereto arise to fixe, put thereto foure, and you have ten: inasmuch as number collected by unities, resteth in ten; but the force and puissance thereof lieth in foure. The Pythagoreans therefore were wont to sweare by the quaternarie or number of foure, which they held to be the greatest oath that they could take, as appeareth by this Distichon:

*I sweare by this quaternary,
That yeelds our soules fountaine,*

Which

*Which of natures eternity,
Doth feed and root continuance.*

And our soule (as he saith) doth consist of the quaternary number; for there is in it, understanding, science, opinion, and sense; from whence proceedeth all manner of art and knowledge, and whereupon we our selves are called reasonable: as for understanding, it is that unitie; for that it conceiveth and knoweth not but by unitie; as for example: There being many men, they are not every one in particular subject to our senses, but incomprehensible, and infinit; many in our understanding we conceive and apprehend this one man alone, unto whom none is like: and so in our cogitation we consider one man onely; but if they be considered particularly apart, they are infinit: for all these genders and kindes are in unitie; and therefore when the question is asked of a particular man what he is? we yeeld a generall definition and say: He is a reasonable creature, apt to discourse by reason; and so likewise of this or that horse, wee must answer: That hee is a living creature, having a proprietie to neigh. Thus you see how understanding is unitie, whereby we understand these things: but the binary or number of two, is by good right an indefinite science: for all demonstration and proove of any science, yea and moreover, all manner of syllogisme or argumentation, doth collect a conclusion which was doubtfull, of certaine premissed propositions, confessed as true: whereby it sheweth easily another thing, whereof the comprehension is science; and so it appeareth, that science by a likelihood is the binary number: but opinion by good reason may be said, the ternary number by comprehension; for that opinion is of many, and the ternary number implieth a pluralitie or multitude, as we may see by the poet when he saith:

*Thrice happy men,
Those Greeks were then.*

And for this cause *Pythagoras* as made no reckoning of three, whose sect bare the name of *Italic*, for that he (not able to endure the tyrannicall dominion of *Polycrates*) departed from *Samos*, his native country, and went to keepe his schoole in *Italy*.

HERACLITUS, and HIPPIASUS the Metapontine, were of opinion, that Fire was the principle and beginning of all: for of fire say they, all things are made, and in fire they shal have an end; and when it is extinct and quenched, the universall world is in this manner engendered and framed: for first and formost the grossest part thereof being condensate and thrust together into it selfe, becommeth earth, and afterwards, when the same earth is resolved by fire, it turneth to be water; which when it doth evaporate, is converted into aire: againe, the whole world, and all the bodies therein contained, shall be one day consumed by fire in that generall conflagration and burning of all: whereby hee concludeth, that fire is the beginning of all things, as that whereof all was made, and the end likewise, for that all things are resolved into it.

EPICURUS the Athenian, sonne of *Necoles*, following the philosophie of *Democritus*, saith: That the principles of all things be certaine Atomes, that is to say, little bodies indivisible, and by reason onely perceptible, the same solide, and admitting no vacuities, not engendered, immortal, eternall, incorruptible, such as neither can be broken, nor receive any forme of the parts, ne yet be otherwise altered: These (quoth he) being perceptible & comprehended by reason, move notwithstanding in emptinesse, and by emptinesse; & as the same voidnesse is infinite, so the said bodies also be in number infinit: howbeit these three qualities are incident unto them, figure, bignesse, and weight: for DEMOCRITUS allowed them but twaine, to wit, bignesse, and figure; but *Epicurus* added unto them a third, namely poise or ponderositie: For these bodies (quoth he) mult of necessitie move, by the permission of the weight; otherwise they could not possibly stirre: the figures also of their bodies, (hee said) were comprehensible and not infinit; and these were neither hooked nor three-forked, ne yet round in manner of a ring, for such formes are apt to breake: as for the Atomes themselves, they be impassible and infrangible, having certaine figures, no otherwise perceptible, but by reason; and such a body is called *Atomus*, not in this regard, that it is the least of all, but for that it cannot be divided, as being impassible, and admitting no vacuities: and therefore hee that nameth an Atome, saith as much, as infrangible, impassible, and without vacuities: now that there is such an indivisible body called *Atomus*, it is apparent, for that there be elements eternall, bodies void, and an unitie.

EMPEDOCLES an Agrigentine, the sonne of *Meton*, saith: There be foure elements, fire, aire, water, and earth; also two principall faculties or powers, namely, accord, and discord, or unitie.

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amitie and enmitie, of which, the one hath puiffance to unite, the other to diffolve: and thefe be his words:

*Four seeds and roots of all things that you fee,
Now liften firft, and hearken what they be:
Lord Jupiter with his omnipotence,
And lady Junoes vital influence,
Rich Pluto, and dame Neftis weeping ay,
Who with her teares, our feed-fourfe weets away.*

By Jupiter hee meaneth fierie heat, and ardent skie; by Juno giving life, the aire; by Pluto, the earth; by Neftis and this humane fountaine of naturall feed, water.

SOCRATES the fonne of *Sophronifcus*, and PLATO the fonne of *Ariston*, both Athenians, (for the opinions of them both, concerning the world and all things therein, be the fame) have fet downe three principles, God, Matter, and Idea, that is to fay, Forme: God is an univerfall fpirit or Minde: Matter is the firft and principall fubject of generation and corruption: Idea, an incorporeall fubftance, refiting in the thoughts and cogitations of God, which God; is the generall foule and intelligence of the world.

ARISTOTILES of *Stagira* the fonne of *Nicomachus*, hath put downe for Principles thefe three, to wit, a certaine forme called *Entelechus*, Matter, and Privation: for elements, four, and for a fifth Quinteffence, the heavenly bodie which is im mutable.

ZENO the fonne of *Anafcaris*, a Citean borne, holdeth for two principles, God and Matter: whereof the one is an active and efficient caufe, and the other paffive; and besides, four elements.

CHAP. III.

How the world was framed?

THIS world then, became compofed & formed in a round figure, bending and coping after this manner: thofe Atomes or indivifible bodies, having an accidentarie and inconfiderate motion, flitting continually, and moft ftrictly, happen many of them to encounter one another and meet together; in which regard they differ in figures and magnitudes: now when they are thus gathered and heaped up together in one, the greater fort of them, and fuch as were moft ponderous, fettled altogether downward; as many of them as were fmall, round, even, fmooth, and flipperie, thofe being beaten upon by the encounter of thefe weightie bodies, were repulled, driven backe, and forced upward; but when that force which drove them aloft began to faile, and gave over once to fend them up higher, not being able to fall downward againe; for that they were empached, they were of neceffitie enforced to retire into thofe places which were able to receive them: to wit, fuch as were round about them; unto which, a mightie number of bodies being wound together in an heape, and by means of the repercuffion, enterlaced one within another, they engendred and brought forth the heaven; and afterwards others of the fame nature; yet of divers formes (as hath been faid before) being likewise driven up aloft, accomplifhed the nature of Stars. Moreover, the multitude of thofe bodies yielding a vapour and exhalation, did beat forward and drive the aire; which by flitting and motion, being converted into wind, and comprifing therewith the Starres, turned them about with it; and fo maintaine unto this day, that revolution which they have aloft. Of thofe bodies then, which fetled below, was made the earth; and of fuch as mounted on high, the heaven, the fire, and the aire: but round about the earth, by occafion that there was much matter yet left, and the fame increafate and thickned, by the forcible driving of the winds, and the breathing of the Starres: all that part thereof which was more fubtile, and of a thinner forme and confiftance, gathered round together, and engendred the element of water, which being of a liquid, and flowing nature ran downward to hollow places lying low, which were able to receive and hold them: or elfe the water of it felfe where it ftayed and refted, made concavities and hollow places underneath. Thus you fee after what manner the principall parts of the world were firft engendred and made.

CHAP. V.

Whether All be one?

THE STOICKE Philosophers held opinion that the world was one, which they called *mon*, That is to fay, All, and the fame of corporall fubftance.

EMPEDOCLES

EMPEDOCLES affirmed, that the world indeed was one; but All and the world, were not both one: for the world quoth he, is but a fmall portion of All: and as for the reft befide, it is but an idle and dull matter.

PLATO proveth his opinion, that the world is but one, by conjecture; and gueffeth All to be one, by three prefumptions or probable arguments. Firft, for that otherwife the world were not perfect and accomplifhed, if it comprised not All within it felfe. Secondly, it fhould not be like unto the pattern, if it were not one and uniforme. Thirdly, it would not be incorruptible, in cafe there were any thing without it. But wee are to answer PLATO and fay againft him, that the world is perfect, although it comprehend not all things: for man is perfect enough, and yet all things be not comprised in him. Moreover, there be many examples drawn from one pattern, as we may fee in ftatues, houfes, and pictures: and how is it perfect, if any thing may turne without it? Finally, incorruptible neither is it, nor can it be, confidering it had a beginning and a kind of Nativitie.

METRODORUS faith: That as it were an abfurd and impertinent fpeech to fay, that in a great field there grew but one earre of corne; fo it were as ftrange a matter, that in this infinities there fhould be but one world: and that there be in number infinite, it appeareth by this, that there be caufes infinite: for if the world were finite, and all the caufes infinite whereof it is made, it cannot chufe but of neceffitie there fhould be likewife infinite: for where all the caufes be, there muft needs the effects follow: now the caufes of the world, be either thefe Atomes or the

20 Elements.

CHAP. VI.

From whence it came that Men had the notion of God?

THE STOICKE Philosophers define the Effence of God in this wife, namely, To be a fpirit full of intelligence, and of a fiery nature, having no forme, but transforming himfelfe into whatfoever he will, and refembling all things. The notion and apprehenfion men had of him, firft, by conceiving the beautie of thofe things which are object to their eyes: for fo beautifull thing hath bene made by chaunce, and at adventure, but compofed & framed by fome ingenious and operative Art: now that the heaven is beautifull, it appeareth by the forme, colour, and bigneffe thereof, by the varietie alfo of the ftarres difpofed therein: moreover, the world is round in manner of a Ball, which figure of all other is principall and moft perfect, for it alone resembeth all the parts; for being round it felfe, it hath the parts likewife round. For this caufe PLATO faid, That our mind and reafon (the moft divine part of man) is lodged and feated in the head, which commeth neere unto a round figure: as for the colour, it is faire and lovely; for it ftandeth upon the azure or blew, which being more darke than purple, hath notwithstanding a bright and refplendent qualitie, in fuch fort, as by the exceeding ftrengh of that lightfome hew, it cutteth and pierceth thorow fo great an intervall and fpacioufneffe of the aire, as it may be evidently feene in fo mightie a diftance: in regard alfo of the greatneffe thereof, it is right beautifull; for, of all things that be of one and the fame kinde, that which invironeth and containeth the reft, is ever faireft; as we may fee in a living creature, and a tree: besides, to consummate and accomplifh the beautie of the world, there be the celeftiall fignes which appeare unto our eye; for the oblique circle of the Zodiacke, is embelifhed with twelve divers and fundry images,

*Wherein the CRAB is to be feene,
the LION after it,
The VIRGIN, and two forked* CLEES,
the SCORPION with his bit,
The ARCHER and the CAPRICORNE,
upon which horned GOAT,
There follow with the WATER-MAN,
two FISHES all afloat;
And after thefe, enſue in courſe,
the RAM and fturdy Bull,
But laft of all, the double TWINNES,
make up the dozen full.*

* This is to
fay, Libra.

50

Yyy 3

Befides

Besides an innumerable sort of other configurations of starres, which God hath made in the like arches and roundities of the world; whereupon *Euripides* wrote thus:

*The starrie splendour of the skie,
which x^eavor some do call,
The wondrous worke of that most wise
Creatour, Lord of all.*

Thus then we apprehended heereby, the notion of God; for the sunne, the moone, and other starres, after they have performed the course of their revolutions under the earth, come to rise againe all like in colour, equall in bignesse, and retaining alwaies still the same places and times: whereupon, they who deliver unto us the manner of Gods service and worship, declare the same 10 unto us after three sorts; the first, naturall; the second, fabulous; and the third, civill; that is to say, testified by the statutes and ordinances of every city and State: the naturall is taught by philosophers; the fabulous, by poets; the civill and legall, by the customes of each citie: but all this doctrine and manner of teaching, is divided into seven sorts; the first consisteth in the celestiall bodies, appearing aloft in heaven; for men had an apprehension of God, by starres that shew above, seeing how they are the causes of great symphonie and accord, and that they keepe a certaine constant order of day and night, of Winter and Summer, of rising and setting, yea, and among those living creatures and huins, which the earth beneath bringeth forth: whereupon, it hath bene thought, that heaven was the father, and earth, the mother to these; for that the pouring downe of showers and raine seemed in stead of naturall seeds, and the earth as a mother, to 20 conceive and bring the same forth. Men also, seeing and considering the starres alwaies *sterns*, that is to say, holding on their course, and that they were the cause that we did *dreams*, that is to say, behold and contemplate: therefore they called the sunne and moone, &c. *stars*, that is to say, gods, of the word *stars*, that is to say, to run, and *stars*, that is to say, to behold. Now they range the gods into a second and third degree; namely, by dividing them into those that be profitable, and such as are hurtfull, calling the good and profitable, *Jupiter, Juno, Mercurie, and Ceres*; but the noisome and hurtfull, *mars*, that is to say, maligne spirits, *scorpius*, that is to say, furies; and *Ares*, that is to say, *Mars*, whom they detested, as badde and violent, yea, and devised meanes to appease and qualifie their wrath. Moreover, the fourth and fifth place and degree, they attributed unto affaires, passions and affections; namely, love, *Venus*, lust or desire: and as for affaires, they had hope, justice, good policie and equitie. In the sixth place, be those whom the poets have fained; for *Hesiodus* being minded to set downe a father for the gods begotten and engendred, devised and brought in such progenitors as these,

*To wit, for Ceus and Crius,
Hyperion, and Iapetus.*

whereupon, all this kind is named Fabulous. But in the seventh place, are those who were adorned with divine honors, in regard of the great benefits and good deeds done unto the common life of mankind, although they were begotten and borne after the manner of men; and such were *Hercules, Castor, Pollux, and Bacehus*; and these, they said, had an humane forme: for that as the most noble and excellent nature of all, is that of gods; so of living creatures, the most beautiful, 40 is man, as adorned with sundry vertues above the rest, and simply the best, considering the constitution of his minde and soule: they thought it therefore meet and reasonable, that those who had done best, and performed most noble acts, resembled that which was the most beautiful and excellent of all other.

CHAP. VII.

What is God?

Some of the philosophers, and namely, *Diagoras* of the isle of *Melos*, *Theodorus* the Cyrenæan, and *Euemerus* of *Tegea*, held resolutely, that there were no gods. And verily, as touching 50 *Euemerus*, the poet *Callimachus* of *Cyrene*, writeth covertly in Iambique verses, after this manner:

*All in vaine, into that chappell go,
Without the walles, the city not farre fro;
Whereas sometyme that old vain-glourious asse,
When as he had the image cast in brasse,
Of Jupiter, proceeded for to write
Those wicked books, which shame was to indite.*

And

And what books were they? even those, wherein he discouered that there were no gods at all. And *Euripides* the tragædian poet, although he durst not discover & set abroad in open rearses the same, for feare of that high court and councill of *Aresphagm*, yet he signified as much, in this manner; for he brought in *Sisyphus* as the principall author of this opinion, and afterwards, favourizeth even that sentence of his, himselfe; for thus he saith:

*The time was, when the life of man was rude,
And as wilde beasts, with reason not endu'd,
Disordinae, when wrong was done alway,
As might and force in each one bare the sway.*

10 But afterwards, these enormities were laied away, and put downe, by the bringing in of lawes: howbeit, for that the law was able to repress injuries and wicked deeds, which were notorious and evidently scene, and yet many men notwithstanding, offended and sinned secretly; then some wise man there was, who considered and thought with himselfe, that needfull it was alwaies, to blindfold the truth with some devised and forged lies, yea, and to perswade men, that

*God there is, who lives immortally,
Who heares, who sees, and knows all wondrously.*

For away (quoth he) with vaine dreames and poeticall fictions, together with *Callimachus*, who saith:

*If God thou knowest, not well, his power divine,
All things can well performe, and bring to fine.*

20 For God is not able to effect all things: for say there be a God, let him make snow, blacke, fire, cold, him that sitteth or lieth, to stand upright, or the contrary at one instant: and even *Plato* himselfe, that speaketh so bigge, when he saith: That God created and formed the world to his owne pattern and likenesse, smelleth heerein very strongly of some old dotards foolerie: to speake according to the poets of the old comedie: For how could hee looke upon himselfe (quoth he) to frame the world according to his owne similitude? or how had he made it round in manner of a globe, being himselfe lower than a man?

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that the first bodies in the beginning stood still and stirred not: but then the minde and understanding of God, digested and aranged them in order, yea 30 and effected the generations of all things in the universall world.

PLATO is of a contrary mind, saying: That those first bodies were not in tepose but that they moved confusedly and without order: whereupon God (quoth he) knowing that order was much better than disorder and confusion, disposed all these things; but as well the one as the other have heerein faulted in commons; for that they imagined and devised, that God was entangled and encumbered with humane affaires; as also that he framed the world in regard of man, and for the care that he had of him: for surely (living as he doth) happy & immortal, accomplished with all sorts of good things, and wholly exempt from all evil, as being altogether imployed and given to prefer and mainteine his owne beatitude and immortality) he intermedleth not in the affaires and occasions of men; for so he should be as unhappy and miserable as some artizan, 40 malon or labouring workman, bearing heavi. burdens travelling and sweating about the fabrick of the world. Again this god of who they speake, of necessity either was not before the creation of the world, at what time as those first bodies lay still unmoveable, or stirred confusedly; or else if he were before, he either slept or watched, or did neither the one nor the other: but as the former of these we may not admit, for that God is eternall; so the latter we cannot confesse: for if God slept from all eternitie and time out of minde, he was no better than dead: for what is eternal sleep, other than death? but surely God is not subject to death: for the immortality of God, and this vicinity to death, are much distant afunder and cannot stand both together: but if we say, that God was awake all that while; either he was defectuous in his blessed state of felicity; or els he enjoyed the same complet: but in the first condition God is not happy; for what 50 ever wanteth ought of felicity cannot be happy: and verily in the second state he is not better: for if he were defective in nothing before, to what purpose busied he himselfe in such vaine enterprizes? moreover if there be a God, and that by his prudent care, mens affaires be governed, how cometh it to passe that wicked men prosper in the world, and finde fortune their indulgent mother, but the good and honest suffer the contrary, and feeble her to be a curst stepdame? for king

Agamemnon, as the poet saith,
*A prince right good and gracious,
A knight with all most valourous.*

was by an adulterer and adulteresse surpris'd and murdered treacherously: and *Hercules* one of his race and kindred, after he had ridde and purged the life of man from so many monsters that troubled his repose was poisoned by *Deianeira*, and so by indirect means lost his life.

THALES saith, that God is the soule of the world.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the starres be celestially gods.

DEMOCRITUS is perswaded, that God is a minde of a fierce nature, and the soule of the world.

PYTHAGORAS affirmeth, that of the two first principles, Unitie was God, and the soveraigne good; which is the very nature of one, and is understanding it selfe: but the indefinite binarie, is the diuelt and euill, about which is the multitude materiall, and the visible world.

SOCRATES and *PLATO* doe hold, that he is one and of a simple nature, begotten and borne of himselfe alone, truly good: All which tearmes and attributes, tend unto a Minde: so that, this minde is God, a forme separate apart, that is to say, neither mingled with any matter, nor entangled and joined with any thing passible whatsoever.

ARISTOTLE supposeth, that this supreme God is an abstract forme, settled upon the round sphere of the universal world, which is an heavenly and celestially body, and therefore tearmed by him, the fifth body or *quinta essentia*: which celestially body being divided into many spheres coherent by nature, but separate and distinct by reason and understanding, hee thinketh each of these spheres to be a kinde of animall, composed of body and soule, of which twaine, the bodie is celestially, mooving circularly; and the soule, reason, unmooveable in it selfe, but the cause 20 in effect of motion.

The Stoicks teach after a more generall manner, and define God, to be a working and artificiall fire, proceeding methodically and in order to the generation of the world, which comprehendeth in it selfe all the spermatikall proportions and reasons of seed; according to which every thing by fatall destinie, is produced and cometh forth: also to be a spirit piercing and spreading through the whole world; howbeit, changing his denomination throughout the whole matter, as it passeth by transition from the one to the other: Semblably that the world is God, the starres likewise and the earth, yea, and the supreme minde above in heaven.

Finally, *Epicurus* conceiveth thus of the gods, that they all have the forme of man, and yet be perceptible only, by reason and cogitation, in regard of the subtil parts, and fine nature 30 of their imaginative figures: he also affirmeth, that those other foure natures in generall being corruptible, to wit, the atomes, vacuities, infinitie, and resemblances, which also be called semblable parcels and elements.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Demons and deny-gods, otherwise named, Heroes.

TO this treatise of the gods, meet it is to adjoine a discourse as touching the nature of Demones and Heroes.

THALES, *PYTHAGORAS*, *PLATO*, and the *STOICKS*, hold that these Demons be spiritually substances: and the *Heroes* soule separate from their bodies; of which sort, there be good and bad: the good *Heroes* are the good soules, and the bad *Heroes* the bad soules; but *EPICURUS* admitteth none of all this.

CHAP. IX.

Of Matter.

Matter is the first and principall subject exposted to generation, corruption, and other mutations.

The Sectaries of *THALES* and *PYTHAGORAS*, together with the Stoicks, doe say, that this Matter, is variable, mutable, alterable and fluxible, all wholly thorow the universal world.

The disciples and followers of *DEMOCRITUS* are of opinion, that the first principles be impassible, to wit, the small indivisible bodie, Atomes, Voidnesse, and Incorporall.

ARISTOTLE and *PLATO* doe holde, that Matter is corporall, without forme, shape, figure and qualitie, in the owne nature and propertie; but when it hath received formes once, it becommeth

becommeth (as it were) a nurse, a molde, pattern, and a mother. They who set downe for this Matter, water, earth, fire or aire, do not say, that now it is without forme; but that it is a very bodie: but such as affirme, that these Atomes and indivisible bodies be the said Matter, make it altogether formelesse.

CHAP. X.

Of Idea.

I*Idea* is a bodielesse substance, which of it selfe hath no subsistence, but giveth figure and forme unto shaplesse matters, and becommeth the very cause that bringeth them into shew and evidence.

SOCRATES and *PLATO* suppose, that these *Idea* be substances separate and distinct from Matter, howbeit, subsisting in the thoughts and imaginations of God, that is to say, of Minde and understanding.

ARISTOTLE admitteth verily these formes and *Idea*, howbeit, not separate from matter, as being the patterns of all that which God hath made.

The *STOICKS*, such as were the scholars of *ZENO*, have delivered, that our thoughts and conceits were the *Idea*.

CHAP. XI.

Of Causes.

A Cause is that whereupon dependeth or followeth an effect, or by which any thing happeneth.

PLATO hath set downe three kinds of Causes, and those are distinguished by these tearmes; By which, Of which, and For which; but he taketh the most principall to be that, By which; that is to say, the efficient cause, which is the minde or understanding.

PYTHAGORAS and *ARISTOTLE* doe hold, that the principall Causes be incorporall; and as for other Causes, either by participation or by accident, they are of a corporal substance: and so the world is a bodie.

But the *STOICKS* are of opinion, that all Causes are corporall, inasmuch as they be spirits.

CHAP. XII.

Of Bodies.

A Bodie is measurable, and hath three dimensions, length, breadth and depth or thicknesse. Or thus: A Bodie is a masse that resisteth, touching naturally of it selfe; or that which occupieth a place.

PLATO saith, that a Bodie is neither heave nor light of it selfe naturally, so long as it abideth in the owne proper place; but being once in a strange place, it hath first an inclination, and upon it a motion and impulsion, either to weight or lightnesse.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that earth simply is most ponderous, and fire lightest: that aire and water be of a middle or doubtfull nature betweene both, sometime heave and otherwhiles light.

The *STOICKS* hold, that of the foure elements, two be light; namely, Fire and Aire; other two be heave; to wit, Water and Earth: for, light is that, which of the owne nature, and not by any compulsion or instigation removeth from the proper middle where it is: heavy also is that, which naturally tendeth to the said middle; but the middle it selfe, is in no wise heave.

EPICURUS saith, that Bodies are not comprehensible; that the first Bodies be simple; but all the compositions of them have their weight and ponderosities: also, that the *ATOMES* doe move, some plumb right downe; others, at one side; and some againe, mount aloft, and that by impulsion and concussion.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the smallest Bodies.

E*MPEDOCLES* is of opinion, that before the foure elements, there were certaine small parcels or fragments, as one would say, elements before elements; and those were of semblable parts, and the same all round.

HERACLITUS

HERACLITUS cometh inwith (Iknow not what) petie scrapings or shavings, exceeding small, and the same not dividible into parts.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Figures.

A Figure is the superficies, circumscription, and accomplished lineament of a bodie. The PYTHAGOREANS affirme, that the bodies of the foure elements be of a sphericke or round figure; onely the highest of them (to wit, fire) is pyramidall, or sharpe pointed to above.

CHAP. XV.

Of Colours.

A Colour is the visible qualitie of a bodie. The PYTHAGOREANS called Colour, the outward superficies of the bodie. EMPEDOCLES defined it to be that which is fit and agreeable to the waies and passages of the sight.

PLATO saith, it is a flame sent from bodies, having certeine parcels proportionable to the optic-sight.

ZENO the Stoicke holdeth, that Colours be the first figurations of any matter.

* *τετταρ, some
rende τετταρ,
that is to say,
their minnes
and conditi-
ons.*

The followers of PYTHAGORAS affirme these to be the kinds of Colours, White, Blacke, Red, and Yellow; and that the diversity of Colours ariseth from a certeine mixture of elements; but in living creatures, the same proceedeth from the varietie of their * places and sundry aires.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Section of Bodies.

THESECTARIES of THALES and PYTHAGORAS, are of opinion, that bodies bee passible and dividible infinitely.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS hold, that this section stiaeth either at the Atomes indivisible, or at those small bodies which have no parts, neither doth this division (say they) passe infinitely.

ARISTOTLE saith, that divided they be in *infinitum*, potentially, but actually not.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Mixture and Temperature.

THE ancient philosophers affirme, that this mixture of Elements is by way of alteration: but ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS, say, it is done by apposition.

EMPEDOCLES composeth the Elements of smaller masses, which he supposeth to be the least bodies, and as a man would say, the Elements of Elements.

PLATO would have the three bodies (for hee designeth not them, either to bee called or to be, Elements) to be convertible one into the other, to wit, water, aire, and fire: but as for the earth, it cannot be turned into any one of them.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Voidnesse or Vacuities.

THE naturall philosophers of THALES his schoole, all untill you come to Plato, have generally disfavoured and reprooved this Vacuities: As for *Empedocles* thus he writeth:

*In all the world so spacious,
Nought is void or superfluous.*

LEUCIPPUS

LEUCIPPUS, DEMOCRITUS, DEMETRIUS, METRODORUS, and EPICURUS, hold, that the Atomes be infinite in multitude, and Voidnesse infinite in magnitude.

The STOICKS affirme, that within the world there is no Voidnesse, but without there is infinite.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that without the world there is no such Voidnesse, as that the heaven by the meanes thereof, may draw breath; for that it is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Place.

PLATO saith, that Place is that which is susceptible of formes, one after another, which is by way of Metaphor or translation, to expresse the first matter, as a nurse receiving and embracing all.

ARISTOTLE taketh Place to be the extreame superficies of the continent, conjunct and contiguous to the content.

CHAP. XX.

Of Roome or Space.

THE STOICKS, and EPICURUS doe holde, that there is a difference betweene Voidnesse, Place, and Roome: for Voidnesse (say they) is the solitude or vacuities of a body: Place, that which is fully occupied and taken up with a body: but Roome or Space, that which is occupied but in part; as we may see in a rundlet or barrell of wine.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Time.

PYTHAGORAS saith, that Time is the sphere of that utmost heaven that compriseth all. PLATO thinketh it to be the mooveable image of the eternitie, or the intervall of the worlds motion: but ERATOSTHENES affirmeth it to be the course of the sunne.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Essence of Time.

PLATO saith, that the Essence of Time is the mooving of heaven: but many of the STOICKS hold it, to be the mooving it selfe; and most of them affirme, that Time had no beginning of generation.

PLATO is of opinion, that engendered it is according to our conceit and capacities.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Motion.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme, that Motion is a certeine difference and alteration in matter.

ARISTOTLE giveth out, that it is the actual operation of that which is mooveable.

DEMOCRITUS saith, that there is but one kinde of Motion, to wit, that which tendeth obliquely.

EPICURUS maintaineth twaine, the one direct and plumbe, the other side-long.

EROPHILUS is of opinion, that there is one Motion perceptible in reason, and another object to sense naturall.

HERACLITUS excluded all station, rest and repose out of the world: For this (quoth hee) belongeth unto the dead, but perpetuall Motion agreeth to eternall substances; and perishable Motion to substances corruptible.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Generation and Corruption.

PARMENIDES, MELISSUS, and ZENO, rejected wholly all Generation and Corruption; for they thought the universall world to be unmooveable: but EMPEDOCLES and EPICURUS, and all those who held the world to be made of a masse and heape of small bodies hudled together, bring in and admit certaine conceptions and dissipations; but in no wise Generations and Corruptions to speake properly, saying, that these come not according to quality by way of alteration, but according to quantity by collection and heaping together.

PYTHAGORAS, and as many as suppose matter to bee passible, hold, that there is properly indeed Generation and Corruption: for they say that this is done by the alteration, mutation and resolution of the elements.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Necessitie.

THALES saith, that Necessitie is most potent and forcible, for it is that which ruleth the 20 whole world.

PYTHAGORAS held, that the world was possessed and compassed with Necessitie.

PARMENIDES, and DEMOCRITUS were of opinion, that all things were made by Necessitie, and that destinie, justice, providence, and the Creatour of the world, were all one.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Essence of Necessitie.

PLATO referreth some events to providence, and others he attributeth to Necessitie. 30
EMPEDOCLES saith, that the Essence of Necessitie is a cause apt to make use of the principles and elements.

* *propet*, some
reinde *dispar*,
that is to say
corruption.

DEMOCRITUS affirmeth it to be the resistance, the * lation, motion, and permission of the matter.

P.LATO affirmeth it to be one while matter it selfe, and another while the habitude of that which is agent to the matter.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Destinie.

HERACLITUS affirmeth, that all things were done by fatall Destinie, and that it and Ne- 40 cessitie be both one.

P.LATO admitteth willingly this Destinie in the foules, lives, and actions of men; but hee inferreth withall a cause proceeding from our selves.

The STOICKES likewise according with the opinion of Plato, do hold, that Necessitie is a cause invincible, most violent and enforcing all things: also that Destinie is a connexion of causes interlaced & linked orderly: in which concatenation or chaine is therein comprised also that cause which proceedeth from us, in such sort as some events are declined, and others not.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the substance of Destinie.

HERACLITUS saith, that the substance of Destinie is the reason that pierceth throughout the substance of the universall world.

P.LATO affirmeth it to be an eternall reason, and a perpetuall law of the nature of the whole world.

CHRYSIPPUS

CHRYSIPPUS holdeth it to be a certaine puissance spirituall, which by order governeth and administreth all things. And againe in his booke of definitions hee writeth thus: Destinie is the reason of the world, or rather the law of all things in the world, administred and governed by providence: or else the reason whereby things past, have beene; things present, are; and future things, shall be.

The STOICKES are of opinion that it is the chaine of causes, that is to say, an order and connexion, which cannot be furrmountred and transgressed

POSIDONIUS supposeth it to be the third after Jupiter: for that Jupiter is in the first degree, Nature in the second; and fatall Destinie in the third.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Fortune.

PLATO defineth Fortune to be (in things proceeding from mans counsell and election) a cause by accident, and a verie casuall consequence

ARISTOTLE holdeth it to be an accidentall cause in those things which from some deliberate purpose and impulsion tend to a certaine end, which cause is not apparent, but hidden and uncertaine. And he putteth a difference between Fortune and rath adventure: for that all Fortune in the affaires and actions of this world is adventurous: but everie adventure is not by and 20 by Fortune; for that it consisteth in things without action: againe, Fortune is properly in actions of reasonable creatures, but adventure, indifferently in creatures, as well unreasonable as reasonable, yea, and in those bodies which have neither life nor soule.

EPICURUS saith, that Fortune is a cause, which will not stand and accord with persons, times, and manners.

ANAXAGORAS and the STOICKES affirme it to be a cause unknowne, and hidden to humane reason: for that some things come by necessitie, others by fatall destinie; some by deliberate counsell, others by Fortune, and some againe by casualitie or adventure.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Nature.

EMPEDOCLES holdeth that Nature is nothing; only that there is a mixture and divulsion, 30 or separation of Elements: for in this manner writeth he in the first booke of his Physicks:

*This one thing more I will yet say,
of things that be humane
And Mortall, nature none there is,
and deaths end is but ruine.
A mixture and divulsion,
of Elements and of all,
Onely there is, and thus it is,
which men do Nature call.*

Seemably ANAXAGORAS saith, that Nature is nothing else but a concretion and dissipation: that is to say, generation and corruption.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF Philosophers opinions.

The Proeme.

HAVING now finished the Treatise of PRINCIPLES, ELEMENTS, and such other matters linked and concurring with them; I will turne my pen unto the discourse as touching their effects and works composed of them, beginning first at that which is most spaciuous and capable of all things.

Zzz

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the World.

PYTHAGORAS was the first who called the Rounde that containeth and comprehendeth all, to wit, the World. *Kagyon*: for the orderly digestion observed therein.

THALES and his disciples held, that there is but one World.

DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and their scholler METRODORUS affirme, that there beinnumerable Worlds in an infinite space according to all dimensions and circumstances.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that the course and race of the Sunne, is the verie circumscription of the bounds and limits of the World; and that it is the verie confinement thereof.

SILENCIUS held the World to be infinite.

DIODEGENES affirmed, the universalitie to be infinite: but the world finite and determinate.

The STOICKS put a difference betweene universall and whole: for they say, that the universall together with voidnesse is infinite: and that the whole without voidnes is the World: so as these termes, the VWhole and the World, be not both one.

CHAP. II.

Of the figure and forme of the World.

THE STOICKS affirme the World to be round: some say it is pointed or pyramidal: others that it is fashioned in manner of an egge; but EPICURUS holdeth, that his Worlds may be round, and it may be that they are apt besides to receive other formes.

CHAP. III.

Whether the World be animate, or endued with a soule.

ALLOther Philosophers agree, that the World is animate, & governed by providence: but DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and as many as maintaine ATOMES, and with all bring in VACUITY, that it is neither animate, nor governed by providence, but by a certaine nature void of reason.

ARISTOTLE holdeth, that it is not animate wholly and throughout all parts; nor sensitive, nor reasonable, nor yet intellectuall or directed by providence: True it is (quoth he) that celestiall bodies be capable of all these qualities, as being compassed about with spheres both animate and vitall; whereas bodies terrestriall and approaching neere unto the earth, are endued with none of them: and as for the order and decent composition therein, it came by accident, and not by prepeared reason and countell.

CHAP. IIII.

Whether the World be incorruptible and eternall.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme, that the world was ingendered and made by God; and of the owne nature (being corruptible) shall perish: for sensible it is, and therefore corporall; howbeit, in regard of the divine providence, which preserveth and mainteineth it, perish it shall never.

EPICURUS saith, that it is corruptible, for that it is engendered, like as a living creature or a plant.

XENOPHANES holdeth the world to be eternall, ingenerable, uncreated and incorruptible.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that the part of the world under the moone, is passible; whereas in the bodies also adjacent to the earth, be subject to corruption.

CHAP. V.

Where of the World is nourished.

ARISTOTLE saith, that if the World be nourished, it is likewise corruptible, and wil perish; but so it is, that it hath no need of nouriture, and so by consequence it is eternall.

PLATO

PLATO is of opinion, that the world yeeldeth unto it selfe nouriture of that which perissheth, by way of mutation.

PHILOLAUS affirmeth, that there is a two-folde corruption, one while by fire falling from heaven, and another while by water of the moone, powdered forth by the turning gyration and turning about of the aire; the exhalations whereof become the food of the world.

CHAP. VI.

At which element began Gods the fabricke of the world?

THE Naturalists doe holde, that the creation of the world began at earth, as the very center thereof; for that the beginning of a sphere or ball, is the center.

PYTHAGORAS saith, that it began at fire, and the fifth element.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that the first thing separate apart, was the skie or fifth essence, called Aether; the second, Fire; after which, the Earth; of which being thrust clost and pressed together by the violence of revolution, sprang WATER, from which Aire did evaporate: also, that heaven was made of that Skie or Quintessence; the sunne, of Fire; and of the other elements, were conspitate and felct (as it were) terrestriall bodies, and such as be neere the earth.

PLATO is of opinion, that this visible world was formed to the molde and patten of the intellectuall: that of the visible world, the soule was first made; and after it, that which is copulent: that of the fire and earth, first; that which standeth of water and aire, second.

PYTHAGORAS affirmed, that of the five solid bodies, which are also called Mathematicalls, the Cube (that is to say, a square bodie, with sixe faces) went to the making of the earth; of the pointed Pyramid, was made fire; of Octoedra or solide bodie with eight bases, the earth; of Icosiedra with twentie sides, the water; of Dodecaedra with twelve faces, the supream sphere of the universall world: and himselfe herein also doth Pythagorize.

CHAP. VII.

Of the order of the worlds fabricke.

PARMENIDES imagineth certeine coronets (as it were) enterlaced one within another, some of a rare substance, others of a thicke, and the same mixed of light and darknesse betweene; also that the bodie which contained them all together, was as firme and solid as a wall.

LEUCIPPUS and DEMOCRITUS enwrapped the world round about with a tunicle or membrane.

EPICURUS held, that the extremitie of some worlds were rare; of others thicke; and that of them, some were moveable, others immoveable.

PLATO setteth downe Fire first; secondly, the Skie; then Aire; afterwards, WATER; and last of all, Earth; but others hiles, he conjoineth the Skie unto Fire.

ARISTOTLE rangeth in the first place, the impassible Aire, which is a certeine fifth bodie; and after it, the Elements passible, to wit, Fire, Aire, WATER, and Earth the last: of all which, unto the celestiall bodies he attributeth a circular motion; and (of the others situate beneath them) unto the lighter kinde, the ascent or rising upward; unto the weightier, descent or setting downward.

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that the places of the elements are not alwaies steadie and certeine, but that they all interchange mutually one with another.

CHAP. VIII.

What is the cause that the world bendeth or copeth forward.

DIODEGENES and ANAXAGORAS affirme, that after the world was made, and that living creatures were produced out of the earth, the world bowed (I wot not how) of it selfe, and of the owne accord, to the Southerne or Meridional part thereof; haply by the divine providence so ordering all, that some parts of the world should be habitable, others inhabitable, according to excessive colde, extreme heat, and a meane temperature of both.

ZZZ 2

EMPEDOCLES

* ARISTOTEL'S faith, that by reason that the aire gave place to the violence of the Sunne, the two Beares or Poles * bended, and inclined: as for those parts which were northerly, they were elevated and shrouded aloft; but the southerne coasts were depressed and debated as much; and so accordingly the whole world.

CHAP. IX.

Whether without the world, there be any vacuities?

THE schoole of *Pythagoras* holdeth that there is a voidnesse without the world, to which, to and out of which the world doth draw breath: but the *STOICKS* affirme that into it, the infinite world by way of conflagration is resolved.

POSIDONIUS admitteth no other infinitie, than as much as is sufficient for the dissolution thereof.

In the first booke of vacuities, *ARISTOTEL* faith, there is voidnesse.

PLATO affirmeth, that there is no emptinesse at all, either without or within the world.

CHAP. X.

What be the right sides, and which be the left, in regard of the world.

PYTHAGORAS, *PLATO*, and *ARISTOTEL* do take the East for the right part, and the West for the left.

EMPEDOCLES faith, that the right side bendeth toward the summers Tropicke; and the left toward the Tropicke of winter.

CHAP. XI.

Of Heaven, and what is the substance thereof.

ANAXIMENES affirmeth the exterior circumference of Heaven to be earthy. *EMPEDOCLES* faith, that Heaven is solid, being made of aire condensate by fire, after the manner of chrytall; and that it containeth the fierie and aerie nature in the one and the other hemisphere.

ARISTOTEL holdeth, that Heaven is composed of the fifth body above fire; or else of the mixture of heat and cold.

CHAP. XII.

Of the division of Heaven: and namely into how many Circles it is divided.

THALES, and *PYTHAGORAS* with his followers doe say, that the sphere of the whole Heaven is parted into five circles, which they call certaine Zones, cinctures or girdles; of which circles, one is called the Arctick, and is alwaies to be scene of us; a second the summer Tropicke; a third Aequinoctiall; the fourth, winter Tropicke; and the fifth the Antartick circle: which is evermore unscene: as touching the oblique or crooked circle, called the Zodiacke, which lieth under the other three middle circles above named, it toucheth them all three as it passeth, and every of them are cut in right angles by the Meridian, which goeth from pole to pole.

PYTHAGORAS was the first (men say) that observed the obliquity of the Zodiack: which invention neverthelesse *Oenopides* the Chian, ascribeth to himselfe, as if he were the author of it.

CHAP. XIII.

What is the substance of the Starres, and how they were made and composed.

THALES affirmeth them to be terrestriall, and nathelesse fierie and ardent. *EMPEDOCLES* holdeth them to be enflamed by that fire, which the skie containing within

within it selfe, did violently strike and send forth at the first excitation. *ANAXAGORAS* faith, that the skie which environeth, is indeede of the owne essence of a fiery nature; but by the violent revolution of it selfe, snatcheth up stones from the earth, and setting them on fire, they become Starres.

DIOPHANTUS thinketh, that Starres be of the substance of a pumish stone, as be being the breathing holes of the world: and againe, the same philosopher faith, that they be certaine blinde stones not apparent; howbeit, falling often to the earth, are there quenched, as it happeneth in a place called *apoc. montebis*, that is to say, Goats rivers, where there fell sometime a stone-starre in forme of fire.

EMPEDOCLES holdeth, that the fixed Starres which wandre not, be fastned to the chrytall skie; but the planets are loofe and at liberty.

PLATO giveth out, that for the most part they be of fire, and yet neverthelesse they participate with other elements in maner of glue or soder.

XENOPHANES is of opinion, that they consist of clouds inflamed, which notwithstanding are quenched every day, & afterwards againe be fiered in the night in maner of coles: as for the rising and setting of Starres, they be nothing else but their catching fire and quenching.

HERACLYDUS and the *PYTHAGORAEANS* hold, that every Star is a world by it selfe, containing an earth, an aire, and a skie, in an infinit celestiall nature; and these opinions goe current in the verses of *Orpheus*, for they make of every Starre a world. *EPICURUS* reprooveth none of all this, but holdeth still that old note of his: It may be so.

CHAP. XIII.

The forme and figure of Starres.

THE *STOICKS* say, that the Starres be sphericke or round like as the world, the funne and moone. *CLEANTHES* holdeth them to be pointed and pyramidall: *ANAXIMENES* faith, they sticke fast in the chrytalline skie, like a number of nailes. Others imagine that they be fierie plates, like unto flat pictures.

CHAP. XV.

Of the order and situation of Starres.

XENOCRATES supposeth that the Starres moove upon one and the same superficies: but other *Stoicks* affirme that there be some afore others in heigh and depth.

DEMOCRITUS rangeth the fixed Starres first; next the planets; and after them, the funne, the moone, and the day-starre *Luxifer*.

PLATO after the situation of the fixed Starres, setteth in the first place that which is called Phenon, to wit, the Starre of *Saturne*; in the second, Phaethon, which is the Starre of *Jupiter*; in the third, Pyrois, that is to say, fierie or ardent, and it is that of *Mars*; in the fourth *Phosphorus*, and that is *Venus*; in the fifth *Silbon*, which is *Mercurie*; in the sixth, the Sunne; and last, in the seventh, the Moone. Of the Mathematicians some accord with *PLATO*, others place the Sunne in the middes of them all.

ANAXIMANDER, *METRODORUS* the Chian, and *CRATES* affirme, that the Sunne is placed highest of all, next to him the Moone, and under him the fixed Starres and the Planets.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the laton and motion of the Starres.

ANAXAGORAS, *DEMOCRITUS*, and *CLEANTHES*, doe hold, that all Starres doe moove from east to west.

ALCMARON and the Mathematicians say, that the planets hold an opposite course to the fixed Starres, and namely from the west to the east.

ANAXIMANDER faith, they be caried by their spheres and circles, upon which they are fastned.

ANAXIMENES is of opinion, that they roll as well toward the earth, as turne about the earth.

PLATO and the Mathematicians hold, that the course of the Sunne, of *Venus*, and of *Mercurie*, is the same and equall.

CHAP. XVII.

From whence the Starres have their illumination.

METRODORUS thinketh, that all the fixed Starres have their light from the sunne. HERACLITUS, and the Stoicks say, that the Starres bee nourished by exhalations arising from the earth.

ARISTOTLE opineth, that the celestiall bodies need no nouriture, for that they are not corruptible but eternall.

PLATO and the Stoicks hold, that all the world and the Starres likewise be nourished of themselves.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the two Starres named Dioscuri, to wit, Castor and Pollux.

XENOPHANES doth mainteine that the lights like Starres which appeere otherwhiles upon ships, are thinnie and subtile clouds, which after a kinde of motion doe shine.

METRODORUS saith, they be certeine glittering sparkels glauncing and leaping out of their eyes who behold them with feare and astonishment.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the signification of Starres, and how commeth winter and summer.

PLATO saith, that the tokens & significations both of Winter and Summer, proceed from the rising and setting of Sunne, Moone, and other Starres, as well fixed as wandering.

ANAXIMENES saith, that none of all this is occasioned by the Moone, but by the Sunne onely. EUDOXUS and ARATUS affirme them to bee in common, by meanes of all the Starres: and ARATUS sheweth as much in these verses:

*These radiant starres, and lights so evident,
As signes, God hath set in the firmament,
Distinct, in great foresight, throughout the yeere,
To shew how all the seasons ordered were.*

CHAP. XX.

Of the Sunnes substance.

ANAXIMANDER affirmeth, that the circle of the Sunne is eight and twentie times bigger than the earth, having an hollow apsis about it, like (for all the world) unto a chariot wheele, and the same full of fire: in one certeine place whereof, there is a mouth, at which the fire is seene, as out of the hole of a flute, or such like pipe, and the same is the Sunne.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that there is a certeine gathering of small fires, which by occasion of moist exhalations, meet together; and they all (being collected) make the bodie of the Sun, or els (quoth he) is a cloud set on fire.

The Stoicks say, that the Sun is an inflamed body * intellectuall, or humour inflamed, proceeding out of the sea.

PLATO imagineth it to consist of much fire.

ANAXAGORAS, DEMOCRITUS, and METRODORUS suppose it to be a masse of yron, or a stone inflamed.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is a sphere out of the fifth body.

PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean, is perswaded that it is in maner of a glasse, receiving the reverberation of all the fire in the world, and transmitting the light thereof unto us (as it were) thorow

* rote or
remedy after
some.

thorow a tannise or streiner, in such sort, as that fierie light in heaven resembeth the Sun: then that which proceedeth from it, is in forme of a mirrour: and thirdly, there is a splendour, which by way of reflexion from that mirrour, is spread upon us: and this call we the Sun, as it were the image of an image.

EMPEDOCLES is of this minde, that there be two Sunnes, the one an originall and primitive fire, which is in the other hemisphere of the world; and the same filling this hemisphere of ours, as being alwaies situate full opposit to the reflexion of the resplendent light thereof: as for this that we see, it is the light in that other hemisphere, replenished with aire mixed with heat, & the same is occasioned by refraction from the earth, that is more round, entering into the Sun, which is of a CrySTALLINE nature, and yet is trained and caried away together with the motion of that fire. But to speake more plainly and succinctly in fewer words, this is as much to say, as the Sunne is nothing els, but the reflexion of that light of the fire which is about the earth.

EPICURUS imagineth the Sun to be a terrestriall spiffitude or thicknesse, yet spungeous (as it were) and hollow in maner of a pumish stone, and in those holes lightened by fire.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Sunnes magnitude.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the Sunne is equall in bignesse to the earth; but the circle from which he hath his respiration, and upon which he is caried, is eight and twentie times bigger than the whole earth.

ANAXAGORAS said, it was by many degrees greater than all *Peloponnesus*.

HERACLITUS held, that it was a mans foot broad.

EPICURUS againe affirmed, that all above said might be; or that it was as bigge as it appeared to be, at leastwise a little under or over.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Sunnes forme.

ANAXIMENES imagined that the Sunne was flat and broad, like unto a thinnie plate of metall.

HERACLITUS supposed it to be made like unto a boat, somewhat curbed downeward, and turning up.

The Stoicks suppose it to be round, like unto the whole world and other starres.

EPICURUS saith, that all this may be well enough.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Solstices or Tropiques of the Sunne.

ANAXIMENES thinketh that the Starres are beaten backe by the thicke aire, and the same making resistance.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that they are occasioned by the repulse of the aire, about the Beares or Poles, which the Sunne himselfe (by thrusting and making thicke) causeth to be more powerfull.

EMPEDOCLES ascribeth the reason thereof to the sphere, that containeth and impeacheth him from passing farther; as also to the two Tropique circles.

DIOTENES imagineth, that the Sun is extinct by the cold, falling opposit upon the beate. The Stoicks affirme, that the Sunne passeth thorow the tract and space of his food and pasture lying under him, which is the Ocean sea or the earth, upon the vapours and exhalation whereof he feedeth.

PLATO, PYTHAGORAS and ARISTOTLE holde, that this is occasioned by the obliquitie of the Zodiacke circle, thorow which the Sunne passeth biaise; as also, by reason of the Tropique circles, which environ and guard him about: and all this, the very sphere it selfe doth evidently shew.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Sunnes eclipse.

THALES was the first who observed the Sunnes eclipse, and said, that it was occasioned by the Moone, which is of a terrestriall nature, when as in her race, she commeth to be just and plumb under him; which may be plainly seene as in a mirrour, by setting a basin of water underneath.

ANAXIMANDER said, that the Sun became eclipsed, when the mouth or tunnill (at which the heat of his fire commeth forth) is closed up.

HERACLITUS is of opinion, that this hapneth, when the bodie of the Sun which is made like a boat, is turned upside downe, so as the hollow part thereof is upward, and the keele downward to out sight.

XENOPHANES affirmeth, that this commeth by extinction of one Sun, & the rising of another againe in the East: he addeth moreover, and reporteth, that there is an eclipse of the Sun, during one whole moneth; as also one entire and universall eclipse, in such maner, as the day seemeth to be night.

Others ascribe the cause thereof, to the thickenesse of clouds, which suddenly and after an hidden maner, overcast the rundle and plate of the Sunne.

ARISTARCHUS reckoneth the Sunne among the fixed Starres, saying, that it is the earth which rolleth and turneth round about the Sunnes circle, and according to the inclinations thereof, the Sunnes light some bodie commeth to be darkened by her shade.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that there be many Sunnes and Moones, according to the divers Climats, Tracts, Sections, and Zones of the earth: and at a certaine revolution of time, the rundle of the Sunne falleth upon some Climate or Section of the earth, which is not of us inhabited; and so marching (as it were) in some void place, he suffereth eclipse: he also affirmeth, that the Sun goeth indeed infinitely forward still, but by reason of his huge distance and retract from us, seemeth to turne round about.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Moones substance.

ANAXIMANDER saith, that the Moone is a circle, xix. times bigger than the earth, and like as that of the Sunne, full of fire; that she suffereth eclipse when her wheele turneth: for that he saith, that circle resembleth the wheele of a chariot, the movature or felly whereof, is hollow and full of fire; howbeit, there is an hole or tunnell, out of which the fire doth exhale.

XENOPHANES saith, that the Moone is a thicke, compact, and felted cloud.

The STOICKS hold, that she is mixed of fire and aire.

PLATO affirmeth, that she standeth more of a fiery substance.

ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS do hold, that the Moone is a solid and firme bodie all fiery, containing in it, champaign grounds, mountaines and vallies.

HERACLITUS is of opinion that it is earth overspread with mists.

PYTHAGORAS also thinketh that the bodie of the Moone is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Moones magnitude.

THE STOICKS pronounce flatly that the Moone is bigger than the Earth, like as the Sunne also.

PARMENIDIS affirmeth it to be equall in brightnesse to the Sunne, and that of him she hath her light.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Moones forme.

THE STOICKS say, the Moone is round as a globe, like as the Sunne.

EMPEDOCLE would have it to resemble a basin or platter.

HERA-

HERACLITUS compareth it to a boat; and others to a round cylinder; that she is shaped seven manner of waies: at her first birth as it were the appeereth horned or tripped; then divided or quartered; afterwards growing somewhat together; and soone after full: from which time by little and little the waneeth by degrees; first bending somewhat close; then quartered; and after that tripped and horned, untill at the change she appeereth not at all: and they say this variety of her configurations, is occasioned by the earth shadowing her light more or lesse, according as the convexitie of the earth commeth betweene.]

That which is inserted betweene these two marks [] finde neither in the original Greeke, nor in the French, but in the Latine only.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Moones illuminations.

ANAXIMANDER saith, that she hath a light of her owne, but the same very rare and thinne.

ANTIPHON affirmeth, that she shineth with her owne light: and whereas she is otherwise hidden, it proceedeth from the opposition of the sunne; namely, when a greater fire commeth to darken a lesse, a thing incident to other starres.

THALES and his followers hold, that the Moone is lightened by the sunne.

HERACLITUS supposeth, that the case of the sunne and Moone is all one, for that both of them being formed like a boat, and receiving moist exhalations, they seeme in our sight illuminate; the sunne brighter of the twaine, for that he goeth in a more cleere and pure aire, and the Moone in that which is more troubled, which is the reason that she seemeth more darke and muddy.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Moones Eclipse.

ANAXIMENES saith, that the Moone is Eclipsed, when the mouth or venting hole whereout issueth her fire, is stopped.

BEROSUS is of opinion, that it is when that face and side of hers which is not lightned, turneth toward us.

HERACLITUS would have it to be, when the convexitie or swelling part of the boat which she doth represent, regardeth us directly.

Some of the PYTHAGOREANS doe holde the eclipse of the Moone to be partly a reverboration of light, and in part an obstruction; the one in regard of the earth; the other of the Antipodes, who tread opposite unto us. But the moderne writers are of opinion, that it is by occasion of the augmentation of the Moones flame, which regularly and by order is lightened by little and little, untill it represent unto us the full face of the Moone, and againe doth diminish and wane in proportion, untill the conjunction, at what time it is altogether extinct.

PLATO, ARISTOTLE, the STOICKS, and MATHEMATICIANS, do all with one accord say, that the occultations of the Moone every moneth, are occasioned by reason that she falleth in conjunction with the sunne; by whose brightnesse she becommeth dimme and darkned: but the Ecclesies of the Moone be caused when she commeth within the shadow of the earth, situate directly betwene both Starres, rather for that the Moone is altogether obstructed therewith.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Moones apparition, and why she seemeth to be earthly.

THE PYTHAGOREANS affirme, that the Moone appeereth terrestriall, for that she is inhabited round about, like as the earth wherein we are; and peopled as it were with the greatest living creatures, and the fairest plants; and those creatures within her, be fifteene times stronger and more puissant than those with us, and the same yeeld forth no excrements, and the * day there, is in that proportion so much longer.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that the inequality which is seene in the face of the Moone, proceedeth from the coagmentation of cold and terrestriall mixed together, for that there is a certaine

* Jupiter, some render it, that is to say, a night.

certaine tenebrositie medled with the fierie nature thereof: whereupon this starre is said to be *Pseudophores*, that it to say, to have a false light.

The *Stoicks* are of opinion, that by reason of the diversitie of her substance, the composition of her bodie is not subject to corruption.

CHAP. XXXI.

The distance betwene Sunne and Moone.

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that the Moone is twice as far off from the Sunne as she is from to the earth.

The *MATHEMATICIANS* say, that the distance is eightene times as much.

ERATOSTHENES giveth out, the Sunne is from the earth 408. thousand stadia, ten times told: and the Moone from the earth 78. thousand stadia, ten times multiplied.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the yeeres: And how much the yeere of every Planet containeth the great yeere.

THe revolution or yeere of *Saturne* comprehendeth thirtie common yeeres: Of *Jupiter* twelve: of *Mars* two: of the Sunne, twelve moneths: those of *Mercurie* and *Venus* be all one, for their course is equal: of the Moone thirtie daies: for this we count a perfect moneth, to wit, from the apparition to the conjunction. As for the great yeere; some say, it compriseth eight yeeres: others ninteen, and others againe sixtie wanting one. *HERACLITUS* saith it consisteth of 8000. solare yeeres. *DIODENES* of 365. yeeres, such as *Heraclitus* speaketh of: and others of 7777.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF Philosophers opinions.

The Proeme.

HAVING summarily, and after a cursorie manner treated in the former bookes, of celestiall bodie, and resting in the confines thereof, which is the Moone, I will addresse my selfe in this third booke, to discourtse of *Meteores*, that is to say, of such impressions as be engendred in the aire above, to wit, betweene the circle of the Moone and the situation of the earth: the which men hold generally to be in stead of the prick or center in that compass of the universall Globe. And heereat will I beginne.

CHAP. I.

Of the Milke way or white circle Galaxia.

THIS *Galaxia* is a cloudie or mistie circle, appearing alwaies in the skie; and called it is the Milke way, of the white colour which it doth represent.

Of the *Pythagoreans* some say, it is the inflammation or burning out of some starre removed, and falling out of his proper place, which hath burnt round about all the way as it passed, from the verie time of *Phaeton* his conflagration.

Others hold, that in old time the race and course of the Sun was that way. Some are of opinion, that it is a specularie apparition, only occasioned by the reflexion of the Sun-beames against the cope of heaven, even as we observe it to fall out betweene the rainbow and thicke clouds.

METRODORUS affirmeth it to be caused by the passage of the Sunne: for that this is the solare circle.

PARMENIDES is of opinion that the mixture of that which is thicke, with the rare or thin, engendred this milkie colour.

ANAXAGORAS

ANAXAGORAS saith, that the shadow of the earth resteth upon this part of heaven, at what time as the Sunne being underneath the earth, doth not illuminate all throughout.

DEMOCRITUS is perswaded, that it is the resplendent light of many small starres, and those close together, shining one upon another, and so occasioned by their spissitude and attraction.

ARISTOTLE would have it to be an inflammation of a drie exhalation; the same being great in quantitie and continued: and so there is an hairy kind of fire, under the skie, and beneath the planets.

POSSIDONIUS supposeth it to be a consistence of fire, more cleere and subtile than a starre, and yet thicker than a splendour or shining light.

CHAP. II.

Of Comets, or Blazing starres: of Starres seeming to shoot and fall: as also of seric beames appearing in the aire.

SOME of *Pythagoras* scholars affirme, that a Comet is a starre of the number of those which appeare not alwaies, but at certaine prefixed seasons after some periodicall revolutions do arise.

Others affirme it to be the reflexion of our sight against the Sunne, after the manner of those resemblances which shew in mirrours or looking glasses.

ANAXAGORAS and *DEMOCRITUS* say, that it is a concurse of two starres or more meeting with their lights together.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is a consistence of a drie exhalation enflamed.

STRATO saith, that it is the light of a starre enwrapped within a thicke cloud, as we see it ordinarily in our lamps and burning lights.

HERACLIDES of *PONTUS* holdeth it to be a cloud heaved and elevated on high, and the same illuminated by some high light also: and the like reason giveth he of the bearded blazing star called *Pagonias*. Others (like as all the *Perepaticicks*) affirme, that the beame, the colonne, and such other meteors or impressions are made after the same manner by divers configurations of clouds in the aire.

EPIGENES supposeth a Comet to be an elevation of spirit or wind mixed with an earthly substance, and set on fire.

BOTHUS imagineth it to be an apparition of the aire, let loose as it were, and spread at large.

DIODENES is perswaded that Comets be starres.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that the starres which are said to shoot, be as it were sparkles falling from the elementarie fire: which is the cause that they are quenched and gone out so quickly.

METRODORUS supposeth, that when the Sunne striketh violently upon a cloud, the beames or raies thereof do sparkle, and so cause this shooting of starres as they tearme it.

XENOPHANES would beare us in hand, that all such Meteors and Impressions as these, be configurations or motions of clouds enflamed.

CHAP. III.

Of thunders, lightnings, flashes, prestors or seric blastes, and tempestuous whirlwinds.

ANAXIMANDER supposeth, that all these come by wind: for when it hapneth that it is conceived & inclosed within a thicke cloud, then by reason of the subtiltie and lightnesse thereof, it breaketh forth with violence: and the rupture of the cloud maketh a cracke; and the division or cleaving, by reason of the blacknesse of the cloud, causeth a shining light.

METRODORUS saith, when a wind chanceth to be enclosed within a cloud gathered thicke and close together, the said wind by bursting of the cloud maketh a noise; and by the stroke and breach it thineth; but by the quick motion catching heat of the Sunne, it shooteth forth lightning; but if the said lightning be weak, it turneth into a Prestor or burning blast.

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that when ardent heat falleth upon cold, that is to say, when a portion of celestiall fire lighteth upon the aerie substance; by the cracking noise thereof is caused thunder; by the colour against the blacknesse of the cloud, a flashing beame; by the plentie and greatness of the light, that which we call lightning: and in case the fire be more grosse and corpulent,

corpulent, there ariseth of it a whirlwind; but if the same be of a cloudie nature, it engendeth a burning blast called Prester.

The *STOICKS* hold thunder to be a colliat, and smiting together of clouds: that a flashing beame, is a fire or inflammation proceeding from their attrition: that lightning is a more violent flashing, and Prester, lesse forcible:

ARISTOTLE suppoeth, that all these meteores come likewise of a dry exhalation, which being gotten enclosed within a moist cloud, seeketh means, and striveth forcibly to get forth: now by attrition and breaking together, it causeth the clap of thunder; by inflammation of the drie substance, a flashing beame; but Presters, Typhons, that is to say, burning blasts and whirlwinds, according as the store of matter is, more or lesse, which the one and the other draweth to it; but if the same be hotter, you shall see Prester, if thicker, looke for Typhon.

CHAP. III.

Of Clouds, Raine, Snowe, and Haile.

ANAXIMENES saith, that clouds are engendred when the aire is most thicke, which if they congregate still more and more, there is expressed from them a shower of raine: but in case this matter as it falleth, doe congeale, it turneth to be snow; but say it meet with a colde moist wind and be surprized therewith, it prooveth haile.

METRODORUS suppoeth, that clouds be composed of a waterish evaporation elevated, *Epiturnis* of meere vapours: also that as well the drops of raine as haile-stones, become round by the long way of their descent.

CHAP. V.

Of the Rainbow.

Among those meteors or impressions engendred in the aire, some there be which have a true substance indeed, as raine and haile: others againe, have no more but a bare appearance, without any reall subsistence, much like as when we are within a ship, we imagine that the continent and firme land doth moove: and among those which are in appearance onely, we must range the Rainbow. *PLATO* saith, that men derive the genealogie of it from *THAMAS*, as one would say, from wonder, because they marvelled much to see it: according as *Homer* saith in this verse:

*Like as when mightie Jupiter the purple rainbow bends,
Therby to mortall men from heaven, a wondrous token sends,
Which either tempests terrible, or wefull warre pretends.*

And hereupon it is, that some have made thereof a fabulous device, and given out, that she having a bulles head, drinketh up the rivers. But how is this Rainbow engendred, and how cometh it so to appeare? Certes, we see by lines, either direct and streight, or crooked, or els rebated and broken; which though they be obscure, and appeare not evidently, yet are perceived by cogitation and discourse of reason, as being bodilesse. Now by right lines we beholde things, some in the aire, and others thorow transparent stones and homes; for that all these consist of very subtil parts: by crooked and curbed lines, wee looke within the water; for our eye sight doth bend and turne againe perforce, by reason that the matter of the water is more thicke, which is the cause, that we see the mariners oare in the sea a farr off, as it were crooked. The third manner of seeing, is by refraction, and so we beholde objects in mirrors; and of this sort is the Rainbow: for we must consider and understand, that a moist vapour being lifted up aloft, is converted into a cloud; and then within a while by little and little, into small dew-drops: when as therefore, the Sun descendeth Westward, it can not chuse, but every Rainbow must needs appeere opposit unto it in the contrary part of the sky: and whie our sight falleth upon those drops, it is rebated and beaten backe; and by that means there is presented unto it a Rainbow: now those drops are not of the forme and figure of a bow, but represent a colour onely: and verily, the first and principall hew that this bow hath, is a light and bright red; the second, a deepe vermilion or purple; the third, blue and Greene: let us consider then, whether the said red colour appeare not, because the brightnesse of the Sunne beating upon the cloud, and the sincere light thereof

thereof reflected & driven back, maketh a ruddy or light red hew; but the second part more obscure, and rebating the said splendor through those dewy drops, causeth a purple tincture, which is (as it were) an abatement of red; and then as it becometh more muddie still, & darkning that which distinguisheth the sight, it turneth into a Greene; and this is a thing which may be proved by experience; for if a man take water directly against the Sunne beames in his mouth, and spit the same forward, in such sort, as the drops receive a repercussion against the said raies of the Sunne, he shall finde that it will make (as it were) a Rainbow. The like befalleth unto them that are bleere-eyed, when they looke upon a lampe or burning light.

ANAXIMENES suppoeth, that the Rainbow is occasioned by the Sun shining full against to a grosse, thicke and blacke cloud, in such sort, as his beames be not able to pierce and strike thorow, by reason that they turne againe upon it, and become condensate.

ANAXAGORAS holdeth the Rainbow to be the refraction or repercussion of the Sunnes round light against a thicke cloud, which ought alwaies to be opposit full against him, in manner of a mirror: by which reason, in nature it is said, that there appeare two Sunnes in the countrey of *Pontus*.

METRODORUS saith, when the Sunne shineth thorow clouds, the cloud seemeth blue; but the light looketh red.

CHAP. VI.

Of Water-galles or streaks like rods, somewhat resembling Rainbows.

These rods and opposit apparitions of Sunnes, which are seene otherwhiles in the skie, happen through the temperature of a subject matter and illumination; namely, when clouds are seene, not in their naturall and proper colour, but by another, caused by a divers irradiation: and in all these, the like passions fall out both naturally, and also are purchased by accident.

CHAP. VII.

Of Winds.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the Winde is a fluxion of the aire; when as the most subtil and liquid parts thereof be either stirred, or melted and resolved by the Sunne.

The *STOICKS* affirme, that every blast is a fluxion of the aire, and that according to the mutation of regions, they change their names; as for example, that which bloweth from the darknesse of the night and Sunne setting, is named *Zephyrus*; from the East and Sunne rising, *Apeliotes*; from the North, *Boreas*; and from the South, *Libs*.

METRODORUS suppoeth, that a waterish vapour being inchaied by the heat of the Sun, produceth and raiseth these winds: and as for those that be anniversary, named *Etesie*, they blow, when the aire about the North pole is thickened and congealed with cold, and so accompanie the Sunne, and flow (as it were) with him, as he retireth from the Summer Tropicke, after the Activall Solstice.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Winter and Summer.

EMPEDOCLES and the *STOICKS* do hold, that Winter cometh, when the aire is predominant in thicknesse, and is forced upward; but Summer, when the fire is in that wise predominant, and is driven downward.

Thus having discoursed of the impressions aloft in the aire, we will treat also (by the way) of those which are seene upon and about the earth.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Earth: the substance and magnitude thereof.

THALES with his followers affirme, there is but one Earth. *ORCETES* the Pythagorean, mainteineth twaine; one heere, and another opposit against

gainst it, which the Antipodes inhabit.

The Stoicks say, there is one Earth, and the same finite.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that beneath it is founded upon an infinite depth; and that compact it is of aire and fire.

METRODORUS is of opinion, that Earth is the very sediment and ground of the waters; like as th Sunne is the residence of the aire.

CHAP. X.

The forme of the Earth.

THALES, the Stoicks and their schoole, affirme the Earth to be round, in maner of a globe or ball.

ANAXIMANDER resembleth the Earth unto a column or pillar of stone, such as are seene upon the superficies thereof.

ANAXIMENES compareth it to a flat table; LEUCIPPUS, unto a drum or tabour: DEMOCRITUS saith, that it is in forme, broad in maner of a platter, hollow in the mids.

CHAP. XI.

The situation of the Earth.

The disciples of THALES maintaine, that the Earth is seated in midst of the world.

XENOPHANES affirmeth, that it was first founded and rooted as it were to an infinite depth.

PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean saith, that fire is the middle, as being the hearth of the world, in the second place he rangeth the Earth of the Antipodes: and in the third, this wherein wee inhabit, which lieth opposite unto that counter earth, and turneth about it: which is the reason (quoth he) that those who dwell there, are not seene by the inhabitants here.

PARMENIDES was the first Philosopher, who set out and limited the habitable parts of the Earth, to wit, those which are under the two Zones, unto the Tropicks or Solstitiall circles.

CHAP. XII.

Of the bending of the earth.

PYTHAGORAS is of opinion, that the earth enclineth toward the Meridionall parts, by reason of the raritie which is in those South coasts: for that the Septentrionall tracts are congealed, and frozen with cold, whereas the opposite regions be inflamed and burnt.

DEMOCRITUS yeeldeth this reason, because of the ambient aire is weaker toward the South (quoth he) the Earth as it groweth and encrease, doth bend to that side: for the North parts be intemperate; whereas contrariwise the Southeren parts are temperate: in which regard it weigheth more that way, whereas indeed it is more plentifull in bearing fruits, and those growing to greater augmentation.

CHAP. XIII.

The motion of the Earth.

Some hold the Earth to be unmoveable and quiet: but PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean saith, that it moveth round about the fire, in the oblique circle, according as the Sunne and Moone do.

HERACLIDES of Pontus, and EPHANTUS the Pythagorean, would indeed have the Earth to move, howbeit not from place to place, but rather after a turning manner like unto a wheele upon the axell tree, from West to East, round about her owne center.

DEMOCRITUS saith, that the Earth at first wandered to and fro, by reason as well of

of smalnesse as lightnesse: but waxing in time thicke and heave, it came to rest unmoveable.

CHAP. XIII.

The division of the Earth, and how many Zones it hath.

PYTHAGORAS saith, that the earth is divided into five Zones proportionably to the sphere of the universall heaven; to wit, the Arctick circle, the Tropick of Summer, the Tropick of Winter, the Equinoctiall and the Antartick. Of which the middlemost doth determine and set out the verie mids and heart of the earth: and for that cause it is named *Torrida Zona*, that is to say, the burnt climat: but that region is habitable, as being temperate, which lieth in the mids between the summer and the winter Tropick.

CHAP. XV.

Of Earthquakes.

THALES and DEMOCRITUS attribute the cause of Earthquakes unto water.

The Stoicks thus define and say, Earthquake is the moisture within the earth subiliated and resolved into the aire, and so breaking out perforce.

ANAXIMENES is of opinion, that raritie and driness of the earth together, be the causes of Earthquake: whereof the one is engendered by excessive drought, the other by gluts of raime.

ANAXAGORAS holdeth, that when the aire is gotten within the earth, and meeteth with the superficies thereof, which it findeth tough and thicke, so as it cannot get forth, it shaketh it in manner of trembling.

ARISTOTLE alledgeth, the *Antiperistasis* of the circumstant cold which environeth it about on everie side, both above and beneath: for heat endevoreth and maketh hast to mount aloft, as being by nature light. A drie exhalation, therefore finding it selfe enclosed within and staid, striveth to make way through the cliffs and thickets of the Earth, in which busines it cannot chuse but by turning to and fro, up and downe disquiet and shake the earth.

METRODORUS is of mind, that no bodie being in the owne proper and naturall place can stire or moove, unless some one do actually thrust or pull it. The earth therefore (quoth he) being situate in the owne place, naturally mooveth not: howsoever some places thereof may remove into others.

PARMENIDES and DEMOCRITUS reason in this wise: for that the earth on everie side is of equall distance, and confineth still in one counterpoise, as having no cause wherefore it should incline more to the one side than to the other: therefore well it may shake onely, but not stire or remove for all that.

ANAXIMENES saith, that the Earth is caried up and downe in the aire, for that it is broad and flat.

Others say, that it floteth upon the water, like as planks or boords, and that for this cause it mooveth.

PLATO affirmeth, that of all notions there be six sorts of circumstances, above, beneath, on the right hand, on the left, before and behind. Also that the earth cannot possibly moove according to any of these differences: for that on everie side it lieth lowest of all things in the world, and by occasion thereof resteth unmoveable, having no cause why it should incline more to one part than to another, but yet some places of her because of their raritie do joggle and shake.

EPICURUS keepeth his old tune, saying, it may well be, that the earth being shogged, and as it were rocked and beaten by the aire underneath, which is grosse and of the nature of water, therefore mooveth and quaketh. As also, it may be (quoth he) that being holow and full of holes in the parts below, it is forced to tremble and shake by the aire that is gotten within the caves and concavities, and there enclosed.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Sea, how it was made and commeth to be bitter.

ANAXIMANDER affirmeth, that the Sea is a residue remaining of the primitive humidity, whereof the Sunne having burnt up and consumed a great part, the rest behind he altered and turned from the naturall kind by his excessive ardent heat.

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that the said first humiditie being diffused and spread abroad in manner of a poole or great meere, was burnt by the motion of the sunne about it: and when the oileous substance thereof was exhaled and consumed, the rest seiled below, and turned into a brackish and bitter-saltnesse, which is the Sea.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that the Sea is the sweat of the earth, enshafed by the sunne, being bathed and washed all over aloft.

ANTISTHON thinketh it to be the sweat of heat, the moisture whereof which was within, being by much seething and boiling sent out, becommeth salt; a thing ordinary in all sweats.

METRODORUS supposeth the Sea to be that moisture, which running thorough the earth, retained some part of the densitie thereof, like as that which passeth through ashes.

The disciples of PLATO imagine, that so much of the elementarie water which is congealed of the aire by refrigeration, is sweet and fresh; but whatsoever did evaporate by burning and inflammation, became salt.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Tides, to wit, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, what is the cause thereof?

ARISTOTLE and HERACLITUS affirme, that it is the sunne which doth it, as who stirreth, raiseth, and carrieth about with him the most part of the windes, which comming to blow upon the Ocean, cause the Atlanticke sea to swell, and so make the flux or high waters; but when the same are alliaed and cleane downe, the sea falleth low, and so causeth a reflux and ebbe or low water.

PYTHEAS of Marfeils, referreth the cause of Flowing to the full moone, and of Ebbing to the moone in the wane.

PLATO attributeth all to a certaine rising of the waters, saying, There is such an elevation, that through the mouth of a cave carrieth the Ebbe and Flow to and fro, by the means whereof, the seas doe rise and flow contrarily.

TIMEAEUS alledgeth the cause hereof to be the rivers, which falling from the mountaines in Gaul, enter into the Atlantique sea, which by their violent corruptions, driving before them the water of the sea, cause the Flow, and by their ceasing and returne backe by times, the Ebbe.

SELEUCUS the Mathematician, who affirmed also, that the earth mooved, saith, that the motion thereof is opposit and contrary to that of the moone: also that the winde being driven to and fro, by these two contrary revolutions, bloweth and beateh upon the Atlantike ocean, troubleth the sea also (and no marvell) according as it is disquieted it selfe.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the round circle called Halo.

THis Halo is made after this manner: betwene the body of the moone, or any other starre, and our eie-sight, there gathereth a grosse and mistie aire, by which aire, anon our sight commeth to be reflected and diffused; and afterwards the same incurreth upon the said starre, according to the exterior circumference thereof, and thereupon appeereth a circle round about the starre, which being there scene is called Halo, for that it seemeth that the apparent impression is close unto that, upon which our sight so enlarged as is before said, doth fall.

THE

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF
Philosophers opinions.

The Proeme.

Aving runne through the generall parts of the world, I will now passe unto the particulars.



CHAP. I.

Of the rising and inundation of Nilus.

THALES thinketh that the anniverfarie windes called Etesiae blowing directly against Aegypt, cause the water of Nilus to swell, for that the sea being driven by these windes, entreth within the mouth of the said river, and hindereth it, that it cannot discharge it selfe freely into the sea, but is repulset backward.

EUTHYMENES of Marfeils, supposeth that this river is filled with the water of the ocean, and the great fealying without the continent, which he imagineth to be fresh and sweet.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that this hapneth by the snowe in Aethiopia, which melteth in summer, and is congealed and frozen in winter.

DEMOCRITUS is of opinion, that it is long of the snowe in the north parts, which about the æstival solstice and returne of the sunne, being dissolved and dilated, breedeth vapors, and of them be engendered clouds, which being driven by the Etesian windes into Aegypt toward the south, cause great and violent raines, wherewith both lakes, and the river also Nilus, be filled.

HERODOTUS the Historian writeth, that this river hath as much water from his sources and springs, in winter as in summer; but to us it seemeth lesse in winter, because the sunne being then neerer unto Aegypt, causeth the said water to evaporate.

EPHORUS the Historiographer reporteth, that all Aegypt doth resolve and runne at it were wholly into sweet in summer time: whereunto Arabia and Libya doe conferre, and contribute also their waters, for that the earth there is light and sandy.

EUDOXUS saith, that the priests of Aegypt assigne the cause hereof to the great raines and the Antiperiastis or contrarie occurre of seasons; for that when it is Summer with us, who inhabit within the Zone toward the Summer Tropicke, it is Winter with those who dwell in the opposit Zone under the Winter Tropicke, whereupon (saith he) proceedeth this great inundation of waters, breaking downe unto the river Nilus.

CHAP. II.

Of the Soule.

THALES was the first that defined the Soule to be a nature moving alwaies, or having motion of it selfe.

PYTHAGORAS saith, it is a certaine number moving it selfe; and this number he taketh for intelligence or understanding.

PLATO supposeth it to be an intellectuall substance mooving it selfe, and that according to harmonically number.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is the first Entelechia or primitive act of a naturall and organically bodie, having life potentially.

DICARCHUS thinketh it to be the harmonie and concordance of the foure elements.

ASCLEPIADES the Physician, defineth it to be an exercise in common of all the senses together.

CHAP. III.

Whether the Soule be a body, and what is the substance of it.

ALl these Philosophers before rehearsed, suppose that the Soule is incorporall, that of the owne nature it mooveth and is a spirittuall substance, and the action of a naturall bodie,

die, composed of many organs or instruments, and withall having life.

But the Sectaries of ANAXAGORAS, have given out, that it is of an airie substance, and a very body.

The STOICKS would have the Soule to be an hot spirit or breath.

DEMOCRITUS holdeth it to be a certeine fierie composition of things perceptible by reason, and the same having their formes sphaerical and round, and the puissance of fire, and withall to be a body.

EPICURUS saith, it is a mixtion or temperature of foure things, to wit, of a certeine fire, of (I wot not what) aire, of an odde windie substance, and of another fourth matter, I cannot tel what to name it, and which to him was sensible.

HERACLITUS affirmeth, the Soule of the world to be an evaporation of humors within it: as for the Soule of living creatures, it proceedeth (quoth he) as well from an evaporation of humors without, as an exhalation within it selfe, and of the same kinde.

CHAP. III.

The parts of the Soule.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO, according to a more generall and remote division, hold, that the Soule hath two parts, that is to say, the Reasonable & the unreasonable; but to goe 20 more neere and exactly to worke, they say, it hath three; for they subdivided the unreasonable part into Concupiscible and Irascible.

The STOICKS be of opinion, that composed it is of eight parts, whereof five be the senses naturall, to wit, sight, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling; the sixth is the voice; the seventh generative or spermaticall, and the eighth, understanding, which guideth and commandeth all the rest by certeine proper organs and instruments, like as the Polype fish by her cleies and hairy branches.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS set downe two parts of the Soule; the Reasonable seated in the brest, and the unreasonable spread and disperied over all the structure of the body besides.

As for DEMOCRITUS, he affirmeth, that all things whatsoever, have a certeine kinde of 30 Soule, even the very dead bodies, for that alwaies they doe manifestly participate a kinde of heat and sensitive facultie, notwithstanding the most part thereof be breathed forth, and yielded up.

CHAP. V.

Which is the most vertue and commanding part of the Soule, and wherein it is.

PLATO and DEMOCRITUS place it in the head throughout: STRATO betweene the two cic browes: ERASISTRATUS in the membrane or kell that enfoldeth the braine, and it he calleth *Eperanis*: HEROPHILUS within the ventricule or concavite of the braine, 40 which also is the basis or foundation of it: PARMENIDES over all the brest, and with him accordeth EPICURUS: the STOICKS all with one voice hold it in the whole heart, or else in the spirit about the heart: DIOGENES in the cavite of the great arterie of the heart, which is full of vitall spirit: EMPEDOCLES in the consistence or masse of blood: others in the verie necke of the heart: some in the tunicketh that lappeth the heart: and others againe in the midriff: some of our moderne philosophers hold, that it taketh up & occupieth all the space from the head downward to the Diaphragma or midriff above said: PYTHAGORAS supposeth that the vitall part of the Soule is about the heart, but the reason and the intellectuall or spiritual part, about the head.

CHAP. VI.

The motion of the Soule.

PLATO is of opinion, that the soule mooveth continually; but the intelligence or understanding is immooveable, in regard of locall motion from place to place.

ARISTOTLE saith, that the soule it selfe moveth not, although it be the author that rules & directeth

directeth all motion; howbeit, that by an accident, it is not devoid of motion, according as divers sorts of bodies do move.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Soules immortallitie.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme the Soule to be immortall; for in departing out of the bodie, it retireth to the Soule of the universall world, even to the nature which is of the same kinde.

The STOICKS hold, that the Soule going from the bodie, if it be feeble and weake, as that is of ignorant persons, seileth downward with the grosse consistence of the bodie; but if it be more firme and puissant, as that is of wise and learned men, it continueth * even unto the con- 10 flagration of all.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS say, that it is corruptible, and perisheth together with the bodie.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO are of opinion, that the reasonable part of the Soule is im- 20 mortall and incorruptible; for that the Soule, if it be not God, yet the worke it is of eternall God: as for the unreasonable part, it is mortall and subject to corruption.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Senses and sensible objects.

THE STOICKS thus define Sense: Sense (say they) is the apprehension of the sensitive organ. But Sense is taken many waies; for we understand by it, either an habitude or facultie naturall, or a sensible action, or els an imagination apprehensive; which all are performed by the meanes of an instrument sensitive: yea, and the very eighth part of the Soule abovenamed, even that which is principall, to wit, the discourse of reason, by which all the rest doe consist: Again, the spirits intellectuall, are called sensitive instruments, which from the said principall understanding reach unto all the organs.

The Sense (quoth EPICURUS) is that parcell of the soule which is the sensitive power it selfe, and the effect which proceedeth from it, so that he taketh Sense in two sort, for the power, 30 and effect.

PLATO defineth Sense to bee the societic of the body and soule, as touching externall objects; for the facultie and power of Sense is proper to the soule, the instrument belongeth to the body; but both the one and the other apprehendeth externall things, by the meanes of the imaginative facultie, or the phantasie.

LEUCIPPUS and DEMOCRITUS doe say, that both Sense and intelligence are actuated by the meanes of certeine images represented from without, unto us, for that neither the one nor the other, can be performed without the occurrence of some such image.

CHAP. IX.

Whether Senses and Fancies be true or no?

THE STOICKS hold, that the Senses be true; but of Imaginations, as some be true, so others are false.

EPICURUS supposeth that all Senses and Imaginations be true; many of opinions, some be true, others false: and as for the Sense it is deceived one way only, to wit, in things intelligible: but Imagination after two sorts: for that there is an Imagination as well of sensible things, as of intelligible.

EMPEDOCLES and HERACLIDES say, that particular Senses are effected according to the proportion of their pores and passages; namely as the proper object of each Sense is well disposed and fitted.

CHAP. X.

How many Senses there be?

THE STOICKS hold, that there be five proper Senses, Sight, Hearing, Smelling, Taft, and Feeling.

ARISTOTLE

ARISTOTLE faith not, that there is a fixt, howbeit he putteth downe one common Sense, which judgeth as touching the compound kinds: whereunto all the other particular and single Senses bring and present their proper imaginations: wherein the transition of the one to the other, as of a figure or motion doth flow.

DEMOCRITUS affirmeth, that there bee more Senses in brute beasts, in the gods, and in wise men.

CHAP. XI.

After what manner is affected Sense, Notion and Reason, according to disposition or affection.

THE STOICKS are of opinion and say, that when a man is engendered, hee hath the principall part of his soule, which is the understanding, like for all the world unto a parchment or paper ready to be written in; and therein he doth register and record every several Notion and cogitation of his: for those who have perceived any thing by sense, (as for example sake, have seene a white thing) when the same is gone out of their eie, retaine it still in memorie: now after they have collected together many sensible memories of the same kinde, then they say, they have experience; for experience is nothing else but an heape or multitude of like sorts: but of notions and thoughts, some be naturall, which are caused in manner aforesaid, without any artificiall meane; others come by our studie, and by teaching, and such alone properly and indeed are called Notions; the other be named rather conceptions or anticipations; and Reason for which we beare the name of Reasonable, is accomplished by those anticipations in the first seven yeeres: and intelligence is the conception in the understanding of a reasonable creature: for phantasie when it lighteth upon the reasonable soule is then called Intelligence, taking the denomination of understanding, which is the cause that these imaginations are not incident unto other creatures; but such as are presented unto gods and us both, those are onely and properly imaginations; whereas those which offer themselves unto us, are imaginations in generall, and cogitations in speciall: like as Deniers, Testons, or Crownes being considered apart in themselves, are Deniers, Testons, & Crownes; but if you give them for the hire of a ship, then besides that they are Deniers, &c. they be also the fare, for ferry or passage.

CHAP. XII.

What difference there is betwene Imagination, Imaginable, Imaginative, and Imagined.

CHRYSIPPUS faith, there is a difference betwene all these four: and first, as for * Imagination, it is a passion or impression in the soule, shewing the selfe same thing that made and imprinted it: as for example; when with our eies we behold a white, it is a passion or affection engendered by the sight in our soule, and we may well say, that the said white is the subject or object that mooveth & affecteth us: sensibly in smelling and touching, and this is called Phantasie, a word derived of *phantasia* or *phantasia*, which signifieth light or cleerenesse; for like as the light sheweth it selfe, and all that is comprised in it, so the Phantasie or imagination representeth it selfe, and that which made it.

* Imaginable is that which maketh imagination, as white, cold, and whatsoever is able to moove or affect the soule, is called Imaginable.

* Phantasie or Imaginative, is a vaine attraction; even an affection or passion in the soule, which cometh not from any object imaginable; like as we may observe in him that fighteth with his owne shadow, or in vaine slingeth forth his hands: for in true phantasie or imagination, there is a subject matter named Imaginable: but in this Phantasie or Imaginative there is no such object or subject at all.

Phantasie or * Imagined, is that unto which we are drawne by that vaine attraction; a thing usuall with those who are either furious, or surprized with the maladie of melancholy: for so Orestes in the tragédie of *Empides* when he uttereth these speeches,

*O mother mine, against me raise not this,
I thee beseech these * wench's furious;
Whom now I see alas, with bloody eies,
And dragon like, how they against me rise:
Thee me beset, and charge on every part,
Thee strike on still, these wound me to the hart.*

* wench's, or women.

doth

doth speake them as enraged and in a phranticke fit; for he seeth nothing, but onely imagineth and thinketh that he seeth them: and therefore his sister *Electra* replieth thus upon:

Lie still poore wretch, rest in thy bed, for why?

Thou seest not that which seemes so verily.

The same is the case of *Theoclymenus* in * *Homer*.

* *Odysseus*, toward the end.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Sight, and how we doe see.

DEMOCRITUS, and EPICURUS supposed, that Sight was caused by the intromission of certaine images: others by an insinuation of beames, returning to our eie-sight, after the occurrence of an object. EMPEDOCLES hath mingled the said images and beames together, calling that which is made thereof, the raies of a compound image. HIPPARCHUS holdeth, that the beames sent out and launched from the one eie, and the other coming to be extended, in their ends meet together, and as it were by the touching and clasping of hands, taking hold of externall bodies, carie backe the apprehension of them unto the visive power.

PLATO attributeth it to the corradation or conjunction of light, for that the light of the eies reacheth a good way within the aire of like nature, & the light likewise issuing from the visible bodies, cutteth the aire betwene, which of it selfe is liquid and mutable, and so extendeth it together with the fierie power of the eie; and this is it which is called the conjunct light or corradation of the Platonicks.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Resemblances represented in mirrors.

EMPEDOCLES faith, that these apparitions come by the meanes of certaine defluxions, gathered together upon the superficies of the mirrour, and accomplished by the fire that ariseth from the said Mirrour, and withall transmuteth the aire that is object before it, into which those fluxions are caried.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS are of opinion, that these apparences in Mirrours, are caused by the subsistence and stay of certaine images, which passing from us, gather together upon the Mirrour by way of rebounding and refutation.

The PYTHAGOREANS attribute all this to the reflexion of the sight: for that the sight is extended and carried as farre as to the Mirrour of brasle or whatsoever, where resting and staying upon the thicke solditie thereof, and beaten backe by the polished smoothnesse of the Mirrour object against it, the same returneth againe upon it selfe; much like as when our hand is stretched out and brought backe againe unto the shoulder.

All these points and opinions may serve very well, and be accomodate to that chapter and question, carrying this title: How we doe see.

CHAP. XV.

Whether Darknesse be visible.

THE STOICKS hold, that Darknesse is visible; for that from the sight there is a splendour going forth that compasseth the said Darknesse; neither doth the eie-sight lie and deceive us, for it seeth certainly and in truth that there is Darknesse.

CHRYSIPPUS faith, that we doe see by the tension of the aire betwene, which is pricked by the visull spirit, that passeth from the principall part of the soule into the apple of the eie; and after that it falleth upon the aire about it, it extendeth the same in a pyramidall forme; namely, when as it meeteth with an aire of the same nature with it; for there flow from out of the eies certaine raies resembling fire, and nothing blacke or mistie, and therefore it is that Darknesse may be seene.

It is contrarywise, light doeth disfigure and convey it as farre as to the visible objects, thorough the aire between, and therefore it seeth not in the dark, but is able to see Darknesse.

* In one copie I reade thus: much more. Furthermore Darknesse doth aggregate and gather in the sight, and thereby make

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CHAP. XVI.

Of Hearing.

EMPRODOLES is of opinion, that Hearing is performed by the meanes of a spirit or winde gotten within the concavities of the eare, writhed or turned in manner of a vice or ferew, which they say is fitted and framed of purpose within the eare, hanging up aloft, and beaten upon in manner of a clocke.

ALCMAEON affirmeth, that we doe Heare by the void place within the eare; for he saith, 10 that this is it that resoundeth, when the said spirit entred into it; because all emptic things do make a sound.

DIOGENES supposeth, that Hearing is caused by the aire within the head, when it cometh to be touched, stirred, and beaten by the voice.

PLATO and his scholars hold, that the aire within the head is smitten, and that it reboundeth and is caried to the principall part of the soule, wherein is reason, and so is formed the sense of Hearing.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Smelling.

ALCMAEON affirmeth, that reason, the principall part of the soule, is within the braine, and that by it we Smell, drawing in scents and smells by respirations.

EMPRODOLES is of this advice, that together with the respiration of the lights, odours also are intromitted and let in; when as then the said respiration is not performed at libertie and ease, but with much adoe, by reason of some asperity in the passage, we Smell not at all, likewise we observe in them who are troubled with the poxe, murre, and such like rheumes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Taste.

ALCMAEON saith, that by the moisture and warmth in the tongue, together with the softnesse thereof, all snacks and objects of taste are distinguished.

DIOGENES attributeth the same to the spongyous raritie and softnesse of the tongue; and for that the veins of the body reach up to it, and are inserted and grafted therein, the favors are spread abroad and drawn into the sense and principal part of the soule, as it were with a sponge.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Voice.

PLATO defineth the Voice to be a spirit, which by the mouth is brought and directed from the understanding; also a knocking performed by the aire, passing through the eares, the braine, and the blood, as farre as to the soule; after an unproper maner & abusively we attribute Voice to unreasonable creatures, yea & to such as have no soule or life at all, namely, to the neighing of horses, and to other fowls; but to speake properly, there is no voice but that which is articulate, and called it is *φωνή* in Greeke, for that it declareth that which is in the thought.

EPICURUS holdeth the Voice to be a fluxion sent forth by such as speake and make a noise, or otherwise doe sound; which fluxion breaketh and crumbleth into many fragments of the same forme and figure, as are the things from whence they come; as for example, round to round, and triangles whether they have three equall sides or unequal, to the like triangles; and these broken parcels entering into the eares, make the sense of the Voice, which is hearings; a thing that may be evidently scene in bottles that leake and runne out, as also in fullers that blow upon their clothes.

DEMOCRITUS saith, that the very aire breaketh into small fragments of the same figure, that

that is to say, round to round; and roll together with the fragments of the Voice: for according to the old proverbe:

*One chough nere to another chough,
loves alwaies for to perch,
And God hath so appointed us,
that all their like should search.*

For even upon the shores and sea-sides, stoncs are evermore found together semblable, to wit, in one place round, in another long; in like manner when as folke doe winnow or purge come with the vanne, those graines alwaies are ranged and sorted together, which be of one and the same forme; in so much as beanes goe to one side by themselves, & rich pease to another a part by their selves: but against all this it may be alledged and objected: How is it possible that a few fragments of spirit and winde should fill a theater, that receiveth ten thousand men?

The STOICKS say, that the aire doth not consist of small fragments, but is continuall throughout, and admitteth no voidnesse at all: howbeit, when it is smitten with spirit or winde, it waveth directly in circles infinitely, until it fill up all the aire about; much after the manner as we may perceive in a pond or poole, when there is a stone thrown into it; for like as the water in it moveth in flat circles; so doth the aire in roundles like to bals.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that the Voice is formed by the incurison and beating of the Voice against the solide aire, which maketh resistance; and returneth the broke backe againe to the eares, which is the manner also of that reduplication of the Voice or resonance called *Eccho*.

CHAP. XX.

Whether the Voice be incorporall? and how cometh the *Eccho* to be formed.

PYTHAGORAS, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE do hold the Voice to be bodilesse: for that it is not the aire but a forme in the aire, & a superficies thereof, & that by a certaine beating which becometh a Voice. Now this is certaine that no superficies hath a bodie. True it is indeed that it moveth and removeth with the bodie, but of it selfe without all doubt it hath no bodie at all like as in a wand or rod that is bent, the superficies thereof suffereth no alteration in respect of it selfe, but it is the verie matter and substance that is bowed. Howbeit the STOICKS are of another opinion and say, that the Voice is a bodie: for whatsoever is operative and worketh ought, is a bodie: but certaine it is that the Voice is active and doth somewhat: for we do heare and perceive when it beatech upon our eare, and it giveth a print, no lesse than a seale upon wax. Moreover, all that moveth or troubleth us, is a bodie: but who knoweth not that in Musick, as good harmony affecteth us; so dissonance and discord doth disquiet us; and that which more is; all that stirreth or moveth is a bodie: but the Voice stirreth and hitteth against smooth and polished solide places, by which it is broken and sent backe againe, in manner as we do see a tennis ball when it is smitten upon a wal: in so much as in the Pyramides of AEGYPT, one Voice delivered within them, rendereth foure or five resonances or *Échoes* for it.

CHAP. XXI.

How the Soule cometh to be sensitive; and what is the principall and predominant part thereof.

THE STOICKS are of opinion, that the supreme and highest part of the Soule is the principall and the guide of the other: to wit, that which maketh imaginations, causeth assents, performeth senses, and moveth appetite: and this is it which they call the discourse of reason. Now of this principall and soveraigne part, there be seven others springing from it, and which are spread through the rest of the bodie, like unto the armes or haire branches of a popple tree: of which seven the naturall senses make five; namely, Sight, Smelling, Hearing, Tasting, and Feeling. Of these, the Sight is a spirit passing from the chiefest part unto the eies; Hearing, a spirit reaching from the understand, to the eares; Smelling, a spirit issuing from reason to the nostrils; Tasting, a spirit going from the foresaid principall part unto the tongue; and last of all Feeling, a spirit stretching and extended from the same predominant part, as farre as to the sensible superficies of those objects which are easie to be felt and handled. Of the twaine behind, the one is called *γενεαλ* seed, and that is likewise

wife a spirit transmitted from the principall part unto the generatories or members of generation: the other which is the seventh and last of all, *Zeno* calleth Vocaly, and wee, Voice; a spirit also, which from the principall part passeth to the windpipe, to the tongue and other instruments appropriate for the voice. And to conclude, that mistress her selfe and ladie of the rest is seated (as it were in the midst of her owne world) within our round head, and there dwelleth.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Respiration.

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that the first Respiration of the first living creature was occasioned, when the humiditie in young ones within the mothers wombe retired, and the outward aire came to succeed in place thereof, and to enter into the void vessels now open to receive the same: but afterwards the naturall heat driving without forth, this aerie substance for to evaporate and breath away, caused expiration: and likewise when the same returned in again, there ensued inspiration, which gave new entrance to that aerious substance. But as touching the Respiration that now is, he thinketh it to be when the blood is carried to the exterior superficies of the bodie; and by this fluxion doth drive and chase the aerie substance through the nosegills, and cause expiration; and inspiration when the blood returneth inward, and when the aire reenteth withall through the rarities which the blood hath left void and empty. And for to make this better to be understood, he bringeth in the example of a Clepsidre or water 20 houre-glassie.

As *CLEPIADES* maketh the lungs in manner of a tunnel, supposing that the cause of Respiration, is the aire, smooth, and of subtil parts which is within the breast, unto which the aire without, being thicke and grosse floweth and runneth; but is repelled backe againe, for that the breast is not able to receive any more, nor yet to be cleane without: Now when as there remaineth still behind, some litle of the subtil aire within the breast, (for it cannot all be cleane driven out) that aire without rechargeth againe with equall force upon that within, being able to support and abide the waight thereof: and this compareth he to Physicians ventoses, or cupping glasses. Moreover as touching voluntarie Respiration, he maketh this reason, that the smallest holes within the substance of the lungs are drawn together, and their pipes closed up. For these 30 things obey our will.

HEROPHILUS leaveth the motive faculties of the bodie, unto the nerves, arteries and muskles: for thus he thinketh and saith, that the lungs only have a naturall appetite to dilation, and contraction, that is to say, to draw in and deliver the breath, and so by consequence other parts. For this is the proper action of the lungs, to draw wind from without; wherewith when it is filled, there is made another attraction by a second appetite; and the breast deriveth the said wind into it: which being likewise repleat therewith, not able to draw any more, it transmiteth backe againe the superfluitie thereof into the lungs, wherby it is sent forth by way of expiration: and thus the parts of the bodie reciprocally suffer one of another, by way of interchange. For when the lungs are occupied in dilatation, the breast is buified in contraction; and thus they 40 make repletion and evacuation by a mutuall participation one with the other; in such sort as we may observe about the lungs foure manner of motions. The first, whereby it receiveth the wind from without; the second, by which it transfuseth into the breast that aire which it drew and received from without; the third, whereby it admitteth againe unto it selfe that which was sent out of the breast; and the fourth, by which it sendeth quite forth that which so returned into it. And of these motions, two be dilatations, the one occasioned from without, the other from the breast: and other two, contractions; the one when the breast draweth wind into it: and the other when it doth expell the aire insinuated into it. But in the breast parts there be but two onely, the one dilatation when it draweth wind from the lungs, the other contraction, when it rendreth it againe. 50

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Passion of the body; and whether the soule have a fellow-feeling with it, of paine and dolour.

THE *STOICKS* say, that affections are in the passible parts, but senses in the principall part of the soule.

EPICURUS

EPICURUS is of opinion, that both the affections and also the senses, are in the passible places: for that reason which is the principall part of the soule, he holdeth to be unpassible.

STRATO contrariwise affirmeth, that as well the Passions of the soule, as the senses, are in the said principall part, and not in the affected and grieved places; for that in it consisteth patience, which we may observe in terrible and dolorous things, as also in fearefull, and magnanimous persons.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF
Philosophers opinions.

CHAP. I.

Of Divination.

PLATO and the *STOICKS* bring in a fore-deeming and fore-knowledge of things by inspiration or divine instinct, according to the divinity of the soule; namely, when as it is ravished with a fanaticall spirit or revelation by dreames: and these admit and allow many kinds of divination.

XENOPHANES and *EPICURUS* on the contrary side abolish and annull all Divination whatsoever.

PYTHAGORAS condemneth that onely which is wrought by sacrifices.

ARISTOTLE & *DICARCHUS* receive none but that which cometh by Divine inspiration, or by dreames; not supposing the soule to be immortal, but to have some participation of Divinitie.

CHAP. II.

How Dreames are caused.

DEMOCRITUS is of opinion, that Dreames come by the representation of images. *STRATO* saith, that our understanding is I wot not how, naturally, and yet by no reason, more sensitive in sleepe than otherwise, and therefore solicited the rather by the appetite and desire of knowledge.

HEROPHILUS affirmeth, that Dreames divinely inspired, come by necessitie; but natural Dreames by this meanes, that the soule formeth an image and representation of that which is good and commodious unto it, and of that which must ensue thereupon: as for such as be of a mixt nature of both, they fall out casually by an accidentall access of images; namely, when we imagine that we see that which wee desire; as it falleth out with those who in their sleepe thinke they have their paramours in their armes.

CHAP. III.

What is the substance of Natural seed.

ARISTOTLE defineth Seed to be that which hath power to move in it selfe for the effecting of some such thing, as it was from whence it came.

PYTHAGORAS taketh it to be the foame of the best and purest bloud, the superfluitie and excrement of nouriture; like as bloud and marrow.

ALCMAEON saith, it is a portion of the braine.

PLATO supposeth it to be a decision or deflux of the marrow in the backe bone.

EPICURUS imagineth it to be, an abstract of soule and body.

DEMOCRITUS holdeth, that it is the generate of the fleshy nerves proceeding from the whole body, and the principall parts thereof.

CHAP. IIII.

Whether generall Seed be a body.

LEUCIPPUS and *ZENO* take it to be a body; for that it is an abstract parcell of the soule.

PYTHAGORAS, *PLATO*, and *ARISTOTLE*, acknowledge indeed and confesse, that

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that the power and force of Seed is bodiless; like as the understanding, which is the author of motions: but the matter thereof say they, which is shed and sent forth, is corporall.

STRATO and DEMOCRITUS affirme the very puissance thereof to be a body, howbeit, spirituell.

CHAP. V.

Whether females send forth Seed as well as males.

PYTHAGORAS, EPICURUS, and DEMOCRITUS hold, that the Female likewise discharge Seed; for that it hath feminarie vessels turned backward; which is the reason that to such hath lust unto the act of generation.

ARISTOTLE and ZENO be of opinion, that the Female delivereth from it a moist matter, resembling the sweat which commeth from their bodies, who wrestle or exercise together: but they will not have it to be Seed.

HIPPONAVOUCHETH that Females doe ejaculate Seed no lesse than males, howbeit the same is not effectuell for generation, for that it falleth without the matrix: whereupon it commeth to passe that some women, though very few, and widows especially, doe cast from them Seed without the company of men: and he affirmeth that of the male Seed, are made the bones, & of the female the flesh.

CHAP. VI.

The manner of Conception.

ARISTOTLE thinketh, that Conceptions come in this manner: when as the matrix drawn before from the naturall purgation, and therewithall the monthly tearmes fetch some part of pure blood from the whole masse of the body, so that the males generall may come to it, and so concur to engender: Contrariwise, that which hindereth conception is this, namely, when the matrix is impure or full of ventosities; as it may be by occasion of feare, of sorrow, or weaknesse of women; yea and by the impuissance and defect in men.

CHAP. VII.

How it commeth that Males are engendered, and how Females.

EMPEDOCLES supposeth, that Males and Females are begotten by the meanes of heat and cold accordingly: and heereupon recorded it is in Histories, that the first Males in the world, were procreated and borne out of the earth, rather in the East and Southern parts; but Females toward the North.

PARMENIDES maintaineth the contrary, and saith; that Males were bred toward the Northern quarters, for that the aire there is more grosse and thicker than else where: on the other side, Females toward the South, by reason of the raritie and subtiltie of the aire.

HIPPONAX attributeth the cause heereof unto the seed, as it is either more thick or powerful, or thinner and weaker.

ANAXAGORAS and PARMENIDES hold, that the seed which commeth from the right side of a man, ordinarily is cast into the right side of the matrix; and from the left side likewise into the same side of the matrix: but if this ejection of seed fall out otherwise cleane crosse, then Females be engendered.

LEOPHANES of whom ARISTOTLE maketh mention, affirmeth that the Males be engendered by the right generatory, and females by the left.

LEUCIPPUS ascribeth it to the permutation of the naturall parts of generation, for that according to it, the man hath his yerd of one sort, and the woman her matrix of another: more than this he saith nothing.

DEMOCRITUS saith, that the common parts are engendered indifferently by the one and the other, as it falleth out; but the peculiar parts that make distinction of sex, of the party which is more prevalent.

HIPPONAX resolveth thus, that if the seed be predominant, it will be a Male; but if the food and nourishment, a Female.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

How Monsters are engendered.

EMPEDOCLES affirmeth, that Monsters be engendered either through the abundance of feed, or default thereof; either through the turbulent * perturbation of the moving, or the distraction and divison of the feed into sundry parts; or else through the declination thereof out of the right way: and thus he seemeth to have preoccupied in manner all the answers to this question.

STRATO alledgeth for this part, addition, or subtraction, transposition or inflation and ventosities. And some physicians there be, who say, that at such a time as monsters be engendered, the matrix suffereth distortion, for that it is distended with winde.

CHAP. IX.

What is the reason that a woman though of sentime she companieth with a man doeth not conceive.

DIOCLES the Physician rendreth this reason, for that some doe send forth no seed at all; or lesse in quantity than is sufficient, or such in quality, which hath no vivificant or quickning power; or else it is for defect of heat, of cold, of moisture, or driness; or last of all, by occasion of the paralytic or resolution of the privy parts and members of generation.

The STOICKS lay the cause hereof upon the obliquitie or crookednesse of the mans member, by occasion whereof, he cannot shoot forth his seed directly; or else it is by reason of the disproportion of the parts, as namely when the matrix lieth to farr within, that the yerd cannot reach unto it.

ERASISTRATUS findeth fault in this case with the matrix, when it hath either hard callousities, or too much carnositie; or when it is more rare and spongeous, or else smaller than it ought to be.

CHAP. X.

How it commeth that two Twinnes and three Twinnes are borne.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that two Twinnes or three, are engendered by occasion either of the abundance, or the divulsion of the feed.

ASCLEPIADES assigneth it unto the difference of bodies, or the excellence of feed: after which manner we see how some barly from one root beareth two or three stalkes with their eares upon them, according as the feed was most fruitfull and generative.

ERASISTRATUS attributeth it unto divers conceptions and superfecundations, like as in brute beasts; for when as the matrix is clenched, then it commeth soone to conception and superfecundation.

The STOICKS alledge to this purpose the cels or conceptacles within the matrix; for as the feed falleth into the first and second, there follow conceptions and superfecundations, and after the same sort may three Twinnes be engendered.

CHAP. XI.

How commeth it to passe that children resemble their parents or progenitors before them.

EMPEDOCLES affirmeth, that as similitudes are caused by the exceeding force of the generall feed; so the dissimilitudes arise from the evaporation of naturall heat contained within the same feed.

PARMENIDES is of opinion, that when the feed descendeth out of the right side of the matrix, the children be like unto the fathers, but when it passeth from the left side, unto the mothers.

The STOICKS opine thus; from the whole body and the soule passeth the seed, and so the similitudes doe forme of the same kinds, the figures and characters, like as a painter of the

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like colours draweth the image of that which he seeth before him: also the woman for her part doth conferre generall feed, which if it be prevalent, then the infant is like unto the mother; but if the mans feed be more predominant, it will resemble the father.

CHAP. XII.

How it falleth out that children resemble others, and not their fathers and mothers.

THE most part of the Physicians affirme this to happen by chaunce and adventure, but upon this occasion, that the feed, as well of the man as the woman waxeth cold; for then the infants resemble neither the one nor the other.

EMPEDOCLES attributeth the forme and resemblance of young babes in the wombe, unto the strong imagination of the woman in time of conception; for many times it hath bene known, that women have bene enamoured of painted images and statues, and so delivred of children like unto them.

THE STOICKS say, that by a sympathie of the minde and understanding, through the insinuation of beames, and not of images, these resemblances are caused.

CHAP. XIII.

How it cometh that some women be barren, and men likewise unable to get children.

PHYSICIANS hold, that women be barren by reason that the matrix is either too streight, over rare, or too hard; or else by occasion of certeine callosities or carnosities: or for that the women themselves be weaklings and heartlesse, or do not thrive but mislike; or else because they are fallen into some Cachexia and evil habit of body; or by reason that they are distorted, or otherwise in a convulsion.

DIOCLES faith, that men in this action of generation are impotent, for that some send forth no seed at all, or at leastwise in quantitie lesse than is meet, or such as hath no generative power; or because their genitals be paralyticall or relaxed; or by reason that the yerd is crooked, that it cannot cast the seed forward; or for that the generall members be disproportioned and not of a competent length, considering the distance of the matrix.

THE STOICKS lay the fault upon certeine faculties and qualities, discordant in the parties themselves that come together about this businesse; who being parted one from another, and conjoined with others, uniting well with their complexion, there followeth a temperate according to nature, and a child is gotten betwene them.

CHAP. XIII.

Why Mules be barren.

ALCMAEON is of opinion, that Mules, that is to say, male Mules be not able to engender for that their feed or geniture is of a thin substance which proceedeth from the coldnesse thereof. The Females also, because their flaps do not open wide enough, that is to say, the mouth therof doth not gape sufficiently; for these be the verie reames that he useth.

EMPEDOCLES blameth exilitie or smalnesse, the low posture and the over streight conformation of the matrix, being so turned backward and tied unto the belly, that neither seed can be directly cast into the capacite of it, nor if it were caried thither would it receive the same, unto whom DIOCLES also beareth witnesse saying, Many times (quoth he) in the dissection of Anatomies we have seene such matrices of Mules; and it may be therefore, that in regard of such causes some women also be barren.

CHAP. XV.

Whether the Infant lying yet in the mothers wombe, is to be accounted a living creature or no?

PLATO directly pronounceth that such an Infant is a living creature: for that it moveth, and is fed within the bellie of the mother.

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THE STOICKS say, it is a part of the wombe, and not an animall by it selfe. For like as fruits be parts of the trees, which when they be ripe do fall; even so it is with an Infant in the mothers wombe.

EMPEDOCLES denieth it to be a creature animall, howbeit that it hath life and breath within the bellie: many the first time that it hath respiration, is at the birth, namely when the superfluous humiditie which is in such unborne fruits is retired and gone, so that the aire from without entereth into the void vessels lying open.

DIOCLES faith, that such Infants are bred within the matrix inanimate, howbeit in heat: whereupon it cometh that naturall heat, so soone as ever the Infant is turned out of the mothers wombe, is drawn into the lungs.

HEROPHILUS leaveth to unborne babes a moving naturall; but not a respiration; of which motion the finewes be the instrumentall cause; but afterwards they become perfect living animall creatures, when being come forth of the wombe they take in breath from the aire.

CHAP. XVI.

How unborne babes are fed in the wombe.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS hold, that this imperfect fruit of the wombe receiveth nourishment at the mouth; and thereupon it cometh, that so soone as ever it is borne it seeketh and nuzzeth with the mouth for the breast head, or nipple of the papper: for that within the matrix there be certaine teats, yea and mouths too, whereby they are nourished.

THE STOICKS say, that it is fed by the secundine and the navell; whereupon it is that Midwives presently knit up and tie the navell string fast, but open the Infants mouth; to the end that it be acquainted with another kind of nourishment.

ALCMAEON affirmeth, that the Infant within the mothers wombe, feedeth by the whole body thoroughout: for that it sucketh to it and draweth in manner of a sponge, of all the food, that which is good for nourishment.

CHAP. XVII.

What part of the Child is first made perfect within the mothers bellie.

THE STOICKS are of opinion that the most parts are formed all at once; but ARISTOTEL faith the backe bone and the loines are first framed, like as the keele in a ship.

ALCMAEON affirmeth, that the head is first made, as being the seat of reason.

PHYSICIANS will have the heart to be the first, wherein the veines and arteries are. Some thinke the great toe is framed first, and others the navill.

CHAP. XVIII.

What is the cause that Infants borne at seven moneths end, be livelie.

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that when mankind was first bred of the earth, one day then, by reason of the slow motion of the Sunne was full as long, as (in this age of ours) tenne moneths: and that in processe of time, and by succession it came to be of the length of seven moneths: And therefore (quoth he) infants borne either at ten or seven moneths end, doe ordinarily live: the nature of the world being so accustomed in one day to bring that fruit to maturity after that night, wherein it was committed into the wombe thereof.

TIMAEUS faith, that they bee not ten moneths, but are counted nine; after that the monethly purgations stay upon the first conception: and so it is thought that infants be of seven moneth which are not: for that he knew how after conception many women have had their mensuall flux.

POLYBUS, DIOCLES and the EMPIRICKS know, that the eight moneths childe also is vital; howbeit in some sort feeble, for that many for feeblenesse have died so borne: in general

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nerall and for the most part ordinarily, none are willing to reare and feed the children borne at the seven moneth; and yet many have bene so borne and grown to mans estate.

ARISTOTLE and HIPPOCRATES report, that in seven moneths the matrix be grown full, then the infant seeketh to get forth; and such commonly live and doe well enough: but if it incline to birth, and be not sufficiently nourished, for that the navill is weake, then in regard of hard travell, both the mother is in danger, and her fruit becometh to mislike and thrive not: but in case it continue nine moneths within the matrix, then it cometh forth accomplished and perfect.

POLYBUS affirmeth it to be requisite and necessarie for the vitalitie of infants, that there should be 182, daies and a halfe, which is the time of six moneths compleat; in which space to the sunne cometh from one Solstice or Tropicke to another: but such children are said to be of seven moneths, when it falleth out that the odde daies left in this moneth, are taken to the seventh moneth. But he is of opinion, that those of eight moneths live not; namely, when as the infant hath indeed out of the wombe, and beareth downward, but for the most part the navill is thereby put to stresse and reached, & so cannot feed, as that should, which is the cause of food to the infant.

The MATHEMATICIANS beare us in hand and say, that eight moneths be diffociable of all generations, but seven are sociable. Now the diffociable signes are such as meet with such starrs and constellations which be lords of the house: for if upon any of them falleth the lot of mans life and course of living, it signifieth that such shall be unfortunate and shortlived. These diffociable signes be reckoned eight in number: namely, *Aries* with *Scorpio* is infociable; *Taurus* with *Scorpio* is sociable; *Gemini* with *Capricorn*; *Cancer* with *Aquarius*; *Leo* with *Pisces*; and *Virgo* with *Aries*: And for this cause infants of seven moneths and ten moneths be livelike, but those of eight moneths for the infociable diffidence of the world, perish and come to naught.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the generation of animal creatures; after what manner they be engendered; and whether they be corruptible.

They who hold that the world was created, are of opinion, that living creatures also had their creation or beginning, and shall likewise perish and come to an end.

The EPICUREANS according unto whom Animals had no creation, doe suppose that by mutation of one into another, they were first made; for they are the substantiall parts of the world: like as ANAXAGORAS and EURIPIDES affirme in these teames: Nothing dieth, but in changing as they doe one for another, they shew fundry formes.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the first Animals were bred in moisture, and enclosed within prickly and sharpe pointed barks; but as age grew on, they became more drie, and in the end, when the said barks burst and clave in sunder round about them, a small while after they survived.

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that the first generations as well of living creatures as of plants, were not wholly compleat and perfect in all parts, but disjointed, by reason that their parts did not cohere and unite together: that the second generations when the parts begun to combine and close together, seemed like to images: that the third generations were of parts growing and arising mutually one out of another: and the fourth were no more of semblable, as of earth and water, but one of another; and in some the nourishment was inraffate and made thicke, as for others the beautie of women provoked and pricked in them a lust of spermatike motion. Moreover, that the kinds of all living creatures were distinct and divided by certaine temperatures; for such as were more familiarly inclined to water, went into water; others into the aire, for to draw and deliver their breath to and fro, according as they held more of the nature of fire; such as were of a more heave temperature were belowed upon the earth; but those who were of an equall temperature, uttered voice with their whole breasts.

CHAP. XX.

How many sorts of living creatures there be? whether they be all sensitive and endued with reason.

Here is a treatise of ARISTOTLE extant, wherein he putteth downe four kinds of Animals, to wit, Terrestrial, Aquaticall, Volatile, and Celestiall: for you must thinke, that he

he calleth heavens, starrs, and the world, Animals; even as well as those that participate of earth: yea and God he defineth to be a reasonable Animal and immortal.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS doe say, that heavenly Animals are reasonable.

ANAXAGORAS holdeth, that all Animals are endued with active reason, but want the passive understanding, which is called the interpreter or truchment of the minde.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO do affirme, that the soules even of those very Animals which are called unreasonable & brute beasts, are endued with reason; howbeit they are not operative with that reason, neither can they actuate it, by reason of the dis tempered composition of their bodies, and because they have not speech to declare and expound themselves: as for example, apes and dogs which utter a babling voice, but not an expresse language and distinct speech.

DIODEGENES supposeth that they have an intelligence; but partly for the grosse thicknesse of their temperature, and in part for the abundance of moisture, they have neither discourse of reason nor sense, but fare like unto those who be furious; for the principall part of the soule, to wit, Reason is defectuous and empeached.

CHAP. XXI.

Within what time are living creatures formed in the mothers wombe.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that men begin to take forme after the thirtie sixt day; and are finished and knit in their parts within 50. daies wanting one.

ASCLEPIADES saith, that the members of males, because they be more hot, are jointed, and receive shape in the space of 26. daies, and many of them sooner; but are finished and complet in all limbes within 50. daies; but females require two moneths ere they be fashioned, and lower before they come to their perfection; for that they want naturall heat. As for the parts of unreasonable creatures, they come to their accomplishment sooner or later, according to the temperature of the elements.

CHAP. XXII.

Of how many elements is composed each of the generall parts which are in us.

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that flesh is engendered of an equall mixture and temperature of the lower elements; the sinewes, of earth and fire, mingled together in a duple proportion; the nailes and cleies in living creatures come of the nerves refrigerat and made colde in those places where the aire toucheth them; the bones, of water and earth within; and of these fower medled and contempered together, sweat and reares proceed.

CHAP. XXIII.

When and how doth man begin to come to his perfection.

HERACLITUS and the STOICKS suppose, that men doe enter into their perfection about the second septimane of their age, at what time as their naturall feed doth moove and runne: for even the very trees begin then, to grow unto their perfection; namely, when as they begin to engender their feed; for before then, unperfect they are, namely, so long as they be unripe and fruitlesse: and therefore a man likewise about that time is perfect: and at this septenarie of yeeres he beginneth to conceive and understand what is good and evil, yea, and to learne the same.

* Some thinke that a man is consummate at the end of the third septimane of yeeres, what time as he maketh use of his full strength.

* This I find in the latin translation.

CHAP. XXIII.

In what manner Sleep is occasioned or death?

ALCIBONIS of this mind, that Sleep is caused by the returne of blood into the confluent veines; and Waking is the diffusion and spreading of the said blood abroad: but Death

Death the utter departure thereof.

EMPEDOCLES holdeth that Sleepe is occasioned by a moderate cooling of the naturall heat of blood within us : and Death by an extreme coldnesse of the said blood.

DIOGENES is of opinion, that if blood being diffused and spread throughout, fill the veines, and withall drive backe the aire settled therabout into the brest, and the interior belly under it, then ensueth Sleepe, and the brest with the precordiall parts are hotter thereby : but if that aerious substance in the veines expire altogether, and exhale forth, presently followeth Death.

PLATO and the STOICKS affirme, that the cause of Sleep is the remission of the spirit sensitive, not by way of relaxation and descent downward, as it were to the earth ; but rather by elevation aloft, namely, when it is carried to the interstice or place between the Browes, the very feat of reason : but when there is an entire resolution of the spirit sensitive, then of necessitie Death doth ensue.

CHAP. XXV.

Whether of the twaine it is, that sleepeþ or dieth, the Soule or the Bodie?

ARISTOTLE verely supposeth that Sleepe is common to Bodie and Soule both : and the cause thereof is a certaine humiditie which doth steeme and arise in manner of a vapour out of the stomack and the food therein, up into the region of the head, and the naturall heat about the heart cooled thereby. But death he deemeth to be an entire and totall refrigeration ; and the fame of the Bodie onely, and in no wise of the Soule, for it is immortall.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that Sleepe belongeth to corporall action ; as being a passion of the Bodie and not of the Soule : also that there is likewise a certaine death of the Bodie, to wit, the separation of it and the Bodie asunder.

LEUCIPPUS is of opinion, that Sleepe pertaineth to the Bodie onely, by concretion of that which was of subtile parts ; but the excessive excretion of the animall heat is Death : which both (saith he) be passions of the Bodie, and not of the Soule.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that Death is a separation of those elements whereof mans Bodie is compounded : according to which position, Death is common to Soule and Bodie : and Sleep a certaine dissipation of that which is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XXVI.

How Plants come to grow and whether they be animate.

PLATO and EMPEDOCLES hold, that Plants have life, yea and be animall creatures which appeareth (say they) by this, that they wag to and fro, and stretch forth their boughs like armes ; also, that when they be violently strained and bent, they yeeld ; but if they be let loose they retume againe, yea in their growth are able to overcome weight laid upon them.

ARISTOTLE granteth that they be living creatures, but not animall : for that animall creatures have motions and appetites, are sensitive and endued with reason.

The STOICKS and the EPICUREANS hold, that they have no soule or life at all : for of animall creatures some have the appetitive & concupiscible soule, others the reasonable : but Plants grow after a sort casually of their owne accord, and not by the meanes of any soule.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that Trees sprang and grew out of the ground before animall creatures ; to wit, ere the Sunne desplayed his beames, and before that day and night were distinct. Also that according to the proportion of temperature, one came to be named, Male, another, Female ; that they shoot up and grow by the power of heat within the earth ; in such sort ; as they be parts of the earth, like as unborne fruits in the wombe, be parts of the matrice. As for the fruits of trees, they are the superfluous excrements of water and fire : but such as have defect of that humiditie, when it is dried up by the heat of the Summer, lose their leaves : whereas they that have plentie thereof, keepe their leaves on still, as for example, the Laurell, Olive, and Date tree. Now as touching the difference of their juices and sapor, it proceedeth from the diversitie of that which nourisheth them, as appeareth in Vines : for the difference of Vine trees, maketh not the goodnesse of Vines for to be drunke, but the nutriment that the territoric and soile doth afford.

CHAP,

CHAP. XXVII. Of Nourishment and Growth.

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that animall creatures are nourished by the substance of that which is proper and familiar unto them ; that they grow by the presence of naturall heat ; that they diminish, fade and perish through the default both of the one and the other. And as for men now a daies living, in comparison of their auncestors, they be but babes new borne.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Animall creatures come to have appetite and pleasure.

EMPEDOCLES supposeth, that Lust and Appetites are incident to animall creatures, through the defect of those elements which went unto the framing of each one : that pleasures arise from humiditie : as for the motions of perils and such like, as also troubles and hindrances, &c. * * * *

CHAP. XXIX.

After what sort a Fever is engendred, and whether it is an necessary to another malady?

ERASISTRATUS defineth a Fever thus : A Fever (quoth he) is the motion of bloud, which is entered into the veines or vessels proper unto the spirits, to wit, the arteries ; and that against the will of the patient ; for like as the sea when nothing troubleth it, lieth still and quiet ; but if a boisterous and violent winde be up and bloweth upon it, contrary unto nature it surgeth and riseth up into billows even from the very bottom ; so in the body of man, when the bloud is moved, it invadeth the vitall and spirituall vessels, and being set on fire ; it enchaineth the whole body. And according to the same physicians opinion, a Fever is an necessary or consequent coming upon another disease.

But DIOCLEAS affirmeth, that Symptomes apparent without forth, doe shew that which lieth hidden within : Now we see that an Ague followeth upon those accidents that outwardly appeere ; as for example, wounds, inflammations, impostumes, biles and bitches in the shere and other emunctories.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Health, Sicknesse, and old age.

ALCMAON is of opinion, that the equall dispensing and distribution of the faculties in the body, to wit, of moisture, heat, driness, cold, bitter, sweet, and the rest, is that which holdeth & maintaineth Health : contrariwise, the monarchie, that is to say, the predominant sovereignty, of any of them causeth sicknesse : for the predominance and principality of any one, bringeth the corruption of all the other, and is the very cause of maladies : the efficient in regard of excessive heat or cold ; and the materiall in respect of superabundance, or defect of humors ; like as in some there is want of blood or brain ; whereas Health is a proportionable temperature of all these qualities.

DIOCLEAS supposeth, that most diseases grow by the inequality of the elements, and of the habit and constitution of the body.

ERASISTRATUS saith, that sicknesse proceedeth from the excessse of feeding, from crudities, indigestions, and corruption of meat : whereas good order and suffiance is Health.

The STOICKS accord heerunto and hold, that Old age cometh for want of naturall heat ; for they who are most furnished therewith, live longest, and be old a great time.

ASCLEPIADES reporteth, that the Aethiopians age quickly, namely, when they be thirrie yeeres old ; by reason that their bodies bee over-heated, and even burnt againe with the sunne : whereas in England and all Britaine, folke in their age continue 120. yeeres ; for that those parts be cold, and in that people the naturall heat by that meanes is united and kept in their bodies : for the bodies of the Aethiopians are more open and rare, in that they be relaxed and resolved by the sunnes heat. Contrariwise their bodies who live toward the North pole, bee more compact, knit and fast, and therefore, such are long lived.

ROMANE



ROMANE QVESTIONS,

THAT IS TO SAY,
AN ENQUIRIE INTO THE
CAUSES OF MANIE FASHIONS
AND CUSTOMES OF ROME.

*A Treatise fit for them who are conversant in the reading
of Romane histories and antiquities, giving a light
to many places of heretofore obscure and hard
to be understood.*

What is the reason that new wedded wives are bidden to touch fire and water?

I T is because that among the elements and principles, whereof are composed naturall bodies, the one of these twaine, to wit, fire is the male, and water the female, of which, that insultheth the beginning of motion, and this affordeth the proprietie of the subject and matter?

2 Or rather, for that, as the fire purgeth, and water washeth; so a wife ought to continue pure, chaste and cleane all her life.

3 Or is it in this regard, that as fire without humidity yeeldeth no nourishment, but is dry; and moisture without heat is idle, fruitlesse and barren; even so the male is feeble, and the female likewise, when they be apart and severed a sunder: but the conjunction of two married folke yeeldeth unto both, their copulation and perfection of living together.

4 Or last of all, because man and wife ought not to forsake and abandon one another, but to take part of all fortunes; though they had no other good in the world common between them, but fire and water openly.

How is it that they use to light at weddings five torches, and neither more nor lesse, which they call Waxe-lights.

W Hether is it as Varro saith, because the Praetours or generals of armies use three, and the Aediles two: therefore it is not meet that they should have more than the Praetours and Aediles together: considering that new married folke goe unto the Aediles to light their fire?

2 Or, because having use of many numbers, the odde number seemed unto them as in all other respects better, and more perfect than the even: so it was fitter and more agreeable for marriage: for the even number implieth a kinde of discord and division, in respect of the equal parts in it, meet for siding, quarrell, and contention: whereas the odde number cannot be divided so justly & equally, but there will remaine somewhat still in common for to be parted. Now among all odde numbers, it seemeth that Cinque is most nuptial, & best becomming marriage; for that they is the first odde number, & Deuz the first even; of which twaine, five is compounded, as of the male and the female.

3 Or is it rather, because light is a signe of being and of life: and a woman may beare at the most five children at one burden; and so they used to cary five tapers or waxe candles?

4 Or lastly, for that they thought, that those who were married had need of five gods and goddesses:

goddesses: namely, *Jupiter* * genial, *Juno* genial, *Venus*, *Suade*, and above all *Diana*; whom * Or, nuptiall. (last named) women in their labour and travell of childe-birth, are wont to call upon for helpe.

What is the cause that there being many Temples of Diana in Rome, into that only which standeth in the Paricain street, men enter not.

I S it not because of a tale which is told in this manner: In old time a certaine woman being come thither for to adore and worship this goddess, chanced there to be abused and suffer violence in her honor: and he who forced her, was torne in pieces by hounds: upon which accident, ever after, a certaine superstitious feare possessed mens heads, that they would not presume to goe into the said temple.

Wherefore is it, that in other temples of Diana men are wont ordinarily to set up and fasten Hart's hornes; only in that which is upon mount Aventine; the hornes of oxen and other beestes are to be seene.

M Ay it not be, that this is respectue to the remembrance of an ancient occurrent that sometime befell? For reported it is that long since in the Sabines country, one *Antius* Coratius had a cow, which grew to be exceeding faire and wonderfull bigge withall above any other: and a certaine wizard or footfaier came unto him and said: How predestined it was that the cite which sacrificed that cow unto *Diana* in the mount *Aventine*, should become most puissant and rule all *Italy*: This *Coratius* therefore came to *Rome* of a deliberate purpose to sacrifice the said cow accordingly: but a certaine household servant that he had, gave notice secretly unto king *Servius Tullius* of this prediction delivered by the abovefaid footfaier: whereupon *Servius* acquainted the priest of *Diana*, *Cornelius*, with the matter: and therefore when *Antius* Coratius presented himselfe for to performe his sacrifice, *Cornelius* advertised him, first to goe downe into the river, there to wash for that the custome and manner of those that sacrificed was so to doe: now whiles *Antius* was gone to wash himselfe in the river, *Servius* steps into his place, prevented his returne, sacrificed the cow unto the goddess, and nailed up the hornes when he had so done, within her temple. *Tuba* thus relateth this historie; and *Varro* likewise, saying that *Varro* expressly setteth not downe the name of *Cornelius*, neither doth he write that it was *Cornelius* the priest, but the sexton onely of the church that thus beguiled the Sabine.

Why are they who have bene falsely reported dead in a strange country, although they returne home alive, not receive nor suffred to enter directly by the dores, but forced to climb up to the tiles of the house, and so to get downe from the rouse into the house?

V Arro rendreth a reason hereof, which I take to be altogether fabulous: for hee writeth, that during the Sicilian warre, there was a great battell fought upon the sea, and immediately upon it, there ranne a rumour of many that they were dead in this fight; who notwithstanding, they returned home safe, died all within a little while after: howbeit, one there was among the rest, who when he would have entred into his owne house, found the dore of the owne record fast shut up against him; and for all the forcible means that was made to open the same, yet it would not prevails: whereupon this man taking up his lodging without, just before his dore, as he slept in the night, had a vision which advertised him how he should from the rooffe of the house let himselfe downe by a rope, and so get in: now when he had so done, he became fortunate ever after, all the rest of his life; and hee lived to be a very aged man: and heereof arose the foresaid custome, which alwaies afterwards was kept and observed.

But haply this fashion may seeme in some sort to have bene derived from the Greeks: for in Greece they thought not those pure and cleane who had bene caried forth for dead to be entered; or whose sepulchre and funerals were solemnized or prepared: neither were such allowed to frequent the company of others, nor suffred to come neere unto their sacrifices. And there goeth a report of a certaine man named *Aristimus*, one of those who had bene possessed with this superstition, how he sent unto the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, for to make supplication and prayer unto the god, for to bee delivered out of this perplexed anxiety that troubled him in occasion

occasion of the said custome or law then in force: and that the propheteſſe *Pythia* returned this answer:

*Looke what ſoever women doe
in childbed newly laid,
Unſea their babes, which they brought forth,
the verie ſame I ſay
See thus be done to thee againe:
and after that be ſure,
Unto the bleſſed gods with hands
to ſacrifice, moſt pure.*

Which oracle thus delivered, *Criſtinus* having well pondered and conſidered, committed himſelfe as an infant new borne unto women for to be waſhed, to be wrapped in ſwadling clothes, and to be ſuckled with the breſt-head: after which, all ſuch others, whom we call *Hyſteropotomus*, that is to ſay, thoſe whoſe graves were made, as if they had bene dead, did the ſemblable. Howbeit, ſome doe ſay, that before *Criſtinus* was borne, theſe ceremonies were obſerved about thoſe *Hyſtropomi*, and that this was a right ancient cuſtome kept in the ſemblable caſe: and therefore no marvell it is, that the Romans alſo thought, that ſuch as were ſuppoſed to have bene once buried, and ranged with the dead in another world, ought not to enter in at the ſame porch, out of which they goe, when they purpoſe to ſacrifice unto the gods, or at which they reſort when they returne from ſacrifice: but would have them from above to deſcend through the tiles of the rooſe into the cloſe houſe, with the aire open over their heads: for all their purifications ordinarily they performed without the houſe abroad in the aire.

Why doe women kiſſe the lips of their kinſfolks?

It is as moſt men thinke, for that women being forbidden to drinke wine, the manner was brought up: That whenſoever they met their kinſfolke, they ſhould kiſſe their lips, to the end they might not be unknowne, but convicted if they had drunke wine: or rather for another reaſon, which *Ariſtotele* the philoſopher hath alledged: for as touching that occasion, which is ſo famous and commonly voiced in every mans mouth, yea, and reported of divers and ſundry places; it was no doubt the hardy attempt executed by the dames of *Troie*, and that upon the coaſts of *Italy*; for when the men upon their arrivall were landed; the women in the meane while let fire upon their ſhips, for very deſire that they had to ſee an end once, one way or other of their long voiage, & to be delivered frō their tedious travel at ſea: but fearing the fury of their men, when they ſhould returne, they went forth to meet their kinſfolke and friends upon the way, and welcomed them with amiable embracing & ſweet kiſſes of their lips: by which means having appeaſed their angrie mood, and recovered their favours, they continued ever after, the cuſtome of kindgreeting and loving ſalutation in this manner.

Or was not this a priviledge granted unto women for their greater honour and credit; namely, to be known and ſeen for to have many of their race and kindred, and thoſe of good worth and reputation?

Or becauſe it was not lawfull to eſpouſe women of their blood and kindred, therefore permitted they were to entertaine them kindly and familiarly with a kiſſe, ſo they proceeded no farther; inſomuch as this was the onely marke and token left of their conſanguinitie. For before time, they might not marrie women of their owne blood; no more than in theſe daies their aunts by the mothers ſide, or their ſiſters: and long it was ere men were permitted to contract marriage with their couſin germaines; and that upon ſuch an occasion as this. There was a certaine man of poore eſtate and ſmall living, howbeit otherwiſe of good and honeſt carriage, and of all others that managed the publique affairs of State moſt popular and gracious with the commons: who was ſuppoſed to keepe as his eſpouſed wife a kinſwoman of his and couſin germain, an inheriſſeſſe; by whom he had great wealth, and became verie rich: for which he was accuſed judicially before the people; but upon a ſpeciall favour that they bare unto him, they would not enquire into the cauſe in queſtion; but not onely ſuppreſſed his bill of enditement, and let her go as quit of all crime, but alſo even they, enacted a ſtatute; by vertue whereof, lawfull it was for all men from that time forward to marrie, as far as to their couſin germaines, but in any higher or neerer degree of conſanguinitie, they were expreſly forbidden.

Wherefore

Wherefore is it not lawfull either for the husband to receive a gift of his wife, or for the wife of her husband.

May it not be, for that, as *Solon* ordained that the donations and bequeſts, made by thoſe that die ſhall ſtand good, unleſſe they be ſuch as a man hath granted upon neceſſitie; or by the inducement and flatterie of his wife: in which proviſo, he excepted neceſſitie, as forcing and conſtraining the will; and likewiſe pleaſure, as deceiving the judgement; even ſo have men ſuſpected the mutuall gifts paſſing between the husband and the wife, and thought them to be of the ſame nature.

Or was it not thought, that giving of preſents was of all other the leaſt & worſt ſigne of amity and good will (for even ſtrangers and ſuch as beare no love at all life in that ſort to be giving) and in that regard they would baniſh out of marriage ſuch kind of pleaſing and curting favour; to the end that the mutuall love and affection between the parties ſhould be free and without reſpect of ſalarie and gaine, even for it ſelfe and nothing elſe in the world.

Or becauſe women commonly admit and entertaine ſtrangers, as corrupted by receiving of preſents and gifts at their hands, it was thought to ſtand more with honour and reputation, that wives ſhould love their owne husbands, though they gave them nothing by way of gift.

Or rather, for that it was meet and requiſit, that the goods of the husband ſhould be common to the wife, and to the wife likewiſe of the husband: for the partie who receiveth a thing in gift, doth learne to repare that which was not given, to be none of his owne, but belonging to another: ſo that man and wife in giving never lo little one to another; deſpoile and deſraud themſelves of all that is beſide.

*What might be the cauſe that they were forbidden to receive any gift either of * Sonne in law, or * Father in law?*

Of Sonne in law; for feare leſt the gift might be thought by the means of the Father to paſſe about the returne unto the wife: and of the Father in law, becauſe it was ſuppoſed meet and juſt, that he who gave not, ſhould not likewiſe receive ought.

What ſhould be the reaſon that the Romans when they returned from ſome voyage out of a ſarre and ſovaine country, or onely from their ſerre into the citie; if their wives were at home, uſed to ſend a meſſenger unto them before, for to give warning and advertisement of their coming?

Either it was becauſe this is a token of one that beleeveth and is verily perſwaded that his wife intendeth no lewdneſſe, nor is otherwiſe buſied than well: whereas to come upon her at unwaies and on a ſodain, is a kind of forlaying and ſurprize. Or for that they make haſte to ſend them good newes of their coming, as being aſſured that they have a longing deſire, and doe expect ſuch tidings.

Or rather becauſe themſelves would be glad to heare from them ſome good newes, to wit, whether they ſhall find them in good health when they come, and attending affectionately and with great devotion, their returne.

Or elſe becauſe women ordinarily, when their husbands be away and from home, have many petie buſineſſes and houſe affaires: and other whiles there fall out ſome little jares and quarrels within doores with their ſervants, men or maidens: to the end therefore all ſuch troubles and inconveniences might be overblown, and that they might give unto their husbands a loving and amiable welcome home, they have intelligence given unto them before hand of their arrivall and approach.

What is the cauſe that when they adore and worſhip the gods, they cover their heads: but contrariwiſe when they meet with any honourable or worſhipfull perſons, if their heads haplie were then covered with their cover, they diſcover the ſame, and are bare headed.

For it ſeemeth that this faſhion maketh the former doubt and branch of the queſtion more difficult to be aſſoiled: and if that which is reported of *Aeneas* be true; namely, that as

Ccc

Diomedes

* Daughters husband.
* Wives father.

* This may ſeeme to have ſome reference to the former queſtion.

Diomedes passed along by him whiles he sacrificed, he covered his head, and so performed his sacrifice; there is good reason and consequence, that if men be covered before their enemies, they should be bare when they encounter either their friends, or men of worth and honour: for this manner of being covered before the gods, is not properly respective unto them, but occasioned by accident, and hath, since that example of *Aeneas*, beene observed and continued.

But if we must say somewhat else beside, consider whether it be not sufficient to enquire one-ly of this point; namely, why they cover their heads when they worship the gods, seeing the other consequently dependeth hereupon: for they stand bare before men of dignitie and authoritie, not to doe them any more honor thereby, but contrariwise to diminish their envie, for feare they might be thought to require as much reverence and the same honor as is exhibi-¹⁰ ted to the gods, or suffer themselves, and take pleasure to bee observed and revered equally with them: as for the gods they adored them after this sort; either by way of lowliness and humbling themselves before their majestie, in covering and hiding their heads; or rather be-¹⁰ cause they feared lest as they made their prayers, there should come unto their hearing, from without, any sinister voice or inauspicate and ominous offe: and to prevent such an object they drew their hood over their eares: And how true it is that they had a carefulle eye and regard to meet with all such accidents, it may appeare by this, that when they went to any oracle for to be resolved by answer from thence upon a scrupulous doubt, they caused a great noise to be made all about them, with ringing of pannes or brazen bassons.

Or it may well be, (as *Castor* saith, comparing in concordance the Romane fashions with the rites of the Pythagoreans) for that the Dæmon or good angell within us, hath need of the gods helpe without, and maketh supplication with covering the head, giving thus much co-²⁰ verterly to understand thereby, that the soule is likewise covered and hidden by the bodie.

I 1

Why sacrifice they unto Saturne bare-headed.

I S it because *Aeneas* first brought up this fashion of covering the head at sacrifice; and the sacrifice to *Saturnus* is much more ancient than his time? Or, for that they used to be covered unto the celestiall gods: but as for *Saturne* he is reputed³⁰ a Subterranean or terrestriall god?

Or, in this respect, that there is nothing hidden, covered, or shadowed in Truth? For among the Romans, *Saturne* was held to be the father of Veritie.

I 2

Why doe they repute Saturne the father of Truth.

* *Keiser.*
* *Keiser.*

I S it for that (as some Philosophers deeme) they are of opinion that * *Saturne* is * Time and Time you know well findeth out and revealeth the Truth.

Or, because as the Poets fable, men lived under *Saturnes* reigne in the golden age: and in⁴⁰ the life of man was then most just and righteous, it followeth consequently that there was much truth in the world.

I 3

What is the reason that they sacrificed likewise unto the god whom they termed Honor, with bare head? now a man may interpret Honor to be as much as Glory and Reputation.

I T is haply because Honor and glory is a thing evident, notorious, and exposed to the know-⁵⁰ ledge of the whole world: and by the same reason that they veile bonet before men of wor-⁵⁰ ship, dignitie, and honor, they adore also the deitie that beareth the name of Honor, with the head bare.

I 4

What may be the cause, that some carry their Fathers and Mothers sooth to be entered, with their heads hooded and covered: but daughters bare headed, with their haire detressed and hanging downe loose.

I S it for that Fathers ought to be honored as gods by their male children, but lamented and bewailed as dead men by their daughters, and therefore the law having given and granted^{unto}

unto either sex that which is proper, hath of both together made that which is becoming and convenient.

Or, it is in this regard, that unto sorrow and heaviness, that is best becoming which is extra-¹⁰ ordinary and unusual: now more ordinarie it is with women to go abroad with their heads veiled and covered: and likewise with men, to be discovered and bare headed. For even among the Greeks when there is befallen unto them any publicke calamitie, the manner and custome is, that the women should cut off the hayres of their head, and the men wear them long: for that otherwise it is usual that men should poll their heads, and women keepe their haire long. And to prove that sonnes were wont to be covered; in such a case, and for the said cause, a man may¹⁰ alledge that which *Varro* hath written; namely, that in the solemnitie of funerals, and about the tombs of their fathers, they carry themselves with as much reverence and devotion as in the temples of the gods: in such sort, as when they have burnt the corps in the funeral fire, so soone as ever they meet with a bone, they pronounce, that he who is dead, is now become a god. On the contrary side, women were no wife permitted to vaile and cover their heads. And we find upon record, that the first man who put away and divorced his wife was *Spurius Carbilus*, be-¹⁰ cause she bare him no children; the second, *Sulpitius Gallus*, for that he saw her to cast a robe over her head: and the third *Publius Sempromius*, for standing to behold the solemnitie of the funeral games.

I 5

How it cometh to passe, that considering the Romans esteemed Terminus a god, and there-²⁰ fore in honour of him celebrated a feast called thereupon Terminalia, yet they never killed any beast in sacrifice unto him?

I T is because *Romulus* did appoint no bonds and limits of his country, to the end that he might lawfully set out & take in where pleased him, and repute all that land his owne so far as, (according to that saying of the Lacedæmonian) his speare or javelin would reach? But *Numa* *Pompilius* a just man and politick withall, one who knew well how to govern, and that by the rule of Philosophie, caused his territorie to be confined betwene him and his neighbour nations, and called those frontier bonds by the name of *Terminus* as the superintendent, over-see-³⁰ r and keeper of peace and amitie between neighbours; and therefore he supposed, that this *Terminus* ought to be preserved pure and cleane from all blood, and impollute with any murder.

I 6

*What is the reason that it is not lawfull for any maid servants to enter into the temple of the goddesse * Leucothea? and the Dames of Rome, bringing in thither one alone and no more? Or Matuta, with them, fall to cuffing and boxing her about the eares and cheeks.*

A S for the wench that is thus buffeted, it is a sufficient signe and argument, that such as she, are not permitted to come thither: now for all others they keepe them out in regard of a certaine poetick fable reported in this wise: that ladie *Io* being in times past jealous of her husband, and suspecting him with a maid servant of hers, fell mad, and was enraged against⁴⁰ her owne sonne: this servant the Greeks say, was an Aetolian borne, and had to name *Antiphara*: and therefore it is that heere among us in the citie of *Chæronæa*, before the temple or chappell of *Matuta*, the sexton taking a whip in his hand crieth with a loud voice: No man servant or maid servant be so hardie as to come in heere; no Aetolian hee or thee presume to enter into this place.

I 7

What is the cause that to this goddesse, folke pray not for any blessings to their owne children, but for their nephewes only, to wit, their brothers or sisters children?

M Ay it nor be that *Io* being a ladie that loved her sister wonderous well, in so much as she suckled at her owne breast a sonne of hers: but was unfortunate in her owne children?⁵⁰ Or rather, because the said custome is otherwise very good and civill, inducing and moving folks hearts to carie love and affection to their kintreds.

I 8

For what cause, were many rich men wont to consecrate and give unto Hercules the Disme or tenth of all their goods?

W Hy may it not be upon this occasion, that *Hercules* himselfe being upon a time at⁵⁰ * *Rome*, sacrifice the tenth cow of all the drove which he had taken from *Gerion*?

Cccc 2

* By *Terminus*, meaning the place where afterwards Rome stood.

Or for that he freed and delivered the Romans from the tax and tribute of the Dismes which they were wont to pay out of their goods unto the Tuskans.

Or in case this may not go current for an authentical historie, and worthe of credit; what and if we say that unto *Hercules* as to some great bellie god, and one who loved good chere, they offered and sacrificed plentifully and in great liberality?

Or rather, for that by this meanes they would take downe and diminish a little, their excessive riches which ordinarily is an eie-fore and odious unto the citizens of a popular state, as if they meant to abate and bring low (as it were) that plethorall plight and corpulency of the bodie, which being grown to the height is dangerous: supposing by such cutting off, and abridging of superfluities, to do honour and service most pleasing unto *Hercules*, as who joied highly in frugality; for that in his life time he stood contented with a little, and regarded no delicacie or exceffe whatsoever.

19

Why begin the Romans their yeere at the moneth Januarie?

For in old time the moneth of March was reckoned first, as a man may collect by many other conjectures, and by this especially, that the first moneth in order after March was called *Quintilis*, and the first moneth *Sexilis*, and all the rest consequently one after another until you come to the last, which they named December, because it was the tenth in number after March: which giveth occasion unto some for to thinke & say, that the Romans (in those daies) determined and accomplished their compleat yeere, not in twelve moneths but in ten: namely, by adding unto everie one of those ten moneths certain daies over and above thirtie. Others write, that December indeed was the tenth moneth after March; but Januare was the eleventh, and Februarie the twelfth: in which moneth they used certaine expiatorie and purgatorie sacrifices, yea, and offered oblations unto the dead (as it were) to make an end of the yeere. Howbeit afterwards they transposed this order, and ranged Januare in the first place, for that upon the first day thereof, which they call the Calends of Januare; the first Consuls that ever bare rule in Rome were entailed, immediately upon the deposition and expulsion of the kings out of the citie. But there seemeth to be more probability & likelihood of truth in their speech, who say, that *Romulus* being a martial prince, and one that loved warre and feats of armes, as being reputed the sonne of *Mars*, felt before all other moneths, that which carried the name of his father: howbeit *Numa* who succeeded next after him, being a man of peace, and who endeavored to withdraw the hearts and minds of his subjects and citizens from warre to agriculture, gave the prerogative of the first place unto Januare, and honoured *Janus* most, as one who had bene more given to politick government, and to the husbandrie of ground, than to the exercise of warre and armes.

Consider moreover, whether *Numa* chose not this moneth for to begin the yeere withall, as best sorting with nature in regard of us; for otherwise in generall, there is no one thing of all those that by nature turne about circularly, that can be said first or last, but according to the severall institutions and ordinances of men, some begin the time at this point, others at that. And verely they that make the Winter solstice or hiernall Tropick the beginning of their yeere, do the best of all others: for that the Sunne ceasing then to passe farther, beginneth to returne and take his way againe toward us: for it seemeth, that both according to the course of nature, and also in regard of us, this season is most befitting to begin the yeere: for that it increaseth unto us the time of daie light, and diminisheth the darknesse of night, and causeth that noble starre or planet to approach neerer and come toward us, the lord governour and ruler of all subsistence transitorie and fluxible matter whatsoever.

20

Why do women when they dresse up and adorne the chappell or shrine of their feminine goddesse, whom they call *Bona*, never bring home for that purpose any branches of Myrtle tree: and yet otherwise have a delight to employ all sorts of leaves and flowers?

*Or Phaulus. May it not be, for that, as some fabulous writers tell the tale, there was one *Flavius* a foolish faier had a wife, who used secretly to drinke wine, and when she was surprisid and taken in the manner by her husband, she was well beaten by him which myrtle rods: and for that cause they bring thither no boughs of myrtle: marry they offer libations unto this goddesse of wine, but forthwith they call it Milke.

Or is it not for this cause, that those who are to celebrate the ceremonies of this divine service,

vice,

vice, ought to be pure and cleane from all pollutions, but especially from that of *Venus* or lechery? For not onely they put out of the roome where the service is performed unto the said goddesse *Bona*, all men, but also whatsoever is besides of masculine sex; which is the reason that they so detest the myrtle tree, as being consecrated unto *Venus*, inasmuch as it should seeme they called in old time that *Venus*, *Myrtea*, which now goeth under the name, of *Murcia*.

21

What is the reason that the Latines doe so much honour and reverence the Woodpecker, and forbear altogether to doe that bird any harme?

10

It is for that *Picus* was reported in old time by the enchantments and forceries of his wife, to have changed his owne nature, and to be metamorphozed into a Woodpecker; under which forme he gave out oracles, and delivered answeres unto those who propounded unto him any demands?

Or rather, because this seemeth a meere fable, and incredible tale: there is another storie reported, which carrieth more probabilitie with it, and foundeth neerer unto truth. That when *Romulus* and *Remus* were cast forth and exposed to death; not onely a female wolfe gave them her teats to sucke, but also a certaine Woodpecker flew unto them, and brought them food in her bill, and so fedde them: and therefore haply it is, that ordinarily in these daies we may see, as *Nigidius* hath well observed; what places soever at the foot of an hill covered and shadowed with oakes or other trees a Woodpecker haunteth, thither customably you shall have a wolfe to repaire.

Or peradventure, seeing their maner is to consecrate unto every god one kinde of birde or other, they reputed this Woodpecker sacred unto *Mars*, because it is a courageous and hardy bird, having a bill so strong, that he is able to overthrow an oke therewith, after he hath jobbed and pecked into it as farre as to the very marrow and heart thereof.

22

How is it that they imagine Janus to have had two faces, in which maner they use both to paine and also to cast him in mold.

30

It is for that he being a Graecian borne, came from *Perhabia*, as we finde written in histories; and passing forward into *Italy*, dwelt in that countrey among the Barbarous people, who there lived, whose language and maner of life he changed?

Or rather because he taught and perswaded them to live together after a civill and honest sort, in husbandry and tilling the ground; whereas before time their manners were rude, and their fashions savage without law or justice altogether.

23

What is the cause that they use to sell at Rome all things pertaining to the furniture of Funerals, within the temple of the goddesse Libitina, supposing her to be *Venus*.

40

This may seeme to be one of the sage and philosophicall inventions of king *Numa*, to the end that men should learne not to abhorre such things, nor to flie from them, as if they did pollute and defile them?

Or else this reason may be rendred, that it serveth for a good record and memoriall, to put us in minde, that whatsoever had a beginning by generation, shall likewise come to an end by death; as if one and the same goddesse were superintendent and governess of nativite and death: for even in the city of *Delfos* there is a pretie image of *Venus*, surnamed *Ephymbia*; that is to say sepulchrell: before which they use to raise and call forth the ghosts of such as are departed, for to receive the libaments and sacred liquors powred forth unto them.

24

Why have the Romans in every moneth three beginnings as it were, to wit, certaine principall and prefixed or preordained daies, and regard not the same intervall or space of daies betweene?

It is because as *Julia* writeth in his chronicles, that the chiefe magistrates were wont upon the first day of the moneth to call and summon the people; whereupon it tooke the name of Calends:

Cccc 3

*That is to say, Kalends, Idus & Nones.

lends: and then to denounce unto them that the *Nones* should be the fifth day after; and as for the *Ides* they held it to be an holy and sacred day?

Or for that they measuring and determining the time according to the differences of the moone, they observed in her every month three principall changes and diversities: the first, when she is altogether hidden, namely during her conjunction with the sunne; the second when she is somewhat removed from the beames of the sunne, & beeginneth to shew herselfe croissant in the evening toward the West whereas the sunne setteth; the third, when she is at the full: now that occultation and hiding of hers in the first place, they named *Calends*, for that in their tongue whatsoever is secret & hidden, they say it is [*Clam*] and to hide or keepe close, they expresse by this word [*Celare*]; and the first day of the moones illumination, which wee heere in *Greece* tearme *Noumenia*, that is to say, the new-moone, they called by a most iust name *Nones*, for that which is new and yong, they tearme *Novum*, in manner as wee doe now. As for the *Ides*, they tooke their name of this word *Ides*, that signifieth beaurtie; for that the moone being then at the full, is in the very perfection of her beaurtie; or haply they derived this denomination of *Dies*, as attributing it to *Iupiter*: but in this we are not to search our exactly the iust number of daies, nor upon a small default to slander and condemne this manner of reckoning, seeing that even at this day, when the science of Astrologie is growen to so great an increment, the inequalitye of the motion, and course of the moone surpasseth all experience of Mathematicians, and cannot be reduced to any certaine rule of reason.

25

What is the cause that they repute the *morowes* after *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, *disasterous* or *disfmal* daies, either for to set forward upon any journey or voyage, or to march with an army into the field?

It is because as many thinke, and *Titus Livius* hath recorded in his storie; the Tribunes militarie, at what time as they had consular and foveraigne authoritie, went into the field with the Romane armie the morrow after the *Ides* of the month *Quintili*, which was the same that July now is, and were discomfited in a battell by the Gauls, neere unto the river *Allia*; and consequently upon that overthrow, lost the very city it selfe of *Rome*: by which occasion the morrow after the *Ides*, being held and reputed for a sinister and unluckie day; superstition entring into mens heads, proceeded farther, (as the loveth alwaies fo to doe) and brought in the custome for to hold the morrow after the *Nones* yea, and the morrow after the *Calends*, as unfortunate, and to be as religiously observed in semblable cases.

But against this there may be opposed many objections: for first and formost, they lost that battell upon another day, and calling it *Alliensis*, by the name of the river *Allia*, where it was stricken, they have it in abomination for that cause. Again, whereas there be many daies reputed disfmal and unfortunate, they do not observe so precisely and with so religious feare, other daies of like denomination in every month, but each day apart onely in that month wherein such and such a disaster, hapned: and that the infortunite of one day should draw a superstitious feare simply upon all the morrowes after *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, carrieth no congruence at all, nor appearance of reason.

Consider moreover and see, whether, as of numbers they used to consecrate the first to the gods celestiall, the second to the terrestriall, or infernall, wherein they performe certaine expiatorie ceremonies and sacrifices of purification, and presenting offerings and services to the dead: so of the daies in the month, those which are chiefe and principall, as hath bene said, they would not have to be kept as sacred and festivall holidays; but such as follow after, as being dedicated unto the spirits, called *Dæmons*, and those that are departed; they also have esteemed consequently as unhappy, & altogether unmeet either for to execute or to take in hand any business: for the Greeks adoring and serving the gods upon their new moones and first daies of the month, have attributed the second daies unto the demi-gods and *Dæmons*: like as at their feasts also they drinke the second cup unto their demi-gods, and demi-goddesses. In summe, Time is a kinde of number, and the beginning of number is (I wot not what) some divining, for it is unitive; and that which cometh next after it is *Deus*, or two, cleane opposite unto the said beginning, and is the first of all even numbers: as for the even number it is defective, impertect, and indefinite, whereas contrariwise, the uneven or odde number it selfe is finite, complet, and absolute: and for this cause like as the *Nones* succede the *Calends* five daies after; so the *Ides* follow the *Nones* nine daies after them; for the uneven

and

and odde numbers doe determine those beginnings, or principall daies; but those which presently ensue after the said principall daies being even, are neither ranged in any order, nor have power and puissance: and therefore men doe not enterprise any great worke, nor set forth voyage or journey upon such daies: and heereunto wee may to good purpose annex that pretie speech of *Themistocles*: For when the morrow (quoth he) upon a time quarrelled with the festivall day which went next before it, saying, that herselfe was busied and tooke a great deal of pains, preparing & providing with much travel those goods which the feast enjoyed at her ease, with all repose, rest, and leisure: the Festivall day made this answer: Thou saidst true indeed; but if I were not, where wouldst thou be? This tale *Themistocles* devised, and delivered unto the Athenian captaines, who came after him; giving them thereby to understand, that neither they nor any acts of theirs would ever have bene scene, unless hee before them had saved the cite of *Athens*. Forasmuch then, as every enterprise and voyage of importance hath need of provision, and some preparatives; and for that the Romans in old time upon their festivall daies, dispensed nothing, nor tooke care for any provision; being wholly given and devoted at such times to the service & worship of God, doing that, & nothing else; like as even yet at this day, when the priests begin to sacrifice, they pronounce with a loud voice before all the companie there assembled *Hoc Age*, that is to say, Minde this, and doe no other thing: verie like it is, and standeth to great reason, that they used not to put themselves upon the way for any long voyage, nor tooke in hand any great affaire or business presently after a festivall day, but kept within house all the morrow after, to thinke upon their occasions, and to provide all things necessarie for journey or exploit: or we may conjecture, that as at this very day the Romans they have adored the gods, and made their praies unto them within their temples, are wont to stay there a time, and sit them downe; even so they thought it not reasonable to cast their great affaires so, as that they should immediately follow upon any of their festivall daies; but they allowed some respite and time betwene, acknowledging full well, that businesses carie with them alwaies many troubles and hinderances, beyond the opinion, expectation, and will of those who take them in hand.

26

What is the cause that women at *Rome*, when they mourne for the dead, put on white robes, and likewise wear white capes, coifes and kerchiefs upon their heads.

May it not be that for to oppose themselves against hell and the darkenesse thereof, they conforme their raiment and attire to that colour which is cleere and bright?

Or doe they it not rather for this: that like as they clad and burie the dead corps in white clothes, they suppose, that those who are next of kin, and come neereft about them, ought also to wear their liverie? Now the bodie they doe in this wise decke, because they cannot adorne the soule so; and it they are willing to accompanie as lightesome, pure and net, as being now at the last delivered and set free, and which hath performed a great a variable combat.

Or rather, we may guesse thus much thereby: that in such cases, that which is most simple and least costly, is best becoming; whereas clothes of any other colour died, do commonly bewray either superstition or curiositie: for we may say even aswell of blacke, as of purple: These robes are deceitfull; these colours also are counterfeit. And as touching that which is of it selfe blacke, if it have not that tincture by diers art, surely it is so coloured by nature, as being mixed and compounded with obscuritie: and therefore there is no colour els but white, which is pure, unmixt, and not stained and sullied with any tincture, and that which is inimitable; in which regard, more meet and agreeable unto those who are interred, considering that the dead is now become simple, pure, exempt from all mixtion, and in very truth, nothing els but delivered from the bodie, as a staine and infection hardly scowred out and rid away. Semblably, in the cite of *Argos*, whensoever they mournd, the maner was to wear white garments, washed

(as *Socrates* said) in faire and cleere water.

27

What is the reason that they esteeme all the walles of the citie sacred and inviolable, but not the gates.

It is (as *Pavro* saith) because we ought to thinke the walles holie, to the end that we may fight valiantly, and die generously in the defence of them: for it seemeth that this was the cause, why *Romulus* killed his owne brother *Remus*, for that he presumed to leape over an holy and inviolable place: whereas contrariwise, it was not possible to consecrate and hallow the gates,

gates, thorow which there must needs be transported many things necessary, and namely, the bodies of the dead. And therefore, they who begin to found a citie, environ and compass first with a plough all that pourprife and precinct wherein they meant to build, drawing the said plough with an ox and a cow coupled together in one yoke: afterwards, when they have traced out all the said place where the walles should stand, they measure out as much ground as will serve for the gates, but take out the plough there, and so passe over that space with the bare plough, as if they meant thereby, that all the furrow which they cast up and eared, should be sacred and inviolable.

28

What is the reason, that when their children are to swear by Hercules, they will not let them do it within doores, but cause them to go forth of the house, and take their oath abroad?

IS it because (as some would have it) that they thinke *Hercules* is not delighted with keeping close within house and sitting idly, but taketh pleasure to live abroad and lie without?

Or rather, for that of all the gods, *Hercules* is not (as one would say) home-bred, but a stranger, come amongst them from afarie? For even so they would not swear by *Bacchus*, under the roofe of the house, but went forth to do it; because he also is but a stranger among the gods.

Or haply, this is no more but a word in game and sport, given unto children: and besides (to say a trueth) it may be a meane to withhold and reframe them from swearing so readily and rashly, as *Phaoninus* saith: for this device causeth a certaine premeditate preparation, and giveth them (whiles they goe out of the house) leisure and time to consider better of the matter. And a man may conjecture also with *Phaoninus*, and say with him: That this fashion was not common to other gods, but proper to *Hercules*: for that we finde it written, that he was so religious, so respective and precise in his oath, that in all his life time he never swore but once, and that was onely to *Philens* the sonne of *Angius*. And therefore, the propheticke at *Delphos* named *Pythia*, answered thus upon a time to the *Lacedaemonians*:

*When all these oaths you once for send,
Your state (be sure) shall dayly mend.*

29

What should be the reason, that they would not permit the new wedded bride to passe of herselfe over the doore-sill or threshold, when she is brought home to her husbands house, but they that accompany her, must lift her up betwene them from the ground, and so convey her in.

IS it in remembrance of those first wives whom they ravished perforce from the Sabines, who entered not into their houses of themselves with their good will, but were carried in by them, in this manner?

Or is it perhaps, because they would be thought to goe against their willes into that place where they were to lose their maidenhead?

Or haply it may be, that a wedded wife ought not to goe forth of her doores, and abandon her house, but perforce, like as she went first into it by force. For in our country of *Beotia*, the manner is, to burne before the doore where a new married wife is to dwell, the axel tree of that chariot or coach in which she rode when she was brought to her husbands house. By which ceremonie, thus much she is given to understand, that will the nill she, there she must now tarie, considering that it which brought her thither, is now gone quite and consumed.

30

Wherefore do they at Rome, when they bring a new espoused bride home to the house of her husband, force her to say these words unto her spouse: Where you are Caius, I will be Caius?

IS it to testifie by these words, that she entreath immediately to communicate with him in all goods, and to be a governesse and commander in the house as well as he? for it implieth as much, as if she should say; where you are lord and master, I will be lady and mistress. Now these names they used as being common, and such as came first to hand, and for no other reason else: like as the Civill lawiers use ordinarily these names, *Caius*, *Seius*, *Lucius*, and *Titius*: the Philosophers in their schooles, *Dion* and *Theon*.

Or peradventure it is in regard of *Cia Caelia* a beautifull and vertuous lady, who in times

past

past espoused one of the sonnes of king *Tarquinius*: of which dame there is yet to be seene even at this day one image of brasse, within the temple of the god *Santus*; and there likewise in old time, her slippers, her distaffe and spindels laid up for to be seene: the one to signifie that she kept the house well, and went not ordinarily abroad; the other to shew how she busied her selfe at home.

How cometh it, that they use to chaunt ordinarily at weddings, this word so much divulged, Talasio?

10

IS it not of *Talasio*, the Greeke word, which signifieth yarne: for the basket wherein women use to put in their rolles of carded wooll, they name *Talasis* in Greeke, and *Calathus* in Latine? Certes they that lead the bride home, cause her to sit upon a fleece of wooll, then bringeth the fourth a distaffe and a spindle, and with wooll all to hangeth and decketh the dore of her husbands house.

Or rather, if it be true which histerians report: There was sometime a certaine young gentleman, very valiant and active in feats of armes, and otherwise of excellent parts and singular well conditioned, whose name was *Talafius*: and when they ravished and caried away the daughters of the Sabines who were come to Rome, for to behold the solemnitie of their festivall games and plaies: certaine meane persons, such yet as belonged to the traine & retinue of *Talafius* aforesaid, had chosen forth & were carrying away, one damosel above the rest most beautiful of visage, and for their safety and securitie as they passed along the streets, cried out aloud *Talasio*, *Talasio*, that is to say, for *Talafius*, for *Talafius*; to the end that no man should be so hardy as to approach neere unto them, nor attempt to have away the maiden from them, giving it out, that they caried her for to be the wife of *Talafius*; and others meeting them upon the way, joined with them in company, for the honour of *Talafius*, and as they followed after, highly praised their good choice which they had made, praying the gods to give both him and her joy of their marriage, and contentment to their hearts desire. Now for that this marriage proved happy and blessed, they were wont ever after in their wedding songs to rechant and resound this name, *Talafius*, like as the manner is among the Greeks to sing in such carrols, *Hymeneus*.

32

What is the reason that in the moneth of May, they use at Rome to cast over their wooden bridge into the river certaine images of men, which they call Argeos?

IS it in memoriall of the Barbarians who sometimes inhabited these parts, and did so by the Greeks, murdering them in that maner as many of them as they could take? But *Hercules* who was highly esteemed among them for his vertue, abolished this cruell fashion of killing of strangers, and taught them this custome to counterfeite their ancient superstitions, and to ting these images in stead of them: now in old time our ancestors used to name all Greeks of what country soever they were, *Argos*: unless haply a man would say, that the Arcadians reputed the Argives to be their enemies, for that they were their neighbour borderers, such as fled with *Evander* out of *Aradia*, and came to inhabit these quarters, retained still the old hatred and rancor, which time out of minde had taken root, and beene seeld in their hearts against the said Argives.

33

What is the cause that the Romans in old time never went forth out of their houses to supper, but they caried with them their young sonnes, even when they were but in their very infancy and childhood.

30

WAs not this for the very same reason that *Lycurgus* instituted and ordeined, that young children should ordinarily be brought into their halles where they used to eat in publicke, called *Phidria*, to the end that they might be inured and acquainted betimes, not to use the pleasures of eating and drinking immoderately, as brutish and ravenous beasts are wont to doe; considering that they had their elders to oversee them, yea, and to controll their demeanour: and in this regard haply also, that their fathers themselves should in their carriage be more sober, honest, and frugal, in the presence of their children: for looke where old

folke

folke are shamelesse, there it can not chuse but (as *Plato* saith) children and youth will be most gracelesse and impudent.

³⁴ What might the reason be, that whereas all other Romans made their offerings, ceremonies, and sacrifices for the dead, in the moneth of February: Decimus Brutus as *Cicero* saith, was wont to doe the same in the moneth of December: now this Brutus was he who first invaded the countrey of Portugall, and with an armie passed over the river of Lethe, that is to say, oblivion.

May it not be, that as the most part of men used not to performe any such services for the dead, but toward the end of the moneth, and a little before the shutting in of the evening; even so it seemeth to carie good reason, to honour the dead at the end of the yeere; and you wot well that December was the last moneth of all the yeere.

Or rather, it is because this was an honour exhibited to the deities terrestriall; and it seemeth that the proper season to reverence and worship these earthly gods, is when the fruits of the earth be fully gathered and laid up.

Or haply, for that the husband men began at this time to breake up their grounds against their feednesse: it was meet and requisite to have in remembrance those gods which are under the ground.

Or haply, because this moneth is dedicate and consecrated by the Romans to *Saturne*; for so they counted *Saturne* one of the gods beneath, and none of them above: and withall, considering the greatest and most solemne feast, which they call *Saturnalia*, is holden in this moneth, at what time as they seeme to have their most frequent meeting, and make best chere, he thought it meet and reasonable that the dead also should enjoy some little portion thereof.

Or it may be said, that it is altogether untrue that *Decimus Brutus* alone sacrificed for the dead in this moneth: for certeinly it is that there was a certein divine service performed to *Acca Larentia*, and solemne effusions and libaments of wine and milke were powred upon her sepulchre in the moneth of December.

³⁵ Why honoured the Romans this *Acca Larentia* so highly, considering she was no better than a strumpet or courtesan?

For you must thinke, that the histories make mention of another *Acca Larentia*, the nurse of *Romulus*, unto whom they do honour in the moneth of Aprill. As for this countess *Larentia*, she was (as men say) furnamed *Fabula*, and came to be so famous and renowned by such an occasion as this. A certein sexton of *Hercules* his temple, having little els to doe, and living at ease (as commonly such fellows doe) used for the most part to spend all one day in playing at dice and with cockall bones: and one day above the rest, it fortuned, that meeting with none of his mates and play-fellows who were wont to beare him company at such games, and not knowing what to do nor how to passe the time away, he thought with himselfe to challenge the god whose servant he was, to play at dice with him, upon these conditions: That if himselfe woot the game, *Hercules* should be a meanes for him of some good lucke and happy fortune; but in case he lost the game, he should provide for *Hercules* a good supper, and withall, a pretie wench and a faire, to be his bedfellow: these conditions being agreed upon and set downe, he cast the dice, one chance for himselfe, and another for the god; but his hap was to be the loser: whereupon minding to stand unto his challenge, and to accomplish that which he had promised, he prepared a rich supper for *Hercules* his god, and withall, sent for this *Acca Larentia*, a professed courtesan and common harlot, whom he feasted also with him, and after supper bettowed her in a bed within the very temple, shut the doores fast upon, and so went his way. Now the tale goes forth, that in the night, *Hercules* companied with her, not after the manner of men, but charged her, that the next morning betimes he should go into the market-place, and looke what man the first met withall, him he should enterteine in all kindnesse, and make her friend especially. Then *Larentia* gat up betimes in the morning accordingly, and chanced to encounter a certein rich man and a stale bachelor, who was now past his middle age, and his name was *Tarantius*; with him she became so familiarly acquainted, that so long as he lived, she had the command of his whole house; and at his death, was by his last will and testament instituted inheritor.

heritresse of all that he had. This *Larentia* likewise afterward departed this life, and left all her riches unto the citie of *Rome*; whereupon this honour above said was done unto her.

³⁶ What is the cause, that they name one gate of the citie *Fenestra*, which is as much to say, as window; nere unto which adjoineth the bed-chamber of *Fortune*?

Is it for that king *Servius* a most fortunate prince, was thought & named to lie with *Fortune*, who was wont to come unto him by the window? or is this but a devised tale? But in truth, after that king *Tarquinius Priscus* was deceased, his wife *Tanaquil* being a wife ladie, and endued with a roiall mind, putting forth her head, and bending forward her bodie out of her chamber window, made a speech unto the people, perswading them to elect *Servius* for their king. And this is the reason that afterwards the place retained this name, *Fenestra*.

³⁷ What is the reason that of all those things which be dedicated and consecrated to the gods, the custome is at *Rome*, that onely the spoiles of enemies conquered in the warres, are neglected and suffered to run to decay in proceesse of time: neither is there any reverence done unto them, nor repaired be they at any time, when they wax olde?

³⁸ Whether is it, because they (supposing their glory to fade and passe away together with these first spoiles) seeke evermore new meanes to winne some fresh marks and monuments of their vertue, and to leave them fame behinde them.

Or rather, for that seeing time doth waste and consume these signes and tokens of the enmity which they had with their enemies, it were an odious thing for them, and very invidious, if they should refresh and renew the remembrance thereof: for even those among the Greeks, who first erected their trophes or pillars of brasse and stone, were not commended for so doing.

³⁹ What is the reason that *Quintus Metellus* the high priest, and reputed besides a wise man and a politike for bad to observe auspices, or to take presages by flight of birds, after the moneth *Sexilis*, now called *August*.

Is it for that, as we are wont to attend upon such observations about noone or in the beginning of the day, at the entrance also and toward the middle of the moneth: but we take heed and beware of the daies declination, as inauspicate and unmeet for such purposes; even so *Metellus* supposed, that the time after eight moneths was (as it were) the evening of the yeere, and the latter end of it, declining now and wearing toward an end.

Or haply, because we are to make use of these birds, and to observe their flight for presage, whiles they are entire, perfect and nothing defective, such as they are before Summer time. But about Autumne some of them moult, grow to be sickly and weake; others are over young and too small; and some againe appeare not at all, but like passengers are gone at such a time into another countrey.

⁴⁰ What is the cause, that it was not lawfull for them who were not prest soldiers by oth and enrolled, although upon some other occasions they conversed in the campe, to strike or wound an enemy? And verely *Cato* himselfe the elder of that name signified thus much in a letter missive which he wrote unto his sonne: wherein he straitly charged him, that if he had accomplished the full time of his service, and that his captain had given him his conge and discharge, he should immediately returne: or in case he had leiser stay still in the campe, that he should obtaine of his captaine permission and licence to hurt and kill his enemy.

Is it because there is nothing else but necessitie alone, doeth warrantize the killing of a man: and he who unlawfully and without expresse commaundement of a superiour (unconstrained) doth it, is a meere homicide and manslayer. And therefore *Cyrus* commended *Chryfantas*, for that being upon the verie point of killing his enemy, as having lifted up his cemeter for to give him a deadly wound, presently upon the found of the retreat by the trumpet, let the

man go, and would not smite him, as if he had been forbidden so to do.

Or may it not be, for that he who presenteth himselfe to fight with his enimie, in case he shrink, and make not good his ground, ought not to go away cleere withal, but to be held faulty and to suffer punishment: for he doth nothing to good service that hath either killed our wound an enimie, as harme and damage, who reculeth backe or flieth away: now he who is discharged from warfare, and hath leave to depart, is no more obliged and bound to militarie lawes: but he that hath demanded permission to do that service which sworne and enroled soldieters performe, putteth himselfe againe under the subjection of the law and his owne captaine.

40

How is it, that the priest of Jupiter, is not permitted to anoint himselfe abroad in the open aire?

IS it for that in old time it was not held honest and lawfull for children to do off their clothes before their fathers; nor the sonne in law in the presence of his wives father; neither used they the stoupe or bath together: now is *Jupiter* reputed the priests or *Flamines* father: and that which is done in the open aire, seemeth especially to be in the verie eie and sight of *Jupiter*?

Or rather, like as it was thought a great sinne and exceeding irreverence, for a man to turne himselfe out of his apparrell naked, in any church, chappell, or religious and sacred place; even so they carried a great respect unto the aire and open skie, as being full of gods, demigods, and saints. And this is the verie cause, why we do many of our necessarie businesse within doores, enclosed and covered with the roofof of our houses, and so remooved from the eies as it were of the deitie. Moreover, some things there be that by law are commaunded and enjoined unto the priest onely; and others againe unto all men, by the priest: as for example, heere with us in *Bæotia*; to be crowned with chaplets of flowers upon the head; to let the haire grow long; to weare a sword, and not to set foot within the limits of *Phœcia*, pertaine all to the office and dutie of the captaine generall and chiefe ruler: but to tast of no new fruits before the Autumnnall Acquinox be past; nor to cut and prune a vine but before the Acquinox of the Spring, be intimated and declared unto all by the said ruler or captaine generall: for those be the verie seasons to do both the one & the other. In like case, it should seeme in my judgement that among the Romans it properly belonged to the priest; not to mount on horseback; nor to be above three nights out of the citie; not to put off his cap, wherupon he was called in the Roman language, *Flamen*. But there be many other offices and duties, notified and declared unto all men by the priest, among which this is one, not to be enuiled or anointed abroad in the open aire: For this manner of anointing drie without the bath, the Romans mightily suspected and were afraid of: and even at this day they are of opinion, that there was no such cause in the world that brought the Greeks under the yoke of servitude and bondage, and made them so tender and effeminate, as their halles and publike places where their yong men wrestled & exercised their bodies naked: as being the meanes that brought into their cities, much losse of time, engendred idleness, bred lazie sloth, and ministred occasion & opportunity of lewdnesse and vilany; as namely, to make love unto faire boies, and to spoile and marre the bodies of yong men with sleeping, with walking at a certaine measure, with stirring according to motions, keeping artificiall compasse, and with observing rules of exquisite diet. Through which fashions, they see not, how (ere they be aware) they be fallen from exercises of armes, and have cleane forgotten all militarie discipline: loving rather to be held and esteemed good wrestlers, fine dauncers, conceited pleasants, and faire minions, than hardie footmen, or valiant men of armes. And verely it is an hard matter to avoid and decline these inconveniences, for them that use to discover their bodies naked before all the world in the broad aire: but those who anoint themselves closely within doores, and looke to their bodies at home are neither faultie nor offensive.

41

What is the reason that the ancient coine and money in old time, carried the stampe of one side of Ianus with two faces: and on the other side, the prow or the poepe of a boat engraved therein.

VW As it not as many men do say, for to honour the memorie of *Saturne*, who passed into *Italy* by water in such a vessell? But a man may say thus much as well of many others: for *Janus*, *Evander*, and *Aeneas*, came thither likewise by sea; and therefore a man may peradventure

adventure gesse with better reason; that whereas some things serve as goodly ornaments for cities, others as necessarie implements: among those which are decent and seemely ornaments, the principall is good government and discipline, and among such as be necessarie, is reckoned, plentie and abundance of victuals: now for that *Janus* instituted good government, in ordering holosome lawes, and reducing their manner of life to civillitie, which before was rude and brutish, and for that the river being navigable, furnished them with store of all necessary commodities, whereby some were brought thither by sea, others from the land; the coine caried for the make of a law-giver, the head with two faces, like as we have already said, because of that change of life which he brought in; and of the river, a ferrie boate or barge: and yet there was another kinde of money current among them, which had the figure portraied upon it, of a sheepe, and of a swine; for that their riches they raised especially from such cattle, and all their wealth and substance consisted in them. And hereupon it cometh, that many of their ancient names, were *Ovis*, *Bubulci* and *Poreji*, that is to say, Sheepe-reeves, and Neat-herds, and Swineherds according as *Fenestella* doth report.

42

What is the cause that they make the temple of Saturne, the chamber of the citie, for to keepe therein the publicke treasure of gold and silver: as also their arches, for the custodie of all their writings, rolles, contrails and evidences whatsoever.

IS it by occasion of that opinion so commonly received, and the speech so univerally current in every mans mouth, that during the raigne of *Saturne*, there was no avarice nor injustice in the world; but loialtie, truth, faith, and rightousnesse caried the whole sway among men.

Or for that he was the god who found out fruits, brought in agriculture, and taught husbandry first; for the hooke or sickle in his hand signifieth so much, and not as *Animachus* wrote, following therein and beleeving *Hesiodus*:

43

*Rough Saturne with his hairy skinne,
agains all law and right,
Of Aemons sonne, for Ouranus,
or Coelus sometime hight,
Those privy members which him gat,
with hooke a-flant off-cut.
And then anon in fathers place
of reigne, himselfe did put.*

Now the abundance of the fruits which the earth yeldeth, and the vent or disposition of them, is the very mother that bringeth forth plentie of monie: and therefore it is that this same god they make the author and maintainer of their felicitie: in testimonie whereof, those assemblies which are holden every ninth day in the common place of the city, called *Nundine*, that is to say, Faires or markets, they esteeme consecrated to *Saturne*: for the store & foison of fruits is that which openeth the trade & commerce of buying and selling. Or, because these reasons seeme to be very antique; what and if we say that the first man who made (of *Saturns* temple at *Rome*) the treasure or chamber of the citie, was *Palermus Populicola*, after that the kings were driven out of *Rome*, and it seemeth to stand to good reason that he made choise thereof, because he thought it a safe and secure place, eminent and conspicuous in all mens eies, and by consequence hard to be surprisid and forced.

43

What is the cause that those who come as embassadours to Rome, from any parts whatsoever, go first into the temple of Saturne, and there before the Questors or Treasurers of the citie, enter their names in their registers.

IS it for that *Saturne* himselfe was a stranger in *Italy*, and therefore all strangers are welcome unto him?

Or may not this question be solved by the reading of histories? for in old time these *Questors* or publick Treasurers, were wont to send unto embassadours certaine presents, which were called *Lantia*; and if it fortuned that such embassadours were sicke, they tooke the charge of them for their cure; and if they chanced to die, they entered them likewise at the cities charges.

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assistant, where there passed among them many strange, hideous, horrible, and monstrous ceremonies.

But haply a man would lesse wonder at this, if ever he knew and understood before, that when one of the Censors died, the other of necessity must likewise quit & resigne up his office. Howbeit, when *Lucius Drusus* was departed this life, his companion in office *Aemilius Scaurus*, would not give over and renounce his place, untill such time as certaine Tribunes of the people, for his contumacie commanded, that he should be had away to prison.

51

What was therefor that the idols Lares, which otherwise properly be called Praestites, had the images of a dogge standing hard by them, and the Lares themselves were portrayed clad in dogges skinnies?

It is because this word *Praestites* signifieth as much as *praesentis*, that is to say, Presidents, or standing before as keepers: and verily such Presidents ought to be good house-keepers, and terrible unto all strangers, like as a dogge is; but gentle and loving to those of the house.

Or rather, that which some of the Romans write is true, like as *Chrysippus* also the philosopher is of opinion; namely, that there be certaine evil spirits which goe about walking up and downe in the world; and these be the butchers and tormentors that the gods imploy to punish unjust and wicked men: and even so these *Lares* are held to be malignant spirits, & no better than divels, spying into mens lives, and prying into their families; which is the cause that they now be arrayed in such skinnies, and a dogge they have fitting hard by them, whereby thus much in effect is given to understand, that quicke fented they are, and of great power both to hunt out, and also to chastise leud persons.

52

What is the cause that the Romans sacrifice a dogge unto the goddesse called Genita-Mana, and withall make one prayer unto her, that none borne in the house might ever come to good?

It is for that this *Genita-Mana* is counted a *Demon* or goddesse that hath the procuration and charge both of the generation and also of the birth of things corruptible: for surely the word implieth as much, as a certaine fluxion and generation, or rather a generation fluent or fluxible: and like as the Greeks sacrificed unto *Proserpina*, a dog, so do the Romans unto that *Genita*, for those who are borne in the house. *Socrates* also saith, that the Argives sacrificed a dogge unto *Ilithia*, for the more easie and safe deliverance of child-birth. Furthermore, as touching that Praier, that nothing borne within the house might ever proove good, it is not haply meant of any persons, man or woman, but of dogges rather which were whelped there; which ought to be, not kinde and gentle, but curst and terrible.

Or peradventure, for that they * that die (after an elegant manner of speech) he named Good or quiet: under these words they covertly pray, that none borne in the house might die. And this need not to seeme a strange kinde of speech; for *Aristotle* writeth, that in a certaine treatise of peace betweene the Arcadians & Lacedaemonians, this article was comprised in the capitulations: That they should make none * of the Tegeates, Good, for the aid they sent, or favour that they bare unto the Lacedaemonians; by which was meant, that they should put none of them to death.

53

What is the reason, that in a solemn procession exhibited at the Capoline plaies, they proclame (even at this day) by the voice of an herald, port-sale of the Sardians? and before all this solemnitie and pompe, there is by way of mockerie and to make a laughing stocke, an olde man led in a shew, with a jewell or brooch pendant about his necke, such as noble mens children are wont to weare, and which they call Bulla?

It is for that the Veientians, who in times past being a puissant State in Tuscane, made warre a long time with *Romulus*: whose cite being the last that he woonne by force, he made sale of many prisoners and captives, together with their king, mocking him for his stupiditie and grosse follie. Now for that the Tuscans in ancient time were defended from the Lydians, and the capitall cite of *Lydia* is *Sardis*, therefore they proclaimed the sale of the Veientian prisoners under the name of the Sardians; and even to this day in scorn and mockerie, they reteine still the same custome.

Whence

54

Whence came it, that they call the shambles or butcherie at Rome where flesh is to be sold, Macellum?

It is for that this word *Macellum*, by corruption of language is derived of *Macellus*, that in the Greeke tongue signifieth a Cooke: like as many other words by usage and custome are come to bereceived; for the letter C. hath great affinity with G. in the Romane tongue: and long it was ere they had the use of G. which letter *Spirius Carbilus* first invented. Moreover, they that muffle and stammer in their speech, pronounce ordinarily L. in stead of R.

Or this question may be resolved better by the knowledge of the Romane historie: for we reade therein, that there was sometime a violent person and a notorious thiefe at Rome, named *Macellus*, who after he had committed many outrages and robberies, was with much ado in the end taken and punished: and of his goods which were forfeit to the State, there was built a publicke shambles or market place to sell flesh-meats in, which of his name was called *Macellum*.

55

Why upon the Ides of Januarie, the minstrels at Rome who plaied upon the hautboies, were permitted to goe up and downe the city disguised in womens apparell?

Aske this fashon upon that occasion which is reported? namely, that king *Numa* had granted unto them many immunities and honorable privileges in his time, for the great devotion that hee had in the service of the gods: and for that afterwards, the Tribunes militaire who governed the citie in Consular authority, tooke the same from them, they went their way discontented, and departed quite from the citie of Rome: but soone after, the people had a misse of them, and besides, the priests made it a matter of conscience, for that in all the sacrifices thoroughout the citie, there was no sound of flute or hautboies. Now when they would not returne againe (being sent for) but made their abode in the citie *Tibur*; there was a certaine afranchised bondslave who secretly undertooke unto the magistrates, to finde some means for to fetch them home. So he caused a sumptuous feast to be made, as if he meant to celebrate some solemne sacrifice, and invited to it the pipers, and plaiers of the hautboies aforesaid: and at this feast he tooke order there should be divers women also; and all night long there was nothing but piping, playing, singing and dancing: but all of a sudden this matter of the feast caused a rumor to be raised, that his lord and master was come to take him in the manner; whereupon making semblant that he was much troubled and affrighted, he perswaded the minstrels to mount with all speed into close coaches, covered all over with skinnies, and so to be carried to *Tibur*. But this was a deceitfull practise of his; for he caused the coaches to be turned about another way, and unawares to them; who partly for the darkenesse of the night, and in part because they were drowfie and the wine in their heads, tooke no heed of the way, he brought all to Rome betimes in the morning by the breake of day, disguised as they were, many of them in light coloured gownes like women, which (for that they had over-watched and over-drunke themselves) they had put on, and knew not therof. Then being (by the magistrates) overcome with faire words, and reconciled againe to the citie, they held ever after this custome every yeere upon such a day: To go up and downe the citie thus foolishly disguised.

56

What is the reason, that it is commonly received, that certain matrons of the city at the first founded and built the temple of Carmenta, and to this day honour it highly with great reverence?

For it is said, that upon a time the Senat had forbidden the dames and wives of the city to ride in coaches: whereupon they tooke such a stomacke and were so despitfull, that to be revenged of their husbands, they conspired altogether not to conceive or be with child by them, nor to bring them any more babes: and in this minde they persisted still, untill their husbands began to bethinke them selves better of the matter, and let them have their will to ride in their coaches againe as before time: and then they began to breed and beare children a fresh: and those who sooneest conceived and bare most and with greatest ease, founded then the temple of *Carmenta*. And as I suppose this *Carmenta* was the mother of *Evander*, who came with him into *Italy*; whose right name indeed was *Themis*, or as some say *Nicostrata*: now for that

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the

she rendred prophetically answers and oracles in verse, the Latins furnished her *Carmenta*: for verses in their tongue they call *Carmina*. Others are of opinion, that *Carmenta* was one of the Destinies, which is the cause that such matrons and mothers sacrifice unto her. And the Etymologie of this name *Carmenta*, is as much as *Carens mente*, that is to say, beside her right wits or beltraught, by reason that her senses were so ravished and transported: so that her verses gave her not the name *Carmenta*, but contrariwise, her verses were called *Carmina* of her, because when she was thus ravished and caried beside herselfe, she chanted certaine oracles and propheties in verse.

57

What is the cause that the women who sacrifice unto the goddesse Rumina, doe poyre and cast store to of milke upon their sacrifice, but no wine at all do they bring thither for to be drunke?

I Sit, for that the Latins in their tongue call a pap, *Ruma*? And well it may be, for that the wilde figge tree neere unto which the she wolfe gave sucke with her teats unto *Romulus*, was in that respect called *Ficus Ruminalis*. Like as therefore we name in our Greeke language those milch nourises that suckle yoong infants at their breasts, *Thelona*, being a word derived of *Thela*, which signifieth a pap; even so this goddesse *Rumina*, which is as much to say, as Nurse, and one that taketh the care and charge of nourishing and rearing up of infants, admitteth not in her sacrifices any wine; for that it is hurtfull to the nouriture of little babes and sucklings.

58

What is the reason that of the Romane Senatours, some are called simply, *Patres*; others with an addition, *Patres conscripti*?

I Sit for that they first, who were instituted and ordeined by *Romulus*, were named *Patres & Patritii*, that is to say, Gentlemen or Nobly borne, such as we in Greece, terme *Epatrides*. Or rather they were so called, because they could avouch and shew their fathers; but such as were adjoined afterwards by way of supply, and enrolled out of the Commoners houses, were *Patres conscripti*, therupon?

59

Wherefore was there one altar common to Hercules and the *Atas*?

May it not be, for that *Hercules* taught *Evander* the letters, according as *Juba* writeth? Certes, in those daies it was accounted an honourable office for men to teach their kinsfolke and friends to spell letters, and to reade. For a long time after it, and but of late daies it was, that they began to teach for hire and for money: and the first that ever was known to keepe a publike schoole for reading, was one named *Spirius Carbillus*, the freed servant of that *Carbillus* who first put away his wife.

60

What is the reason, that there being two altars dedicated unto Hercules, women are not partakers of the greater, nor taste one whit of that which is offered or sacrificed thereupon?

I S it, because as the report goes *Carmenta* came not soone enough to be assistant unto the sacrifice: no more did the family of the *Pinarij*, whereupon they took that name? for in regard that they came tardie, admitted they were not to the feast with others who made good cheere; and therefore got the name *Pinarij*, as if one would say, pined or famished?

Or rather it may allude unto the tale that goeth of the thirt empoisoned with the blood of *Nessus* the Centaure, which ladie *Deianira* gave unto *Hercules*.

61

How cometh it to passe, that it is expressly forbidden at Rome, either to name or to demand so ought as touching the Tutelar god, who hath in particular recommendation and patronage, the safety and preservation of the citie of Rome: nor so much as to enquire whether the said deity be male or female? And verely this prohibition proceedeth from a superstitious feare that they have; for that they say that *Valerius Sorianus* died an ill death, because he presumed to utter and publish so much.

I S it in regard of a certaine reason that some latin historians do all edge; namely, that there be certaine evocations and enchantings of the gods by spells and charmes, through the power whereof

whereof they are of opinion, that they might be able to call forth and draw away the Tutelar gods of their enemies, and to cause them to come and dwell with them: and therefore the Romans be afraid lest they may do as much for them? For, like as in times past the *Tytians*, as we find upon record, when their citie was besieged, chained the images of their gods to their shrines, for feare they would abandon their citie and be gone; and as others demanded pledges and sureties that they should come againe to their place, whensoever they sent them to any bath to be washed, or let them go to any expiation to be cleansed: even so the Romans thought, that to be altogether unknowne and not once named, was the best means; and surest way to keepe with their Tutelar god.

10 Orrather, as *Homer* verie well wrote:

The earth to men all,
is common great and small:

That thereby men should worships all the gods, and honour the earth; seeing the is common to them all: even so the ancient Romans have concealed and suppressed the god or angel which hath the particular gard of their citie, to the end that their citizens should adore; not him alone but all others likewise.

62

What is the cause that among those priests whom they name *Fæciales*, signifying as much as in gecke interpreters, that is to say, Officers going between to make treaties of peace or amitie; that is to say, Agents for truce and leagues, he whom they call *Pater Patratus* is esteemed the chiefe? Now *Pater Patratus* is he, whose father is yet living, who hath children of his owne: and in truth this chiefe *Fæcial* or *Herald* hath still at this day certain prerogative, or special credit above the rest. For the emperours themselves, and generall captains, if they have any persons about them who in regard of the prime of youth, or of their beautiful bodies had need of a faithfull, diligent, and trustie guard, commit them ordinarily into the hands of such as these, for safe custodie.

I S it not, for that these *Patres Patrati* for reverent feare of their fathers of one side, and for modest shames to scandalize or offend their children on the other side, are enforced to be wise and discreet?

Or may it not be, in regard of that cause which their verie denomination doth minister and declare: for this word *PATRATUS* signifieth as much as compleat, entire and accomplished, as if he were one more perfect and absolute every way than the rest, as being so happie, as to have his owne father living, and be a father also himselfe.

Or is it not, for that the man who hath the superintendence of treaties of peace, and of other, ought to see as *Homer* saith, *αἰὲν ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον*, that is to say, before and behind. And in all reason such an one is he like to be, who hath a child for whom, and a father with whom he may consult.

63

40 What is the reason, that the officer at Rome called *Rex sacrorum*, that is to say, the king of sacrifices, is debarred both from exercising any magistracie, and also to make a speech unto the people in publike place?

I S it for that in oldtime, the kings themselves in person performed the most part of sacred rites, and those that were greater, yea and together with the priests offered sacrifices; but by reason that they grew insolent, proud, and arrogant, so as they became intollerable, most of the Greeke nations, deprived them of this authority, and left unto them the prehemine onely to offer publike sacrifice unto the gods: but the Romans having cleane chafed and expelled their kings, established in their stead another under officer whom they called King, unto whom they granted the oversight and charge of sacrifices onely, but permitted him not to exercise or execute any office of State, nor to intermeddle in publick affaires; to the end it should be known to the whole world, that they would not suffer any person to raigne at Rome, but onely over the ceremonies of sacrifices, nor endure the verie name of Roialtie, but in respect of the gods: And to this purpose upon the verie common place neere unto *Comitium*; they use to have a solemn sacrifice for the good estate of the citie; which so soone as ever this king hath performed, he taketh his legs and runnes out of the place, as fast as ever he can.

Why

64

Why suffer not they the table to be taken cleane away, and voided quie, but will have some what dishes remaining upon it?

GIve they not hereby covertly to understand, that wee ought of that which is present to relieve evermore something for the time to come, and on this day to remember the morrow.

Or thought they it not a point of civill honesty and elegance, to repress and keepe downe their appetite when they have before them enough still to content and satisfie it to the full; for lesse will they desire that which they have not, when they accustome themselves to abstine from that which they have.

Or is not this a custome of courtesie and humanitie to their domestick servants, who are not so well pleased to take their victuals simply, as to partake the same, supposing that by this means in some sort they doe participate with their masters at the table.

Or rather is it not, because we ought to suffer no sacred thing to be emptie; and the boord you wor well is held sacred.

65

What is the reason that the Bridegrome commeth the first time to lie with his new wedded bride, not with any light but in the darke?

IS it because he is yet abashed, as taking her to be a stranger and not his owne, before he hath companied carnally with her?

Or for that he would then acquaint himselfe, to come even unto his owne espoused wife with shamefacednesse and modestie?

Or rather, like as *Solon* in his Statutes ordeined, that the new married wife should eat of a quince before she enter into the bride bed-chamber, to the end that this first encounter and embracing, should not be odious or unpleasant to her husband? even so the Romane lawgiver would hide in the obscuritie of darkenesse, the deformities and imperfections in the person of the bride, if there were any.

Or haply this was instituted to shew how sinful and damnable all unlawfull companie of man and woman together is, seeing that which is lawfull and allowed, is not without some blemish and note of shame.

66

Why is one of the races where horses use to runne, called the Cirque or Flaminius.

IS it for that in old time an ancient Romane named *Flaminius* gave unto the citie, a certaine peece of ground, they employed the rent and revenues thereof in runnings of horses, and chariots: and for that there was a surplussage remaining of the said lands, they bestowed the same in paving that high way or cauley, called *Via Flaminia*, that is to say, *Flaminia* street?

67

Why are the Sergeants or officers who carie the knirches of rods before the magistrates of Rome, called Lictores.

IS it because these were they who bound malefactors, and who followed after *Romulus*, as his guard, with cords and leather thongs about them in their bosomes? And verily the common people of *Rome* when they would say to binde or tie fast, use the word *Alligare*, and such as speake more pure and proper Latin, *Ligare*.

Or is it for that now the letter *C* is interjected within this word, which before time was *Litores*, as one would say *Litoricos*, that is to say, officers of publike charge; for no man there is in a manner ignorant, that even at this day in many cities of *Greece*, the common-wealth or publike state is written in their lawes by the name of *Litores*.

68

Wherefore doe the Luperci at Rome sacrifice a Dogge? Now these Luperci are certaine persons who upon a festivall day called Lupercalia, runne through the citie all naked, save that they have aprons onely before their privy parts, carrying leather whippes in their hands, wherewith they flappe and scourge whomsoever they meet in the streets.

IS all this ceremoniall action of theirs a purification of the citie? whereupon they call the moneth wherem this is done *Februarius*, yea, and the very day it selfe *Febraten*, like as the manner

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maner of squitching with a leather scourge *Februare*, which verbe signifieth as much as to purge or purifie?

And verily the Greeks, in maner all, were wont in times past, and so they continue even at this day, in all their expiations, to kill a dogge for sacrifice. Unto *Heate* also they bring forth among other expiatorie oblations, certaine little dogges or whelpes: such also as have neede of cleansing and purifying, they wipe and scour all over with whelpes skinned, which maner of purification they terme *Periscylasmus*.

Or rather is it for that *Lupus* signifieth a wolfe, & *Lupercalia*, or *Lycas*, is the feast of wolves: now a dogge naturally, being an enemy to wooves, therefore at such feasts they sacrificed a dogge.

Or peradventure, because dogges banke and bay at these *Luperci*, troubling and disquieting them as they runne up and downe the city in maner aforesaid.

Or else last of all, for that this feast and sacrifice is solemnized in the honor of god *Pamphylus*, who as you wor well is pleased well enough with a dogge, in regard of his flocks of goates.

69

What is the cause that in ancient time, as the feast called Septimontium, they observed precisely not to use any coaches drawn with steeds, no more than those doe at this day, who are observant of old institutions and doe not despise them. Now this Septimontium is a festivall solemnity, celebrated in memoriall of a seventh mountaine, that was adjoined and taken into the poore priue of Rome citie, which by this means came to have seven hilles enclosed within the precinct thereof?

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WHether was it as some Romans doe imagine, for that the city was not as yet conjunct and composed of all her parts? Or if this may seeme an impertinent conjecture, and nothing to the purpose: may it not be in this respect, that they thought they had achieved a great peece of worke, when they had thus amplified and enlarged the compasse of the citie, thinking that now it needed not to proceed any further in greatnesse and capacite: in consideration whereof, they reposed themselves, and caused likewise their labouring beafts of draught and cariage to rest, whose helpe they had used in finishing of the said enclosure, willing that they also should enjoy in common with them, the benefit of that solemne feast.

Or else we may suppose by this, how desirous they were that their citizens should solemnize and honour with their personall presence all feasts of the citie, but especially that which was ordained and instituted for the peopling and augmenting thereof: for which cause they were not permitted upon the day of the dedication, and festival memoriall of it, to put any horses in geeres or harnesse for to draw; for that they were not at such a time to ride forth of the citie.

70

Why call they those who are apprehended or taken in theft, pilferie or such like servile trespasses, Furciferos, as one would say, Fork bearers.

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IS not this also an evident argument of the great diligence and carefull regard that was in their ancients? For when the master of the family had surpris'd one of his servants or slaves, committing a lewd and wicked prank, he commaunded him to take up and carrie upon his necke betweene his shoulders a forked peece of wood, fitch as they use to put under the spire of a chariot or waine, and so to go withall in the open view of the world throughout the street, yea and the parish where he dwelt, to the end that every man from thence forth should take heed of him. This peece of wood we in *Greece* call *εὐρυπύς*, and the Romans in the Latin tongue *Furca*, that is to say, a forked prop or suppotter: and therefore he that is forced to carie such an one, is by so reproch termed *Furcifer*.

71

Wherefore use the Romans to tie a wisp of hey unto the hornes of kine, and other beestes, that are wont to bask and be curst with their heads, that by the means thereof folke might take heed of them, and looke better to themselves when they come in their way?

IS it not for that beestes, horses, asses, yea and then become fierce, insolent, and dangerous, if they be highly kept and pampered to the full? according as *Sophocles* said:

Like

*Like as the colt or jade doth winke and kick,
In case he find his provender so prick:
Even so do'st thou: for lothy paunch is full
Thy cheeks be puffed, like to some greedy gull.*

And thereupon the Romans gave out, that *Marcus Cressus* carried hey on his home: for howsoever they would seeme to let flie and carpe at others, who dealt in the affaires of State, and government, yet beware they would how they commerted with him as being a dangerous man, and one who carried a revenging mind to as many as medled with him. Howbeit it was said afterwards againe on the other side, that *Cassius* had plucked the hey from *Cressus* his home: for he was the first man that opposed himselfe, and made head against him in the management of the State, and in one word set not a straw by him.

What was the cause that they thought those priests who observed bird-flight, such as in old time they called Aruspices, and now a daies Augures, ought to have their lanterns and lamps alwaies open, and not to put any lid or cover over them?

May it not be, that like as the old Pythagorean Philosophers by small matters signified and implied things of great consequence, as namely, when they forbade their disciples to sit upon the measure Chenix; and to stirre fire, or rake the hearth with a sword; euen so the ancient Romans used many ænigmes, that is to say, outward signes and figures betokening some hidden and secret mysteries; especially with their priests in holy and sacred things, like as this of the lampe or lantern, which symbolizeth in some sort the bodie that containeth our soule. For the soule within resembleth the light, and it behooveth that the intelligent and reasonable part thereof should be alwaies open, evermore intente and seeing, and at no time enclosed and shut up, nor blown upon by wind. For looke when the winds be aloft, fowles in their flight keepe no certaintie, neither can they yeeld assured prelagies, by reason of their variable and wandering instabilitie: and therefore by this ceremoniall custome they teach those who do divine and foretell by the flight of birds, not to go forth for to take their auspices and observations when the wind is up, but when the aire is still, and so calme, that a man may carie a lantern open and uncovered.

Why were these Southsayers or Augures forbidden to go abroad, for to observe the flight of birds, in case they had any sore or ulcer upon their bodies?

WAs not this also a significant token to put them in minde, that they ought not to deale in the divine service of the gods, nor meddle with holy and sacred things if there were any secret matter that gnawed their minds, or so long as any private ulcer or passion seited in their hearts: but to be void of sadness and griefe, to be found and sincere, and not distracted by any trouble whatsoeuer?

Or, because it standeth to good reason; that if it be not lawfull nor allowable for them to offer unto the gods for an oast or sacrifice any beast that is scabbed, or hath a sore upon it, nor to take prelage by the flight of such birds as are mauling, they ought more strictly and precisely to looke into their owne persons in this behalfe, and not to presume for to observe celestiall prognostications and signes from the gods, unless they be themselves pure and holy, undefiled, and not defective in their owne selves: for surely an ulcer seemeth to be in manner of a mutilation and pollution of the bodie.

Why did king Servius Tullius found and build a temple of little Fortune which they called in Latine Brevis fortuna, that is to say, of short fortune?

WAs it not thinke you in respect of his owne selfe, who being at the first of a small and base condition, as being borne of a captive woman, by the favour of Fortune grew to so great an estate that he was king of Rome?

Or for that this change in him sheweth rather the might and greatnesse, than the debilitie and finalnesse of Fortune. We are to say, that this king *Servius* deified Fortune, & attributed unto her more divine power than any other, as having entituled and imposed her name almost upon

upon every action: for not onely he erected temples unto Fortune, by the name of Puissant, of Diverting ill lucke, of Sweet, Favourable to the first borne and masculine; but also there is one temple besides, of private or proper Fortune; another of Fortune returned; a third of confident Fortune and hoping well; and a fourth of Fortune the virgine. And what should a man reckon up other surnames of hers, seeing there is a temple dedicated (forsooth) to glewing Fortune, whom they called *Vesana*; as if we were given thereby to understand, that we are caught by her as a hare off, and even tied (as it were) with bird-lime to businesse and affaires.

But consider this moreover, that he having known by experience what great power she hath in humane things, how little soever she seeme to be, and how often a small matter in hapning or not hapning hath given occasion to some, either to misse of great exploits, or to achieve as great enterprises, whether in this respect, he built not a temple to little Fortune, teaching men thereby to be alwaies studious, carefull and diligent, and not to despise any occurrences how small soever they be.

What is the cause that they never put forth the light of a lampe; but suffered it to goe out of the owne accord?

WAs it not (thinke you) upon a certayne reverent devotion that they bare unto that fire, as being either coulen germaine, or brother unto that inextinguible and immortal fire. Or rather, was it not for some other secret advertisement, to teach us not to violate or kill any thing whatsoever that hath life, if it hurt not us first; as if fire were a living creature: for need it hath of nourishment and moveth of it selfe: and if a man doe squench it, surely it uttereth a kind of voice and scerick, as if a man killed it.

Or certainly this fashion and custome received so usually; sheweth us that we ought not to marre or spoile, either fire or water or any other thing necessary; after we our selves have done with it, and have had sufficient use thereof, but to suffer it to serve other mens turnes who have need, after that we our selves have no imployment for it.

How cometh it to passe that those who are defended of the most noble and ancient houses of Rome, caried little moones upon their shoes.

Is this (as *Cassius* saith) a signe of the habitation which is reported to be within the bodie of the moone?

Or for that after death, our spirits and ghosts shall have the moone under them?

Or rather, because this was a marke or badge proper unto those who were reputed most ancient, as were the Arcadians descended from *Evander*, who upon this occasion were called *Proselens*, as one would say, borne before the moone?

Or, because this custome as many others, admonisheth those who are lifted up too high, and take so great pride in themselves, of the incertitude and instabilitie of this life, and of humane affaires, even by the example of the moone;

Who at the first doth new and young appeere,

Whereas before she made no shew at all;

And so her light increaseth faire and cleere,

Untill her face be round and full you shall see;

But then anon she doth begin to fall,

And backward wane from all this beauteous gay,

Untill againe she vanish cleane away.

Or was not this an holme lesson and instruction of obedience, to teach and advise men to obey their superiors, & not to thinke much for to be under others: but like as the moone is willing to give care (as it were) and apply her selfe to her betters content to be ranged in a second place, and as *Pyramides* saith,

Having aneie and due regard

Advoyes the bright Sun beames towards;

even they ought to rest in a second degree, to follow after, and be under the conduct and direction of another, who sitteth in the first place, and of his power, authority and honor in some measure to enjoy a part.

Why

Why think they the yeeres dedicated to Jupiter, and the moneths to Juno?

May it not be for that of Gods invisable and who are no otherwife scene but by the eyes of our understanding: those that reigne as princes be *Jupiter* and *Juno*; but of the visible, the Sun and Moone? Now the Sun is he who causeth the yeere, and the Moone maketh the moneth. Neither are we to thinke, that these be onely and simply the figures and images of them: but beleewe we must, that the material Sun which we behold, is *Jupiter*, and this material Moone, *Juno*. And the reason why they call her *Juno*, (which word is as much to say as young or new) is in regarde of the course of the Moone: and otherwhiles they surname her also *Juno-Lucina*, that is to say; light or shining: being of opinion that she helpeth women in travel of child-birth, like as the Moone doth, according to these verses:

By starres that turne full round in Asur skie:

By Moone who helps child-birth right speedily.

For it seemeth that women at the full of the moone be most easily delivered of childbirth.

What is the cause that in observing bird-flight, that which is presented on the * left hand is reputed lucky and prosperous?

* *averech*,
profpera.

Is not this altogether untrue, and are not many men in an error by ignorance of the equivocation of the word *Sinistrum*, & their manner of Dialect; for that which we in Greeke call *sinister*, that is to say, on the auke or left hand, they say in Latin, *Sinistrum*; and that which signifieth to permit, or let be, they expresse by the verbe *Sinere*, and when they will a man to let a thing alone, they say unto him, *Sine*; whereupon it may seeme that this word *Sinistrum* is derived. That prefaging bird then, which permiteth and suffreth an action to be done, being as it were *Spisterion*; the vulgar sort suppose (though not aright) to be *Sinistrum*, that is to say, on the left hand, and so they tearme it.

Or may it not be rather as *Dionysius* saith, for that when *Aeneas* the sonne of *Aeneas* wanne a field against *Alexandrus* as the two armies stood arranged one affronting the other in battel ray, it thundred on his left hand; and because thereupon he obtained the victory, they deemed even then, that this thunder was a token prefaging good, and for that cause observed it, ever after so to fall out. Others thinke that this prefage and foretoken of good lucke hapned unto *Aeneas*: and verily at the battell of *Leuctres*, the Thebanes began to breake the ranks of their enemies, and to discomfit them with the left wing of their battel, and thereby in the end achieved a brave victorie; whereupon ever after in all their conflicts, they gave preference and the honour of leading and giving the first charge, to the left wing.

Or rather, is it not as *Juba* writeth, because that when we looke toward the sunne rising, the North side is on our left hand, and some will say, that the North is the right side and upper part of the whole world.

But consider I pray you, whether the left hand being the weaker of the twaine, the prefages coming on that side, doe not fortifie and support the defect of puiſſance which it hath, and so make it as it were even and equal to the other?

Or rather considering that earthly and mortall things they supposeth to be opposite unto those that be heavenly and immortal, did not imagine consequently, that whatsoever was on the left in regard of us, the gods sent from their right side.

Wherefore was it lawfull at Rome, when a noble personage who sometime had entred triumphant into the city, was dead, and his corps burnt (as the manner was) in a funerall fire, to take up the reliques of his bones, to carrie the same into the city, and there to strew them, according as *Pytho* the *Ephorian* hath left in writing.

Was not this to honour the memorie of the dead? for the like honourable priviledge they had granted unto other valiant warriors and brave captaines; namely, that not onely themselves, but also their posteritie descending lineally from them, might be entered in their common market place of the city, as for example unto *Valerius* and *Fabicius*: and it

is said, that for to continue this prerogative in force, when any of their posteritie afterwards were departed this life, and their bodies brought into the market place accordingly, the manner was, to put a burning torch under them, and doe no more but presently to take it away againe; by which ceremonie, they retained still the due honour without envie, and confirmed it onely to be lawfull if they would take the benefit thereof.

What is the cause that when they feasted at the common charges, any generall captaine who made his entrie into the citie with triumph, they never admitted the Consuls to the feast; but that which more is, sent unto them before-hand messengers of purpose requesting them not to come unto the supper?

As it for that they thought it meet and convenient to yeeld unto the triumpher, both the highest place to sit in, and the most costly cup to drinke out of, as also the honour to be attended upon with a traine home to his house after supper: which prerogatives no other might enjoy but the Consuls onely, if they had bene present in the place.

Why is it that the Tribune of the commons onely, weareth no embroidered purple robe, considering that all other magistrates besides doe wear the same.

Is it not, for that they (to speak properly) are no magistrates: for in truth they have no others neither sit they in the chaire of estate called *Sella curulis*, to determine causes judicially, or give audience unto the people; nor enter into the administration of their office at the beginning of the yeere, as all other magistrates doe: neither are they put downe and deposed after the election of a Dictator: but whereas the full power and authoritie of all other magistrates of State, be transferred from them upon himselfe: the Tribunes onely of the people continue still, and successe not to execute their function, as having another place & degree by themselves in the common-weale: and like as some oratours and lawiers doe hold, that exception in law is no action, considering it doth cleane contrary to action; for that action intendeth, commenſeth, and beginneth a proceſſe or lute; but exception or inhibition dissolveth, undoeeth, and aboliſheth the same: ſemblably, they thinke also, that the Tribunate was an empchement, inhibition, and restraint of a magistracie, rather than a magistracie it selfe: for all the authority and power of the Tribune, lay in opposing himselfe, and crossing the jurisdiction of other magistrates, and in diminishing or repressing their excessive and licentious power.

Or haply all these reasons and such like, are but words, and devised imaginations to mainteine discourse: but to say a trueth, this Tribuneship having taken originally the first beginning from the common people, is great and mighty in regard that it is popular; and that the Tribunes themselves are not proud nor highly conceited of themselves above others, but equall in apparell, in port, fare, and manner of life, to any other citizens of the common fort: for the dignity of pompe and outward shew, apperteneith to a Consul or a Praetour: as for the Tribune of the people, he ought to be humble and lowly, and as *At. Curio* was wont to say; ready to put his hand under every mans foot; not to carie a loftie, grave, and stately countenance, nor to bee hard of access, nor strange to be spoken with, or dealt withall by the multitude; but howsoever he behave himselfe to others, he ought to the simple and common people, above the rest, for to be affable, gentle, and tractable: and hereupon the manner is, that the dore of his house should never be kept shut, but stand open both day and night, as a safe harbour, free haven, and place of refuge, for all those who are distressed and in need: and verilie the more submisſive that he is in outward appearance, the more growth hee and encrease in puiſſance; for they repute him as a strong hold for common recourse and retreat, unto all comers, no lesse than an altar or privileged sanctuarie. Moreover, as touching the honour that he holdeth by his place, they count him holy, sacred, and inviolable, inſomuch as if he doe but goe forth of his house abroad into the citie, and walke in the street, * the manner was of all, to cleane and sanctifie the body, as if it were steeined and polluted.

* *Illeſus*
this place to
be corrupt
in the origi-
nall,

What is the reason that before the Praetors, generall Captaines and head Magistrates, there be caried bundles of rodde, together with hatchets or axes fastened unto them?

Is it to signifie, that the anger of the magistrate ought not to be prompt to execution, nor looſe and at libertie?

Or, because that to undoe and unbinde the said bundels, yeeldeth some time and space for choler to coole, and ire to assuage, which is the cause otherwhiles that they change their mindes, and doe not proceed to punishment?

Now forasmuch as among the faults that men commit, some are curable, others remediless: the roddees are to reforme those who may be amended; but the hatchets to cut them off who are incorrigible.

What is the cause that the Romanes having intelligence given unto them, that the Bletonefians, a barbarous nation, had sacrificed unto their gods; a man sent for the Magistrates peremptorily, as intending to punish them: but after they once understood, that they had so done according to an ancient law of their country, they let them go againe without any hurt done unto them; charging them only, that from thence forth they should not obey such a law; and yet they themselves, not many yeeres before, had caused for to be buried quicke in the place, called the Beast Market, two women and two women, that is to say, two Greekes, and two Gallo-Greekes or Galatians? For his seemeth to be verie absurd, that they themselves should do those things, which they reprooved in others as damnable.

May it not be that they judged it an execrable superstition, to sacrifice a man or woman unto the gods, marie unto devils they held it necessarie?

Or was it not for that they thought those people, who did by a law or custome, offended highly; but they themselves were directed thereto by expresse commaundment out of the bookes of Sibylla. For reported it is, that one of their votaries or Vestall nunnnes named *Helbia*, riding on horse-backe, was smitten by a thunderbolt or blast of lightning; and that the horse was found lying along all bare belled, and her self likewise naked, with her smocke and petticoate turned up above her privie parts, as if she had done it of purpose: her shoes, her rings, her coife and head attire cast here and there apart from other things; and withall hilling the tongue out of her head. This strange occurrent, the soothsayers out of their learning interpreted to signifie, that some great shame did betide the sacred virgins, that should be divulged and notoriously known; yea, and that the same infamie should reach also as far, as unto some of the degree of gentlemen or knights of Rome, upon this there was a servant belonging unto a certaine Barbarian horseman, who detected three Vestall virgins to have at one time forfeited their honor, & been naught of their bodies, to wit, *Aemilia*, *Lucia*, & *Martia*; and that they had companied too familiarly with men a long time; and one of their names was *Baetius*, a Barbarian knight, and master to the said enformer. So these vestall Votaries were punished after they had beene convicted by order of law, and found guiltie: but after that this seemed a fearful and horrible accident; ordeined it was by the Senate, that the priests should peruse over the bookes of Sibyllas prophesies, wherein were found (by report) those very oracles which denounced and foretold this strange occurrent, and that it portended some great losse and calamitie unto the common-wealth: for the avoiding and diverting whereof, they gave commaundment to abandon unto (I wor not what) maligne and diuillish strange spirits, two Greekes, and two Galatians likewise; and so by burying them quicke in that verie place, to procure propitiation at Gods hands.

84

Why began they their day at midnight?

Was it not, for that all policie at the first had the beginning of militarie discipline; and in war, and all expeditions the most part of woorthie exploits are enterprised ordinarily in the night before the day appeare?

Or because the execution of desaignes, howsoever it begin at the sunne rising; yet the preparation thereto is made before day-light: for there had need to be some preparatives, before a wofke be taken in hand; and not at the verie time of execution, according as *Moson* (by report) answered unto *Chilo*, one of the seven sages, when as in the winter time he was making of a van.

Or haply, for that like as we see, that many men at noone make an end of their businesse of great importance, and of State affaires; even so, they supposed that they were to begin the same at mid-night. For better proofe whereof a man may frame an argument hereupon, that the Roman chiefe ruler never made league, nor concluded any capitulations and covenants of peace after mid-day.

Or

Or rather this may be, because it is not possible to see downe determinately, the beginning and end of the day, by the rising and setting of the sunne: for if we do as the vulgar sort, who distinguish day and night by the sight and view of eis, taking the day then to begin when the sunne ariseth; and the night likewise to begin when the sunne is gone downe, and hidden under our horizon, we shall never have the just Aequinox, that is to say, the day and night equal: for even that verie night which we shall esteeme most equall to the day, will prove shorter than the day, by as much as the body or bigneffe of the sunne containeth. Again, if we doe as the Mathematicians, who to remedie this absurditie and inconvenience, set downe the confines and limits of day and night, at the verie instant point when the sunne seemeth to touch the circle of the horizon with his center; this were to overthrow all evidence: for fall out it will, that where there is a great part of the sunnes light yet under the earth (although the sunne do shine upon us) we will not confesse that it is day, but say that it is night still. Seeing then it is so hard a matter to make the beginning of day and night, at the rising or going downe of the sunne, for the absurdities above said, it remaineth that of necessity we take the beginning of the day to be, when the sunne is in the mids of the heaven above head, or under our feet, that is to say, either noon-tide or mid-night. But of twaine better it is to begin when he is in the middle point under us; which is just midnight, for that he returneth then toward us into the East; whereas contrariwise after mid-day he goeth from us Westward.

85

What was the cause that in times past they would not suffer their wives, either to grinde corne, or to lay their hands to dreffe meat in the kitchen?

Was it in memoriall of that accord and league which they made with the Sabines; for after that they had ravished & carried away their daughters, there arose sharpe wars betweene them: but peace ensued thereupon in the end; in the capitulations whereof this one article was expressly set downe, that the Roman husband might not force his wife, either to waine the querne for to grinde corne, nor to exercise any point of cookerie.

86

Why did not the Romans marie in the moneth of May?

Is it for that it commeth betweene Aprill and June? whereof the one is consecrated unto *Venus*, and the other to *Juno*, who are both of them the goddesses which have the care and charge of wedding and marriages, and therefore thinke it good either to go somewhat before, or else to stay a while after.

Or it may be that in this moneth they celebrate the greatest expiatorie sacrifice of all others in the yeere? for even at this day they fling from off the bridge into the river, the images and poutraitures of men, whereas in old time they threw downe men themselves alive? And this is the reason of the custome now a daies, that the priestesse of *Juno* named *Flamina*, should be alwaies clad and heaue, as it were a mourner, and never wash nor dreffe and trim her selfe.

Or what and if we say, it is because many of the Latine nations offered oblations unto the dead in this moneth: and peradventure they do so, because in this verie moneth they worship *Mercurie*: and in truth it beareth the name of *Maja*, *Mercuries* mother.

But may it not be rather, for that as some do say, this moneth taketh that name of *Majores*, that is to say, ancients: like as June is termed so of *Juniores*, that is to say yongkers. Now this is certaine that youth is much meete for to contract marriage than old age: like as *Enripides* saith verie well:

As for old age it Venus bids farewell,
And with old folke, Venus is not pleas'd well.

The Romans therefore maried not in May, but staid for June which immediately followeth after May.

87

What is the reason that they divide and part the haire of the new brides head, with the point of a iavelin?

Is not this a verie signe, that the first wives whom the Romans espoused, were compelled to marriage, and conquered by force and armes.

Eccc 2

Or

Or are not their wives hereby given to understand, that they are espoused to husbands, martial men and soldiers; and therefore they should lay away all delicate, wanton, and costly imbellishment of the bodie, and acquaint themselves with simple and plaine attire; like as *Lycurgus* for the same reason would that the dores, windows, and roofes of houses should be framed with the saw and the axe onely, without use of any other tooke or instrument, intending thereby to chase out of the common-weale all curiositie and wastfull superfluitie.

Or doth not this parting of the haire, give covertly to understand, a division and separation, as if marriage & the bond of wedlock, were not to be broken but by the sword and warlike force?

Or may not this signifie thus much, that they referred the most part of ceremonies concerning marriage unto *Juno*: now it is plaine that the javelin is consecrated unto *Juno*, inasmuch as most part of her images and statues are portraied resting and leaning upon a lance or javelin. And for this cause the goddesse is surnamed *Quirita*; for they called in old time a speare *Quirū*, upon which occasion *Mars* also (as they say) is named *Quirū*.

88

What is the reason that the monie employed upon plaies and publike shewes is called among them, *Lucus*?

May it not well be that there were many groves about the citie consecrated unto the gods, which they named *Lucus*: the revenues whereof they bestowed upon the setting forth of such solemnities?

89

Why call they *Quirinalia*, the Feast of fooles?

Whether is it because (as *Juba* writeth) they attribute this day unto those who knew not their owne lineage and tribe? or unto such as have not sacrificed, as others have done according to their tribes, at the feast called *Fornacalia*. Were it that they were hindred by other affaires, or had occasion to be forth of the citie, or were altogether ignorant, and therefore this day was assigned for them, to performe the said feast.

90

What is the cause, that when they sacrifice unto *Hercules*, they name no other God but him, nor suffer a dog to be seene, within the purprise and precinct of the place where the sacrifice is celebrated, according as *Varro* hath left in writing?

Is not this the reason of naming no god in their sacrifice, for that they esteeme him but a demigod; and some there be who hold, that whiles he lived here upon the earth, *Evander* erected an altar unto him, and offered sacrifice thereupon. Now of all other beasts he could worst abide a dog, and hated him most: for this creature put him to more trouble all his life time, than any other: witnesse hereof, the three headed dog *Cerberus*, and above all others, when *Oceonius* the sonne of *Lycymnius* was slaine * by a dog, he was enforced by the *Hippocoontides* to give the battell, in which he lost many of his friends, and among the rest his owne brother *Iphicles*.

91

Wherefore was it not lawfull for the Patricians or nobles of Rome to dwell upon the mount Capitoll?

Might it not be in regard of *M. Manlius*, who dwelling there attempted and plotted to be king of Rome, and to usurpe tyrannie; in hatred and detestation of whom, it is said, that ever after those of the house of *Manlij*, might not have *Marcus* for their fore-name?

Or rather was not this an old feare that the Romans had (time out of mind)? For albeit *Valerius Poplicola* was a personage verie popular and well affected unto the common people; yet never ceased the great and mightie men of the citie to suspect and traduce him, nor the meane commoners and multitude to feare him, until such time as himselfe caused his owne house to be demolished and pulled down, because it seemed to overlooke and command the common market place of the citie.

92

What is the reason, that he who saved the life of a citizen in the warres, was rewarded with a coronet made of oake branches?

Was it not for that in everie place and readily, they might meet with an oake, as they marched in their warlike expeditions.

Or

Or rather, because this manner of garland is dedicated unto *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who are reputed protectors of cities?

Or might not this be an ancient custome proceeding from the Arcadians, who have a kind of consanguinitie with oakes, for that they report of themselves, that they were the first men that issued out of the earth, like as the oake of all other trees.

93

Why observe they the Vultures or Geirs, most of any other fowles, in taking of presiges by bird-flights?

10

Is it not because at the foundation of Rome, there appeared twelve of them unto *Romulus*? Or because, this is no ordinarie bird nor familiar; for it is not so easie a matter to meete with an aire of Vultures; but all on a sudden they come out of some strange countrey, and therefore the sight of them doth prognosticke and presage much.

Or else haply the Romans learned this of *Hercules*, if that betwix which *Herodotus* reporteth: namely, that *Hercules* tooke great contentment, when in the enterprife of any exploit of his, there appeared Vultures unto him: for that he was of opinion, that the Vulture of all birds of prey was the justest: for first and formost never toucheth he ought that hath life, neither killeth hee any living creature, like as eagles, falcons, hawks, and other fowles do, that prey by night, but feedeth upon dead carions: over and besides, he forbearth to set upon his owne kind: for never was there man yet who saw a Vulture eat the flesh of any fowle, like as eagles and other birds of prey do, which chase, pursue and plucke in pieces those especially of the same kind, to wit, other fowle. And verily as *Aeschylus* the poet writeth:

How can that bird, which bird doth eat,

Be counted cleanly, pure and neat.

And as for men, it is the most innocent bird, and doth least hurt unto them of all other: for it destroyeth no fruit nor plant whatsoever, neither doth it harme to any tame creature. And if the tale be true that the Egyptians doe tell, that all the kinde of these birds be females; that they conceive and be with young, by receiving the East-wind blowing upon them, like as some times by the Western wind, it is verie profitable that the signes and prognosticks drawn from them, be more sure and certaine, than from any others, considering that of all, besides their violence in treading and breeding time; their eagernes in flight when they pursue their prey; their flying away from some, and chafing of others, must needs cause much trouble and uncertaintie in their prognostications.

94

Why stands the temple of *Aesculapius* without the citie of Rome?

Is it because they thought the abode without the citie more holefome, than that within? For in this regard the Greekes ordinarily built the temples of *Aesculapius* upon high ground, wherein the aire is more pure and cleere.

Or in this respect, that this god *Aesculapius* was sent for out of the citie *Epidaurus*. And true it is that the *Epidaurians* founded his temple; not within the wallies of their city, but a good way from it.

Or lastly, for that the serpent when it was landed out of the galley in the Ile, and then vanished out of sight, seemed thereby to tell them where he would that they should build the place of his abode.

95

Why doth the law forbid them that are to live chaste, the eating of pulse?

As touching beanes, is it not in respect of those very reasons for which it is said: That the Pythagoreans counted them abominable? And as for the richling and rich pease, whereof the one in Greeke is called *Adversus*, and the other *Epiduros*, which words seeme to be derived of *Erebus*, that signifieth the darknesse of hell, and of *Lethe*, which is as much as oblivion, and one besides of the rivers infernall, it carrieth some reason that they should be abhorred therefore. Or it may be, for that the solemne suppers and bankets at funerals for the dead, were usually served with pulse above all other viands.

Or rather, for that those who are desirous to be chaste, and to live a holy life, ought to keepe

Ecce 3

their

* Or about a dog by the Hippocoontides.

their bodies pure and slender; but so it is that pulse be flatous and windy, breeding superfluous excrements in the body, which had need of great purging and evacuation.

Or lastly, because they pricke and provoke the fleshly lust, for that they be full of ventosities,

96

What is the reason that the Romans punish the holy Vestall virgins (who have suffered their bodies to be abused and defiled) by no other means, than by interring them quicke under the ground?

IS this the cause, for that the maner is to burne the bodies of them that be dead: and to burie (by the meanes of fire) their bodies who have not devoutly and religiously kept or preserved to the divine fire, seemed not just nor reasonable?

Or haply, because they thought it was not lawfull to kill any person who had bene consecrated with the most holy and religious ceremonies in the world; nor to lay violent hands upon a woman consecrated: and therefore they devised this invention of suffering them to die of their owne selves; namely, to let them downe into a little vaulted chamber under the earth, where they left with them a lampe burning, and some bread, with a little water and milke: and having so done, cast earth and covered them aloft. And yet for all this, can they not be exempt from a superstitious feare of them thus interred: for even to this day, the priests going over this place, performe (I wot not what) anniversary services and rites, for to appease and pacifie their ghosts.

20

97

What is the cause that upon the thirteenth day of December, which in Latine they call the Ides of December, there is exhibited a game of chariots running for the prize, and the horse drawing on the right hand that winneth the victorie, is sacrificed and consecrated unto Mars, and at the time thereof there comes one behind that cutteth off his taile, which he carrieth immediately into the temple called Regia, and there with imbrued the altar with blood: and for the head of the said horse, one troupe there is coming out of the street called Via Lata, and another from that which they name Suburra, who encounter and trie out by fight who shall have it?

MAY not the reason be (as some doe alledge) that they have an opinion, how the citie of Troy was sometime woon by the meanes of a wooden horse; and therefore in the memoriall thereof, they thus punished a poore horse?

*As men from blood of noble Troy descended,
And by the way with Latins issue blended.*

Or because an horse is a courageous, martiall and warlike beast; and ordinarily, men use to present unto the gods those sacrifices which are most agreeable unto them, and fort best with them: and in that respect, they sacrifice that horse which wan the prize, unto Mars, because strength and victorie are well befitting him.

Or rather because the worke of God is firme and stable: those also be victorious who keepe their ranke and vanquish them, who make not good their ground but fly away. This beast therefore is punished for running so swift, as if celeritie were the maintenance of cowardise: to give us thereby covertly to understand, that there is no hope of safetie for them who seeke to escape by flight.

98

What is the reason that the first worke which the Censors goin hand with, when they are installed in the possession of their magistracie, is to take order upon a certaine price for the keeping and feeding of the sacred geese, and to cause the painted statues and images of the gods to be refreshed?

WHETHER is it because they would begin at the smallest things, and those which are of least dispense and difficultie?

Or in commemoration of an ancient benefit received by the meanes of these creatures, in the time of the Gauls warre: for that the geese were they who in the night season descried the Barbarians as the skaled and mounted the wall that environed the Capitol fort (where as the dogs slept) and with their galling raised the watch?

Or because, the Censors being guardians of the greatest affaires, and having that charge and office which enjoineth to be vigilant and carefull to preserve religion; to keepe temples and

and publicke edifices; to looke into the manners and behaviour of men in their order of life; they set in the first place the consideration and regard of the most watchfull creature that is: and in shewing what care they take of these geese, they incite and provoke by that example their citizens, not to be negligent and retchlesse of holy things. Moreover, for refreshing the colour of those images and statues, it is a necessarie piece of worke; for the lively red vermillion, wherewith they were wont in times past to colour the said images, soone fadeth and passeth away.

99

What is the cause that among other priests, when one is condemned and banished, they degrade and deprive him of his priesthood, and choose another in his place: onely an Augur, though he be convicted and condemned for the greatest crimes in the world, yet they never deprive in that sort so long as he liveth? Now those priests they call Augurs, who observe the flights of birds, and for shewed things thereby.

IS it as some do say, because they would not have one that is no priest, to know the secret mysteries of their religion and their sacred rites?

Or because the Augur being obliged and bound by great oaths, never to reveale the secrets pertaining to religion, they would not seeme to free and absolve him from his oath by degrading him, and making him a private person.

Or rather, for that this word Augur, is not so much a name of honor and magistracie, as of arte and knowledge. And all one it were, as if they should seeme to disable a musician for being any more a musician; or a physician, that he should bee a physician no longer; or prohibit a prophet or soothsayer, to be a prophet or soothsayer: for even so they, not able to deprive him of his sufficiency nor to take away his skill, although they bereave him of his name and title, do not forbaine another in his place: and by good reason, because they would keepe the just number of the ancient institution.

100

What is the reason that upon the thirteenth day of August, which now is called the Ides of August, and before time the Ides of Sextilis, all servants as well maids, as men make holy day and women that are wives love then especially to wash and cleanse their heads?

MIGHT not this be a cause, for that king Servius upon such a day was borne of a captive woman, and therefore slaves and bond-servants on that day have libertie to play and disport themselves? And as for washing the head; haply at the first the wenches began to do in regard of that festivall day, and so the custome passed also unto their mistresses and other women free borne?

101

Why do the Romanes adorne their children with jewells pendans at their necks, which they call Bulle?

PERADVENTURE to honor the memorie of those first wives of theirs, whom they ravished: in favour of whom they ordained many other prerogatives for the children which they had by them, and namely this among the rest?

Or it may be, for to grace the prowess of Tarquinus? For reported it is that being but a verie child, in a great battell which was fought against the Latines and Tuskanes together, hee rode into the verie throng of his enemies, and engaged himselfe so farre, that being dismounted and unhorsed; yet notwithstanding he manfully withstood those who hotly charged upon him, and encouraged the Romanes to stand to it, in such sort as the enemies by them were put to plaine flight, with the losse of 16000. men whom they left dead in the place: and for a reward of this vertue and valour, received such a jewell to hang about his necke, which was given unto him by the king his father.

Or else, because in old time it was not reputed a shamfull and villanous thing, to love yovng boyes wantonly, for their beauty in the flower of their age, if they were slaves borne, as the Comedies even at this day do testifie: but they forbore most precisely, to touch any of them who were free-borne or of gentle blood descended. To the end therefore man might not pretend ignorance in such a case, as if they knew not of what condition any boyes were, if they mette with them naked, they caused them to wear this badge and marke of nobilitie about their neckes.

Or

Or peradventure, this might be also as a preservative unto them of their honor, continence and chastitie, as one would say, a bridle to reſtraine wantonneſſe and incontinencie, as being put in mind thereby to be abashed to play mens parts, before they had laid off the marks and ſignes of childhood. For there is no apparance or probability, of that which *Varro* alledgeth, ſaying: That becauſe the Aetolians in their Dialect call *ebria*, that is to ſay, Counſell, *ebria*, therefore ſuch children for a ſigne and preface of wiſedome and good counſell, carried this jewell, which they named *Bulla*.

But ſee whether it might not be in regard of the moone that they weare this device? for the figure of the moone when there is at the full, is not round as a bal or boule, but rather flat in manner of a lentill or reſembling a diſh or plate; not onely on that ſide which appeareth unto us, to but alſo (as *Empedocles* ſaith) on that part which is under it.

102

Wherefore gave they fore-names to little infants, if they were boies upon the ninth day after their birth, but if they were girls, when they were eight daies olde?

May there not be a naturall reaſon rendred hereof, that they ſhould impoſe the names ſooner upon daughters than ſonnes: for that females grow apace, are quickly ripe, and ſometimes unto their perfection in compariſon of males; but as touching thoſe preſcribed daies, they take them that immediately follow the ſeventh: for that the ſeventh day after children be borne is very dangerous, as well for other occasions, as in regard of the navill-ſtring: for that in many it will unknit and be looſe againe upon the ſeventh day, and ſo long as it continueth ſo reſolved and open, an infant reſembleth a plant rather than any animall creature?

Or like as the Pythagoreans were of opinion, that of numbers the even was female and the odde, males; for that it is generative, and is more ſtrong than the even number, becauſe it is compound: and if a man divide theſe numbers into unities, the even number ſheweth a void place betweene, whereas the odde, hath the middle alwaies fulfilled with one part thereof: even ſo in this reſpect they are of opinion, that the even number eight, reſembleth rather the female and the even number nine, the male.

Or rather it is becauſe of all numbers, nine is the firſt ſquare comming of three, which is an odde and perfect number: and eight the firſt cubick, to wit foure ſquare on every ſide like a die proceeding from two, an even number: now a man ought to be quadrat odde (as we ſay) and ſingular, yea and perfect: and a woman (no leſſe than a die) ſure and ſtedfaſt, a keeper of home, and not eaſily removed. Heereunto we muſt adjoyne thus much more alſo, that eight is a number cubick, ariſing from two as the baſe and foot: and nine is a ſquare quadrangle having three for the baſe: and therefore it ſeemeth, that where women have two names, men have three.

103

What is the reaſon, that thoſe children who have no certaine father, they were wont to tearme *Spurios*?

For we may not thinke as the Greeks holde, and as oratours give out in their pleas, that this word *Spurios*, is derived of *Spora*, that is to ſay, naturall ſeed, for that ſuch children are begotten by the ſeed of many men mingled and confounded together.

But ſurely this *Spurios*, is one of the ordinary fore-names that the Romans take, ſuch as *Sextus*, *Decimus*, and *Caius*. Now theſe fore-names they never uſe to write out at full with all their letters, but make them ſometime with one letter alone, as for example, *Titus*, *Lucius*, and *Marcus*, with *T*, *L*, *M*; or with twaine, as *Spurios* and *Cneus*, with *Sp*, and *Cn*, or at moſt with three as *Sextus* & *Servius*, with *Sex*, and *Ser*. *Spurios* then is one of their fore-names which is noted with two letters *S* and *P*, which ſignifie almuſh, as *Sine Patre*, that is to ſay, without a father; ſo for *S*, ſtandeth for *Sine*, that is to ſay, without; and *P* for *patre*, that is to ſay a father. And heereupon grew the error, for that *Sine patre*, and *Spurios* be written both with the ſame letters ſhort, *Sp*. And yet I will not ſticke to give you another reaſon, though it be ſomewhat fabulous, and carrieth a greater abſurdity with it: forſooth they ſay that the Sabines in olde time named in their language the nature or privities of a woman, *Spurios*: and thereupon afterwards as it were by way of reproch, they called him *Spurios*, who had to his mother a woman unmarried and not lawfully coupled.

Why

104

Why & Bacchus called with ſhem, Liber Pater?

Is it for that he is the authour and father of all liberty unto them who have taken their wine well; for thoſe men becomme audacious and are full of bolle and franke broad ſpeech, when they be drunke or cup-thotten?

Or becauſe it is that miniſtered libations firſt, that is to ſay, thoſe effuſions and offerings of wine that are given to the gods? Or rather becauſe the Greeks called *Bacchum*, *Dionysos Eleuthereus*, that is to ſay, *Bacchus* the Deliverer: and they might call him ſo for acivity in *Bacchia*, named *Eleuthera*.

105

Wherefore was it not the cuſtome among the Romans, that maidens ſhould be wedded upon any daies of their publicke feaſts; but widowes might be remarried upon thoſe daies?

Was it for that (as *Varro* ſaith) virgins be ill-apaied and heavie when they be firſt wedded; but ſuch as were wives before, be glad and joyfull when they marrie againe? And upon a feſtival holiday there ſhould be nothing done with an ill will or upon constraint.

Or rather, becauſe it is for the credit and honour of yong damoſels, to be married in the view of the whole world; but for widowes it is a diſhonour and ſhame unto them, to be ſcene of marriage for to be wedded a ſecond time: for the firſt marriage is lovely and deſireable; the ſecond, odious and abominable: for women, if they proceed to marrie with other men whiles their former husbands be living, are aſhamed thereof; and if they be dead, they are in mourning ſtate of widowhood: and therefore they chuſe rather to be married cloſely and ſecretly in all ſilence, than to be accompanied with a long traine and ſolemnity, and to have much ado and great ſtirring at their marriage. Now it is well knowne that feſtival holidays divert and diſtract the multitude divers waies; ſome to this game and paſtime; others to that; ſo as they have no leaſure to go and ſee weddings.

Or laſt of all, becauſe it was a day of publicke ſolemnity, when they firſt raviſhed the Sabines 30 daughters: an attempt that drew upon them, bloody warre, and therefore they thought it ominous and preſaging evil, to ſuffer their virgins to wed upon ſuch holidays.

106

Why doe the Romans honour and worſhip Fortune, by the name of *Primigenia*, which a man may interpret Firſt begotten or firſt borne?

Is it for that (as ſome ſay) *Servius* being by chance borne of a maid ſervant and a captive, had Fortune ſo favourable unto him, that he reigned nobly and gloriouſly, king at Rome? For moſt Romans are of this opinion.

Or rather, becauſe Fortune gave unto the city of Rome her firſt originall and beginning of ſo mightie an empire.

Or lieth not herein ſome deeper cauſe, which we are to fetch out of the ſecrets of Nature and Philoſophie; namely, that Fortune is the principle of all things, in ſomuch, as Nature conſiſteth by Fortunes; namely, when to ſome things concurring cauſally and by chance, there is ſome order and diſpoſe adjoined.

107

What is the reaſon that the Romans call thoſe who act comedies and other theatricall plaies, *Histriones*?

Is it for that cauſe, which as *Claudius Rufus* hath left in writing? for he reporteth that many yeeres ago, and namely, in thoſe daies when *Caius Sulpitius* and *Licinius Stolo* were Conſuls, there reigned a great peſtilence at Rome, ſuch a mortallitie as conſumed all the ſtage plaies indifferently one with another. Whereupon at their inſtant praier and requeſt, there repaired out of *Tuſcane* to Rome, many excellent and ſingular actors in this kinde: among whom, he who was of greateſt reputation, and had caried the name longeſt in all theaters, for his rare gift and dexteritie that way, was called *Histr*; of whoſe name all other afterwards were termed *Histriones*.

Why

108

Why espoused not the Romans in marriage those women who were nere of kin unto them?

WAs it because they were desirous to amplifie and encrease their alliances, and acquire more kinsfolke, by giving their daughters in marriage to others; and by taking to wife others than their owne kintred?

Or for that they feared in such wellock the jarres and quarrels of those who be of kin, which are able to extinguish and abolish even the verie lawes and rights of nature?

Or else, seeing as they did, how women by reason of their weaknesse and infirmities stand in need of many helpers, they would not have men to contract marriage, nor dwell in one house¹⁰ with those who were neere in blood to them, to the end, that if the husband shoud offer wrong and injurie to his wife, her kinsfolke might succour and assist her.

109

Why is it not lawfull for Jupiters priest, whom they name Flamen Dialis to handle or once touch meale or leaven.

FOr meale, is it not because it is an imperfect and raw kind of nourishment? for neither continueth it the same that it was, to wit, wheat, &c. nor is that yet which it should be, namely bread: but hath lost that nature which it had before of seed, and withall hath not gotten²⁰ the use of food and nourishment. And hereupon it is, that the poet calleth meale (by a Metaphor or borrowed speech) *Mythron*, which is as much to say, as killed and marred by the mill in grinding: and as for leaven, both it selfe is engendered of a certaine corruption of meale, and also corrupteth (in a manner) the whole lump of dough, wherein it is mixed: for the said dough becommeth lesse firme and fast than it was before, it hangeth not together; and in one word the leaven of the paste seemeth to be a verie putrefaction and rottennesse thereof. And verely if there be too much of the leaven put to the dough, it maketh it so sharpe and foure that it cannot be eaten, and in verie truth spoileth the meale quite.

110

Wherefore is the said priest likewise forbidden to touch raw flesh?

30

IS it by this custome to withdraw him farre from eating of raw things? Or is it for the same cause that he abhorreth and detesteth meale? for neither is it any more a living animal, nor come yet to be meat: for by boiling and roasting it groweth to such an alteration, as changeth the verie forme thereof: whereas raw flesh and newly killed is neither pure and impolluted to the eie, but hideous to see to; and besides, it hath (I wot not what) resemblance to an ougly sore or filthy ulcer.

111

What is the reason that the Romans have expressly commanded the same priest or Flamen of 40 Jupiter, not onely to touch a dogge or a goat, but not so much as to name either of them?

T O speake of the Goat first, is it not for detestation of his excessive lust and lecherie; and besides for his ranke and filthy favour? or because they are afraid of him, as of a diseased creature and subject to maladies? for surely, there seemeth not to be a beast in the world so much given to the falling sicknesse, as it is; nor infecteth so soone those that either eate of the flesh or once touch it, when it is surprised with this evil. The cause whereof some say to be the freightnesse of those conduits and passages by which the spirits go and come, which oftentimes happen to be intercepted and stopped. And this they conjecture by the small and slender voice that this beast hath; & the better to confirme the same, we do see ordinarily, that men likewise who be subject to this malady, grow in the end to have such a voice as in some sort resembleneth the bleating of goats. Now, for the Dog, true it is haply that he is not so lecherous, nor finellesh altogether so strong and so ranke as doth the Goat; and yet some there be who say, that a Dog might not be permitted to come within the cattle of *Athens*, nor to enter into the Isle of *Delos*, because forsooth he leineth bitches openly in the sight of everie man, as if bulls, boares, and stallions had their secret chambers, to do their kind with females, and did not leape and cover them in the broad field and open yard, without being abashed at the matter.

But

But ignorant they are of the true cause indeed: which is, for that a Dog is by nature fell, and quarrelsome, given to erre and warie upon a verie small occasion: in which respect men banish them from sanctuaries, holy churches, and privileged places, giving thereby unto poore afflicted suppliants, free access unto them for their safe and sure refuge. And even so verie probable it is, that this *Flamen* or priest of *Jupiter* whom they would have to be as an holy, sacred, and living image for to flie unto, should be accessible and easie to be approached unto by humble suiters, and such as stand in need of him, without any hind in the way to empeache, to put backe, or to affright them: which was the cause that he had a little bed or palce made for him, in the verie porch or entrie of his house; and that servant or slaves who could find means to come and fall downe at his feet, and lay hold on his knees was for that day freed from the whip, and past danger of all other punishment: say he were a prisoner with irons; and bght at his feet that could make shift to approach neere unto this priest, he was let loose, and his givies and fetters were thrown out of the house, nor at the doore, but flung over the verie roote thereof.

But to what purpose served all this, and what good would this have done; that he shoud shew himselfe so gentle, so affable, and humane, if he had a curst dog about him to keepe his shew, and to affright, chase and feare all those away who had recourst unto him for succour. And yet so it is, that our ancients reputed not adog to be altogether a clean creature: for first and foremost we do not find that he is consecrated or dedicated unto any of the celestiall gods; but being sent unto terrestriall & infernall *Presepina* into the quartraires and crosse high waies to make²⁰ her a supper, he seemeth to serve for an expiatorie sacrifice to divert and turne away some calamitie, or to cleanse some filthy ordure, rather than otherwise: to say nothing, that in *Lacedaemon*, they cut and slit dogs down along the mids; and so sacrifice them to *Mars* the most bloody god of all others. And the Romanes themselves upon the feast *Lupercalia*, which they celebrate in the lustfull moneth of Purification, called February, offer up a dog for a sacrifice: and therefore it is no absurditie to thinke, that those who have taken upon them to serve the most soveraigne and purest god of all others, were not without good cause forbidden to have a dog with them in the house, nor to be acquainted and familiar with him.

112

For what cause was not the same priest of Jupiter permitted, either to touch an ivie tree, or to passe throw a way covered over head with a vine growing to a tree, and spreading her branches from it?

IS not this like unto these precepts of *Pythagoras*: Eat not your meat from a chaire: Sit not upon a measure called *Chenix*: Neither step thou over a broome or* bescome. For surely none of the Pythagoreans feared any of these things, or made scruple to doe, as these words in outward shew, and in their littell sense do pretend: but under such speeches they did covertly and figuratively forbid somewhat else: even so this precept: Go not under a vine, is to be referred unto wine, and implieth this much; that it is not lawfull for the said Priest to be drunke; for⁴⁰ such as over drinke themselves, have the wine above their heads, and under it they are depreffed and weighed downe, whereas men and priests especially ought to be evermore superiours and commanders of this pleasure, and in no wise to be subject unto it. And thus much of the vine. As for the ivie, is it not for that it is a plant that beareth no fruit, nor any thing good for mans use: and moreover is so weake, as by reason of that feeblenesse it is not able to sustaine it selfe, but had need of other trees to support and beare it up: and besides, with the coole shadow that it yeelds, and the greene leaves alwaies to be seene, it dazeleth, and as it were bewitcheth the eies of many that looke upon it: for which causes, men thought that they ought not to nourish or entertaine it about an house, because it bringeth no profit; nor suffer it to clasp about any thing, considering it is so hurtfull unto plants that admit it to creepe upon them,⁵⁰ whiles it sticketh fast in the ground: and therefore banished it is from the temples and sacrifices of the celestiall gods, and their priests are debared from using it: neither shall a man ever see in the sacrifices or divine worship of *Juno* at *Athens*, nor of *Venus* at *Thebes*, any wilde ivie brought out of the woods. Mary at the sacrifices and services of *Bacchus*, which are performed in the night and darknesse, it is used.

Or may not this be a covert and figurative prohibition, of such blind dances and fooleries in the night, as these be, which are practised by the priests of *Bacchus*? for those women which are transported with these furious motions of *Bacchus*, runne immediately upon the ivie, and catching

catching it in their hands, plucke it in pieces, or else chew it betweene their teeth; in so much as they speake not altogether absurdly, who say, that this iwie hath in it a certaine spirit that stirreth and mooueth to madnesse; turneth mens mindes to furie; driveth them to extasies; troubleth and tormenteth them; and in one word maketh them drunke without wine, and doth great pleasure unto them, who are otherwise disposed and enclined of themselves to such fanaticall ravishments of their wit and understanding.

113

What is the reason that these Priests and Flamins of Jupiter were not allowed, either to take upon them, or to sue for any government of State? but in regard that they be not capable of such dignities, for honour sake and in some sort to make some recompense for that defect, they have an asher or verger before them carrying a knitch of rods, yea and a curull chaire of estate to sit upon?

IS it for the same cause, that as in some cities of Greece, the sacerdotall dignitie was equi-
lalent to the royall maiestie of a king, so they would not chuse for their priels, meane persons and such as came next to hand.

Or rather, because Priests having their functions determinate and certaine, and the kings, undeterminate and uncertaine, it was not possible, that when the occasions and times of both concurred together at one instant, one and the same person should be sufficient for both: for it could not otherwise be, but many times when both charges pressed upon him and urged him at ones, he should premit the one or the other, and by that meanes one while offend and fault 20
in religion toward God, and another while do hurt unto citizens and subjects.

Or else, considering, that in governments among men, they saw that there was otherwhiles no lesse necessitie than authority; and that he who is to rule a people (as *Hippocrates* said of a physician, who seeth many evill things, yea and handleth many also) from the harmes of other men, reapeth griefe and sorrow of his owne: they thought it not in policy good, that any one should sacrifice unto the gods, or have the charge and superintendence of sacred things; who had been either present or present at the judgements and condemnations to death of his owne citizens, yea and otherwhiles of his owne kinsfolke and allies, like as it befell sometime to *Brutus*.



DEMANDS AND QUESTIONS AS TOUCHING GREEKE AFFAIRES:

THAT IS TO SAY,

*A Collection of the manners, and of divers customes and fashions of
certaine persons and nations of Greece: which may serve their
turne verie well, who reading old Authors are desirous to
know the particularities of Antiquitie.*

Who are they that in the citie Epidaurus be called Conipodes and Atyni?



Here were an hundred and fourescore men, who had the managing and whole government of the Common weale: out of which number they chose Senatours, whom they named *Atyni*; but the most part of the people abode and dwelt in the countrey, and such were termed *Conipodes*, which is as much to say, as Dusty-feet; for that when they came downe to the citie (as a man may conjecture) they were known by their dusty feet.

What

What was she who in the citie of Cumes they named Onobatis?

WHen there was any woman taken in adultery, they brought her in to the publick marketplace, where they set her upon an eminent stone to the end that she might be seene of all the people: and after she had stood there a good while, they mounted her upon an asse, and so led her round about the city: which done, they brought her backe againe into the marketplace, where she must stand as she did before upon the same stone: and so from that time forward she led an infamous and reprochfull life, called of every one by the name of *Onobatis* that is to say, she that hath ridden upon the asse backe. But when they had so done, they repented that stone polluted, and detested it as accursed and abominable.

There was likewise in the same city a certaine office of a gaoler, whom they called *Phylaxer*; and looke who bare this office, had the charge of keeping the prison at all other times: onely at a certaine assembly and session of the counsell in the night (season), he went into the Senat, and brought forth the kings, leading them by the hands, and three held them still, during the time that the Senat had made inquisition and decreed whether they had deserved ill and ruled unjustly or no: giving thus their suffrages and voices privily in the darke.

What is she whom they name in the city of Soli, Hyppecaustria?

SO call they the priestesse of *Minerva*, by reason of certaine sacrifices (which she celebrateth) and other divine ceremonies and services, to put by and divert shrewd turnes, which other wise might happen: the word signifieth as much as a chaufure.

Who be they in the city Guidos, whom they call Annemones? as also who is Aphester among them?

THere are three score elect men, out of the better sort and principall citizens, whom they imploy as overseers of mens lives and behaviour, who also were consulted first, and gave their sentence as touching affaires of greatest importance: and *Annemones* they were named, for that they were not, (as a man may very well conjecture) called to any account, nor urged to make answer for any thing that they did: unless haply they were so named, *quasi Polymnemes*, because they remembered many things and had so good a memorie. As for *Aphester*, he it was who in their scrutines, demanded their opinions and gathered their voices.

Who be they, whom the Arcadians and Lacedemonians rearme, Chrestos?

THe Lacedemonians having concluded a peace with the Tegeates, did set downe expressly the articles of agreement in writing, which they caused to be engraven upon a square colunne, common to them both, the which was erected upon the river *Alpheus*: in which among other covenants this was written: That they might chafe the Messenians out of their countries; howbeit, lawfull it should not be to make them *Chrestos*, which *Aristotle* expoundeth thus and saith; That they might kill none of the Tegeates who during the warre had taken part with the Lacedemonians.

What is he whom the Opuntians call, Crithologos.

THe greatest part of the Greeks in their most ancient sacrifices use certaine barley, which the citizens, of their first fruits did contribute: that officer therefore who had the rule and charge of these sacrifices, and the gathering and bringing in of these first fruits of barley, they named *Crithologos*, as one would say the collector of the barley. Moreover, two priests they had besides, one superintendent over the sacrifices and ceremonies for the gods; another for the divels.

Which be the clouds called Ploiades.

THose especially which are waterish and disposed to raine, and withall wandering too and fro, and carried heere and there in the aire; as *Theophrastus* in the fourth booke of *Meteors*

Ffff

or

or impressions gathered above in the region of the aire, hath put it downe word for word in this manner: Considering that the clouds *Phades* (quoth hee) and those which be gathered thicke, and are fetled unmoveable, and besides very white, shew a certaine diversitie of matter, which is neither converted into water, nor dissolved into winde.

Whom doe the *Bacchantes* name by this word, *Platycharas*?

Those whose houses joine one to another, or whose lands doe border and confine together, in the Aeolique language they called so, as if they would say; being neere neighbours: to which purpose one example among many I will alledge out of our law *Theomophylacium*, &c. ***

What is he who among the *Delphians* is called *Hofioter*, and why name they one of the *meneths*, *Bylios*.

They name *Hofioter* that sacrificer who offereth a sacrifice when he is declared *Hofoi*, that is to say, holy; and five there be who are all their life time accounted *Hofoi*, and those doe and execute many things together with their prophets, and joine with them in divers ceremonies of divine service, and gods worship, inasmuch as they are thought to be descended from *Deucalion*. And for the month called *Bylis*, many have thought it to be as much as *Phylius*: that is to say, the springing or growing month; for that then, the spring beginneth, and many plants at that time do arise out of ground and budde. But the truth is not so: for the *Delphians* never use *B*, in stead of *Ph*, like as the *Macedonians* do, who for *Philippus*, *Phalaros*, and *Phenice*, say, *Bilippus*, *Balaros*, and *Beronic*: indeed they put *B*, for *P*, and it is ordinary with them, to say *Batein*, for *Patein*, *Bieron*, for *Pieron*: and so *Bylius*, is all one with *Phylius*, that is to say, the month in which they consult with their god *Apollo*, and demand of him answers and resolutions of their doubts: for this is the custome of the country, because in this month they propounded their demands unto the Oracle of *Apollo*, and they supposed the seventh day of the same to be his birth-day, which they furnished also, *Polyphonus*, nor as many do imagine, because they then do bake many cakes, which are called *Phibon*, but for that it is a day wherein divers do resort unto the Oracle for to be resolved, and many answers are delivered: for it is but of late daies that folke were permitted to consult with the Oracle when they list in everie month; but before time the religious priestesse of *Apollo*, named *Pythia*, opened not the Oracle, nor gave answer but at one time in the yeere, according as *Callystenes* and *Alexandrides* have recorded in writing.

What signifieth *Phyxi-melon*?

Little plants there be, which when they burgeon and shoot out first, the beasts love passing well at their first buds and sprouts which they put forth; but in browsing and cropping them, great injury they do unto the plants and hinder their growth: when as therefore they are grown up to that height that beasts grazing thereabout, can do them no more harme, they be called *Phyxi-mela*, that is as much to say, as having escaped the danget of cattell, as witnesseth *Aeschylus*.

Who be they that are named *Aposphenoneti*?

In times past the *Eretrians* held the Island *Coryra*, untill *Charicrates* arrived there with a fleet from *Corinth* and vanquished them: whereupon the *Eretrians*ooke sea againe, and returned toward their naturall country: whereof their fellow-citizens being advertised, such I say as thirsted not but remained quiet, repelled them, and kept them off from landing upon their ground by charging them with shot from slings. Now when they saw they could not win them by any faire language, nor yet compel them by force of armes, being as they were inexorable, and besides many more than they in number, they made faile to the coasts of *Thracia*, where they possessed themselves of a place: wherein they report, *Methon*, one of the predecessors and progenitors of *Orpheus* sometime dwelt: and there having built a citie, they named it *Methone*; but themselves

themselves were surnamed *Aposphenoneti*, which is as much to say, as repelled and driven backe by slings.

What is that which the *Delphians* call, *Charila*?

The citizens of *Delphos* do celebrate continually three *Enneaterides*, that is to say, feasts celebrated every ninth yeere, one after another successively. Of which, the first they name, *Septemion*; the second, *Herios*; and the third, *Charila*. As touching the first, it seemeth to be a memorial representing the fight or combat that *Phaeton* had against *Python*; and his flight after the conflict, and pursuit after him into the valley of *Tempe*. For as some do report he fled by occasion of a certaine manslaughter and murder that he had committed, for which he sought to be purged: others say that when *Python* was wounded, and fled by the way which we call, *Holy*, *Phaeton* made hot pursuit after him, inasmuch as he went within a little of overtaking him, and finding him at the point of death: (for at his first coming he found that he was newly dead of the wounds which he had received in the foresaid fight) also, that he was entered and buried by his sonne, (who as they say) was named *Aix*: this novennarie feast therefore, called *Septemion*, is a representation of this historie, or else of some other like unto it. The second named *Herios*, containeth (I wot not what) hidden ceremonies and fabulous secrets, which the professed priests (in the divine service of *Bacchus* called *Thyades*) know well enough: but by such things as are openly done and practised, a man may conjecture, that it should be a certaine exaltation or assumption of *Semele* up into heaven. Moreover, as concerning *Charila*, there goeth such a tale as this. It fortuned upon a time, that after much drought, there followed great famine in the citie of *Delphos*, inasmuch as all the inhabitants came with their wives and children to the court gates, crying out unto their king, for the extreme hunger that they endured. The king thereupon caused to be distributed among the better sort of them, a dole of meale, and certaine pulle, for that he had not sufficient to give indifferently to them all: and when there came a little young wench, a sely orphan, fatherlesse and motherlesse, who instantly besought him to give her also some reliefe; the king sinned her with his shoe, and flung it at her face. The gyle (poore thought she was, forlorne and destitute of all worldly succour) howbeit carrying no bafe mind with hers, from her waist and hanged her selfe therewith. Well, the famine daily increased more and more, and diseases grew thereupon: by occasion whereof, the king went in person to the Oracle of *Apollo*, supposing to finde there some meede and remedie: unto whom *Pythia* the propheticke made this answer: That the ghost of *Charila* should be appeased and pacified, who had died a voluntarie death. So after long search and diligent enquire, hardly found in the end it was, that the young maiden whom he had so beaten with his shoe, was named *Charila*: whereupon they offered a certaine sacrifice mixed with expiatorie oblations, which they celebrate and performe from nine yeers to nine, even to this day. For at this solemnity, the king sitting in his chaire, dealeth certaine meale and pulle among all commers, as well strangers as citizens: and the image of this *Charila* is thither brought, resembling a young gyle: now after that everie one hath received part of the dole, the king beateh the said image about the eares with his shoe: and the chiefe governesse of the religious women called, *Thyades*, taketh up the image, and carrieth it into a certaine place full of deepe caves, where after they have hung an halter about the necke of it, they enterre it under the ground in that verie place where they buried the corps of *Charila*, when she had strangled her selfe.

What is the meaning of that which they call among the *Aeneians*, Begged-flesh.

The *Aeneians* in times past had many transigrations from place to place: for first they inhabited the country about the Plaine called *Dotion*: out of which they were driven by the *Lapithae*, and went to the *Aethicae*; and from thence into a quarter of the province *Molossia*, called *Arava*, which they held, and thereof called they were *Paravae*. After all this they seized the citie *Cirra*: wherein after that they had stoned to death their king *Onoclus*, by warrant and commandment from *Apollo*; they went downe into that tract that lieth along by the river *Inachus*, a country inhabited then by the *Inachiens* and *Achaens*. Now they had the answer of an oracle on both sides, to wit, the *Inachiens* and *Achaens*, that if they yielded and gave away

part of their country, they should lose all: and the Aeneians, that if they could get once any thing at their hands with their good wills, they should for ever possesse and hold all. Things standing in these termes, there was a notable personage among the Aeneians, named *Temon*, who putting on ragged clothes, and taking a waller about his necke, disguised himselfe like unto a begger, and in this habite went to the Inachiens to crave their almes. The king of the Inachiens scorned and laughed at him, and by way of disdain and mockerie, tooke up a clod of earth and gave it him; the other tooke it right willingly and put it up into his budget: but he made no semblance, neither was he seene to embrace this gift, and to joy therein; but went his way immediately without begging any thing else, as being verie well content with that which he had gotten already. The elders of the people woodndring hereat, called to mind the said oracle, and presenting themselves before the king, advertised him not to neglect this occurrent, nor to let this man thus to escape out of his hands. But *Temon* having an inkling of their desseigne, made haste and fled apace, inasmuch as he saved himselfe, by the meanes of a great sacrifice, even of an hundred oxen which he vowed unto *Apollo*. This done, both kings, to wit, of the Inachiens and the Aeneians sent defiance one to the other, and chalenged combat to fight hand to hand. The king of the Aeneians *Phemius*, seeing *Hyperochus* king of the Inachiens comming upon him with his dog, cried out and said: That he dealt not like a just and righteous man, thus to bring an assitant and helper with him: whereat as *Hyperochus* turned his head about, and looked backe for to chafe away his dog, *Phemius* raught him such a rap with a stone upon the side of his head, that he felled him to the ground and killed him outright therewith in the verie place. Thus the Aeneians having conquered the country, and expelled the Inachiens and the Achaeans, adored ever after that stone as a sacred thing, and sacrificed unto it, and within the fat of the beast sacrificed, enwrap it verie charily. Afterwards, whensoever they have according to their vow offered a magnificent sacrifice of an hundred oxen to *Apollo*, and killed likewise an ox unto *Jupiter*; the said best and most daintie piece of the said sacrifice, unto those that are lineally descended from *Temon*, which at this day is called among them, *The Begged flesh*, or the *Beggars flesh*.

41
Who be those whom the inhabitants of Ithaca, named Coliades? and who is Phagilus among them?

39
After that *Ulysses* had killed those who wooed his wife in his absence, the kinsfolke and friends of them being now dead, rose up against him to be revenged: but in the end they agreed on both sides to send for *Neoptolemus*, to make an accord and attonement betweene them: who having undertaken this arbitrement, awarded that *Ulysses* should depart out of those parts, and quit the Isles of *Cephalonia*, *Ithaca* and *Zacynthus*, in regard of the bloodshed that he had committed. Item, that the kinsfolke and friends of the said woers, should pay a certaine fine everie yeere unto *Ulysses* in recompence, for the riot, damage, and havoc they had made in his house. As for *Ulysses*, he withdrew himselfe and departed into *Italie*: but for the mulct or fine imposed upon them, which he had consecrated unto the gods, he tooke order that those of *Ithaca* should tender the payment thereof unto his sonne: and the same was a quantitie of meale and of wine, a certaine number of * wax-lightes or tapers, oyle, salt, and for sacrifices the bigger sort and better grown of *Phagili*: now *Phagilus*, *Aristotle* interpreteth to be a lambe.

* waxe, haply
hony-combs.

Moreover, as touching *Eumeneus*, *Telemachus* enfranchised him and all his posteritie; yea, and ended them with the right of free burgeoise. And so the progenie of *Eumeneus* are at this day the house and family, called *Coliades*, like as *Bucoly* be those who are descended from *Philetius*.

15
What is the wooden* dog among the Locrians?

* wooden dog
is a pillar, as
the Latins in-
terpreeteth it.

50
The sonne of *Physicus*, who had to his father *Amphyction*. This *Loerius* had by *Carya* a sonne named likewise *Loerius*: with him his father was at some variance; who having gathered a number of citizens to him, consulted with the oracle about a place where he should build a new citie, and people it in the nature of a colonie. The oracle returned unto him this answer: That in what place a dog of wood did bite him, there he should found a citie. And so when he had passed over to the other side of the sea, and was landed, he chanced to tread as hee walked along upon a brier, which in Greeke is called *Kuvorobatus*, and was so pricked therewith, that

that he was constrained there to sojourn certaine daies: during which time, after he had well viewed and considered the country, he founded these townes, to wit, *Physces* and *Hyantia*, and all those besides, which were afterwards inhabited by the Locrians, surnamed *Ozole*, that is to say, Stinking: which surname some say was given unto these Locrians, in regard of *Nessus*, others in respect of the great dragon *Python*, which being callt up a land by the sea, punished upon the coast of the Locrians: others report, that by occasion of certaine sheepes fells and goats skins, which the men of that country used to wear; and because that for the most part they converted among the flocks of such cattell, and smelled ranke, and carried a strong stinking favour about them, thereupon they were cleped *Ozole*. And some there be who hold the cleane contrarie, and say that the country being full of sweet flowers, had that name of the good smell; among whom is *Architas* of *Amphissa*, for thus he writeth:

Attract with crowne of grapes full lively light:
Scenting of flowers like spice *Macynia* bright.

16
What is it which the Megarians call Aphabroma?

20
Nisus, of whom the city *Nisaea* tooke the name being king of *Megara*, espoused a wife out of *Boeotia* named *Abrota*, the daughter of *Oncheus*, and sister to *Megareus*, a dame of singular wisdom, and for chastity and vertue incomparable: when he was dead the Megarians for their part willingly and of their owne accord mourned: and *Nisus* her husband desirous to eternize her name and remembrance by some memoriall, caused her bones to be set together, and the same to be clad with the very fame apparell that she was wont to wear in her life time: and of her name he called that habit and vesture *Aphabroma*. And verily it seemeth that even god *Apollo* himselfe did favourize the glorie of this lade: for when the wives of *Megara* were minded many times to change these robes and habillements, they were alwaies forbidden and debarred by this oracle.

17
Who is Doryxenus, among the Megarians?

30
The province *Megara* was in olde time inhabited by certeine townes and villages; and the citizens or inhabitants being divided unto five parts, were called *Heraeus*, *Pyracens*, *Megarians*, *Cynofutians*, and *Tripodissaeans*: now the Corinthians their next neighbours, and who spied out all occasions, and sought meanes to reduce the province *Megaria* under their obedience, practised to fet them together by the cares, and wrought it so, that they warred one upon another: but they caried such a moderate hand, and were so respective in their warres, that they remembered evermore they were kinsfolke and of a blood: and therefore warred after a milde and gentle manner; for no man offered any injury or violence to the husbandmen that tilled the ground on either side: and looke whosoever chanced to be taken prisoners, were to paie for their ransom a certaine piece of money, set downe betweene them: which summe of money was received ever after they were delivered, and not before, because no man would demand it: for looke who had taken a captive in the warre, he would bring him home with him into his house, and make him good cheere at his owne table, consult together, and then send him home in peace: and the party thus set free, when he came duely and brought his ransom afore said with him, was commended and thanked for it, yea, and continued ever after unto his dying day, friend unto him who received the money: and thus in stead of *Doryalotos*, which significth a prisoner taken in warre, he was called *Doryxenus*, that is to say, a friend made by warre; for he who kept backe the saide money, and defrauded the right after thereof; became all his life time infamous, not onely among enemies, but also among his owne fellow-citizens, as being reputed a wicked, perfidious, and false wretch.

18
What is Palintocia among the Megarians?

The Megarians when they had expelled their tyrant *Theagenes*, for a pretie while after, did good and moderate government in their common-wealth: but when as their flattering oratours and clawbacks of the people began unto them once (as *Plato* very well saith) in a cup of

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the meere and undelaid wine of libertie, that is to say, commended unto them excessive licentiousness, they came to be exceeding faucie and malepart, and were utterly corrupt and mared, inso much as they committed all insolent outrages that could be devised against the substantiall and wealthy burgeses: and among other bold parts, the poore and needy would presume to goe into their houses, and commaund them for to entertaine them with great cheere, & to feast them sumptuously: if they refused so to do, they would make no more adoe, but take away perforce whatsoever they could lay hands on in the house, & in one word, abuse them all most villanously. In conclusion, they made a statute and ordinance, by vertue whereof it might be lawfull for them to demand backe againe at the hands of those usurers, who had let them have money before time, all the interest and consideration for use which they had paid before, and this they called *Palimacia*.

19

What city or country is that Anthedon, whereof the prophesse Pythia spake in these verses.

*Drinke out thy wine, the lees the dregges and all,
Anthedon thou thy country canst not call.*

For that *Anthedon* which is in *Ætolia*, is not so plentifull of good wines; *Calauria* indeed as fables make report, was sometime called *Irene*, by the name of a lady so cleped, the daughter of *Xepione* and *Melambia*, who was the daughter of *Alpheus*; but afterwards being held and inhabited by *Anthos* and *Hyperes*, surname it was, *Anthedonia* and *Hyperia*: for the answer of the oracle, as *Aristotle* testifieth, went in this manner:

*Drinke out thy wine, with lees, with dregges and all,
Anthedon thou thy country canst not call;
X or Hypera that sacred isle, for there*

Thou might'st it drinke without dregges pure and cleere.

Thus I say writeth *Aristotle*: but *Strabon* saith, that *Anthos* being brother of *Hyperes*, was lost when he was but a very child; and when his brother *Hyperes* for to search him out, travelled and wandered to and fro all about, he came at length to *Pheres*, unto *Acastus* or *Adrastus*, where by good fortune *Anthos* served in place of cup-bearer, and had the charge of the wine cellar: now as they sat feasting at the table, the boy *Anthos* when he offered a cup of wine unto his brother, tooke knowledge of him, and said softly in his eare:

*Drinke now your wine, with lees, with dregges and all,
Anthedon you can not your country call.*

20

What is the meaning of this by-word in Priene: Darknesse about the oake?

The *Samians* and *Prienians* warred one against the other, doing and suffering hance reciprocally, but so, as the damages and losses were tollerable, untill such time as in one great battell fought betwene them, those of *Priene* put to the sword in one day, a thousand *Samians*: but seven yeeres after in another conflict which the *Prienians* had against the *Milesians* neere unto a place called *Oake*, that is to say, *Oake*, they lost the most valiant & principall citizens they had; which hapned at the very time when sage *Byas* being sent embassador unto *Samus*, was great honour and reputation: this was a wofull day and a pittifull, and heave calamitie to all the dames of *Priene* in general; for there was not one of them but this common losse in some measure touched; inso much as this by-word was taken up amongst them afterwards, in forme of a cursed malediction or solemne oth, in their greatestt affaires to binde them withall, By that Darknesse at the oake; for that either their fathers, brethren, husbands, or children, were then and there slaine.

21

What were they among the Candiot, who were called Catacautæ?

It is reported that certaine *Tyrthenians* having ravished & caried away by force, a number of the *Athenians* daughters & wives out of *Brannon*, at what time as they inhabited the Islands *Imbros* and *Lemnos*, were afterwards chased out of those quarters and landed upon the coast of *Laconia*, which they inhabited; where they entred into such acquaintance with the women of the country, that they begat children of them; whereupon in the end they grew to be suspected and

50

ill spoken of by the naturall inhabitants, so that they were forced to abandon *Laconia*, and to returne againe into *Candy* under the conduct of *Pollis* and his brother *Crataidas*: where, warring upon them that held the country, they left many of their bodies who died in fundrie skimmishes lying upon the land neglected and unburied: at the first because they had no time and leasure to interre them, by reason of the fore warre which they maintained continually, & the danger that would have ensued, in case they had gon to take up their bodies: but afterwards because they abhorred to touch those dead carcases that lay stinking and putrifying with the heat of the sun, for that they had continued so long above ground: *Pollis* therefore one of their leaders devised certain honors, priviledges, exemptions, & immunities, to bestow partly upon the priests of the gods, and in part upon those who buried the dead; and consecrated solemnly these prerogatives unto some terrestriall deities, to the end they might be more durable and remaine inviolate: afterwards he parted with his brother by lot. Now the one sort were named *Sacrificers*, and the other *Catacautæ*; who governed a part, with their owne lawes and particular discipline: by vertue whereof among other good orders and civill customes, they were not subject to certaine crimes and enormities, whereunto other *Candiot*s are commonly given; namely to rob, pill and spoile one another secretly: for these did no wrong one to another; they neither did steale, nor pilfer, nor carrie away other mens goods.

22

What meaneth the Sepulcher of children among the Chalcidians?

Cotus and *Aelus* the sonnes of *Xuthus* arrived at *Euboea*, to seeke them a place of habitation; the which isle was for the most part possessed and occupied by the *Aeolians*. Now *Cotus* had a promise by oracle, that he should prosper in the world, and have the upper hand in his enemies, in case he bought or purchased that land: wherefore being come a shore with some few of his men, he found certaine yong children playing by the sea side; with whom he joynd, disported with them, made much of them, shewing unto them many prettie gauds and toies that had not bene before time seene in those parts: and when he perceived that the children were in love thereof, and desirous to have them; he said that he would not give them any of his fine things, unless by way of exchange he might receive of them some of their land: the children therefore taking up a little of the mould with both hands, gave the same unto him, and having received from him the foresaid gauds, went their waies. The *Aeolians* hearing of this, and withall discovering their enemies under faile directing their course thither, and ready to invade them, taking counsell of anger and sorrow together, killed those children: who were entombed along that great high way, by which men go from the citie to the streight or strith called *Empus*. Thus you see wherefore that place was called the Childrens sepulcher.

23

What is he whom in Argos they call Mixarchagenas? and who be they that are named Elafians?

As for *Mixarchagenas*, it was the surname of *Castor* among them; and the *Argives* beleeve verily that buried he was in their territorie. But *Pollux* his brother they revered and worshipped as one of the heavenly gods.

Moreover, those who are thought to have the gift to divert and put by, the fits of the Epilepsie or falling sickenes, they name *Elafie*, and they are supposed to be descended from *Alexandris*, the daughter of *Amphiaraus*.

24

What is that which the Argives call Encnismæ?

Those who have lost any of their neere kinsfolkes in blood, or a familiar friend, were wont presently after their mourning was past, to sacrifice unto *Apollo*, and thirtie daies after unto *Mercurie*: for this they thought, that like as the earth receiveth the bodies of the dead, so doth *Mercurie* the soules. To the minister of *Apollo* they give barley, and receive of him againe in lieu thereof, a piece of flesh of the beast killed for sacrifice. Now after that they have quenched the former fire as polluted and defiled, they goe to seeke for others elsewhere, which after they have kindled, they roste the said flesh with it, and then they call that flesh, *Encnismæ*.

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25

Who is Alastor, Aliterios and Palamæus?

* *Alastor.*
He faith o-
therwise in
the end of his
treatise con-
cerning Curi-
olitic.

For we must not beleve it is, as some beare us in hand, that they be *Aliterij*, who in time of famine, goe prying and spying those who * grind corne in their houses, and then carrie it away by violence: but we are to thinke that *Alastor* is he who hath committed acts that be *Alastor*, that is to say, not to be forgotten, and the remembrance whereof will continue a long time after. And *Aliterios* is he who for his wickednesse deserveth *Aliterios*, that is to say, to be humbled and avoided of all men; and such an one is otherwise called *Palamæus*: and thus much faith *Socrates*, was written in tables of brasse.

10

26

What should the meaning of this be, that the Virgins who accompanied them that drive the bee from Aenus toward the citie Cassiopæa, go all the way even unto the verie borders chanting this dittie:

*Would God, returne another day,
To native soile you never may?*

The Aeniens being driven out of their owne countrey by the *Lapithæ*, inhabited first about *Aethæa*; and afterwards in the province of *Molossis* neere unto *Cassiopæa*. But seeing by experience little good or none growing unto them out of that countrey, and withall finding the people adjoining to be ill neighbours unto them; they went into the plaine of *Cirrhæ*, under the leading of their king *Onoclus*: but being surpriséd there, with a wonderfull drought, they sent unto the oracle of *Apollo*, who commanded them to stone their king *Onoclus* to death, which they did: and after that put themselves in their voiage againe, to seeke out a land where they might settle and make their abode; and so long travelled they until at the last they came into those parts which they inhabit at this day, where the ground is good and fertill, and bringing forth all fruitfull commodities. Reason they had therefore you see to wish and pray unto the gods, that they might never returne againe unto their ancient countrey, but remaine there for ever in all prosperitie.

27

What is the reason that it is not permitted at Rhodes for the herault or publicke crier, to enter into the temple of Oecridion?

It is for that *Ochimus* in times past affianced his daughter *Cydippe* unto *Oecridion*, but *Cercaphus* the brother of *Ochimus* being enamoured of his niece *Cydippe*, perswaded the herault (for in those daies the manner was to demand their brides in marriage, by the meanes of heraults, and to receive them at their hands) that when he had *Cydippe* once delivered unto him, he should bring her unto him: which was effected accordingly. And this *Cercaphus* being possessed of the maiden fled away with her: but in proccesse of time when *Ochimus* was verie aged, *Cercaphus* returned home, upon which occasion the Rhodians enacted a law, that from thence forth, there should never any herault set foot within the temple of *Oecridion*, in regard of this injurie done unto him.

28

What is the cause that among the Tenedians it is not lawfull for a piper or plaier of the fluit to come within the temple of Tene: neither is it permitted to make any mention there of Achilles?

It is not because when the stepmother of *Tenes* had accused him, for that he would have laien with her, *Malpus* the minstrell vouched it to be true, and most falsely bare witness against him: whereupon he was forced to flie with his sister unto *Tenedos*?

Furthermore it is said, that *Thetis* the mother of *Achilles*, gave expresse commandement unto her sonne, and charged him in any wise not to kill *Tenes*; for that he was highly beloved of *Apollo*. Whereupon she commanded one of his servants to have a carefull eie unto him, and estoones to put him in mind of this charge that he had from her; lest haply he might forget himselfe, and at unwares take away his life: but as he overran *Tenedos*, he had a fight of *Tenes* sister, a faire and beautifull ladie and persued her: but *Tenes* put himselfe betwene, for to defend and save the honour of his sister; during which conflict she escaped and got away; but her brothers fortune was to be slaine: but *Achilles* perceiving that it was *Tenes*, when he lay dead upon

upon

upon the ground, killed his servant outright, for that being present in place during the fray, he did not admonish him according as he was commanded: but *Tenes* he buried in that verie place where now his temple standeth. Lo, what was the cause that neither a piper is allowed to go into his temple, nor *Achilles* may be once named there.

29

Who is that, whom the Epidamnians call Polistes?

The Epidamnians being next neighbours unto the Illyrians, perceived that their citizens who converted, commeced, and traded in traffike with them, became nought, and fearing besides some practise for the alteration of state: they chose everie yeere one of the best and proved men of their citie, who went to and fro for to make all contracts, bargains, and exchanges, that those of *Epidamnus* might have with the Barbarians, and likewise dealt reciprocally in these affaires and negociations, that the Illyrians had with them: now this factour that thus bought and sold in their name, was called *Polistes*.

30

What is that, which in Thracia they call Aræni Acta, that is to say, the Shore of Aræni?

The Andrians and Chalcidians having made a voiage into *Thrace*, for to chuse out a place to inhabit: surpriséd jointly together the citie *Sana*, which was betrayed and delivered into their hands. And being advertised that the Barbarians had abandoned the towne *Achintus*; they sent forth two spies to know the truth thereof: these spies approached the towne so neere, that they knew for certain, that the enemies had quit the place and were gone. The partie who was for the Chalcidians ran before to take the first possession of it in the name of the Chalcidians: but the other, who was for the Andrians, seeing that he could not with good footmanship overtake his fellow; flang his dart or javelin from him which he had in his hand: and when the head thereof stucke in the citie gate, he cried out aloud, that he had taken possession thereof in the behalfe of the Andrians, with his javelin head. Hereupon arose some variance and controversy betwene these two nations, but it brake not out to open waite: for they agreed friendly together, that the Erythreans, Samians, and Parians should be the indifferent judges to arbitrate and determine all their debates and sutes depending betwene them. But for that the Erythreans and Samians awarded on the Andrians side, and the Parians for the Chalcidians: the Andrians in that verie place tooke a solemne oth, and bound the same with imprecations, curses, and maledictions, that they would never either take the daughters of the Parians in marriage, or affianced their owne unto them: and for this cause they gave this name unto the place, and called it the Shore or banke of *Aræni*, where as before it was called, the Port of the *Dragon*.

31

Why do the wives of the Eretrians at the solemne feast of Ceres, rest their fleshment not at the fire, but against the Sunne, and never call upon her by the name of Calligenia?

It is for that the dames of *Troy* whom the king led away captive, were celebrating this feast in this place: but because the time served to make saile, they were enforced to halte away and leave their sacrifice unperfected and unfinished?

32

Who be they whom the Milessians call Ainautæ?

After that the tyrants *Thoas* and *Damasenor*, had bene defaied, there arose within the citie two factions that maintained their several fides: the one named *Plontis* & the other *Chieromachs*. In the end, that of *Plontis* (who were indeed the richest & mightiest persons in the citie) prevailed, and having gotten the upper hand, seised the soveraigne authority & government: and because when they minded to sit in consultation of their weightiest affaires, they went a ship-board, and launched into the deepe a good way off from the land; and after they had resolved and decreed what to doe, returned backe againe into the haven, therefore they were surnamed *Ainautæ*, which is as much to say, as away sailing.

What

33
What is the cause that the Chalcidians name one place about Pythosphion; The assembly of lusty gallants?

Nauplius (as the report goeth) being chased and pursued by the Achæans, fledde for refuge like an humble suppliant to the Chalcidians; where partly hee answered to such imputations which were laide against him, and in part by way of rectification, recharged them with other misdemeanors and outrages: whereupon the Chalcidians being not purposed to deliver him into their hands, and yet fearing left by treachery and privy practise hee should be made away and murdered, allowed him for the guard of his person, the very flower of 10 the lustiest young gallants in all their citie, whom they lodged in that quarter where they might alwaies converse and meet together, and so keepe Nauplius out of danger.

34
What was he who sacrificed an ox unto his benefactor?

There hovered sometime a shippe of certaine men of warre, or rovers, and ankered about the coast of *Thacestia*, within which there was an old man who had the charge of a number of earthen pots, containing Amphors a peece, with pitch in them: now it fortuned that a poore mariner or barge-man named *Pyrhlias*, who got his living by ferrying and transporting 20 passengers, approached the said shippe, and delivered the old man out of the rovers hands, and saved his life, not for any gainethat hee looked for, but only at his earnest request, and for very pure pitie and compassion: now in recompence hereof, albeit hee expected none, the old man pressed instantly upon him to receive some of those pots or pitchers aforesaid: the rovers were not so soone retired and departed out of the way, but the old man seeing him at libertie, and secure of dangar, brought *Pyrhlias* to these earthen vessels, and shewed unto him a great quantitie of gold and silver mingled with the pitch: *Pyrhlias* heereby growing of a sudden to be rich and full of money, entreated the old man very kindly in all respects, otherwise and besides sacrificed unto him a beeefe: and hereupon as they say arose this common proverb: No man ever sacrificed an ox unto his benefactor but *Pyrhlias*. 30

35
What is the cause that it was a custome among the maidens of the Bottians in their dancing to sing as it were the saburden of a song: Go weto Athens.

The Candiots by report upon a vow that they had made, sent the first borne of their men unto *Delphos*; but they that were thus sent, seeing they could not finde sufficient meanes there to live in plentie, departed from thence to seeke out some convenient place for a colonie to inhabit: and first they setled themselves in *Tapigia*, but afterwards arrived to this verie place of *Thracia*, where now they are, having certaine Athenians mingled among them: for it is not like that *Atinas* had caused those young men to be put to death whom the Athenians had sent unto him by way of tribute, but kept them for to doe him service: some therefore of their issue, & descended from them, being reputed naturall Candiots, were with them sent unto the citie of *Delphos*; which is the reason that the young daughters of the Bottians in remembrance of this their originall descent, went singing in their festivall daunces: Go weto Athens.

36
What should be the reason that the Eliens wives, when they chaunt hymnes to the honour of Bacchus, pray him to come unto them, *Beleu mo*, that is to say, with his bull foote; for the hymne runneth in this forme: Pleaseb it thee right woorthy lord Bacchus to come unto this holy maritime temple of thine, accompaned with the Graces, *running I say to this temple with an ox or beeefe foot: then for the saburden of the song, they readoble; O woorthy bull, O woorthy bull?

Is it for that some name this god, The sonne or begotten of a cow; and others tearme him, Bul 3 or is the meaning of *Beleu mo*, with thy great foot, like as *Homer* when he calleth *Juno* or any other *Colinas*, signifieth her to have a bigge and large eie, and by the epithit *Bardias*, meaneth one that braggeth and boasteth of great matters?

O

Or rather because that the foot of a beeefe doth no harme, howsoever horned bealts other- wise be hurtfull and dangerous; therefore they invoke thus upon him, and beseech him to come loving and gracious unto them.

Or lastly, for that many are perswaded, that this is the god who taught men first to plough the ground and to sowe corn.

37
Why have the Tanagrians a place before their citie called Achilleum? for it is said that Achilles in his life time bare more hatred than love unto thionics; as who varosied and stole away Stratonicon the mother of Poemander, and killed Atefor the sonne of Ehippiss.

Poemander the father of Ehippiss, at what time as the province of *Tanagra*, was peopled and inhabited by tentures and villages onely, being by the Achæans besiedged in a place called *Stephon*, for that he would not go forth with them to warre, abandoneth the said fort in the night time, and went to build the citie *Pæmandria*, which he walled about. The architect or master builder *Polyeritulus* was there, who dispaired all his worke, and derided it, in so much as in a mockerie he leapt over the trench; whereat *Pæmander* tooke such displeasure, and was so highly offended, that he meant to fling at his head a great stone, which lay there hidden of olde upon the nightly sacrifices of *Bacchus*. But *Pæmander* not knowing so much, pulled it up by force, and threw it at him; and missing *Polyeritulus*, hit his son *Leucippus*, and killed him outright. Here- upon according to the law and custom then observed, there was no remedie but needs he must depart out of *Beotia*, in manner of an exiled man; and so as a poore suppliant and stranger to converse, wandering abroad in another cuntry, which was neither safe nor easie for him to doe at that time, considering that the Achæans were up in armes and entred into the cuntry of *Tanagra*. He sent therefore his sonne *Ehippiss* unto *Achilles*, for to request his favour; who by earnest supplications and prayers prevailed so much, that he entreated both him, and also *Tlepolemus* the sonne of *Hercules*; yea and *Peneleus* the sonne of *Hippalemus*, who were all of their kindred: by whose meanes *Pæmander* had safe conduct, and was accompanied as farr as the citie of *Chalcis*, where he was affoiled, absolved and purged by *Elpenor*, for the murder which he had committed. In remembrance of which good turne by those princes received, he ever 30 after honoured them, and to them all erected temples; of which that of *Achilles* continueth unto this day, and according to his name is called *Achilleum*.

38
Who be they, whom the Beotians call Plooes, and who be Acioles.

THE report goeth that *Leucippe*, *Asinoe* and *Alcathie*, the daughters of *Atmyas*, being enraged and beltraight of their right wits, longed exceedingly to eat mans flesh, and call lars among themselves, which of them should kill their owne children for that purpose. So the lot falling upon *Leucippe*, she yielded her sonne *Hippasus* to be dismembred and cut in peeces; by 40 occasion whereof, their husbands simply arraid, and in mourning weeds for sorrow and griefe were called *Plooes*, as one would say, soule and smoke; and the women *Acioles*, that is to say, distracted and troubled in their minds, or *Oenoloe*: so as even at this day the Orchomenians call those women who are descended from them by those names: and everie second yeere during the festivall daies called *Agromia*, the priest of *Bacchus* runneth after them with a sword drawn in his hand, courfing and chafing them: yea and lawfull it is for him to kill any one of them that he can reach and overtake. And verily in our daies *Zoilus* the priest killed one; but such never come to any good after: for both this *Zoilus* himselfe upon a certaine little ulcer or sore that he had, fell sicke; and after he had a long time pined away and consumed therewith, in the end died thereof: and also the Orchomenians being fallen into publicke calamities, and held in generall 50 for condemned persons, translated the priesthood from that race and linage, and conferred it upon the best and most approved person they could chuse.

39
What is the cause that the Arcadians stone them to death, who willingly and of purpose enter within the pourprise and precincts of Lycæum: but if any come in out of ignorance and unawares, then they send to Eleuthera?

As for these, may it not be that they are held free and absolved who do it upon ignorance: and by reason of this their absolution, this manner of speech arose, to send them to *Eleuthera*,

there, which signifieth Deliverance: much like as when we say thus, *εἰς ἀσπίδα γένεσθαι*, that is to say, into the region of the secure; or thus, *ἀπὸς ἐκείνου γένεσθαι*, that is to say, thou shalt go to the Mannour of the Pleasant. Or haply it alludeth to the tale that goeth in this wise; that of *Lycians*, sonnes there were but two onely, to wit, *Eulerus* and *Lebadius*, who were not partakers of the horrible crime, that their father committed in the sight of *Jupiter*, but fled into *Bæotia*; into ken wherof, the Lebadians enjoy still their burgeoisie in commune with the Arcadians; and therefore to *Eulerus* they send those, who against their willes or unawares are entred within that pourtraie consecrat unto *Jupiter*, into which it is not lawfull for any man to go.

Or rather, as *Archimæus* writeth in his *Chronicles of Arcadia*, for that there were some who being ignorantly entred into the said place, were delivered and yielded unto the Philisians, who put them over to the Megarians, and from the Megarians they were carried to *Thebes*; but as they were transported and conveyed thither, they were staid about *Eulerus*, by means of violent raine, terrible thunder, and other prodigious tokens; by occasion wherof, some would have the cite to take the name *Eulerus*.

Moreover, whereas it is said that the shadow of him who commeth within this precinct of *Teleamni*, never falleth upon the ground: it is not true, howbeit it goeth generally current, and is constantly beleevd for an undoubted truth. But is it not thinke you, for that the aire turneth presently into darke cloudes, and looketh obscure and heave (as it were) when any enter into it; or because, that whosoever commeth into it incontinently, suffereth death. And you know what the Pythagoreans say, namely, that the foules of the dead, cast no shadow nor winke at all.

Or rather, for that it is the sun that maketh shadowes, and the law of the country bereaveth him that entred into it, of the sight of the sunne; which covertly and ænigmatically they would give us to understand under these words: For even he who commeth into this place is called *Elaphos*, that is to say a Stag; and therefore *Cantharion* the Arcadian, who fled unto the Elians of his owne accord to fide with them, at what time as they warred upon the Arcadians; and as he passed with his bootie that he had gotten, went through this sacred place: when after the warre was ended, he returned to *Lacedæmon*; was by the Lacedæmonians delivered up to the Arcadians, by direction and commandement of the oracle, which enjoined them to render the Stag.

What is that Demi-god in Tanagra, known by the name of *Eunoïstus*? And what is the reason that women may not enter within the grave dedicated unto him?

THIS *Eunoïstus* was the sonne of *Elieus*, the sonne of *Cepheïus* and *Scias*; so named of *Eunoïa* a certaine nymphe that nouthed and brought him up: who being faire and just withall, was also chaste, continent and of an austere life. Howbeit the report goeth, that one of the daughters of *Colloïus* named *Ochma*, being his cousin germane became enamoured upon him: but when he had tempted him and assaied to win his love; *Eunoïstus* repulsed and rejected her with reprochfull teares, and went his way intending to accuse her unto her brethren: which the maiden suspecting and fearing, prevented him and slandered him first before her brethren *Ochmus*, *Leon*, and *Bucolus*, whom the incensed against *Eunoïstus*, that they would kill him, as one who by force had deflowered their sister. These brethren then having lien in ambush for the young man, murdered him treacherously: for which fact *Elieus* cast them in prison; and *Ochma* her selfe repenting of that which she had done, was much troubled and tormented in mind therefore, being desirous besides to deliver her selfe from the griefe and agonie which she endured by reason of her love, and withall pitying her brethren imprisoned for her sake, discovered the whole truth unto *Elieus*; and *Elieus* againe unto *Colloïus*: by whose accord and judgement, these brethren of *Ochma* fled their country and were banished: but she cast her selfe voluntarily downe headlong from an high rocke, according as *Myrtis* the poetresse hath left in verse. And this is the cause, that both the temple of *Eunoïstus*, and also the grave about it remained ever after, inaccessible, and not to be approached by women: in so much as many times when there happen any great earthquakes, extraordinary droughts, and other fearefull and prodigious tokens from heaven, the Tanagrians make diligent search and inquisition, whether there have not bene some one woman or other, who secretly hath presumed to come neere unto the said place. And some have reported (among whom was one *Clidamæus* a noble and honourable personage) that they met with *Eunoïstus* upon the way, going to wash and cleane himselfe in the sea, for that there was one woman who had bene so bold as to enter into his sanctuary.

And

And verely *Dionely* himselfe in a treatise that he made of Demi-gods, or such worthy men as had bene deified, maketh mention of a certaine edict, or decree of the Tanagrians, touching those things which *Clidamæus* had related unto them.

How cometh it that in the countrey of Bæotia, the river that runneth by Eleon, is called Scamander?

Deimachus the sonne of *Eleon*, being a familiar companion with *Hercules*, was with him at the Trojan warre: during the time wherof, continuing as it did verie long, he entertained the love of *Glauca* the daughter of *Scamander*, who was first enamoured of him, and so well they agreed together, that in the end she was with child by him. Afterwards it fortuned, so that in a skirmish with the Trojans he lost his life: and *Glauca* learning that her belly would tell tales and bewray what she had done, fled for succour unto *Hercules*, and of her owne accord declared unto him, how she had bene surprisled with love, and what familiar acquaintance there had passed betwene her and *Deimachus* late deceased. *Hercules* as well in pitié of the poore woman, as for his owne joy and contentment of mind, that there was like to remaine some issue of so valiant a man, and his familiar friend beside, had *Glauca* with him to his ships: and when she was delivered of a faire sonne, carried her into the countrey of Bæotia, where he delivered her and her sonne into the hands of *Eleon*. The child then was named *Scamander*, and became afterwards king of that countrey; who furnished the river *inachus* after his owne name *Scamander*, and a little riveret running thereby, *Glauca*, by the name of his mother: as for the fontaine *Aidusa* it was so cleped according to his wives name; by whom he had three daughters, who are even unto this day honoured in that countrey, and called by the name of the virgins.

Whereupon arose this proverbiall speech, *δύναμις, ἡ δὲ δύναμις, ἡ δὲ δύναμις*, that is to say, these things shall stand or prevale?

Dmo the captaine generall of the Tarentines, being a right valiant and hardie warrior, when as the citizens by their voices and suffrages denied a sentence which he had delivered as the hault or crior proclaimed and published with a loud voice that opinion which prevailed, lifting up his owne right hand himselfe: Yea but this (quoth he) shall carie it away when all is done. Thus *Theophrastus* reporteth this narration: but *Apollidorus* relateth moreover in his *Rhymus* that when the hault had proclaimed thus *δύναμις, ἡ δὲ δύναμις*, that is to say, these be more in number, meaning the voices of the people: Yea but (quoth he) *δύναμις, ἡ δὲ δύναμις*, that is to say, these be better; and in so doing, confirmed the resolution of those who were in number the fewer.

Upon what occasion was the cite of the Ithaceans, named Alalcomenæ?

MOST writers have recorded, that *Anticlia* being yet a virgin, was forced by *Sisyphus*, and conceived *Ulysses*. But *Hister* of *Alexandria* hath written moreover in his Commentaries, that the being given in marriage unto *Laertes*, and brought into the cite *Alalcomenium* in Bæotia, was delivered there of *Ulysses*; and therefore he (to renew the memorie of that cite where he was borne and which was the head cite standing in the heart of that countrey) called that in *Ithusa* by the name thereof.

Who be they in the cite Aegina, which are called Monophagi?

OF those Aeginets, who served in the Trojane warre many died in fight, howbeit more were drowned by means of a tempest in their voyage at sea. But those few who returned were welcomed home, and joyfully received by their kinsfolke and friends: who perceiving all their other fellow-citizens to mourne and be in heaviness, thought this with themselves, they ought not to rejoice nor offer sacrifice unto the gods openly, but in secret: and so, everie man a part in his privat house, entertained those who were escaped and came home safe with feasts and banquets: and served at the table in their owne persons, unto their fathers, their brethren,

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cousens

couleus and friends, without admitting any stranger whatsoever: in imitation whereof they do yet every yeere sacrifice unto *Xephte* in secret assemblies, which sacrifices they call *Thysis* during which solemnities they doe feast one another privately for the space of fixteene daies together with silence, and there is not a servant or slave there present to wait at the board: but afterwards for to make an end of their feasting, they celebrate one solemne sacrifice unto *Venus*. And thus you may see why they be called *Atrophagi*, that is to say, Eating alone, or by themselves.

⁴⁵
What is the cause that in the country of Caria, the image of Jupiter Labradeus is made, holding aloft in his hand an axe, and neither a scepter nor a thunderbolt, or lightning? 19

For that *Hercules* having slaine *Hippolite* the Amazon, and among other armes of hers won her battell axe, and gave it as a present unto *Omphale*: this axe, all the kings that reigned in *Lydia* after *Omphale*, carried as an holy and sacred monument; which they received successively from hand to hand of their next progenitors, until such time as *Candaules* disdaining to beare it himselfe, gave it unto one of his friends to carie. Afterwards, it chanced that *Gyges* put himselfe in armes against *Candaules*, and with the helpe of *Arcelis*, who brought a power of men to aide him out of *Mytil*, both defeated him, and also killed that friend of his from whom he took away the said axe, and put the same into the image of *Jupiters* hand, which he had made. In which respect he furnished *Jupiter, Labradeus*, for that the *Lydians* in their language call an axe *Labra*.

⁴⁶
Wherefore do the Trallians call the pulse Ervil Catharter, that is to say, the purger: and use it more than any other in their expiatorie sacrifices of Purification?

If it for that the *Minyans* and *Lelegians*, having in old time disfeized the said *Trallians* of their cities and territories, inhabited and occupied the same themselves? but the *Trallians* made head afterwards, and prevailed against them, inso much as those *Lelegians* who were neither slaine in battell, nor escaped by flight, but either for feebleness, or want of meanes otherwise to live, remained still, they made no reckoning of, whether they died or lived; enacting so a law, that what *Trallian* soever killed either a *Lelegian* or *Minyan*, he should be absolved and held quit, in case he paid unto the next kinsfolke of the dead partie; a measure called *Medimni*, of the said *Ervill*.

⁴⁷
What is the reason that it goeth for ordinarie by word among the *Eliaus* to say thus: To suffer more miseries and calamities than *Sambicus*?

There was one *Sambicus* of the cite *Elis*, who by report having under him many mates and complices at command, brake and defaced sundrie images and statues of brasse within the cite *Olympia*, and when he had so done, sold the brasse and made money of it: in the end he proceeded so farre as to rob the temple of *Diana* furnished *Epigeos*, that is to say, a vigilant patronesse and superintendant. This temple standeth within the cite *Elis*, and is named *Arctarchium*. After this notorious sacriledge he was immediately apprehended, and put to torture a whole yeere together to make him for to bewray and reveale all his companions and confederats: so as in the end he died in these torments, and thereupon arose the said common proverbe.

⁴⁸
What is the reason that at Lacedaemon the monument of *Ulysses*, standeth close to the temple of the *Lencippidae*?

⁵⁰
Hercules one of the race descended from *Dionedes*, by the motion and instigation of *Temenus* induced, robbed out of *Argos* the renowned image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, and that with the privitie and assistance of *Leager* in this sacriledge: now this *Leager* was one of the familiars and inward companions of *Temenus*: who being fallen out afterwards with *Temenus*, in a fit of anger, departed to *Lacedaemon* with the said *Palladium*: which the kings there received at his hands right joyfully and placed it neere unto the temple of the *Lencippidae*: but afterwards they sent to the oracle at *Delphos*, to know by what meanes they might keepe and preserve

serve the said image in safety: the oracle made this answer, that they should commit the keeping of it unto one of them who had stolen it away: whereupon they built in that verie place a monument in memoriall of *Ulysses*, where they shined *Palladium*; and besides, they had the more reason so to do, because in some sort *Ulysses* was allied to their cite, by his wives side ladie *Penelope*.

⁴⁹
What is the reason that the *Chaldean* dames have a custome among them, that whensoever they meet with any men that be strangers unto them, but especially if they be rulers or magistrates, to cover and hide one of their cheeks.

¹⁰
The men of *Chalcedon* warred sometime against their neighbours the *Bithynians*, provoked thereto by all light injuries, and wrought that might minister matter and occasion therof: inso much as in the daies of king *Zeipatus* who reigned over the *Bithynians*, they assembled all their forces, and with a puissant power (beside of the *Thracians*, who joyned to aide them) they invaded their country with fire and sword, spoiling all before them: untill in the end king *Zeipatus* gave them battell neere unto a place named *Phalium*, where they lost the day, as well in regard of their presumptuous boldnesse, as of the disorder among them, inso much as there died of them in fight 8000. men. Howbeit utterly they were not defeated, for that *Zeipatus* in favour of the *Bizantines*, was contented to grow unto some agreement & composition. Now for that their cite was by this meanes verie much dispeopled and naked of men, many women there were among them, who were constrained to be remarried unto their enfranchised servants, others to aliens and strangers coming from other cities: but some againe, chusing rather to continue widows still and never to have husbands, than to yeeld to such marriages, followed their owne causes themselves what matter soever they had to be tried or dispatched in open court before the judges or publicke magistrates; onely they withdrew one part of their veile, and opened their face on one side: the other wives also who were married againe, for modestie and womanhood, following them as better women than themselves, used the same fashion also; and brought it to be an ordinarie custome.

³⁰
Wherefore do the *Argives* drive their eyes unto the sacred grove of *Agenor*, when they would have their animes to leape them?

It is not for that *Agenor* whiles he lived, was verie expert and skilfull about sheepe; and of all the kings that ever were among them, had the most and fairest flockes of them?

⁵¹
Why do the *Argives* children, at a certaine festivall time that they keepe, call one another in plaie and sport *Ballachrades*?

⁴⁰
It is because, the first of that nation, who were by *Inachus* brought out of the mountaines into the plaine and champian country, made their chiefe food (by report) of wilde hedge-peares? Now these chok-peares, some say, were found in *Peloponnesus*, before they were seen in any other part of *Greece*, even whiles that region was called *Apia*. And hereupon also it came that these wild peares commonly called *Achrades*, changed their name into *Apion*.

⁵²
What is the cause that the *Eliaus*, when their mares be hot after the horse, leade them, out of their owne confines to be covered by the stallions?

⁵⁰
It is for that *Oenomaus* was a prince, who of all others loved best a good race of horses, & took greatest pleasure in these kind of beasts; & cursed with all manner of execrations, those stallions which covered his mares in *Elis*? And therefore they fearing to fall into any of these maledictions, avoid them by this manner.

⁵³
What was the reason of this custome among the *Gnosians*, that those who took up any money at any interest, snatched it and ran away with all?

Was it to this end, that if they should denie the debt, and seeme to defraud the usurers, they might lay an action of felonie, and violent wrong upon them: and the other by this meanes might be more punished?

54

What is the cause that in the citie of Samos they invoke Venus of Dexicreon?

It is for that, that when in times past the women of *Samos* were exceedingly given to enormous wantonness & lechery, so that the brake out into many lewd acts: there was one *Dexicreon*, a mounte-banke or confounding juggler, who by (I wot not what) ceremonies and expiatorie sacrifices, cured them of their unbridled lust?

Or because this, *Dexicreon* being a merchant-venturer who did traffike and trade by sea, went into the Ile of *Cyprus*; & when he was ready to load or charge his ship with merchandize, *Venus* commanded him to freight it with nothing else but water, and then immediately to hoist up saile: according to which he did, and having put a great quantie of water within his vessell, he set saile and departed. Now by that time they were in the maine sea, they were verie much becalmed, so as for want of a gale of winde many daies together, the rest of the mariners and merchants a ship boord, thought verily they should all die for verie thirst: whereupon he held unto them his water which he had aboard, and thereby gat a great quantie of silver; of which afterwards he caused to be made an image of *Venus*, which he called after his owne name, *Dexicreon* his *Venus*. Now if this be true, it seemeth that the goddesse purposed thereby, not onely to enrich one man, but to save also the lives of many.

55

How commeth it to passe, that in the Ile of Samos, when they sacrifice unto Mercurie sumamed *Claridotes*, it is lawfull for whosoever will, to rob and riske all passengers?

Because in times past according to the commandement and direction of a certaine oracle, the ancient inhabitants departed out of *Samos* and went into *Mycale*, where they lived and maintained themselves for ten yeeres space by pyracie and depredation at sea; and afterwards being returned againe into *Samos*, obtained a brave victorie against their enemies.

56

Why is there one place within the Ile Samos called *Panama*?

It is for that the Amazones to avoid the furie of *Bacchus*, fled out of the Ephesians country into *Samos* and there saved themselves? But he having caused ships to be built and rigged, gathered together a great fleet, and gave them battell, where he had the killing of a great number of them about this verie place, which for the carnage and quantie of blood shed there, they who saw it, marvelled thereat, and called it *Panama*. But of them who were slaine in this conflict, there were by the report of some, many that died about *Phlaeon*, for their bones are thereto be seene. And there be that say, that *Phlaeon* also clave in sunder, and became broken by that occasion; their crye was so loud, and there voice so piercing and forcible.

57

How commeth it that there is a publicke hall at Samos, called *Pedetes*?

After that *Damoteles* was murdered, and his monarchie overthrowen, so that the nobles or Senators *Geomori*, had the whole government of the State in their hands; the Megarians tooke armes, and made warre upon the Perinthians (a colonie drawn and descended from *Samos*) caying with them into the field, fetters and other irons, to hang upon the feet of their captive prisoners: the said *Geomori* having intelligence thereof, sent them aide with all speed, having chosen ten captaines, manned also and furnished thirte ships of warre; whereof twaine readie to saile, caught fire by lightning, and so consumed in the verie mouth of the haven: howbeit the foresaid captaines followed on in their voyage with the rest, vanquished the Megarians in battell, and tooke fixe hundred prisoners: upon which victorie, being puffed up with pride, they intended to rinate the Oligarchie of those noble men at home, called *Geomori*; and to depole them from their government: and verily those rulers themselves ministred unto them occasion, for to set in hand with this their desaigne; namely by writing unto them, that they should leade those Megarians prisoners, fettered with the same givies which they themselves had brought: for no sooner had they received these letters, but they did impart and shew them secretly

secretly unto the said Megarians, perswading them to band & combine with them, for to restore their citie unto libertie. And when they devised and consulted together about the execution of this unplotted conspiracie: agreed it was betweene them to knocke the rings off, or lockers of the fetters open, and so to hang them about the Megarians legs, that with leather thongs they might be fastened also to their girdles about the waste, for feare that being slacke, as they were, they should fall off and be readie to drop from their leggs as they went. Having in this wise fet forth and dressed these men, and given everie one of them a sword, they made all the haste they could to *Samos*; where being arrived and set aland, they led the Megarians through the market place to the Senate house, where all the nobles called *Geomori* were assembled and sat in consultation: hereupon was the signall given, and the Megarians fell upon the Senators, and massacred them everie one. Thus having received the freedome of the citie, they gave unto as many of the Megarians as would accept thereof, the right of free burgeoisie: and after that built a faire towne hall, about which they hung and fastened the said bolts and fetters of irons, calling it upon this occasion *Pedetes*, that is to say, the Hall of Fetters.

58

What is the reason that in the Ile of Coos, within the citie *Antimachia*, the priest of Hercules being arraigned in the habit of a woman, with a miter on his head, beginneth to celebrate the sacrifice?

Hercules, when he was departed from *Troy* with fixe ships, was overtaken with a mightie tempest, and with one ship alone (for that all the other was lost) was cast by the windes upon the Ile of *Coos*, and landed at a place called *Laeter*: having saved nothing else but his armor and the men that were with him in the ship; where finding a flocke of sheepe, hee desired the shepherd who tended them, to give him a ram. The shepherds name was *Antagoras* who being a lustie, tall and strong man, would needs challenge *Hercules* to wrestle with him, upon this condition, that if *Hercules* could overthrow him and lay him along on the ground, the ram should be his. *Hercules* accepted the offer; and when they were close at hand, gripes, the Meropians, certaine inhabitants of the Ile came in to succour *Antagoras*, and the Greekes likewise to aide *Hercules*, in such fort, as there ensued a sharp and cruell fight: wherein *Hercules* finding himselfe to be overlaid and pressed with the multitude of his enemies, retired and fled (as they say) unto a Thracian woman, where for to hide and save his life, he disguised himselfe in womans apparell. But afterwards having gotten the upper hand of those Meropians, and being purged, he espoused the daughter of *Aleipus*, and put on a faire robe and goodly stoale. Thus you may see whereupon his priest sacrificeth in that verie place where the battell was fought; and why new married spouses being arraigned in the habit of women, receive their brides?

59

Whereof commeth it, that in the citie of Megara, there is a lineage or family named *Hamaxocylista*?

In the time that the dissolute and insolent popular State of government, called *Democracie* (which ordained that it might be lawfull to recover and arreit all monies paid for interest and in consideration of use, out of the ulcers hands, & which permitted sacriledge) bare away from the citie: it hapned there were certaine pilgrims, named *Theori* of *Peloponnesus*, sent in commiission to the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, who passed thorow the province of *Megaris*; and about the citie *Aegiri*, neere unto the lake there, lay and tumbled themselves upon their chariots here and there, together with their wives and children, one with another as it fell out: where certaine Megarians, such as were more audacious than the rest, as being thorowly drunke, full of insolent wantonness and cruel pride, were so lustie as to overturne the said chariots, and thrust them into the lake; so as many of the said *Theori* or commiissioners were drowned therein. Now the Megarians (such was the confusion and disorder in their government in those daies) made no reckoning at all to punish this injurie and outrage: but the counsell of the *Amphyctiones*, because the pilgrimage of these *Theori* was religious and sacred, tooke knowledge thereof and sate upon an inquisition about it, yea and chastised those who were found culpable in this impietie; some with death, others with banishment: and hereupon the whole race descending from them, were called afterwards *Hamaxocylista*.



THE PARALLELS, OR A BRIEFE COLLATION OF ROMANE NARRATIONS, WITH THE SEMBLABLE REPORTED OF THE GREEKS.

In the margin of an old manuscrite copie, these words were found written in Greeke:
This booke was never of PLUTARCHS making, who was an excellent and most learned Author; but penned by some odde vulgar writer, altogether ignorant both of *Poetrie, and also of Grammar.

*or Learning.



Any doe thinke, that ancient histories be but fables and tales devised for pleasure. For mine owne part having found many accidents in our daies, semblable unto those occurrents which in times past fell out among the Romans in their age: I have collected some of them together; and to everie one of those ancient Narrations, annexed another like unto it, of later time, and therewith alledged the Authors who have put them downe in writing.

1. *Datis* lieutenant generall under the king of *Perſia*, being come downe into the plaine of *Marathon* within the countrey of *Attica*, with a puſſant power of three hundred thouſand fighting men, there pitched his campe, and proclaimed warre upon the inhabitants of those parts. The Athenians making ſmall account of this ſo great a multitude of Barbarians, ſent out nine thouſand men, under the conduct of theſe ſoure captains; namely, *Cyuegyrus*, *Pollizelus*, *Callimachus*, and *Athiades*. So they ſtrucke a battell, during which conflict, *Polyzelus* chanced to ſee the viſion of one repreſented unto him ſurpaſſing mans nature, and thereupon loſt his ſight and became blind; *Callimachus* wounded through divers parts of his bodie with many pikes and javelins, dead though he was, ſtood upon his feet; and *Cyuegyrus*, as he ſtaied a Perſian ſhip which was about to reire backe, had both his hands ſmitten off.

Aſdruball the king being poſſeſſed of *Sicily* denounced warre againſt the Romans: and *Metellus* being choſen lord generall by the Senate, obtained a victorie in a certaine battell againſt him; in which battell lord *Glauco* a noble man of *Rome*, as he held the admirall ſhip of *Aſdruball* loſt both his hands: as *Ariſtides* the Mileſian writeth in the firſt booke of the annales of *Sicily*, of whom *Diodorus Siculus* hath learned the matter and ſubject argument of his hiſtorie.

2. *Xerxes* being come to lie at anchor neere the cape *Artemiſium* with five hundred thouſand fighting men, proclaimed warre upon the people of that countrey: whereat the Athenians being much aſtoniſhed, ſent as a ſpie (for to view & ſurvey his forces) *Ageſſam* the brother of *Themistocheſ*; albeit his father *Neocles* had a dreame in the night, and thought that he ſaw his ſonne diſmembered of both his hands; who entring the campe of the Barbarians in habit of a Perſian, ſlew *Mardonius* one of the captains of the kings corps of guard, ſuppoſing he had bene *Xerxes* himſelfe: and being apprehended by them that were about him, was brought tied and bound before the king, who was then even readie to offer ſacrifice upon the altar of the Sunne: into the fire of which altar, *Ageſſam* thruſt his right hand, and endured the force of the torment, without crying or groining at all; whereupon the king commaunded him to be unbound: and then ſaid *Ageſſam* unto him: We Athenians be all of the like mind and reſolution, and if you will not belevee me, I will put my left hand alſo into the fire: whereat *Xerxes* being mightily afraid, cauſed him to be kept ſafely with a good guard about him. This writeth *Aſathorſides* the Samitan, in his ſecond booke of the Perſian Chronicles.

Porſena

Porſena king of the Tuſcans, having encamped on the further ſide of the river *Tyber*, warred upon the Romans, and by cutting off the victuals and all proviſion that was wont to be brought to *Rome*, diſtreſſed the ſaid Romans with famine: and when the Senat hereupon was wonderfully troubled; *Mucius* a noble man of the citie (taking with him ſoure hundred other brave gentlemen of his owne age, by commiſſion from the Conſuls, in poore and ſimple array) paſſed over the river: and caſting his eie upon the capitaine of the kings guard, dealing among other captains, victuals and other neceſſaries, ſuppoſing he had bene *Porſena*, killed him: whereupon he was preſently taken and brought before the king, who put his right hand likewiſe into the fire, and enduring the paines thereof whiles it burned, moſt ſtoutly ſeemed to ſmile thereat and ſaid: Thou barbarous king, lo how I am looſe and at libertie even againſt thy will; but note well this beſides, that we are ſoure hundred of us within thy campe that have undertaken to take away thy life: with which words *Porſena* was ſo affrighted, that he made peace with the Romans: according as *Ariſtides* the Mileſian writeth in the third booke of his ſtorie.

3. The Argives and the Lacedæmonians, being at war one with another about the poſſeſſion of the countrey *Thyreatis*, the *Amphiſtyones* gave ſentence that they ſhould put it to a battell, and looke whether ſide wan the field, to them ſhould the land in queſtion appertaine. The Lacedæmonians therefore choſe for their capitaine *Othryades*; and the Argives, *Therſander*: when the battell was done, there remained two onely alive of the Argives, to wit, *Agenor* and *Chromius*, who caried tidings to the citie, of victorie. Meane while, when all was quiet, *Othryades* not fully dead, but having ſome little life remaining in him, bearing himſelfe, and leaning upon the truncheons of broken lances, caught up the targets and ſhields of the dead, and gathered them together, and having erected a trophie, he wrote thereupon with his owne blood: To *Jupiter* Victor and guardiam of Trophies. Now when as both thoſe parties maintained ſtill the controverſie about the land, the *Amphiſtyones* went in perſon to the place to be eie-judges of the thing, and adjudged the victorie on the Lacedæmonians ſide: this writeth *Chryſermus* in the third booke of the Peloponneſiack hiſtorie.

The Romans levying warre againſt the Samnites choſe for their chiefe commander *Poſthumius Albinus*, who being ſurpriſed by an ambuſh within a ſtreight betweene two mountains, called *Furca Caudina*, a verie narrow paſſe, loſt three of his Legions, and being himſelfe deadly wounded, fell and lay for dead: howbeit about midnight, taking breath, was quick againe, and ſomewhat revived, he aroſe, tooke the targets from his enemies bodies that lay dead in the place, and erected a trophie, and drenching his hand in their blood, wrote in this manner: The Romans, to *Jupiter* Victor, guardiam of Trophies, againſt the Samnites: but *Marius* ſurnamed *Gurgus*, that is to ſay, the glutton, being ſent thither as generall capitaine, and viewing upon the verie place, the ſaid trophie ſo erected: I take this gladly (quoth he) for a ſigne and preſage of good fortune; and thereupon gave battell unto his enemies and won the victorie, tooke their king priſoner, and ſent him to *Rome*, according as *Ariſtides* writeth in his third booke of the Italian hiſtorie.

4. The Perſians entred *Greece* with a puſſant armie of 500000. men; againſt whom *Leonidas* was ſent by the Lacedæmonians with a band of three hundred, to guard the ſtreights of *Thermophyle*, and impeach his paſſage: in which place as they were merie at their meat, and taking their refection, the whole maine power of the Barbarians came upon them. *Leonidas* ſeeing his enemies advancing forward, ſpake unto his owne men and ſaid: Sit ſtill firſt and make an end of your dinner hardly, ſo as you may take your ſuppers in another world: ſo he charged upon the Barbarians, and notwithstanding he had many a dart ſticking in his bodie, yet he made a lane through the preſſe of the enemies untill he came to the verie perſon of *Xerxes*, from whom he tooke the diademe that was upon his head, and ſo died in the place. The Barbarians king cauſed his bodie to be opened when he was dead, and his heart to be taken forth, which was found to be all over-grown with haire; as writeth *Ariſtides* in the firſt booke of the Perſian hiſtorie.

50. The Romans warring againſt the Cathaginians, ſent a companie of three hundred men under the leading of a capitaine named *Fabius Maximus*, who had his enemies battell, and loſt all his men; himſelfe being wounded to death, charged upon *Anniball* with ſuch violence, that he tooke from him the regall diademe or frontall that he had about his head, and ſo died upon it, as writeth *Ariſtides* the Mileſian.

5. In the citie of *Celene* in *Phrygia*, the earth opened and clave a ſunder, ſo as there remained a mightie chinke, with a huge quantitie of water iſſuing thereout, which caſied away and drew into the bottomleſſe pit thereof, a number of houſes with all the perſons great and ſmall within.

within them. Now *Atidas* the king was advertised by an oracle, that if he cast within the said pit the most precious thing that he had, both sides would close up againe, and the earth meet and be firme ground. So he caused to be thrown into it a great quantitie of gold and silver: but all would do no good. Then *Anchurus* his son, thinking with himselfe, that there was nothing to pretious as the life & soule of man, after he had lovingly embraced his father, and bid him farewell, and with all taken his leave of his wife *Timothea*, mounted on horseback, and cast himselfe horse and all into the said chinke. And behold, the earth immediately closed up: whereupon *Atidas* made a golden altar, of *Jupiter Ideus*, touching it only with his hand. This altar about that time, when as the said breach or chink of earth was, became a stone: but after a certaine prefixed time passed, it is seene all gold: this writeth *Callisthenes* in his second booke of Transformations.

The river *Tybris* running through the mids of the market place at *Rome*, for the anger of *Jupiter Tosius*, caused an exceeding great chinke within the ground, which swallowed up many dwelling houses. Now the oracle rendred this answer unto the Romans, that this should cease in case they flang into the breach some costly and precious thing: and when they had cast into it both gold and silver, but all in vaine: *Curtius* a right noble young gentleman of the cite, pondering well the words of the oracle, and considering with himselfe that the life of man was more pretious than gold, cast himselfe on horseback into the said chinke, and so delivered his citizens and continent from their calamitie: this hath *Arifides* recorded in fortieth booke of Italian histories.

Ampharatus was one of the princes and leaders that accompanied *Pollynces*: and when one day they were feasting merily together, an eagle soaring over his head, chanced to catch up his javelin and carrie it up aloft in the aire, which afterwards when she had let fall againe, sticke fast in the ground and became a lawrell. The morrow after, as they joined battell, in that very place, *Ampharatus* with his chariot was swallowed up within the earth: and there standeth now the cite *Thana* so called of the chariot: as *Trifonachus* reporteth in the third booke of his Foundations.

During the warres which the Romans waged against *Pyrrhus* king of the Epirotes, *Paulus Aemilius* was promised by the oracle that he should have the victorie, if he would let up an altar in that very place where he should see one gentleman of qualitie and good marke, to be allowed up alive in the earth, together with his chariot. Three daies after *Valerius * Conatus*, when in a dream he thought that he saw himselfe adorned with his priestly vestments (for skillfully he was in the art of divination) led forth the armie, and after he had slaine many of his enemies, was devoured quick within the ground. Then *Paulus Aemilius* caused an altar to be reared, and won the battell, wherein he tooke alive an hundred and threescore elephants carrying turrets upon their backs, whom he sent to *Rome*. This altar useth to give answer as an oracle about that time that *Pyrrhus* was defeated: according as *Critolaus* writeth in the third booke of the Epirotick historie.

Pyrrachus king of the Euboeans, whom *Hercules* being yet but a young man vanquished, and tying him betwixt two hortes, caused his bodie to be plucked and torne in pieces; which done, he cast it forth for to lie unburied: now the place where this execution was performed, is called at this day, *Pyrrachus* his hortes, situate upon the river *Iteraclia*: and whensoever there be any hortes watered there, a man shall sensibly beare a noice as if hortes neighed: this we find written in the third booke entituled, Of rivers.

Tullius Hostilius king of the Romans, made warre upon the Albanes, who had for their king *Melins Sufectus*: and many times he seemed to retire and lie off, as loth to encounter and joine battell, in so much as the enemies supposing him to be discomfited, betooke themselves to mirth and good cheer; but when they had taken their wine well, he set upon them with fo hot a charge that he defeated them: and having taken their king prisoner, he set him fast red betwixt two steeds and dismembred him, as *Alexarchus* writeth in the fourth booke of the Italian histories.

Philip intending to force and sacke the cities of *Athens* and *Olynthus* as he laboured with much ado to passe over the river *Andania*, chanced to be shot into the cie with an arrow by an Olynthian, whose name was *Aster*, and in it was this verse written:

Philip beware, have at thine eie:

After this deadly shaft lets lie.

Whereupon *Philip* perceiving himselfe to be overmatched, swam back againe unto his owne compaignie, and with the losse of one eie escaped with life, according as *Callisthenes* reporteth in the third booke of the Macedonian Annals.

Porfena

Porfena king of the Tuskans lying encamped on the other side of *Tybris*, warred upon the Romans, and intercepted their victuals, which were wont to be conveyed to *Rome*; whereby he put the cite to great distresse in regard of famine: but *Horatius Culus* being by the common voice of the people chosen captaine, planted himselfe upon the wooden bridge, which the Barbarians were desirous to gaine, and for a good while made the place good, and put backe the whole multitude of them pressing upon him to passe over it; in the end finding himselfe overcharged with the enemies, he commanded those who were ranged in battell-ray behind him, to cut downe the bridge: meane while he received the violent charge of them all, and impeached their entrance, untill such time as he was wounded in the eie with a dart; whereupon he leapt into the river, and swam over unto his fellows: thus *Theotimus* reporteth this variation in the third booke of Italian histories.

There is a tale told of *Icarus*, by whom *Bacchus* was lodged and entertained, as *Erastophenes* in *Erigone* hath related in this wise. *Saturne* upon a time was lodged by an husbandman of the countrey, who had a faire daughter named *Entoria*: her hee deflowered and begot of her foure soones, *Janus*, *Hymnus*, *Faustus* and *Felix*; whom hee having taught the manner of drinking wine, and of planting the vine, enjoyed them also to impart that knowledge unto their neighbours, which they did accordingly: but they on the other side: having taken upon a time more of this drinke than their usual manner was, fell a sleepe, and slept more than ordinarily: when they were awake, imagining that they had drunke some poyson, stoned *Icarus* the husbandman to death: whereat his nephewes or daughters children tooke such a thought and conceit that for verie griefe of heart, they knit their neckes in halcers, and strangled themselves. Now when there was a great pestilence that raigned among the Romanes, the oracle of *Apollo* gave answer, that the mortality would stay, in case they had once appeased the ire of *Saturne*; and likewise pacified their ghosts, who unjustly lost their lives. Then *Lutatius Catulus*, a noble man of *Rome*, built a temple unto *Saturne*, which standeth neere unto the mount *Tarpelius*, and erected an altar with foure faces; either in remembrance of those foure nephewes above said, or respective to the foure seasons and quarters of the yere; and withall instituted the moneth Ianuare. But *Saturne* turned them all foure into starrs, which be called the forerunners of the Vintage; among which that of *Janus* ariseth before others, and appeareth at the feet of *Virgo*, as *Critolaus* testifieth in his fourth booke of *Phanomena*, or Apparitions in the heaven.

At what time as the Persians overranne *Greece*, and wasted all the countrey before them: *Pausanias* generall captaine of the Lacedaemonians, having received of *Xerxes* five hundred talents of gold, promised to betray *Sparta*: but his treason being discovered, *Agesilaus* his father pursued him into the temple of *Minerva* called *Chalciceos*, whither he fled for sanctuary; where he caused the doors of the temple to be mured up with brick, & so furnished him to death. His mother tooke his corps, and cast it forth to dogs, not suffering it to be buried: according to *Chrysostomus* in the second booke of his storie.

The Romanes warring against the Latines, chose for their captaine *Publius Decius*. Now there was a certaine gentleman of a noble house, howbeit poore, named *Cippus Brutus*, who for a certaine summe of money which the enemies should pay unto him, intended in the night season to set the gates of the cite wide open for them to enter in. This treachery being detected, he fled for sanctuary into the temple of *Minerva*, surnamed *Auxiliaria*; where *Cassius* his father, named also *Signifer*, shut him up and kept him so long, that he died for verie famine; and when he was dead, threw his bodie forth, and would not allow it any sepulture: as writeth *Cicero* in his Italian histories.

Darius king of *Persia* having fought afield with *Alexander* the Great, and in that conflict lost seven of his great lieutenants & governours of Provinces; besides five hundred and two war chariots armed with trenchant fishes, would notwithstanding bid him battell againe: but *Artabazanes* his sonne, upon a pitifull affection that he carried to *Alexander*, promised to betray his father into his hands; whereat his father tooke such displeasure and indignation, that he caused his head to be smitten off. Thus reporteth *Arctades* the Gnidian in his third booke of Macedonian histories.

Brutus being chosen Consul of *Rome* by the generall voice of the whole people, chased out of the cite, *Tarquinius Superbus* who reigned tyrannically; but hee retyring himselfe unto the Tuskans, levied warre upon the Romanes. The sonnes of the said *Brutus* conspiring to betray their father, were discovered, and so he commanded them to be beheaded: as *Arifides* the Milesian writeth in his Annals of *Italie*.

12 Epaminondas

12 *Epaninondas* captain of the Thebans, warred against the Lacedemonians: and when the time was come that magistrates should be elected at *Thebes*, himselfe in person repaired thither, having given order and commandment in the meane while unto his sonne *Stefimbratus*, in no wise to fight with the enemy. The Lacedemonians having intelligence given them, that the father was absent, reproched and reviled this young gentleman, and called him coward; wherewith he was so galled, that he fell into a great fit of choler, and forgetting the charge that his father had laid upon him, gave the enemies battell, and achieved the victorie. His father upon his returne, was highly offended with his sonne, for transgressing his will and commandment: and after he had set a victorious crown upon his head, caused it to be strooken off; as *Ctesiphon* recordeth in the third booke of the Boeotian histories.

The Romanes during the time that they maintained warre against the Samnites, chose for their general captain, *Anulus* surnamed Imperious; who returning upon a time from the camp to *Rome*, for to be present at the election of Consuls, straightly charged his son not to fight with the enemies in his absence. The Samnites hereof advertised, provoked the young gentleman with most spitefull and villanous tearmes, reproching him likewise with cowardise: which he not able to endure, was so farr moved in the end, that he gave them battell and defeated them: but *Anulus* his father when he was returned, cut him shorter by the head for it: as testifieth *Arifides* the Milesian.

13 *Heracles* being denied marriage with the Ladic *Iole*, tooke the repulse so neere to heart, that he forced and sacked the citie *Oechalia*. But *Iole* flung herselfe headlong downe from the 20 wall into the trench under it: howbeit so it fortune that the winde taking hold of her garments as the fell, bare her up so, as in the fall shee caught no harme, as witnesseth *Nichom* of *Midea*.

The Romanes whiles they warred upon the Tuskans, chose for their commander *Valerius Torgatus*; who having a fight of *Clusia* their kings daughter, fancied her, and demanded her of him in marriage: but being denied and rejected, he wan the citie, and put it to the fackage. The Ladic *Clusia* flung herselfe downe from an high tower; but through the providence of *Pennus*, her habillmentes were so heaved up with the winde, that they brake the fall, and albeit shee light upon the ground, shee escaped alive. Then the captain before named, forced her and abused her bodie: in regard of which dishonour and vilanie offered unto her, by a general decree of all 30 the Romanes, consued he was into the Ile of *Corfu*, which lieth against *Italy*: as witnesseth *Theophilus* in the third booke of his Italian historie.

14 The Carthaginians and Sicilians, being entred into league, banded themselves against the Romanes, and prepared with their joint forces to warre upon them: whereupon *Metellus* was chosen captain, who having offered sacrifice unto all other gods and goddesse, left out onely the goddesse *Vesta*; who thereupon raised a contrarie winde to blow against him in his voyage. Then *Cains Julius* the soothsayer said unto him, that the winde would lie, in case before he embarked and set saile, he offered in sacrifice his owne daughter unto *Vesta*. *Metellus* being driven to this hard exigent, was constrained to bring forth his daughter to be sacrificed: but the goddesse taking pite of him & her, in stead of the maiden substituted a young heifer, and carried 40 the virgin to *Lavinium*, where she made her religious priestresse of the Dragon, which they worship and have in great reverence within that citie: as writeth *Pythocles* in his third booke of Italian affaires.

In like manner is the case of *Iphigenia* which hapned in *Aulis* a citie of *Beotia*: reported by *Mercurius* in the third booke of Boeotian chronicles.

15 *Brennus* a king of the Galatians or Gallo-Greekes, as he forraied and spoiled *Asia*, came at length to *Ephesus*, where he fell in love with a young damosell, a commoners daughter who promised to lie with him, yea and to betray the citie unto him, upon condition that he would give unto her carquoies, bracelets, and other Jewels of gold, wherewith ladies are wont to adorne and set out themselves. Then *Brennus* requested those about his person to cast into the lap of this covetous wench, all the golden Jewels which they had; which they did in such quantitie, that the maiden was overwhelmed under them quick, & pressed to death with their weight: as *Calpurnius* writeth in the first booke of the Galatian historie.

Tarpeia a virgin, and young gentlewoman of a good house, having the keeping of the Capitol, during the time that the Romanes warred against the Albanes, promised unto their king *Tatinus*, for to give him entrance into the castle of mount *Tarpeius*, if in recompence of her good service, he would bestow upon her such bracelets, rings, and carquoies, as the Sabine 45 dames

dames used to wear: when they trimmed up themselves in best manner: which when the Sabines understood, they heaped upon her so many, that they buried her quick underneath them: according as *Arifides* the Milesian reporteth in his Italian historie.

16 The inhabitants of *Tegea* and *Phene* two cities, maintained a long time warre one against the other so long, until they concluded in the end to determine all quarrels and controversies by the combat of three brethren, twinned of either side. And the men of *Tegea* put forth into the field for their part, the sonnes of one of their citizens, named *Rexinachus*; and those of *Phene* for themselves, the sonnes of *Damocratus*. When these champions were advanced forth into the plaine, to performe their devoir, it fortune that two of *Rexinachus* his sonnes were killed outright in the place; and the third whose name was *Critolaus*, wrought such a stragem with his three concurrents that he overcame them all: for making semblance as though he fled, he returned suddenly back, & slew them one after another, as he elyped his advantage, when they were singled and levered asunder in their chafe after him. At his returne home with this glorious victorie; all his citizens did congratulate and rejoice with him, onely his owne sister named *Demodice*, was nothing glad therefore, because one of the brethren whom he had slaine, was espoused unto her, whose name was *Democitus*. *Critolaus* taking great indignation hereat, killed her out of hand. The mother to them both sued him for this murder, and required justice; howbeit hee was acquit of all actions and enditements framed against him: as writeth *Demetrius* in the second booke of Arcadian acts.

20 The Romanes and the Albanes having warred a long time together, chose for their champions to decide all quarrels, three brethren twinned, both of the one side and the other. For the Albanes were three *Curiatii*, and for the Romanes as many *Horatii*. The combat was no sooner begun, but those of *Alba* laid two of their adversaries dead in the dust; the third helping himselfe with a feigned flight, killed the other three one after the other, as they were divided asunder in pursuit after him: for which victorie, all other Romanes made great joy: onely his owne sister *Horatia* shewed herselfe nothing well pleased herewith, for that to one of the other side she was betrothed in marriage: for which he made no more ado, but stabbed his sister to the heart: this is reported by *Arifides* the Milesian in his Annals of *Italy*.

17 In the citie *Ilium*, when the fire had taken the temple of *Minerva*, one of the inhabitants named *Ilus* ranne thither, and caught the little image of *Athena* named *Palladium*, which 35 was supposed to have fallen from heaven, and therewith lost his sight, because it was not lawfull that the said image should be seene by any man: howbeit afterwards when he had appeased the wrath of the said goddesse, he recovered his eie sight againe: as writeth *Dereyllus* in the first booke of Foundations.

Metellus a noble man of *Rome*, as he went toward a certaine house of pleasure that hee had neere unto the citie, was staied in the way by certaine ravens that flapped and beat him with their wings: at which ominous accident being astonied, and presaging some evil to be toward him, he returned to *Rome*: and seeing the temple of the goddesse *Vesta* on fire, he ran thither and tooke away the petie image of *Pallas*, named *Palladium*, and so likewise suddenly fell blind: 40 howbeit afterwards being reconciled unto her, he got his sight againe: this is the report of *Arifides* in his Chronicles.

18 The Thracians warring against the Athenians, were directed by an oracle which promised them victorie, in case they saved the person of *Codrui* king of *Athens*: but he disguising himselfe in the habit of a poore labourer, and carrying a bill in his hand, went into the campe of the enemies, and killed one, where likewise he was killed by another, and so the Athenians obtained victorie: as *Socrates* writeth in the second booke of Thracian affaires.

Publius Decius a Roman, making warre against the Albanes, dreamed in the night, and saw a vision which promised him, that if himselfe died, he should adde much to the puissance of the Romanes: whereupon he charged upon his enemies where they were thickest arranged; and 50 when he had killed a number of them, was himselfe slaine. *Decius* also his sonne, in the warre against the Gauls, by that meanes saved the Romanes: as faith *Arifides* the Milesian.

19 *Cymippus* a Siracusan borne, sacrificed upon a time unto all other gods, but unto *Bacchus*: wherat the god being offended, haunted him with drunckennesse; so as in a darke corner he bestowed forcibly his owne daughter, named *Cyme*: but in the time that he dealt with her, she tooke away the ring off his finger, and gave it unto her nourse to keepe, for to testifie another day who it was that thus abused her. Afterwards the pestilence raigned sore in those parts: and *Aspelle* gave answer by oracle, that they were to offer in sacrifice unto the gods that turned away calamities,

calamities, a godlesse and incestuous person: all others wit not whom the oracle meant; but *Cyane* knowing full well the will of *Apollo*, rooke her father by the haire, and drew him perforce to the altar, and when she had cauled him to be killed, sacrificed her selfe after upon him: as writeth *Dioscorides* in the third booke of the *Chronicles of Cicily*.

Whiles the feast of *Bacchus* called *Bacchanalia* was celebrated at *Rome*, there was one *Aruntus* who never in all his life had drunke wine but water onely, and alwaies despised the power of god *Bacchus*: who to be revenged of him, caused him one time be so drunke that he forced his owne daughter *Medullina*, & abused her bodie carnally; who having knowledge by his ring who it was that did the deed, and taking to her a greater heart than one of her age, made her father one day drunke, and after he had adorned his head with garlands & chaplets of flowers, led him to a place called the altar of *Thunder*, where with many teares she sacrificed him who had surprised her, & take away her virginity, as writeth *Aristides* the Milesian in his third booke of Italian *Chronicles*.

20 *Erechtheus* warring upon *Eumolpus*, was advertised that he should win the victorie, if before he went into the field he sacrificed his owne daughter unto the gods: who when he had imparted this matter unto his wife *Praxithea*, he offered his daughter in sacrifice before the battell, hereof *Euripides* maketh mention in his tragœdie *Erechtheus*.

Atarius maintaining ware against the *Cimbrians*, and finding himselfe too weake, saw a vision in his sleepe, that promised him victory; if before he went to battell, he did sacrifice his daughter named *Calpurnia*: who setting the good of the weale publicke, and the regard of his countreinmen, before the naturall affection to his owne blood, did accordingly and wane the field: 20 and even at this day, two alters there be in *Germanie*, which at the verie time and howe that this sacrifice was offered, yielded the found of trumpets: as *Dorotheus* reporteth in the third booke of the *Annales of Italy*.

21 *Cyanippus* a Thessalian borne, used ordinarily to go on hunting; his wife a young gentlewoman interained this fancie of jealousie, in her head, that the reason why he went forth so often, and staid so long in the forrest, was because he had the companie of some other woman whom he loved: whereupon she determined with her selfe to lie in espiall: one day therefore she followed and traced *Cyanippus*, and at length lay close within a certaine thicket of the forrest, waiting and expecting what would fall out and come of it. It chanced that the leaves and branches of the shrubs about her stirred: the hounds imagining that there was some wild beast with 30 in, seized upon her, and so tare in pieces this young dame (that loved her husband so well) as if she had beene a savage beast. *Cyanippus* then seeing before his eyes, that which he never would have imagined or thought in his mind, for verie griefe of heart killed himselfe: as *Parthenius* the Poet hath left in writing.

In *Sylbria* a cite of Italy, there was sometime a young gentleman named *Aemilius*, who being a beautiful person, and one who loved passing well the game of hunting, his wife who was young also, thought him to be enamoured of another ladie: and therefore got her selfe close within a thicket, and chanced to stire the boughes of the shrubs and bushes about her. The hounds thereupon that ranged and hunted thereabout, light upon her and tare her body in pieces: which when her husband saw, he killed himselfe upon her, as *Clytemnestra* reporteth in his 40 second booke of the *Sybariticke historie*.

22 *Amyna* the daughter of *Cinyras* having displeased and angred *Penus*, became enamoured of her owne father, and declared the vehement heat of her love unto her nurse. She therefore by a wily device went to worke with her master, and bare him in hand that there was a faire damosell a neighbours daughter, that was in love with him, but ashamed and ashamed to come unto him openly, or to be seene at all with him: the master beleaved this & lay with her: but one time above the rest, desirous to know who she was with whom he companied, called for a light; and so soone as he knew it was his owne daughter, he drew his sword, and followed after this most villanous and incestuous filth, intending to kill her: but by the providence of *Penus*, transformed the was into a tree, bearing her name, to wit, Myrtle, as *Theodoros* reporteth in his 50 metamorphoses or transmutations.

Valeria Tufulanaria, having incurred the displeasure of *Penus*, became amorous of her owne father, and communicated this love of hers unto her nurse: who likewise went cunningly about her master, and made him beleve that there was a young maiden a neighbours child, who was in fancie with him, but would not in regard of modestie be known unto him or not be seene when he should frequent his companie. Howbeit her father, one night being drunk called for a candle: but the nurse prevented him, and in great hast awakened her: who fled thereupon

upon into the countrey great with child: where she cast her selfe downe from the pith of a steep place, yet the fruit of her wombe lived; for notwithstanding that fall she did not miscarie, but continued still with her great belly: and when her time was come, delivered the was of a sonne, such an one as in the Roman language is named *Sylvanus*, and in Greeke *Aegipanes*. *Valerius* the father tooke such a thought thereupon, that for verie anguish of mind he threw himselfe downe headlong from a steepe rocke: as recordeth *Aristides* the Milesian in the third booke of Italian histories.

23 After the destruction of *Troy*, *Diomedes* by a tempest was cast upo the coast of *Libya*, where reigned a king named *Lycus*: whose maner and custome was to sacrifice unto his owne father 10 god *Mars*, all those strangers that arrived and were let a land in his countrey. But *Calirroë* his daughter casting an affection unto *Diomedes*, betrayed her father, and saved *Diomedes* by delivering him out of prison. And he againe not regarding her accordingly, who had done him so good a turne, departed from her and failed away: which indignitie she tooke so neere to the heart, that she hanged her selfe, and so ended her daies: this writeth *Juba* in the third booke of the *Libyan historie*.

Calpurnius Crassus a noble man of *Rome*, being abroad at the warres together with *Regulus*, was by him sent against the *Masilians*, for to seize a stronge castle, and hard to be won, named *Garaton*; but in this service being taken prisoner and destined to be killed in sacrifice unto *Saturne*, it fortuned that *Byzatis* the kings daughter fanished him, so as she betrayed her father, and 20 put the victory into her lovers hands; but when this young knight was retired and gone, the damself for sorrow of heart cut her owne throat: as writeth *Hesimach* in the third booke of the *Libyan historie*.

24 *Prianus* king of *Troy*, fearing that the city would be lost, sent his young sonne *Polydorus* into *Thrace*, to his sonne in law *Polymeffer* who married his daughter, with a great quantity of golde: *Polymeffer* for very covetousnesse, after the destruction of the city, murdered the childe, because he might gaine the golde: but *Hebeba* being come into those parts, under a colour and pretence that she should bestow that golde upon him, together with the helpe of other dames prisoners with her, plucked with her owne hands both eyes out of his head: witnesseth 30 *Euripides* the tragædian poet.

In the time that *Hanniball* overran and wasted the countrey of *Campania* in Italy; *Lucius* 30 * *Junber* bestowed his sonne *Rufinus* for safetie, in the hands of a sonne in law whom he had, named *Valerius Gellius*, and left with him a good summe of money. But when this Campanian heard that *Anniball* had wonne a great victorie, for very avarice he brake all lawes of nature, and murdered the childe. The father *Thymbrius* as he travelled in the countrey lighting upon the dead corps of his owne sonne, sent for his sonne in law aforesaid, as if he meant to shew him some great treasure: who was no former come, but he plucked out both his eyes, and afterwards crucified him: as *Aristides* tellifieth in the third booke of his Italian histories.

25 *Acacius* begat of *Psamathe* one sonne named *Phocus*, whom he loved very tenderly: but *Telamon* his brother not well content therewith, trained him forth one day into the forest 40 where having grouzed a wilde bore, he launced his javelin or bore-speare against the childe whom he hated, and so killed him: for which fact, his father banished him: as *Dorotheus* telleth the tale, in the first booke of his *Metamorphoses*.

Caius Maximus had two sonnes, *Simulus* and *Rhefus*: of which two, *Rhefus* he begat upon *Ameria*, who upon a time as he hunted in the chafe, killed his brother; and being come home againe, he would have perswaded his father that it was by chance, and not upon a propensed malice that he slew him: but his father when he knew the truth, exiled him: as *Aristides* hath recorded in the third booke of Italian *Chronicles*.

26 *Mars* had the companie of *Althea*, by whom she was conceived and delivered of *Meleager* 50 *geras* witnesseth *Euripides* in his tragœdie *Meleager*.

Septimius Marcellus, having married *Sylvia*, was much given to hunting, and ordinarily went to the chafe: then *Mars* taking his advantage, disguising himselfe in habit of a shepherd, forced this new wedded wife, and gat her with childe: which done, he bewraied unto her who he was, and gave her a launce or speare, laying unto her: That the generositie and descent of that issue which she should have by him, consisted in that launce: now it hapned that *Septimius Marcellus* 50 *Tullianus* and *Mamercus* when he sacrificed unto the gods for the good cure of a disease which was upon the earth, neglected *Ceres* onely; whereupon she taking displeasure for this contempt, sent a great wilde bore into his countrey: then he assembled a number of hunters to chase the

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said

said beast and killed him; which done, the head and the skinn he sent unto his espoused wife: *Scimbrates* and *Matthias* her uncles by the mother-side, offended heereat, would have taken all away from the damofell: but hee tooke full displeasure thereat, that hee slew his kinsmen: and his mother for to be revenged of her brethens death, buried that cursed speare: as *Menylus* reporteth in the third booke of the Italian histories.

27 *Telamon* the sonne of *Aecus* and *Endeis*, fledde by night from his father, and arrived in the isle of *Enbes*, * * The father perceiving it, and supposing him to be one of his subjects, gave his daughter to one of his guard, for to be cast into the sea; but he for very commiseration and pity, could her to certaine merchants; and when the shippe was arrived at *Salamis*, *Telamon* chaunced to buy her at their hands, and she bare unto him *Ajax*: witnesse *Arctas* 10 *dos* the Gnidian, in the second booke of his Italian affaires.

Lucius Trocius had by his wife *Patris*, a daughter named *Florentia*: her *Calphurnius* a Roman defflowred: whereupon he commaunded the young maid-childe which she bare, to be cast into the sea; but the fouldiour who had the charge so to doe, tooke compassion of her, and chose rather to sell her unto a merchant; and it fortuned so, that the ship of a certeine merchant arrived in *Italy*, where *Calphurnius* bought her, and of her body begat *Contrufus*.

28 *Aeolus* king of *Tuscan*, had by his wife *Amphitheia* six daughters, and as many sonnes; of whom *Macareus* the yongest, for very love deflowred one of his sisters, who when the time came brought forth a child: when this came once to light, her father sent unto her a sword, and the acknowledging the fault which she had committed, killed her selfe therewith, and so 20 he did afterwards her brother *Macareus*: as *Softratus* reporteth in the second booke of the Tuscan storie.

Papyrius Pulcher, having espoused *Julia Pulchra*, had by her six daughters, and as many sonnes; the eldest of whom named *Papyrius Romanus*, was enamoured of *Camilla*, one of his sisters so as the was by him with childe: which when the father understood, hee sent unto her likewise a sword, wherewith she made away her selfe; and *Romanus* also did as much: thus *Christippus* relateth in the first booke of the Italian Chronicles.

29 *Aristonymus* the Ephesian, sonne of *Demoftratus*, hated women, but most unnaturally he had to doe with a she asse, which when time came, brought forth a most beautifull maide childe, surnamed *Omoscelis*: as *Aristocle* writeth in the second booke of his Paradoxes or strange 30 accidents.

Eulvius Stellus was at warre with all women, but yet he dealt most beastly with a mare, and she bare unto him after a time, a faire daughter, named *Hippona*: and this is the goddesse forth that hath the charge and overseeing of horses and mares: as *Ageflaus* hath let downe in the third booke of Italian affaires.

30 The Sardiens warred upon a time against the Smyrneans, & encamped before the walles of their city; giving them to understand by their embassadors, that raise their siege they would not, unless they sent unto them their wives to lie withall: the Smyrneans being driven to this extremity, were at the point to doe that which the enemies demanded of them: but a certeine waiting maiden there was, a faire and wellfavoured damofell, who ranne unto her master *Philevulus* and laid unto him, that he must not faile but in any case chuse out the fairest wenches that were maide-servants in all the citie, to dresse them like unto citizens wives, and free borne women, and so to fend them unto their enemies in stead of their mistresses, which was effected accordingly; and when the Sardiens were wearied with dealing with these wenches, the Smyrneans issued forth, surprized and spoiled them: whereupon it commeth that even at this day in the citie of *Smyrna* there is a solemne feast named *Eleutheria*: upon which day, the maide-servants were the apparell of their mistresses which be free women: as saith *Dofiphens* in the third booke of Lydian chronicles.

Antepomarus king of the Gaules, when he made warre upon the Romans, gave it our flatly and said, that he would never dislodge and breake up his campe before they sent unto them their 50 wives, for to have their pleasure of them: but they by the counsell of a certeine chamber maide, sent unto them their maide-servants: the Barbarians needled so long with them, that they were tired, and fell sound asleepe in the end: then *Rhetana* (for that was her name who gave the said counsell) tooke a branch of a wilde figge tree; and mounting up to the toppe of a rampier wall, gave a signall thereby to the Consuls, who sallied forth and defeated them; whereupon there is a feastsall day of chambermaids: for so saith *Aristides* the Milesian, in the first booke of the Italian historie.

31 When

31 When the Athenians made warre upon *Enmolpus*, and were at some default of victuals, *Pyander* who had the charge of the munition & was treasurer of the State (for to make spare of the provision) diminished the ordinary measure, and cut men short of their allowances: the inhabitants, suspecting him to be a traitor to his country in so dooing, stoned him to death as *Callistratus* testifieth in the third booke of the Thracian history.

The Romans warring upon the Gaules, and having not sufficient store of victuals, *Cinna* abridged the people of their ordinary measure of corne: the Romans suspecting therupon that he made way thereby to be king, stoned him likewise to death: witnesse *Aristides* in his third booke of Italian histories.

32 During the Peloponnesiack warre, *Pisistratus* the Orchomenian hated the nobles and affected men of base and low degree; whereupon the Senators conspired and resolved among them selves to kill him in the Counsell house, where they cut him in pieces, and every one put a gobbet of him in his bosome; and when they had so done they scraped and clefted the floor where his blood was shed. The common people having some suspicion of the matter rushed into the Senat house: but *Tesmachus* the kings youngest sonne, who was privy to the foresaid conspiracie, withdrew the multitude from the common place of assembly; and assured them that he saw his father *Pisistratus* caryng a more stately majesty in his countenance than any mortal man, ascending up with great celerity the top of mount *Pisicus*, as *Theophilus* recordeth in the second of his Peloponnesiackes.

33 In regard of the wars so nere unto the city of *Rome*, the Roman Senat cut the people short of their allowances in corne: wherat *Romulus* being not well pleased, allowed it them a gaine, rebuked yea and chastised many of the great men: who thereupon banded against him and in the midst of the Senat house made him away among them, cut him in pieces, and bestowed on every man a slice of him in his bosome. Whereupon the people ran immediately with fire in their hands to the Senat house minding to burne them all within; but *Proculus* a noble man of the city assured them, that he saw *Romulus* upon a certeine high mountaine, and that he was bigger than any man living and become a very god. The Romans beleaved his words, (such authority the man caried with him) and so retired back, as *Aristobolus* writeth in the third booke of his Italian Chronicles.

33 *Pelops* the sonne of *Tantalus* and *Eurynassa*, wedded *Hippodamia* who bare unto him *Atrous* and *Thyestes*: but of the Nymph *Danais* a concubine, he begat *Chryssippus*, whom he loved better than any of his legitimate sonnes: him *Lais* the Theban being enamoured stole away by force; and being attached and intercepted by *Atrous* and *Thyestes*, obtained the good grace and favour of *Pelops* to enjoy him, for his love sake. Howbeit *Hippodamia* perswaded her two sonnes *Atrous* and *Thyestes* to kill him, as if she knew that he aspired to the kingdom of their father: which they refusing to doe, she her selfe imploied her owne hands to perpetrate this detestable fact: for one night as *Laius* lay found asleepe, she drew forth his sword, and when she had wounded *Chryssippus* as he slept, she left the sword sticking in the wound: thus was *Lais* suspected for the deed because of his sword: but the youth being now halfe dead, discharged and 40 acquit him and revealed the whole truth of the matter: whereupon *Pelops* caused the dead body to be entered, but *Hippodamia* he banished: as *Dofiphens* recordeth in his booke *Pelopidae*.

Hebins Tulleix having espoused a wife named *Xueria*, had by her two children: but of an infranchised bond woman he begat a son named *Pheonius Firmus* a childe of excellent beauty, whom he loved more deereley than the children by his lawful wife. *Xueria* detesting this base son of his, solicited her own children to murder him; which when they (having the feare of God before their eyes) refused to do, she enterprised to execute the deed her selfe. And in truth she drew forth the sword of one of the squires of the body in the night season, and with it gave him a deadly wound as he lay fast asleepe: the foresaid squire was suspected and called in question for this act, for that his sword was there found; but the childe himselfe discovered the truth: his 50 father then commanded his body to be buried; but his wife he banished: as *Dofiphens* recordeth in the third booke of the Italian Chronicles.

34 *Thesius* being in very truth the naturall sonne of *Xeprius*, had a sonne by *Hippolite* a princeesse of the Amazones whose name was *Hippolytus*: but afterwards married againe, and brought into the house a stepmother named *Phedra*, the daughter of *Mines*: who falling in love with her sonne-in-law *Hippolytus*, sent her nurse for to sollicite him: but he giving no care unto her, left *Athens* and went to *Troezen*, where he gave his mende to hunting. But the wicked and unchaste woman seeing her selfe frustrate and disappointed of her will, wrote shrewd letters 60

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unto

unto her husband against this honest and chaste yong gentleman, informing him of many lies, and when he had so done, strangled her selfe with an halter, and so ended her daies. *Theſeus* giving credit unto her letters, befought his father *Neptune* of the three requests, whereof he had the choise, this one; namely, to worke the death of *Hippolytus*. *Neptune* to satisfie his mind, sent out unto *Hippolytus* as he rode along the sea side, a monstrous bull, who so affrighted his coach horses, that they overthrow *Hippolytus*, and so he was crushed to death.

Comminius Super the Laurentine, having a sonne by the nimph *Ageria*, named *Comminius*, espoused afterwards *Gidias*, and brought into his house a stepmother, who became likewise amorous of her son-in-law; and when she saw that she could not speed of her desire, she hanged her selfe, and left behind her certain letters devised against him containing many untruths. *Comminius* the father having read these slanderous imputations within the said letters, and believing that which his jealous head had once conceived, called upon *Neptune*, who presented unto *Comminius* his sonne as he rode in his chariot, a hideous bull: which let his steeds in such a fright, that they fell a flinging, and so haled the young man that they dismembered and killed him: as *Dafiphemus* reporteth in the third booke of the Italian historie.

35 When the pestilence rained in *Lacedaemon*; the oracle of *Apollo* delivered this answer: That the mortalitie would cease, in case they sacrificed yearly, a young virgin of noble blood. Now when it was founted that the lot one yeere fell upō *Helena*, so that she was led forth all prepared and set out ready to be killed; there was an eagle came flying downe, caught up the sword which lay there, and caried it to certaine droves of beasts, where she laid it upon an heifer: whereupon ever after they forbore to sacrifice any more virgins; as *Aristodemus* reporteth in the third Collect of fables.

The plague was fore in *Falerij*, the contagion thereof being verie great, there was given out an oracle, That the said affliction would stay and give over, if they sacrificed yearly a yong maiden unto *Juno*: and this superstition continuing allwaile still, *Faleris Lupercus* was by lot called to this sacrifice: now when the sword was ready drawn, there was an eagle came downe out of the aire and caried it away: and upon the altar where the fire was burning laid a wand, having at one end in manner of a little mallet: as for the word, the laid upon a yong heifer, feeding by the temple side; which when the yong damself perceived, after she had sacrificed the said heifer, and taken up the mallet, she went from house to house, and gently knocking therewith all those that lay sicke, raised them up and made to evertie one: Be whole and receive health: whereupon it cometh that even at this day this myserie is still performed and observed: as *Aristides* hath reported in the 919. booke of his Italian histories.

36 *Phylomene* the daughter of *Neſtius* and *Arcadia*, hunted with *Diana*; whom *Mars* disguised like a shepherd, got with child. She having brought forth two twines, for feare of her father threw them into the river *Erymanthus*; but they by the providence of the gods, were caried downe the streame without harme or danger, and at length the current of the water cast them upon an hollow oake, growing up on the banke side; whereas a she wolfe having newly kennelled had her den. This wolfe turned out her whelps into the river, and gave sucke unto the two twines above said: which when a shepherd named *Typhis*, once perceived and had a sight of, he tooke up the little infants, and caused them to be nourished as his owne children, calling the one *Lycus*, and the other *Paribusus*, who successively reigned in the realme of *Arcadia*.

Aemilius bearing himselfe insolently and violently like a tyrant, to his brother *Numitor*; first killed his sonne *Aemilius* as they were hunting; then his daughter *Sylvia* he cloistred up as a religious nunne to serve *Juno*. She conceived by *Mars*; and when she was delivered of two twines, confessed the truth unto the tyrant: who standing in feare of them, caused them both to be cast into the river *Tybris*; where they were caried downe the water unto one place, whereas a shee wolfe had newly kennelled with her yong ones: and verily her owne whelps shee abandoned and cast into the river; but the babes shee suckled. Then *Faustus* the shepherd chauncing to espie them, tooke them up and nourished as his owne; calling the one *Remus*, and the other *Romulus*: and these were the founders of *Rome* citie: according to *Aristides* the Milesian in his Italian histories.

37 After the destruction of *Troy*, *Agamemnon* together with *Cassandra* was murdered: but *Orestes* who had beene reared and brought up with *Strophius*, was revenged of those murderers of his father: as *Pyander* saith in his fourth booke of the Peloponnesian historie.

Fabius Fabricianus, descended lineally from that great *Fabius Maximus*, after he had wonne and sacked *Tuscanum*, the capitall citie of the Samnites, sent unto *Rome* the image of *Venus* Victorelle.

zelle, which was so highly honoured and worshipped among the Samnites. His wife *Fabia* had committed adulterie, with a faire and well favoured yong man, named *Petronius Valentinus*, and afterwards treacherously killed her husband. Now had *Fabia* his daughter saved her brother *Fabrianus*, being a verie little one, out of danger, and sent him away secretly to be nourished and brought up. This youth when he came to age, killed both his mother and the adulterer also; for which act of his, acquit he was by the doome of the Senate: as *Dosiphemus* delivereth the storie in the third booke of the Italian Chronicles.

38 *Buſiris* is the sonne of *Neptune*, and *Anippe* daughter of *Nilus*, under the colour of pretended hospitallitie, and courteous receiving of strangers, used to sacrifice all passengers: but divine justice met with him in the end, and revenged their death: for *Hercules* set upon him and killed him with his club: as *Agathon* the Samian hath written.

Hercules as he drave before him thorow *Italy*, *Geryons* kine, was lodged by king *Faunus* the sonne of *Mercurie*, who used to sacrifice all strangers and guests to his father: but when hee meant to do so unto *Hercules*, was himselfe by him slaine: as writeth *Dercyllus* in the third booke of the Italian histories.

39 *Phalaris* the tyrant of the Agrigentines (a mercilesse prince) was wont to torment & put to exquisite paine such as passed by or came unto him: and *Perillus* (who by his profession) was a skillfull brasie-founder, had framed an heifer of brasie, which he gave unto this king, that hee might burne quick in it the said strangers. And verily in this one thing did this tyrant shew himselfe justly for that he caused the artificer himselfe to be put into it: and the said heifer seemed to low, while he was burning within: as it is written in the third booke of Causes.

In *Aggesta* a citie of *Sicilie*, there was sometime a cruell tyrant, named *Aemilius Censorinus*, whose manner was to reward with rich gifts those who could invent new kinds of engines to put men to torture: so there was one named *Arntinus Paternus*, who had devised and forged a brasen horse, and presented it unto the foresaid tyrant, that he might put into it whom he would. And in truth the first act of justice that ever he did was this, that the partie himselfe, even the maker of it gave the first hanfell thereof; that he might make triall of that torment himselfe, which he had devised for others. Him also hee apprehended afterwards, and caused to be thrown downe headlong from the hill *Tarpeius*. It should seeme also that such princes as reigned with violence, were called of him *Aemili*: for so *Aristides* reporteth in the fourth booke of Italian Chronicles.

40 *Eucemus* the son of *Mars* & *Strophe* tooke to wife *Alcippe* daughter of *Oenomaus*, who bare unto him a daughter, named *Marpissa*, whom he minded to keepe a virgin still: but *Aphareus* seeing her, carried her away from a dance, and fled upon it. The father made sure after, but not able to recover her: for verie anguish of mind, he cast himselfe into the river of *Lycormas*; and thereby was immortalized: as saith *Dosiphemus* in the fourth booke of his Italian historie.

Antus king of the Tuskans, having a faire daughter, named *Sabina*, looked straightly unto her that she should continue a maiden: but *Catheus* one of his nobles, seeing this damosell upon a time as shee disposed herselfe was enamoured of her, and not able to suppress the furious passion of his love, ravished her and brought her to *Rome*. The father pursued after; but seeing that he could not overtake them, threw himselfe into the river, called in those daies *Parciſus*, and afterwards of his name *Anio*. Now the said *Catheus* lay with *Sabina*, and of her bodie begat *Salus* and *Lutinus*; from whom are descended the noblest families of that country: as *Aristides*, the Milesian, and *Alexander Polyhistor* write in the third booke of the Italian historie.

41 *Egeſtratus* an Ephesian borne, having murdered one of his kinsmen, fled into the citie *Delphi*, and demanded of *Apollo* in what place he should dwell? who made him this answer, that he was to inhabit there, whereas he saw the peasants of the country dancing, and crowned with chaplets of olive branches. Being arrived therefore at a certaine place in *Asia*, where he found the rural people crowned with garlands of olive leaves, and dancing; even there hee founded a citie, which he called *Elaus*: as *Pythocles* the Samian writeth in the third booke of his Georgicks.

Telegonus the sonne of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*, being sent for to seeke his father, was advised by the oracle to build a citie there, where he should find the rustical people and husbandmen of the country, crowned with chaplets and dancing together: when he was arrived therefore at a certaine coast of *Italy*, seeing the peasants adorned with boughes & branches of the wild olive tree, passing the time merrily, and dancing together: he built a citie, which upon that occurrent

he named *Prineſta*; and afterwards the Romans altering the letters a little, called it *Præſta*: as *Aristotle* hath written in the third booke of the Italian historie.



THE LIVES OF THE TEN ORATOVSRS.

The Summarie.

IN these lives compendiously described, Plutarch sheweth in part, the government of the Athenian common-weale which flourisheth by the meanes of many learned persons; in the number of whom we are to reckon those under written; namely, Antipho, Andocides, Lyſias, Illocrates, Iſæus, Aelchines, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Hyperides, and Dinarchus: but on the other side he discovereth sufficiently the indiffer-
tion of certaine oratours, how it hath engendred much confusions; wined the most part of such personages themselves, and finally overthrowen the publick estate: which he seemeth expressly to have noted and observed, to the end that every one might see, how dangerous (in the managemēt of State affaires) he is, who hath no good parts in him but onely a fine and nimble tongue. His meaning therefore is, that lively vertus indeed should be joined unto eloquence: meane while, we observe also the lightnesse, vanitie, and ingratitude of the Athenian people in many places: and in the divers complexions of these ten men here depainted; evident it is, how much available in any person, good instruction from his instance, and how powerfull good teachers be, for to frame and subjoin tender minds unto high matters, and important to the weale publicke. In perusing and passing through this treatise, a man may take knowledge of many points of the ancient popular government, which serve verie well to the better understanding of the Greeke historie, and namely, of that which concerneth Athens: As also by the recompenses both demanded, and also decreed in the behalfe of vertuous men, we may perceive and see among the imperfections of a people which had the sovereignty in their hands, some moderation from time to time: which ought to make us magnifie the wisdom and providence of God, who amid so great darknesse, hath maintained so long as his good pleasure was, so many States and governours in Greece, which afterwards fell away and came to nothing, so as at this present this goodly countrey is become subiect, and made thrall to the most violent, wicked and wretched nation under heaven.

THE LIVES OF THE

ten oratours.

ANTIPHON. I.



ANTIPHON the sonne of *Saphilus*, and borne in the borough and corporation of *Karannum*, was brought up as a scholar under his owne father, who kept a Rhetorick schoole, whereunto *Alcibiades* also (by report) was wont to go and resort when he was a young boy, who having gotten sufficiency of speech and eloquence, as some thinke, himselfe, (such was the quicknesse of his wit, and inclination of his nature) he betooke himselfe to affaires of State: and yet he held a schoole nevertheless, where he was at some difference with *Socrates* the Philosopher in matter of learning and oration, not by way of contention and emulation, but in manner of reprehension

& finding fault with some points, as *Xenophon* testifieth in the first booke of his Commentaries, as touching the deeds and sayings of *Socrates*. He penned orations for some citizens at their request

quest for to be pleaded and pronounced in iudiciall courts: and as it is given out by some, was the first who gave himselfe to this course, and professed so to do: for there is no extant one oration written in manner of a plea, by any oratours who lived before his time, no more by those that flourished in his daies (for it was not the manner yet and custome to compose orations for others) *Themistocles* (I meane *Pericles*, and *Aristides*): notwithstanding that the time presented unto them many occasions, yea and meere necessities so to do: neither was it upon their insufficiency, that they thus abstained, as it may appear by that which Historians have written of everie one of these men above mentioned. Moreover if we looke into the most ancient oratours whom we can call to mind, to wit, *Alcibiades*, *Cicero*, *Lyſias* and *Archilocheus*, who have written one & the same stile, and exercised the same forme & manner of pleading; it will be found that they all converted and conferred with *Antipho*, being now very aged and farre stept in yeeres: for being a man of an excellent quicke and readie wit, he was the first that made and put forth the Institutions of oratorie; so as, for his profound knowledge he was surnamed *Neslor*. And *Cecilius* in a certaine treatise which he compiled of him, conjectureth, that he had bene sometime schoolemaſter to *Thucydides* the Historiographer; for that *Antipho* is so highly commended by him. In his speeches and orations he is verie exquisite and full of perswasion, quicke and subtil in his inventions: in difficult matters verie artificiall; assailing his adversarie after a covert manner; turning his words and sayings respective to the lawes, and to move affections withal, aiming alwaies to that which is decent & seemely, and carrying the best apparence & shew with it.

He lived about the time of the Persian warre, when *Gorgias Leontinus* the great professor in Rhetorick flourished, being somewhat younger than he was: and he continued to the subversion of the popular state and government, which was wrought by the 400 conspirators, wherein himselfe seemed to have had a principall hand, for that he had the charge and command of two great galleies at sea, and was besides a captaine and had the leading of certaine forces: during which time he won the victorie in divers battels, and procured unto them the aide of many allies: also he moved the young and lustie able man of warre to take armes; he rigged, manned, and set out sixtie galleies, and in all their occasions was sent embassadour to the Lacedæmonians, when as the citie *Eetionia* was fortified with a wall: but after that those 400 before said were put downe and overthrowen, he was together with *Archipolemus* one of the 400, accused for the conspiracy and overthrowen, he was together with *Archipolemus* which is due unto traitours. His corps was rarie, condemned and adjudged to the punishment which is due unto traitours. His corps was cast forth without sepulture; himselfe and all his posteritie registered for infamous persons upon record: and yet some there be who report, that he was put to death by the 30 tyrants, and namely among the rest, *Lyſias* testifieth as much in an oration which he made for *Antiphos* daughter; for a little daughter he had, unto whom *Calleſtrum* made claime in right for his wife: and that the thirtie tyrants wee they who put him to death, *Therapompas* beareth witnesse in the fiftieth of his Philippikes. But more moderne surely was this man, and of a later time, yea and the sonne of one * *Lyſidonides*, of whom *Cratinus* maketh mention, as of no wicked man in his comedie called *Pytine*. For how should he who before was executed by those 400 returne to life againe in the time of the thirtie usurpers or tyrants: but his death is reported otherwise; namely, that being verie aged he failed into *Cicely*, when as the tyrannie of the former *Demys* was at the highest: and when the question was propoſed at the table, which was the best brasse: as some said this, and others that: he answered, that for his part he thought that brasse was best, whereof the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* were made: which when *Demys* heard, he imagining that the speech imported thus much covertly, as to set on the Syracusians, for to attempt some violence upon his person, commanded him to be put to death. Others report, that the said tyrant gave order that he should be made away, upon indignation that he scoffed at his tragedies.

There be extant in this oratours name three score orations; whereof as *Cecilius* saith 25 are untuly reported to be his. Noted he is and taxed by *Plato* the comick poet, together with *Pyſander*, for avarice & love of money. It is said moreover, that he composed certaine tragedies alone, and others with *Dionysius* the tyrant, who joined with him. At the same time also when he gave his mind unto Poetrie, he devised the art of curing the griefes and maladies of the minde, like as physicians pretend skill for to heale the diseases and paines of the bodie. Certes, having built a little house at *Cormith* in the market place, hee set up a bill on the gate, wherein he made profession: That he had the skill to remedie by words, those who were vexed and grieved in spirit: and he would demand of those who were amisse, the causes of their sorrow, and according thereto, apply his comforts and consolations. Howbeit afterwards supposing this art and profession

fession to be too base and meane for him, he turned his studie to Rhetoricke, and taught it. Some there be who attribute unto *Aniplo* the booke of *Glaucon* the Rhegine as touching poets: but principally is that treatise commended which he made unto *Herodotus*; as also that which is dedicated to *Erasistratus* touching the Idæes; and the oration of Message which he penned for his owne selley; & another against *Demophanes* the captaine, which he named *Paranomon*, for that he charged him to have broken the lawes. Also another oration he wrote against *Hippocrates* the general commander, & caused him to be condemned for his contumacy, in that he failed to answer at the day assigned for his triall, that verie yeere when *Theopompus* was Provost of the citie, under whom the foure hundred conspiratours and usurers of the common-weale were put downe and overthrowen. Now the decree of the Senate, by vertue whereof ordained it was: That *Anipho* 10 should be judicially tried and condemned, *Cecilius* hath put downe in these tearmes. The one and twentieth day of Prytancia, when *Demonicus* of *Alopece*, was secretarie or publike notarie, *Philoftratus* of *Pellene* chiefe commander, upon the proposition or bill-preferred of *Andron* the Senate, hath ordained as touching these persons; namely *Archiptolemus*, *Onomacles* and *Anipho*, whom the captaines have declared against; that they went in embassage unto *Lacedæmon*, to the losse and detriment of the citie of *Athens*, and departed from the camp, first in an enemies ship, and so passed by land by *Decelea*; that their bodies should be attached and cast into prison, for to abide justice and punishment according to law. Item, that the captaines themselves, with certaine of the Senate, to the number of ten, such as it pleased them to chuse and nominate, should make presentment and give in evidence, that upon the points alleged and proved, judgement might passe according. Item, that the *Thesmothetes* should call for the said persons judicially, the verie next morrow after they were committed, and convent them before the judges, after that they be chosen by lot: when and where they should accuse the captaines with the orators above said, of treason & yea & whosever els would come in, he should be heard. Item, when sentence is concluded and pronounced against them, then the judgement of condemnation shall be executed according to the forme and tenure of the law established, in case of traitors. Under the instrument of this decree, was subscribed the condemnation of treason in this manner: Condemned there were of treason, *Archiptolemus* the sonne of *Hippodamius* of *Agryle* present; *Anipho* the sonne of *Sophilus*, of *Rhamus*, likewise present: and awarded it was by the court, that these two should be delivered over into the hands of the eleven executors 30 of justice; their goods to be confiscate; the disme whereof to be consecrate unto the goddesse *Minerva*; their houses to be demolished and pulled downe to the very ground; and upon the borders of the plots wherein they stood, this superscription to be written: Here stood the houses of *Archiptolemus* and of *Anipho*, two traitors of the State *** Also, that it might not bee lawfull to enter or burie the bodie of *Archiptolemus* and of *Anipho* within the citie of *Athens*, nor in any part belonging to their domain or territorie. That their memorie should be infamous, and all their posteritie after them, as well bastards as legitimate; and that whosever adopted any one of *Archiptolemus* or *Anipho*s children for his sonne, himselfe should be held infamous. Finally, that all this should be engrossed and engraven in a colunne of bras, wherein also should be set downe the sentence and decree which passed as concerning *Phrynicus*. 40

ANDOCIDES. II.

Andocides was the sonne of that *Leagoras*, who sometime made a peace betweene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians; borne in the tribe of *Cydathene* or *Thurie*, descended from a noble house, and as *Hellanicus* saith, even from *Mercurie*; for the race of the *Ceryces*, that is, *Herauts* pertaineth unto him: and therefore chosen he was upon a time with *Glaucon*, for to go with a fleet of twentie saile, to aide the Corcyreans, who warred upon the Corinthians. But after all this, accused he was of impietie and irreligion; for that hee with others had man- 50 gled and defaced the images of *Mercurie*, that stood within the citie: also for that he had trespassed against the holy mysteries and sacred ceremonies of *Ceres*; in as much as being before time a wild youth and loosely given, he went in a maske one night, and brake certaine images of the god *Mercurie*; whereupon (I say) he was judicially convented. And because he would not deliver and bring forth to be examined upon torture, that servant of his, whom his accusers called for, he was held attaint & convict of that crime which was laid to his charge; yea & for the second imputation charged upon him verie deeply suspected: for which all he was called into question, not long after the setting forth of the great Armada at sea which went into *Sicily*, when

when the Corinthians had sent certaine Aegæans and Leontines, into the citie of *Athens*, unto whom the Athenians privately were to yeeld aid & succour, in the night season they brake all the images of *Mercurie* which stood about the market place, as *Craippus* saith. Well being suspected for offending against the sacred mysteries of *Ceres*, & thereupon judicially called to his answer, he escaped judgement of condemnation, and was acquit; so that he would discover and declare the delinquents and offenders indeed. Now having emploied his whole studie & endeavor thereabout, he wrought so, that he found out those who were faultie as touching the sacred mysteries afore said, among whom was his owne father. As for all the rest when they were convicted, he caused them to be put to death: only his fathers life he saved, although he was already in prison; 10 promising withall that he would doe much good service unto the common-weale, wherein he failed not of his word. For *Leagoras* accused many who had robbed and embezzled the cities treasure, and committed other wicked parts, by the meanes whereof he was absolved.

Now albeit *Andocides* was in great name and reputation for manning the affaires of common-weale; yet nevertheless he set his mind to trafficke and merchandize at sea, whereby hee got amitie, and entred into league of hospitalitie, which many princes and great potentates, but principally with the king of *Cyprus*: and it was than, that he stole and carried away a citizens child, the daughter of *Aristides* and his owne niece, without the privitie and consent of her friends, and sent her closely for a present to the said king of *Cyprus*: but when he was upon the point to be called in question judicially for this fact, he stole her privily away againe out of *Cyprus*, and brought her home to *Athens*. Hereupon the king of *Cyprus* caused hands to be laid 20 upon him, where he was kept in prison; but he brake loose and escaped to *Athens*, at the verie time when the foure hundred conspiratours and usurers governed the State: and being by them cast into prison, he got away againe when the said Olygarchie was dissolved. Howbeit he was drawn out of the citie, when the thirtie tyrants ruled all and usurped their government. During which time of his exile, he abode in the citie of *Elia*: but when *Thrafsibulus* and his adherents returned into the city, he also repaired thither, and was sent in an embassage to *Lacedæmon*, where being taken againe in a trip, he was for his ill demeanour banished.

All these premises appeare evidently by his orations which he hath written; for in some of them we find how he answereth to those imputations which were charged upon him for violating of the foresaid holy mysteries: in others, he generally craved for the favour of the judges, and standeth upon the tearmes of mercie: there is an oration also of his extant, as touching the appeaching or discoverie of those, who were faultie for those sacred ceremonies: as also his Agologie or defence against *Phaax*, and concerning peace. He flourished at the very same time that *Socrates* the Philosopher was in fo great name. But borne he was in the * 78 Olympias 30 that yeere wherein *Theagenides* was provost or chiefe ruler of *Athens*; so that by this computation he must needs be more ancient than *Lysias* by some hundred yeeres. There was one of the *Hermes* that carried his name, and was called *Hermes* of *Andocides*, for that this image being dedicated by the tribe or linage *Aegæu*, stood neere unto the house where *Andocides* dwelt. This *Andocides* defraided the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kintred 40 *Agæu*, which contended for the prise in the honor of *Dithyrambus* at the feast of *Bacchus*: where having obtained the victorie, he consecrated a trefect, and set it up an high, just against *Porinus* *Selmus*.

His stile is plaine and simple, without all art, bare and naked without any figures whatsoever.

LYSIAS. III.

Lysias the sonne of *Cephalus*, the sonne of *Lysanias*, who had likewise for his father *Cephalus*, borne in *Syracuse*, but he went to dwell at *Athens*, partly for the affection that he bare to the citie, and in part through the perswasion of *Percles* the son of *Xantippus*, who being his friend 50 & guest, perswaded him thereto, and the rather for that he was a mightie man there, and exceedingly rich: or as some think, he came to *Athens* by occasion that he was banished out of *Syracuse*, at what time as the citie was tyrannically oppressed by *Gelon*: so he arrived at *Athens* that yeere, wherein *Philoboles* was provost next after *Phrynaches*, in the second yeere of the 82 Olympias: at his first coming brought up he was, & taught with the noblest Athenians; but after that the citie sent out the colonie of *Syracuse*, which afterwards was named *Thurij*, he wēt with his eldest brother *Polemarchus*: (for he had besides him 2. other brethren, *Eudemus* & *Brachyllus* their father being now departed this life) to have his part set out & allotted unto him out of his fathers lands, being not

fifteene yeeres old, that verie yeere when as *Praxueles* was provost: where he remained, and was instructed by *Nicias*, & *Tisias*, two Syracusans. Now having bought him an house, with the portion of land which fell unto his share, he lived there, in state of a citizen, and was called to government of common weale, when his lot came, for the space of 63 yeeres, untill the time that *Clearchus* was provost of *Athens*: but the yeere next following when *Callias* was provost; namely, in the 92 Olympias, when as the Sicilians and Athenians fought a field, by reason whereof many of their allies stirred and revolted, and especially those who dwelt in *Italy* and coasted thereupon, accused he was to have favoured the Athenians and sided with them, and thereupon was banished with three other. Now being arrived at *Athens* in the yeere wherein *Callias* was provost next after *Clearchus*, while the foure hundred usurpers were possessed of the State, hee there rested: but after the navall battell was stricken neere to a place called the Goats rivers, when as the thirte tyrants had the administration of the common weale in their hands, banished he was from thence for the space of seven yeeres; lost his goods and his brother *Polemarchus*, himselfe escaped with life narrowly out of the house at a posterne gate or backe-doore; in which house he had beene beset with a full purpose that he should end his life there: and then he retired himselfe to the citie *Megara*, where he abode. When as those of *Phila* had made a reentry into the citie, and chased out the tyrants; for that he shewed himselfe (above all others) most forward in this enterprise, as having contributed (for the exploiting of this service) two thousand dragmes weight in silver, and two hundred targuets: and being sent besides with *Herman*, waged three hundred and two souldiers, and wrought so effectually with *Thrasyllus* the 20 Elian, his friend and old host, that he helped him unto certaine talents of silver: in regard whereof, *Thrasyllus* (upon his returne and reentry into the city) propoed unto the people: That for and in consideration of these good services, the right of free burgeoisie should be granted unto him. This hapned in the yeere of the Anarchie, when there was no provost elected, next before the provostship of *Euclides*. This was granted and ratified by the people: onely there was one *Archinus* stood up, and impeached the proceeding thereof, as being against the law, because it was propoed unto the people, before it was consulted upon in the Senate: so the fore-said decree was annulled and revoked. Thus being disappointed of his right of burgeoisie, he remained nevertheless (during his life) as a citizen, and enjoyed the same rights, franchises and privileges that other burgeoisie did; & so died in the end, when he had lived the space of foure 30 score and three yeeres, or as some say three score and sixteene; and as others write, foure score: so that he lived to see *Demosthenes* a child. It is said, that he was borne the yeere that *Philoctetes* was provost. There goe in his name foure hundred orations; of which number (according to *Dionysius* and *Cicilius*) two hundred and thirte be of his owne making in deed: in the pronouncing of all which, he failed but twice, and had the foile. There is extant also, that very oration which he made against *Archinus*, in the maintenance and defence of the said decree; by vertue whereof, the right of burgeoisie was given unto him: also another, against the thirte tyrants. Apt he was to perswade; and in those orations which he gave out to others, very briefe and succinct. There be found likewise of his making, certaine introductions to Rhetorick, and speeches delivered publicly before the people; letters missive; solemne praises; funerall orations; 40 discourses of love; and one defence of *Socrates*, which directly seemed to touch the judges to the quick. His stile was thought to be plaine and easie, howbeit, inimitable. *Demosthenes* in one oration which he made against *Xerxes*, saith: That he was enamoured of one *Metanira*, a servant with *Neerxes*; but afterwards he espoused and tooke to wife the daughter of his brother *Brachyllus*. *Plato* himselfe maketh mention of him in his booke entituled *Phaedrus*, as of an orator passing eloquent, and more ancient than *Socrates*. *Philiscus* who was familiar with *Socrates*, and the companion of *Lysius*, made an Epigram upon him, wherby it appeareth, that he was more ancient, (as also it is evident by that which *Plato* hath said) & the Epigram is to this effect:

Now shew Callippes daughter, thou
that art so eloquent;
If ought of wirtue spirit thou hast,
and what is excellent:
For meet it is that thou should'st bring,
some little *Lysias* forth:
To blace his fathers name abroad,
for vertuous deeds of worth.
Who (now transform'd, and having caught

a bodie

a bodie strange to see
In other worlds, for Sapience should
now immortal bee)
My loving heart to friend now dead,
likewise to none;
And to delate his vertuous life
unto posteritie.

He composed likewise an oration for *Sphierates*, which he pronounced against *Harmodius*: as also another wherein he accused *Timotheus* of treason, and both the one and the other he overthrew: but afterwards when *Sphierates* tooke upon him againe to enquire into the doings of *Timotheus*, calling him to account for the revenues of the State which he had mannaged, and set in hand againe with this accusation of treason, hee was brought into question judicially, and made answer in his owne defence by an oration that *Lysias* penned for him. And as for himselfe he was acquit of the crime and absolved; but *Timotheus* was condemned and fined to pay a great summe of money. Moreover, he rehearsed in the great assembly and solemnity at the Olympick games, a long oration, wherein he perswaded the Greekes, that they should be reconciled one to another, and joine together for to put downe the tyrant *Dionysius*.

ISOCRATES. IIII.

Socrates was the sonne of one *Theodorus*, an Erechthian, a man reckoned in the number of mean citizens, one who kept a sort of servants under him, who made flutes and hautboies; by whose workmanship he became so rich, that he was able to bring up and set out his children in worshipfull manner. For other sonnes he had besides, to wit, *Teleippus* and *Diomessus*; and also a little daughter unto them. Hereupon it is that he was twitted and flouted by the comick poets *Aristophanes* and *Stratis*, in regard of those flutes. He lived about the 86. Olympias elder than *Lysimachus* the Myrrhiniusian by two and twentie yeeres, and before *Plato* some seven yeeres. During his childhood, he had as good bringing up as any Athenian whatsoever, as being the disciple & scholar of *Prodicus* the Chian, of *Gorgias* the Leontine, of *Tyrtus* the Syracusan, & *Theramen* the professed Rhetorician: who being at the point to be apprehended & taken by the 30 tyrants, & flying for refuge to the altar of *Athena* the Counsellor, when all other friends were affrighted and amazed: onely *Socrates* arose and shewed himselfe for to assist and succor him, and at the first continued a long time silent. But *Theramen* himselfe began and prayed him to desist; saying, that it would be more dolorous and grievous unto him, than his owne calamitie, in case he should see any of his friends to be troubled and endangered for the love of him. And it is said, that he helped him to compile certaine Institutions of Rhetorick, at what time as he was maliciously and falsely slandered before the judges in open court: which Institutions are gon under the name and title of *Baton*.

When he was grown to mans estate, he forsooke to meddle in State matters, and in the affaires of common-weale; as well for that he had by nature a small and feeble voice, as because naturally he was fearful and timorous: and besides, his late was much impaired, by reason that he lost his patrimonie in the warre against the Lacedaemonians. It appeareth that to other men he had beene assistant in counsell, and giving testimonie for them in places of judgement: but it is not known that he pronounced above one oration, to wit, *de deo Dionysio*, that is to say, concerning counterchange of goods. And having set up a publicke schoole, he gave himselfe to the studie of philosophie, and to write; where he composed his Panegyrique oration, and certaine others of the Deliberative kind: and those that he wrote himselfe, some he read, some he penned for others; thinking thereby to exhort and stirre up the Greekes to devise and performe such duties as befecemed them to doe. But, seeing that he missed of his purpose and intention, hee gave over that course, and betooke himselfe to keepe a schoole: first, as some say, in *Chios*, having nine scholars that came unto him: where when he saw that his scholars paid him downe in money his Minervals for their schooling, hee wept and said: I see well now that I am sold unto these youtnes. He would confere willingly with those that came to devise and talke with him, being the first that put a difference betweene wrangling pleas or contentious orations, and serious politike discourses of common-weale; in which he rather employed himselfe. He ordained magistrates in *Chios*, erecting the same forme of government there, which was in his owne country. He gathered more silver together by teaching schoole, than ever any professor 31

*Of all the world thereby to make a shev,
That unto gods he is religious,
And honoureth his father vertuous.*

It is said, that whiles he was but a young boy, he ran a course on horsebacke; for he is to be seene all in brasse in the castle or citadell of the city, sitting and riding his horse, in forme and proportion of a boy within the tenise court of those priests of *Minerva*, which attend there, to trie the sacred secrets, not to be revealed, as some have reported. In all his life time there were two only suites commenced against him: the former, for the exchange of his goods, being challenged and provoked by *Megacles*; for the triall whereof, he appeared not personally at his day, by reason of sicknesse: the second action was framed against him by *Lysimachus*, for the exchange of his goods, with charge to defray the expenses of maintaining a galley at sea: in which proceesse he was cast, and forced to set out a galley. There was also a painted image of his in the place called *Pompeium*. And *Aphareus* composed verily orations, though not many, both judiciall and also deliberative. He made also tragedies, to the number of seven and thirtie; whereof there be two which were contradicted. And he began to have his works openly heard in publicke place, from the yeere wherein *Lysistratus* was provost, unto that yeere wherein *Soficles* was in place; to eight and twenty yeeres: in which time he caused six civill plaies to be acted, and twice gained the prize of victorie, having set them forth by a principall actour or plaier, named *Dionysius*; and by other actours he exhibited two more, of the *Lenaick* kind, that is to say, full of mirth, and to move laughter.

There were the statues also to be seene within the citadell, of the mother of *Isocrates* and of *Theodorus*, as also of *Anaco* her sister; of which, that of his mother is yet extant; and it standeth neere unto the image of *Hygia*, that is to say Health; onely the inscription is changed; but the the other of *Anaco* is not to be found. This *Anaco* had two sonnes, *Alexander* by *Canes*, and *Ufides* by *Lysias*.

I S A E U S. V.

Sens was borne in *Chaleis*; and being come to *Athens*, he studied the works of *Lysias*, whom he did fo neerly imitate, as well in the apt couching of his words, as in the witty device & subtiltie of his inventions; that if a man were not very well practised & perfect in the stile and manner of writing of these two orators, hardly he should be able to discern many of their orations, and distinguish one from another. He was in great esteeme, about the time of the Peloponneuske warre, as may be conjectured by his orations; and continued unto the reigne of king *Philip*. He gave over his publicke schoole, and went to teach *Demosthenes* privately at home, for the sum of ten thousand drachmes of silver; whereby he became very famous: and as some say, he it was that composed for *Demosthenes* certaine exhortatory orations. He left behind him three score and foure orations going in his name; whereof fiftie are his indeed: also some particular introductions of his owne, and rules of Rhetorick. He was the first who began both to forme and to turne the sense of his stile unto the politicke management of affaires; a thing that *Demosthenes* doth most of all imitate. Of this oratour, *Theopompus* the comical poet maketh mention in his *Theus*.

ARSCINES. VI.

Aeschines was the sonne of *Atrometus* (a man who being banished in the time of the thirtie Tyrants, was a meane to aide the people, and to set up the popular state againe) and his mothers name was *Glaucobea*. He was of the burrough or tribe *Cotboris*: so that his parents were neither for nobilitie of race, nor yet for wealth and riches renowned in the citie: but being young, and of a lustie and able constitution, he fortified and confirmed the same more by bodily exercise; and finding himselfe to have a strong brest and cleere voice; thereupon afterwards he made profession to act tragedies; but (as *Demosthenes* said of him by way of reproch) he went after others, and could never proceed higher than to act the third and last parts in the solemnities of the Bacchanale plaies under one *Arifodemus*. When he was but a boy, he taught petties the letters; namely, to spel and reade together with his father; and being of some growth, he served as a common fouldier in the warres. The scholar and auditor he was (as some thinke) of *Isocrates* & *Plato*; but according to *Cicellius*, of *Leodamas*. Being entred into the managing of State affaires, and that not without credit & reputation; because he made head & sided against the faction of *Demosthenes*, employed he was in many embassages; and namely unto *K. Philip*, for

for to treat of peace: for which, accused he was by *Demosthenes*, and charged to have bene the cause that the nation of the Phocæans was rooted out; and for that he kindled warre betweene the Amphyctions and the Amphissians, what time as he was chosen one of the deputies to be present in the assembly or diet of the Amphyctions, who made also an haven, whereby it hapned withall, that the Amphyctions put themselves into the protection of *Philip*, who being wrought by *Aeschines*, tooke the matter in hand, and conquered all the territorie of *Phocis*: howbeit, through the port and favourable countenance of *Eubulus* the sonne of *Spintharus* a Proballustian, who was of great credit and reputation among the people, and spake in his behalfe, he escaped, and was found unguiltie, and carried it by thirtie voices; although others say, that the oratours had penned their orations, and were at the point to plead; but upon the newes of the overthrow at *Cheronæa*, which impeached the proceeding of law, the matter was not called for, nor the cause pleaded.

A certeine time after, when king *Philip* was dead, and his sonne *Alexander* gone forward in his expedition into *Asia*, he accused *Ctesiphon* judicially, for that he had passed a decree contrary unto the lawes, in the honour of *Demosthenes*; but having on his side not the fift part of the suffrages and the voices of the people, he was banished out of *Athens*, and fled to *Rhodes*, because he would not pay the fine of a thousand drachmes, in which he was condemned, upon his overthrow at the barre. Others say, that over & besides, he was noted with infamie, because he would not depart out of the citie; and that he retired himselfe to *Ephesus* unto *Alexander*. But upon the decease of *Alexander*, when there was great troubles towards, he returned to *Rhodes*, where he kept a schoole, and beganne to teach the art of Rhetorick. He read other-whiles unto the Rhodians (and that with action and gesture) the oration which he had pronounced against *Ctesiphon*; whereat, when all the hearers marvelled, and namely, how possibly he could be cast, if he acted (such an oration: You would never wonder at the matter (quoth he) my masters of *Rhodes*, if you had bene in place and heard *Demosthenes* implaining against it. He left behinde him a schoole at *Rhodes*, which afterwards was called the *Rhodian* schoole. From thence he sailed to *Samos*, and when he had staid a time in the Isle, within a while after, he died. A pleasant and sweet voice he had, as may appeare both by that which *Demosthenes* hath delivered of him, and also by an oration of *Demochares*.

There be found foure orations under his name; one against *Timarchus*; another as touching false embassage; and a third against *Ctesiphon*, which in truth be all three his: for the fourth entitled *Deliacus*, was never penned by *Aeschines*. True it is indeed, that appointed and commanded he was to plead judicially the causes of the temple of *Delos*: but he pronounced no such orations; for that *Hyperides* was chosen in stead of him, as faith *Demosthenes*. And by his owne saying two brethren he had, *Aphobus* and *Demochares*. He brought unto the Athenians the first tidings of the second victorie which they obtained at *Tamnye*, for which he was rewarded with a crowne. Some give it out that *Aeschines* was scholar to none, and never learned his Rhetorick of any master; but being brought up to writing, and a good pen-man, he became a clarke or notarie; and so grew up to knowledge of himselfe by his owne industrie, for that he ordinarily conversed in judiciall courts, and places of judgement. The first time that ever he made publicke speech before the people, was against king *Philip*; and having then audience with great applause and commendation, he was presently chosen embassadour, and sent to the Arcadians; whither when he was come, he raised a power of ten thousand men against *Philip*. He presented and indited *Timarchus* for maintaining a brothell house; who fearing to appeare judicially, and to have the cause heard, hung himselfe, as after a sort *Demosthenes* in some place saith. Afterwards elected he was to go in embassage unto *Philip* with *Ctesiphon* & *Demosthenes*, about a treatie of peace, wherein he carried himselfe better than *Demosthenes*. A second time was hee chosen the tenth man in an embassage, for to goe and conclude a peace upon certaine capitulations and covenants; for which service he was judicially called to his answer and acquit, as hath bene said so before.

LYCURGUS. VII.

Lycurgus was the sonne of *Lycophon*, the sonne of *Lycurgus*; him I meane whom the thirtie Tyrants did to death, by the procurement & instigation of one *Arifodemus* that came from *Batas* who having bene treasurer generall of *Greece*, was banished during the popular government. Of the borrough or tribe he was named *Bura*, and of the family or house of the *Eteobutades*.

liii 2

der. At the beginning, the scholar he was of *Plato* the philosopher, and made profession of philosophy: but afterwards being entred into familiar acquaintance with *Socrates*, hee became his scholar, and dealt in affaires of State where hee won great credit, as well by his deeds, as words; and so put in trust he was with the manning of the cities revenues: for treasurer general he was the space of fiftieene yeeres; during which time, there went thorow his hands fortie millions of talents, or as some say, fourscore millions six hundred and fiftie talents. And it was the orator *Stratocles* who preferred him to this honor, by propounding him unto the people. Thus I say at the first was hee himselfe chosen treasurer in his own name; but afterwards he nominated some one of his friends; and yet nevertheless managed all, and had the whole administration of it in his owne hands; for that there was a Statute enacted and published, that none might be chosen to have the charge of the publicke treasure above five yeeres. He continued alwaies an overseer of the citie workes both winter and summer: and having the office and charge committed unto him for provision of all necessities for the warres, he reformed many things that were amisse in common-wealth. He caused to be built for the citie four hundred gallies. He made the common hall or place for publicke exercises in *Lyceum*, and planted the same round about with trees: He reared also the wrestling hall, and finished the theater which is at the temple of *Bacchus*, being himselfe in person to oversee and direct the workmen. He was reputed a man of such fidelity and so good a conscience, that there was committed upon trust into his hands, to the summe of two hundred and fiftie talents of silver, by divers and sundrie private persons to be kept for their use. He caused to be made many faire vessels of gold and silver to adorne and beautifie the citie: as also sundrie images of Victorie in gold. And finding many publicke workes imperfect and halfe done, hee accomplished and made an end of them all: as namely the *Athenals*, the common halls for armour and other utensils and implements, serving for the citie uses. He founded a wall round about the spacious cloisture, called *Panathenaicke*, which he finished up to the verie cape and battlements; yea and laid levell and even, the great pit or chinke in the ground: for that one *Dimus*, whose plot of ground it was, gave away the proprietie which he had in it unto the citie, in favour especially of *Lycurgus*, and for his sake. He had the charge and custodie of the citie, and commission to attache and apprehend malefactours, whom hee drave all quit out of the citie; in somuch that some of the oratours and subtle sophisters would say, that *Lycurgus* dipt not his pen in blacke ink, but in deadly blood, when he drew his writs against malefactours: In regard of which benefit unto the common-wealth, so well beloved he was of the people, that when king *Alexander* demanded to had him delivered into his hands, the people would not forgo him. But when as king *Philip* made warre upon the Athenians the second time, hee went in embassage with *Polyæctus* and *Demosthenes*, as well into *Peloponnesus*, as to other States and cities. All his time hee lived in good estimation among the Athenians, reputed evermore for a iust and upright man, in such sort that in all courts of justice, if *Lycurgus* said the word, it was held for a great prejudice & good foredoome in his behalfe, for whom hee spake. He propoised & brought in certaine lawes; the one to this effect, that there should be exhibited a solemnitie of plaies or comedies at the feast *Clytæ*, wherein the poets should do their best, and strive a vie within the theatre for the prize; and whosoever obtained victorie, should therewith have the right and free-dome of burgeoisie, a thing that before was not lawfull nor graunted unto poets; and thus hee brought unto use and practise againe, a solemn game which hee had discontinued. Another, that there should be made at the publicke charges of the citie, statues of bras for the poets *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; that their tragedies should be exemplified and engrossed faire, for to be kept in the chamber of the citie; and that the publicke notarie of the citie should read them unto the plaies, for otherwise unlawfull it was to act them. A third there was, that no citizen, nor any other person resistant and inhabitant within the citie of *Athens*, should be permitted to buy any prisoners taken in warre, such as were of free condition before, to make them slaves, without the consent of their first masters. Item, that within the haven *Pyræum*, there should be exhibited a solemn play or game unto *Ægyptus*, consisting of round daunces, no fewer than three: and that unto those who woon the first prize, there should be given for a reward no fewer than ten pound of silver; to the second, eight at the least; and to the third, not under six, according as they should be adjudged by the timpiers. Item, that no dame of *Athens* might be allowed to ride in a coach to *Eleusis*; for feare that the poore might be debased by the rich, and here in reputed their inferiours: but in case any of them were so taken riding in a coach, the should be fined and pay six thousand drachms: now when his owne wife obeyed not his law, but was surprized in the manner by the sycophants and prönoters, hee himselfe gave unto them a whole talent

talent, with which afterwards when he was charged, and accused before the people: You see yet (quoth he) my matters of *Athens* that I am overtaken for giving, and not for taking silver.

He mette one day as he went in the street, a publicane or farmer of the forraie taxes and tributes for the city, who had laid hands upon the philosopher *Xenocrates*, and would have ledde him to prison in all haste, because hee paid not the duties imposed upon strangers; for which hee gave the publicane a rappe on the head with the rodde or walking staffe which hee had in his hand, and recovered the philosopher out of his cloutches; which done, hee cast the said officer himselfe into prison for his labor, as having comitted a great indignity unto such a personage: a few daies after, the same philosopher meeting him with the children of *Lycurgus*: I have (quoth he unto them) my good children rendred thanks unto your father, and that right speedily, in that hee is so praised and commended of all men for succouring and rescuing me. Hee propoised and published certeine publicke decrees, using the helpe herein of one *Eucledes* an Olynthian, who was thought to be a very sufficient man in framing and penning such acts; and albeit hee was a wealthy person, yet hee never ware but one and the same kinde of garment both winter and summer, yea, and the same shooes hee went in every day, what need soever was. Hee exercised himselfe continually in declaiming both night and day, for that hee was not so fit to speak of a sudden and unprovided, upon his bedde or pallet where hee lay, hee had onely for his covering a sheepes skime, fell and all, and under his head a bouldster, to the end that the sooner and with more ease, hee might awake and goe to his study. There was one who reproched him, for that hee paid his money still unto sophisters and professed rhetoricians, for teaching him to make orations: But (quoth he) againe, if there were any would promise and undertake to profit my children and make them better, I would give him willingly not onely a thousand deniers, but the moitie of all my goods. Very bold hee was and resolute to speake his minde frankly unto the people, and to tell them the truth plainly, bearing himselfe upon his nobility; in somuch as one day when the Athenians would not suffer him to make a speech in open audience, hee cried out with a loud voice; & whipped of *Corfu*, how many talents art thou worth? Another time, when some there were who called *Alexander* god: And what manner of god may hee be (quoth *Lycurgus*, out of whose temple whosoever goe, had need to be sprinkled and drenched all over with water to purifie themselves.

After hee was dead, they delivered his children into the hands of the eleven officers for execution of justice, for that *Thrasicles* had framed an accusation, & *Menelachmus* ended them; but upon the letters of *Demosthenes*, which in the time of his exile hee wrote unto the Athenians, advertising them that they were ill spoken of about *Lycurgus* his children, they repented themselves of that which they had done, and let them goe: verily *Democles* the scholar of *Theophrastus* justified them, and spake in their defence. Himselfe and some of his children were buried at the cities charges, over and against the temple of *Minerva Paonia*, within the orchard or grove of *Melanthius* the philosopher: and found there be even in these our daies certeine tombes with the names of *Lycurgus* and his children written thereupon. But that which is the greatest thing that foundeth most to the praise of his government, hee raised the revenues of the common-wealth unto twelve hundred talents, whereas before they amounted but unto three-score. A little before hee died, when hee perceived death to approach, hee caused himselfe to be carried into the temple of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and into the Senate house, desirous there to render an account of his whole administration of the common-wealth: but no man was so hardy as to come forth and charge him with any unjust and wrongful dealing; save onely *Menelachmus*; now after hee had fully answered those imputations which hee charged upon him, hee was carried home againe to his house, where hee ended his daies; reputed all his life time for a good and honest man, commended for his eloquence, and never condemned in any suite, notwithstanding many actions and accusations were framed against him.

Three children hee had by *Calisto*, the daughter of *Abiron*, and sister to *Calæus*, the sonne also of *Abiron*, of the burrough *Bara*, who was treasurer of the campe during the warres that yeere wherein *Cherondas* was provost; of this affinity and alliance, *Demarchus* maketh mention, in that oration which hee made against *Pasimus*. Hee left behinde him the children, *Abiron*, *Lycurgus*, and *Lycophon*; of whom *Abiron* and *Lycurgus* died without issue; but *Abiron* after hee had with good reputation and credit, managed State matters, changed this life: and *Lycophon* having espoused *Calistonechia*, the daughter of *Philippus Aixenes*, begat a daughter named *Calesto*, married afterwards to *Cleombrotus*, the sonne of *Dimocritus*, an Achæmæon, who by her had a sonne named *Lycophon*, whom *Lycophon* the grand-father adopted for his owne

sonne; and he departed this life without children: after the deceale of this *Lycophon Callisto* was remarried unto *Socrates*, unto whom she bare a sonne, named *Symmachus*; who begat *Aristonymus*; and of *Aristonymus* came *Charmides*, whose daughter was *Philippa*, and the bare a sonne, to wit, *Lysander Medius*, who became an interpreter also, one of the *Ennolpides*: of him and of *Timothea* the daughter of *Glancus* descended *Laodamia* and *Medius*, who held the priesthood of *Neptune Erechtheus*: *Philippa* also a daughter, who afterwards was a religious priestesse, devoted to *Minerva*; for before time, had *Dioetes* the Melitian espoused her, and the bare him a sonne named likewise *Dioetes*, who was a colonell of a regiment of footmen; and he tooke to wife *Hediste* the daughter of *Abiron*, of whose body he begat *Philippide* and *Nicostrata*; and *Themistocles* the torch-bearer sonne of *Theophrastus* married *Nicostrata*, by whom he had *Theophrastus* and *Dioetes*, notwithstanding he was priest unto *Neptune Erechtheus*.

There be found of this oratours penning, fiftene orations. Crowned hee was many times by the people: and ordained there were for him divers statues and images, whereof there was one all of brasse, according to a publike decree of the citie, standing in the street *Cerameum*, that yeere when *Anaxicrates* was provost; unto whom there was allowed unto himselfe and his sonne *Lycargus*, as also to his eldest nephew, table and diet in *Prytaneeum*, by vertue of the same decree of the people: howbeit, after the deceale of *Lycargus*, *Lycophon* his eldest sonne made sute by law for this gift and donation. He pleaded also many times for matters of religion, and accused *Antolycus* the senator, and one of the high court *Areopagus*, *Lyficles* also the captaine, and *Demades* the sonne of *Demus*, together with *Menescamus*, and many others, whom he overthrew and caused to be condemned every one. Moreover, he called judicially into question *Diphilus*, for that he tooke away out of the metall mines, those middle posts or props which supported the weight of earth bearing upon them, by which meanes he enriched himselfe, directly against the lawes: and whereas the penaltie of this crime was death, he caused him to be condemned. He distributed out of his goods, unto every citizen of *Athens* fiftie drachmes, or as some say, one mna, or pound of silver: for the totall summe of his wealth amounted unto an hundred and threecore talents. He accused likewise *Aristogiton*, *Cleocrates*, and *Antolycus*, for that being no better than slaves, they caried themselves like men of free condition. This *Lycargus* was surnamed *Ibis*, that is to say, the blacke Stork: and men commonly would say to *Lycargus*, *Ibis*, like as to *Xenophon*, *Nyctera*, that is to say, the Howler. The most ancient of this houle, were descended from *Erechtheus*, the sonne of the Earth and of *Pulsane*; but the next, from *Lycomedes* and *Lycargus*, whom the people honoured with publicke funerals and obsequies. And this descent of their race, is drawn from those who were priests of *Neptune*, and set downe in a full and perfect table, which hangeth up in the temple *Erechtheum*, and was painted by *Ismenides* the Chalcidian; where also stand certaine statues of wood, as well of *Lycargus* as of his children, to wit, *Abiron*, *Lycargus* and *Lycophon*, which sometimes were made by *Timarchus* and *Cephalodorus* the sonnes of *Praxiteles* the imager. He who set up and dedicated the painted table before said, was *Abiron*, unto whom by order of hereditarie succession, fell the priesthood, but he gave over his right thereto voluntarily unto his brother *Lycophon*: this is the reason that he is painted giving a three-forked mace unto his brother. Now this *Lycargus* having caused to be engraven upon a square pillar, a briefe of his whole administration of the common weale, caused it to be planted just before the wrestling hall, for every man to see it that would. Neither could any man be fould so hardy, as to accuse him for robbing the State, or inverting any thing to his own use. He proposed unto the people, that there should be a coroner given unto *Neopolemus* the sonne of *Anticles*, and a statue besides, for that he undertooke and promised to gild (all over) the altar of *Apollo* in the market place, according to the commendement & direction of the oracle. He demanded also, that honour should be decreed for *Eumymnus* the sonne of *Diotimus*, whose father was *Dioptres*, in that yeere wherein *Cteficles* was provost.

DEMOSTHENES. VIII.

Demosthenes the sonne of *Demosthenes* and of *Cleobule* the daughter of *Gylon*, of the lineage or tribe of *Pamnia*, being left an orphan by his father, at the age of seven yeeres, together with a sister five yeeres olde; during the time of orphanage kept with his mother a widow, and went to schoole unto *Isoerates*, as some say, or as most men give out, to *Isaas* the Chalcidian the disciple of *Isoerates*, who lived in *Athens*: he imitated *Thucydides* and *Plato* the Philosopher, in whole schoole there be that say he was first brought up: but as *Hegeffius* the Magnesian reporteth,

teth, being adverted that *Callistratus* the sonne of *Empades*, an Aphidnean and famous orator, who had bene captaine and commander of a troupe of horsemen, and who had dedicated an altar to *Mercurius* surnamed *Agoraios*, that is to say, the Speaker, was to make a solemne oration unto the people, craved leave of his tuteur and schoollmaster, that he might go to hear him: and no sooner had he heard him speake, but he was in love with his eloquence.

But as for this oratour, he heard him but a while, even until he left the citie; for banished he was. Now after that he was departed unto *Thrace*, by which time *Demosthenes* grew to be a young man, then began he to frequent the company of *Isoerates* and *Plato*: howbeit, afterwards hee tooke home into his house *Isaas*, whom he entertained the space of foure yeeres, and exercised himselfe in the imitation of his stile, or (as *Ctefimus* reporteth in his treatise of Philosophie) he wrought so, that by the meanes of *Callias* the Syracusan, he recovered the orations of *Zethus* the Amphipolitane, and by the helpe of *Charicles* the Charistian, he got them also of *Alcidamus*, and those he gave himselfe wholly to imitate. But in proceesse of time, when he was come to mans estate, and past a ward, seeing that his tuteurs and guardians allowed him not sufficiently out of his living and patrimonie, he called them to account for their guardianship, that yeere wherein *Timocrates* was provost of *Athens*. Now three tuteurs or governours he had, to wit, *Apobus*, *Theripides*, *Demophon* alias *Demea*, whom he charged more than the rest, being his uncle by the mothers side: he laied actions upon them of ten talents a peece, and so much he demanded of them by law: he overthrew them all; but he could not come by ought of that wherein they were condemned: for neither recovered he money nor favour of the one or the other.

***** When *Aristophan* was now to aged, that he could not take paines nor attend to set out the solemne dances and shewes, for which he was chosen communiarie and overseer, he gave over his place, and *Demosthenes* in his room was substituted the master of the said dances: and for that in the open theater as he was busied in his office about setting out and ordering the dances, *Medias* the Anagyrasian, gave him a box of the eare with his fist, he sued him in an action of battterie: howbeit, he gave over his sute for the sum of three thousand drachmes of silver, which *Medias* paid him. This is reported of him, that being a young man, he retired himselfe apart into a certaine cave, where he gave himselfe unto his booke, having caused his head to be shaven the halfe of it, because he might not goe abroad to be seene, and so leave his booke: also, that he lay upon a very freight and narrow bed, for that he would the sooner arise, and with more ease: and there he exercised and forced himselfe to frame his speech better: but for that he had an ill grace with him, ever as he spake, to shake and shrink up his shoulder, he remedied that, by sticking up a brooch or spit, or as some say, a dagger, to the floore over head, that for feare of pricking his shoulder, he might forget this evill custome that he had in his gesture: and according as he profited and proceeded forward in the art, he caused a mirrour to be made just as bigge as himselfe, before which he used to declame, that thereby he might observe the evill gestures or ill-favoured faces that he made when he spake, and learne to reforme and amend them: also, he used otherwhiles to goe downe to the water side, to the haven *Phalerum*, for to exercise himselfe in declaiming, even where the surging waves of the sea did beat upon the banks, to the end that he might at no time after be troubled nor put out and driven to an extasie, with the noise and clamour of the people when hee should speake before them: but for that naturally hee was thort-winded, and his breath commonly failed him, hee bestowed upon *Neopolemus* a famous actour or stage-plaier, renne thousand drachmes of silver, to teach him how to pronounce long periods and sentences with one breath, and not taking his winde betweene.

When he began to enter into the management of the publicke State, finding that the citizens were divided into two factions; the one siding and taking part with king *Philip*; the other speaking and pleading still for their liberties and freedom, he chose to joine with that which was opposite in all their doings unto *Philip*; and all his life time he continued counselling and perswading the people to succour those who were in danger to fall under the hands of *Philip*: communicating his counsels in the administration of State affaires, & devising evermore with *Hypereides*, *Nausicles*, *Polyenctus*, and *Diotimus*; and therefore he drew into league & confederacy with the men of *Athens*, the Thebans, Euboeans, Corryceans, Corinthians, Boeotians, and many others besides. One day he chanced to be out and his memorie to faile him, so that he was hissed at by the people in a great assembly of the citie: for which disgrace he was out of heart, and ill appaid, in so much as in great discontentment he went home to his house; where by the way, *Eunomus* the Thracian, being now an ancient man, met with him, who cheered up *Demosthenes*, and comforted him all that he could: but most of all *Andronicus* the stage-plaier, who said unto him:

That

That his orations were as good as possibly might be, only he was wanting somewhat in action; & thereupon rehearsed certaine places out of his oration, which he had delivered in that frequent assembly: unto whom *Demosthenes* gave good eare and credit, whereupon he betooke himselfe unto *Andronicus*; inasmuch as afterwards when he was demanded the question which was this first point of eloquence, he answered, *Action*; which the second, he made answer, *Action*; and which was the third, he said, *Action*, still. Another time he put himselfe fourth to speak in open audience of a great assembly, and was likewise whistled at, and driven lusty out of countenance; for speaking some words that favoured too much of youthfulness; so that he was flouted by the comical poets, *Aniphanes* and *Timoctes*, who used to twit him with these termes:

pu julu, pui nplains, pui nupais, pui nupais.

That is to say,

By the earth, by the fountains, by rivers, floods, and streames.

For having sworn in this manner before the people, hee raised a sturre and hurli-burly among them. He took his oath another time by the name of *Asclepius*, which hee founded aloft with accent in the * second syllable; and although he did this upon error in *Prosoia*, yet hee maintained and proved that he had pronounced the word aright; for that *Asclepius* was *three times*, that is to say, a milde and gracious god; and for this manner of swearing he was oftentimes troubled; but after he had frequented the schoole of *Eubulades* the Milesian, and a Logician, he corrected and amended all. Being one day at the solemnitie of the Olympian games, and hearing *Lamachus* the Termean how hee rehearsed an encomiasticall oration in the praise of king *Philip*, and of *Alexander* his sonnes; namely, how they invaded and over-ran the Thebans and Olynthians, he came forward, and standing close unto him, on the contrary side, alleging testimonies out of ancient poets, importing the commendation of Thebans and Olynthians both, for the brave exploits by them achieved; which when *Lamachus* heard, hee gave over and would not speake a word more, but slip away as soone as hee could out of the assembly. King *Philip* himselfe would say unto them who related unto him the cautions and orations that he made against him: Certes, I beleve verily, that if I had heard him with mine owne eares pleading in this wise, I should have given the man my voice, and chosen him captaine to make warre upon my selfe. And much to the same purpose the said *Philip* was wont to liken the orations of *Demosthenes* unto fouldiers, for the warlike force that appeared in them; but the speeches of *Isocrates* he compared to fencers or sword-plaiers, for the delightfull shew and flourish that they made.

Being now thirtie seven yeeres old, counting from *Dexithem* to *Callimachus*, in the time of whose provostship the Olynthians by their embassage required aid of the Athenians, for that they were sore plagued with the warre that king *Philip* levied against them; he perswaded the people to send them succour: but in the yeere following, wherein *Plato* changed this life, king *Philip* utterly destroyed the Olynthians. *Xenophon* also the discipule of *Socrates*, had a knowledge of *Demosthenes*, either in his prime when hee began to rise and grow up, or else in the very floure and best of his time; for *Xenophon* wrote his *Chronicles* as touching the acts and deeds of the Greeks, and specially of those affaires which passed about the time of the battell at *Mantine*, or a little after, namely, in that yeere when *Charietes* was provost; and *Demosthenes* somewhat before that, had given his tutors and guardians the overthrow at the barre. When as *Asclepius* upon his condemnation was fledde toward *Athens*, there to live in exile; *Demosthenes* being advertised thereof, made after him on horse-backe; whereupon *Asclepius* imagining that he should be taken prisoner, fell downe at his feet, and covered his face, but *Demosthenes* willed him to arise and stand up, gave him comfortable words, and besides, put a talent of silver into his hands. He gave counsell unto the Athenians to entertaine a certaine number of mercenarie fouldiers, strangers in the isle of *Thyros*, and to this effect he failed thither as captaine with the charge of a great galley under his hands. He was chosen another time chiefe purveyor of come, and being accused for demeaning himselfe badly, and purloining the cities money, *so* he cleared himselfe and was acquit. When *Philip* had forced the city *Edra*, and was master of it, *Demosthenes* abandoned the said city, together with those who had fought in the battell of *Cheronea*; whereupon it was thought that hee losooke his colours and fledde; now as he made haste away, there chanced a bramble to take hold of his calloske behinde, whereat he turned backe and said unto the bramble: Save my life and take my ransom, upon his target hee had for his ensigne or device, *Good fortune*. And verily he it was that made the oration at the funerals of those who lost their lives in the said battell.

After

After this he applied his minde, and bent his chiefe care to the reparations of the citie, and being chosen commissarie for repairing the walles, he laide out of his owne (besides the defraying of the cities money) an hundred pounds of silver: over and above that, he gave ten thousand for to be employed in the setting out of shewes, games, and plaies; which done, he embarked himselfe in a galley, and sailed up and downe from coast to coast, for to levie money of the allies and confederates; for which good services hee was crowned many times: first by the meanes and motion of *Demoteles*, *Arifonius*, and *Hyperides*; who propounded that he should be honoured with a coronet of gold, and last of all, at the instant sute of *Ctesiphon*: which decree was empeached and blamed, as contrarie to the lawes by *Diodotus* and *Aschynus*: against whom he defended and maintained it so well, that hee carried it cleane away; so as his accuser had not the fifth part of the suffrages and voices of the people on his side.

Afterwards when *Alexander* was passed onward his voyage into *Asia*, & *Harpalus* fled into *Athens* with a great summe of money: at the first hee would not suffer him to bee entertained and kept safely; but after he was once arrived and set a land, and that he had received of him a thousand good pieces of gold, called *Dariks*; then he changed his note and sung another song: for when the Athenians were minded to deliver the man into the hands of *Antipater*, he withstood them, and withall fet downe under his hand-writing, that his money was laid up safe in the Citadell, the summe wherof he had declared already unto the people, whereas *Harpalus* had specified it to be seven hundred and fiftie talents or somewhat above, as saith *Philochorus*. But after this when *Harpalus* had broken prison, wherein hee should have beene kept, untill some messenger and newes came directly from *Alexander*, and was escaped and retired, as some say, to *Cnidie*, or as others, to *Tenarus* in *Laconia*; *Demosthenes* was called into question for corruption, bribery, and taking his money; for that he neither declared the just quantitie and summe of coine that thither was brought, nor the negligence of those who had the custodie of it stand him: thus I say he was brought to his answer judicially by *Hyperides*, *Pytheus*, *Alceteschnus*, *Hymerus*, and *Patrocles*, who followed the sute so hard, that they caused him to be condemned in the high court and chamber of *Ariopagus*: and thus condemned he went into exile, being not able to pay fivefold; for charged he was to have taken thirtie talents: others say that he would not abide the issue of judgement, and therefore went voluntarie before the day of trial into banishment. After this time the Athenians sent *Polyeuctus* in embassage to the communicative of the Arcadians, for to divert and withdraw them from the league and confederacie of the Macedonians: but when *Polyeuctus* could not perswade them to revolt; *Demosthenes* came upon them and shewed himselfe to second the motion, where he spake so effectually, that he prevailed with them: for which service he was highly admired, and thereby wanne such favour and reputation, that after a certaine time, by vertue of a publicke decree, he was called home againe out of exile, and a galley was set out of purpose, to bring him backe to *Athens*: and the Athenians moreover ordained, that whereas he owed unto the State thirtie talents, in which he was condemned, he should cause an altar to be built unto *Jupiter* the Saviour in the port *Pyraeum*, & in so doing be held acquit and discharged. This decree was propounded by *Demon* the Paeanian his cousin german.

By this meanes he returned to the politicke managing of affaires as before. Now when as *Antipater* was streightly besieged by the Greeks, and enclosed within the citie *Lonia*, whereupon the Athenians offered sacrifices for the good and joyfull tidings thereof, he chanced to let fall a word in talking with *Agessistratus*, a familiar friend of his, and to say that he was not of the fleming and opinion with other, as touching the State: For I know full well (quoth he) that the Greeks are skillfull and able both to run a short carriage, and good to make a skirmish for a spurt and away; but to hold on a long race, and to continue the warre unto the end, they can never abide. But afterwards when *Antipater* had wonne *Phanissus*, and threatened the Athenians to lay siege unto their citie, unless he would deliver into his hands those oratours who had inveighed against him: *Demosthenes* for feare of himselfe, left the citie of *Athens*, and fled first into the isle *Aegina*, for to put himselfe within the liberties and franchises of the temple or sanctuary, called *Aecium*; but afterwards being afraid that he should be ferched out from thence by the eares, he passed over into *Calauria*: where having intelligence that the Athenians were resolved and had concluded to deliver those oratours, and himselfe principally among the rest; hee rested as a poore distressed suppliant within the temple of *Neptune*: and when there came unto him thither *Archias* the pursivant, surnamed *Phygadothores*, that is to say, the hunter of Fugitives, who was a discipule and sectarie of *Amaxinnetes* the philosopher, perswading him to arise; and that no doubt he should be reckoned one of the friends of *Antipater*; he answered thus: When you play

play a part in a tragedie, you can not make me beleve that you are the man whom you represent; no more shall you persuade me now to give eare unto your counsell: and when the other laid hands on him and would have drawn him forth by violence, those of the city would not suffer him; then said *Demosthenes* unto them: I fledde not unto *Calabria* for my safetie, and with any intention to save my life, but to convince the Lacedæmonians of their impietie and violence, even against the gods; and with that he called for writing tables, and wrote this dysichon; as faith *Demetrius* the Magnesian, which the Athenians afterwards cauled to be set as an Epigram over the statue:

*Had thy good heart Demosthenes,
mette with as good an hand:
The Greeks of Macedonian sword,
Should never have had command.*

This image of his standeth neere unto the purpise or cloister, wherein is erected the altar of the twelve gods, and made it was by the hands of *Polyeetus*: but as some say, this was found written withall: *Demosthenes* to *Antipater* greeting. *Philochorus* saith, that hee died of poison which he drank: but *Satyrus* the historiographer reporteth, that the penne was poisoned where-with he beganne to write his epistle, and chancing to put it into his mouth, so soone as ever he tasted thereof, died: *Erasthenes* writeth otherwise, namely that hee standing in feare a long time of the Macedonians, was provided of poison, which he caried within a litle ring or bracelet that he wore about the wrist of his arme: & there be againe who say, that he killed himselfe by holding his winde so long, that he was overcome and stifled withall: last of all, others write that he caried a strong poison within the collar of his signet; which he tasted, and died thereof, * * * two and twenty.

When king *Philip* was dead, he came abroad wearing a faire & rich new robe, although but a while before he had buried his owne daughter, so glad was he of the death of that Macedonian king. He aided the Thebanes also when they warred with *Alexander*, and all other Greeks hee encouraged as much as possibly he could at all times; and therefore *Alexander* after he had destroyed the city of *Thebes*, demanded of the Athenians for to have him, menacing them if they would not deliver him into his hands. And when the said king warred upon the Persians, and required of the Athenians their shipping, *Demosthenes* opposed himselfe and denied it: For who is able to say (quoth he) that he will not use the same thippes even against our selves that fend them. He left behinde him two sonnes by one wife, the daughter of one *Heliodorus* a principall citizen. One daughter he had, who died before he was married, being but yet a young childe. A sister also he had, who being married unto *Laches* the Leuconian his nephew or sisters sonne, bare *Demochares*, a valiant man in warre, and besides, for policie and eloquence inferior to none in his time. There is an image of his to be seene at this day, standing within the common hall of the citie, called *Prytanæum*, on the right hand as men do enter in and go toward the altar. The first man he was who made an oration to the people with a sword by his side girded over his robe: for in that habit it is said, that he delivered a speech unto the citizens, when *Antipater* came to demand their oratours: but afterwards, the Athenians both ordeined allowance of diet in the *Prytanæum* for the kindred of *Demosthenes*, and also set up a statue for himselfe when he was dead, in the Market place, that very yeere when *Gorgias* was provost, at the suite of *Demochares* his nephew or sisters sonne, who required these honours for his uncle: yea, and afterwards, *Laches* the sonne of *Demochares* a Leuconian, made suite for the like honours for himselfe, the yeere that *Pitharatus* was provost, which was ten yeeres after; namely, his statue for to stand in the market place, and allowance of diet in the palace *Prytanæum*, as well for himselfe as for the eldest alwaies of his house and lineage in every descent, with apriviledge of the highest roome or uppermost place at all solemne fignits and games. And these decrees as touching them both, are registred, and to be seene engrossed upon record. As for the image of *Demochares*, whereof we have already spoken, it was transported into the palace or hall of the citie named *Prytanæum*.

There be extant orations which be his in deed, to the number of three score and five. Some say, that he lived a dissolute and riotous life; and that he would not sicke to goe in womens apparell, to banquet, to be one ordinarily in all masks and monimeries; whereupon he was turnamed *Basilus*: though others there are, who say that this was the name of his noisfe, and that therupon he was to be reamed by way of flouting speech or nick-name. *Diogenes* the dogged Cy-nick, spied him one day in a tavern; whereat *Demosthenes* was abashed, & retired more inward

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into the house: Nay (quoth *Diogenes* to him) the more you draw or shrink backward, the further still you go into the tavern. The same *Diogenes* said to him upon a time, when he was disposed to scoffe: That in words he was a Scythian, that is to say, a rough Tartarian and a brave warrior; but in warre, a fine and delicate burgesse of *Athenis*. He tooke golde of *Ephialtes* also, being one of the oratours who went in embassage to the king of *Persia*, and brought with him a great summe of money secretly to distribute among the oratours of *Athenis*, to this end, that they might stirre coales, and blow the fire, to kindle warre against *Philip*: and it is said, that he for his part had at one clap of the king, three thousand daricks. He cauled one *Axaxilus* of the citie of *Oreæ*, to be apprehended, who had otherwise bene his familiar friend; and being cast into prison, put him to be examined by torture, as a spie; and albeit he confessed nought, yet he sued out a writ or decree that he should be committed into the hands of the eleven executioners of justice. One day when he meant to make a speech in the full assembly of the people, they were not willing to heare him: Why (quoth he unto them) it is but a short tale that I purpose to tell unto you: which when they heard, they gave him audience willingly: and then began he in this manner: There was not long since (quoth he) a young man who hired an asse in the time of Summer, from this citie to *Megara*: now when it was noone time of the day, and the Sun exceeding hot, both the one and the other, as well the owner of the asse as he who hired him, would needs have the benefit of the asses shade, and stand under it, but they hindred and impeached one another: for the owner said that he had let to hire, his asse, but not the shadow of him: the other againe who hired him, pleaded that the asse, shadow and all was in his power. Having thus begun his tale, he came downe and went his way: the people then called him backe, and praised him to tell the tale out, and make an end thereof: Why my matters (quoth he) how is it, that you are so desirous that I should tell you a tale of the shadow of asse, and will not give me the hearing when I am to speake unto you of your affaires of great importance? *Pollis* the famous a'tour and stage-plaier made his boast upon a time, that in two daies wherein he plaied his part, he had gotten a whole talent of silver: And I (quoth he) have gained five in one day, for holding my peace and keeping silence. His voice upon a time, when he made a speech unto the people, failed him; whereupon his audience being not well pleased, and himselfe fowmeth troubled, he said aloud unto them: You are to judge plaiers by their pleasant and strong voice; but oratours by their good and grave sentences. *Epicles* seemed to upbraid and reproch him, for that he was alwaies musing and premeditating: I would be ashamed (quoth he unto him) if being to speake before so great an assembly of people, I should come unprovided. It is written of him, that he never put out his lampe, that is to say, that he never ceased studying how to file and polish (as it were) his orations, until he was fiftie yeeres old. He said of himselfe, that he drunke nothing but faire water. *Lysias* the oratour had knowledge of him: and *Iserates* saw him to manage the affaires of State, until the battell of *Cheronæa*, yea, and some alio of the Socraticall oratours. The most part of his orations he pronounced * *ex tempore* and of a sudden, as having a ready and pregnant wit, and one who naturally was fited to speake. The first that ever propoled and put up a bill unto the people, that he should be crowned with a coronet of gold, was *Aristophanes* the Anagyrafin the sonne of *Nicophanes*: and *Diondas* did second the motion with an oath.

HYPERIDES. IX.

Hyperides the sonne of *Glaucippus*, who was the sonne of *Dionysius* of the burrough *Colytæa*, had a sonne who bare the name of his father *Glaucippus*, an orator who compoled certeine orations: and he begat another oratour, named *Alphimus*. He was at one time the scholar of *Plato* the Philosopher, of *Lycurgus* and of *Iserates*. He dealt in the State at what time as *Alexander* the Great intended the affaires of *Greece*, and he crossed him as touching those captaines which he demanded of the Athenians, as also about the gallies which he required to have. He advised the people not to casse and discharge those fouldiers which were entertained at *Tenara*, who had for their captaine, *Chares*, and whose friend particularly he was. He pleaded ordinarily at the first as an advocate for his fees; and was suspected to have received part of that money which *Ephialtes* brought out of *Persia*. Chosen he was the captaine of one great galley, at what time as king *Philip* went to lay siege unto the citie *Bizantium*: and sent he was to aide the Bizantines. The very same yeere he tooke the charge of defraying the expenites of the solemne dances; whereas the rest of the captaines were exempt from all publicke offices for that yeere. He passed a decree, that certeine honours should be done unto *Demosthenes*; and when

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*How agreed
this to that
which went a
little before?
I suppose this
is foisted in by
some other.

the said decree was by *Diondas* repealed, as made against the lawes, and himselfe thereupon accused, yet found he was unguiltie, and thereupon acquit. Friend he was to *Demosthenes*, *Lyficles* and *Lycargus*; howbeit, in this amitie he continued not unto the end: for after that *Lyficles* and *Lycargus* were dead, when *Demosthenes* was once called in question for taking money of *Harpalus*, he alone (for that his hands onely were free of bribery) was nominated and picked out from the rest, to frame an accusation against him, because they were all thought culpable in the same fault, and so he judicially accused him: but himselfe was charged by *Aristogiton* for publishing acts contrary to the lawes, after the battell at *Charonea*, namely; That all the inhabitants and dwellers in *Athens*, should be burgeses of the citie, that all slaves should manumitted and made free; that all sacred and holy reliques, that women and children should be bestowed with-
 10 in the port or haven *Pireum*; howbeit, absolved he was, and went cleere away. And when some there were who found fault with him, and marvelled how he should be so negligent and over-seene, as not to know so many lawes which were directly opposit to the said decrees; he made this answer: If (quoth he) the armes of the Macedonians and the battell of *Charonea*, had not dazzled and dimmed my sight, I had never written nor propoosed such an edict. But certein it is, that after this, *Philip* being affrighted, gave the Athenians leave to take up the bodies of their dead that lay in the field, which before he had denied unto the heralds that came of purpose un-
 10 to him out of *Lebadia*.

Afterwards, upon the defaulture at *Crannon*, when he was demanded by *Antipater*, and the people resolved to deliver him into his hands, he forsooke the citie, and fled into the Isle *Aegina*, 20 with other persons who likewise were condemned; where meeting with *Demosthenes*, he desired him to holde him excused, for that he had by constraint accused him. And when he minded to depart from thence, surprisid he was by one *Archias* surnamed *Phygadothores*, a man borne in the citie of *Thuria*, and who at the first was a professed stage-plaier, but then imploied in the service and aid of *Antipater*: so he was apprehended perforce within the temple of *Neptune*; notwithstanding he held the image of the said god in his armes; and from thence brought to *Corinth* before *Antipater*; where being set upon the racke, and put to torture, he bit his tongue off with his owne teeth, because he would not discover the secrets of the citie, and so ended his daies the ninth day of the month October: howbeit, *Hermippus* saith, that as he went into *Macedo-*
 30 *nie*, he had his tongue cut out of his head, and his dead corps was cast forth unto the beasts of the field without sepulture: yet one *Alphimus* his cousin germaine, or as some say, the cousin of *Glaukippos* his sonne obtained licence (by the meanes of *Philopithes* a certein physician) to take up his bodie, who burnt the same in a funerall fire; the ashes and bones whereof, he carried to *Athens* afterwards, among his kinsfolke and friends, contrary to the orders and decrees set downe, both by the Macedonians and the Athenians: for by vertue thereof they were not onely banished but interdicted, so as they might not be interred within their owne countrey. Others say, that he was carried unto the citie *Cleone* with others, where he died; and that his tongue was cut, and afterwards, himselfe murdered in manner aforesaid. Howbeit, his kinsmen and friends gathered up his bones when his corps was burnt, and buried them amongst his parents and progenitors before the gates called *Hippades*, according as *Heliadorus* hath recorded in the third
 40 booke of his monuments. But his sepulchre at this day is quite demolished, and no token remaineth thereof to be seene.

He had a singular name above all other oratours, for speaking before the people; inasmuch, as some have ranged him even above *Demosthenes*. There go in his name, three score and seven-
 10 teene orations; of which, two and fiftie are truly attributed unto him, and no more. Given he was exceeding much to the love of women, which was the cause that he drave his owne sonne out of his house, and brought in thither *Myrrhina* the most sumptuous and costly courtesan in those daies: and yet in *Pyreum* he kept *Aristagora*, and at *Eleusis* (where his lands and posses-
 20 sions lay) he had another at command, namely, *Phileta* a Theban borne, who cost him twentie pounds weight of silver. His ordinarie walke was every day thorow the fish market. And when the famous courtesan *Phryne* (whom he loved also) was called into question for Atheisme and impietie, inquisition was made after him likewise; and so he was troubled with her and for her sake, as it should seeme: for, so much he declared himselfe in the beginning of his oration: now
 30 when he was at the very point to be condemned, he brought the woman forth in open court before the judges, rent her clothes, and shewed unto them her bare brest; which the judges seeing to be so white and faire, in regard of her very beautie absolved and dismissed her.

He had very closely and secretly framed certein accusatorie declarations against *Demosthe-*
 40 *nes*,

nes, yet so, as they came to light in this maner: for when *Hyperides* lay sicke, it fortuned that *De-*
 10 *mosthenes* came one day to his house for to visit him, where he found a booke drawn full of arti-
 20 cles against him; whereat when he was much offended, and tooke it in great indignation, *Hyperides* made him this answer: So long as you are my friend, this shall never hurt you; but if you become mine enemy, this shall be a curb to reitrein you from enterprising any thing
 30 prejudicial unto me. He put up a bill unto the people, that certein honours should be done unto *Jolas*, who gave unto *Alexander* the cuppe of poison. He sided with *Demosthenes*, and joined in the raising of the Lamiacke warre; and made an admirable oration at the funerals of those who lost their lives therein. When king *Philip* was ready to embark & passe over into the
 40 isle *Eubaea*, whereupon the Athenians were in great feare and perplexitie; he gathered together in a small time a flecte of fortie saile, by voluntarie contribution, and was the first man who for himselfe and his sonne rigged and set forth two gallees of warre. When there was a contro-
 50 versie in law betweene the Athenians and Delians to be decided, unto whether of them apper-
 60 teined by right the superintendence of the temple at *Delos*, and that *Aeschyne* was chosen to plead the cause, the counsell of *Areopagus* elected *Hyperides*; and his oration as touching this matter is at this day extant, entituled The Deliaque oration. Moreover, he went in embassage to
 70 *Rhodes*, where there arrived other embassadors in the behalfe of *Antipater*, whom they highly praised, as a good, milde, and gracious prince: True it is (quoth *Hyperides* unto them again) I know well that he is good and gracious, but we have no need of him to be our lord and master
 80 how good and gracious soever he be. It is said, that in his orations he shewed no action nor ge-
 90 sture at all: his maner was onely to set downe the case and lay open the matter plainly and sim-
 100 ply, without troubling the judges any otherwise than with a naked narration. Sent hee was likewise unto the Elians for to defend the cause of *Calippus*, one of the champions at the sacred
 110 games, unto whom this imputation was laid, that by corruption he had carried away the prize, and indirectly obtained the victorie. He opposed himselfe also against the gift which was or-
 120 derained in the honour of *Phocion*, at the instanture of *Midias* of *Anagyra*, the sonne of *Midias*, the yeere wherein *Xenias* was provost, the 27. day of the month of May; and in this cause he was cast and had the overthrow.

DINARCHUS. X.

Dinarchus the sonne of *Socrates* or *Sofratus*, borne as some thinke in the countrey of *Atti-*
 10 *ca*, or as others would have him, in *Corinth*, came to *Athens* very yong, at what time as king *Alexander* the Great, passed with his armie into *Asia*; where he dwelt, and frequented the
 20 lecture of *Theophrastus*, who succeeded *Aristotle* in the Peripatetick schoole: he conversed also with *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, and tooke his time especially to enter into the admini-
 30 stration of State affaires, after the death of *Antipater*, when the great oratours and states-men
 40 were some dead and made away, others banished and driven out of the citie: and being besides
 50 friended and countenanced by *Cassander*, he grew in short time to be exceeding rich, exacting
 60 and taking money for his orations, of those at whose request he composed them. Hee banded
 70 against the most renowned oratours in his time; not by putting himselfe forth to come in
 80 open place to speake before the people (for no gift nor grace he had therein) but by penning
 90 orations for those who made head against them. And namely when *Harpalus* had broken prison
 100 and was fled, he composed divers accusatorie declarations against all such as were suspected to
 110 have taken money of him, and those he delivered into the hands of their accusers to be pronoun-
 120 ced accordingly. Long time after, being accused himselfe to have communicated, conferred,
 130 and practised with *Antipater* and *Cassander*, about the time that the haven *Munichia* was surpris-
 140 ed by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who placed there a garrison in that yeare when *Anticariates*
 150 was provost of the city, he sold most part of his goods, and made money, and when hee had
 160 ydone, fled out of the way to *Chalcis*, where he lived as it were in exile the space well neere of 15
 170 yeeres; during which time, he gathered great riches, and became very wealthy, and so return-
 180 ed againe to *Athens*, by the meanes of *Theophrastus*, who procured both him and other bani-
 190 shed persons to be recalled and restored: he abode then in the house of one *Proxenus* his fami-
 200 liar friend; where being now very aged, and besides weake-lighted, he lost his gold that he had
 210 gotten together; and when *Proxenus* his host would have given information thereof, and seem-
 220 ed to make inquisition, *Dinarchus* called him into question judicially for it; and this was the
 230 first time that ever he was knownen to speake & plead personally at the barre. This oration of his
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is now extant, and there are besides in mens hands threescore and foure more acknowledged all to be his, and yet some of these are to be excepted, as namely, that against *Aristogiton*. He did imitate *Hyperides*, or as some thinke *Demosthenes* in regard of that patheticall spirit in moving affections, and the emphaticall force which appeareth in his stile. Certainly in his figures and exomations he followeth him very evidently.

DECREES PROPOSED UNTO the people of *Athens*.

D*emochares* the sonne of *Laches*, of the burrough *Leucon*, demandeth for *Demosthenes*, the sonne of *Demosthenes* of the burrough of *Panais*, a statue of bras to be set up in the market place or common hal of *Athens*: also allowance of diet in the palace *Prytanum*, & the first place or seat in al honorable assemblies for himselfe, & the eldest of his house in every descent for ever; for that he the said *Demosthenes* hath alwaies bene a bene factour to the cite, & given counsell unto the people of *Athens*, in many of their honorable affaires to their behoofe; for that he hath at all times exposed his goods to the service of the common weale; & namely, of his liberal and bountifull minde contributed eight talents of silver, and maintained one galley of warre, at what time the people freed & delivered the isle *Euboea*: & another, when captaine *Cephalodorus* set out his voyage into *Hellepont*; as also a third when *Chares* and *Phocion* were sent as captaines to *Byzantium* by the people. Item, for that with his owne money he ransomed and redeemed many citizens taken prisoners & captives in *Pydnae*, *Methone* & *Olynthus* by king *Philip*. Item, for that he defraied at his own proper cost & charges, the publick plaies & dances when the tribe of the *Pandionides* failed to furnish the officers & wardens appointed thereto. Item, for that he armed many poore citizens who had not wherewith to set themselves forth to the warres. Item, for that being chosen by the people one of the *Aediles* or *Commissaries*, for repairing the cite walles, he laid out of his owne purse to the value of three talents of silver, over and besides ten thousand drachms which of his owne money he employed, in casting of two trenches about *Pyramus*. Item, that after the disastrous battell of *Charonea*, he gave out of his owne stocke one talent; & another to buy come with all in time of a dearth and great famine. Item, for that by his effectual remonstrances, faire persuasions, holosome counsels, and good demerits, he had induced the *Thebans*, *Euboeans*, *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Achians*, *Locrians*, *Bizantines*, and *Messenians*, to enter into a league as well offensive as defensive with the people of *Athens*. Item, for that he levied a power of ten thousand footmen well armed, and a thousand horsemen, over and above the contribution of monies, by the people and their allies. Item, for that being embassadour, he had perswaded the associates and confederates of *Athens*, to make a contribution of money to the summe of five hundred talents and above, toward the warres. Item, for that he impeached the *Peloponnesians* for aiding king *Alexander* against the *Thebans*; for which service he parted with his owne silver, and went personally in embassage. As also in regard of many other good deserts, and worthy exploits by him achieved in consideration likewise of much wise counsell and advice, which he hath given unto the people, and of his politicke government & manning of State affaires, wherein he hath carried himselfe as well, yea and much better than any in his time: for the preservation of the libertie and maintenance of the authoritie of the people. Over and besides, in that he was banished out of his countrey by certaine seditious usurers, who for the time suppressed the authoritie of the people: and finally lost his life in *Calauria*, in the quarrell of the said people, and for the love and good will that he alwaies bare affectionately unto the commonalty of *Athens*, there being sent of purpose from *Antipater* certaine soldiers to apprehend him. Notwithstanding, which present danger wherein he stood, being now in the hands of his enemies, yet perswaded he firme & fast in his heartie affection alwaies unto the people: inasmuch as he never did any deed, nor let fall any word prejudiciall to his countrey, or unbeseeming the honour of the people, as neere as hee was unto his death. *Subscribed, that verie yeere when Pytharatus was Provost.*

Laches the sonne of *Demochares*, of the burrough *Leucon*, demandeth in free gift of the Senate and people of *Athens*, for *Demochares* the sonne of *Laches*, of the tribe or burrough *Leucon*, one statue of bras to be erected in the market place: also his table and diet in the palace or cite

citie hall *Prytanum* for himselfe, and for him that shall be the eldest of his house in every descent for ever; as also the privilege of precedence or first seat at all solemne sights and publicke plaies: for that he hath alwaies bene a benefactour and good counsellor unto the people of *Athens*, as having deserved well of the common weale in these particulars; as well in those things which he hath penned, proposed and negotiated in his embassage, as in the administration of common weale; in that he hath caused the walles of the cite to be built, made provision of harnesse & armor, as well offensive as defensive, of fabricks & engines of battery, & of artillery with shot to be discharged out of them; in that he hath well fortified the cite during the warres with the *Boeotians* which continued for the space of foure yeeres: for which good service done, banished he was and chased out of the cite by the tyrants, who oppressed the libertie and authoritie of the people: and in that being restored againe and called home by an honourable decree of the said people, when *Diocles* was Provost, he was the first man who restrained the administration and managment of those who made spare of their owne goods, and sent embassages unto *Zylismachus*: in that also hee levied for the good of the common weale at one time thirte talents, and at another a hundred talents of silver; in that he moved the people by a bill preferred unto them, for to send an embassage to king *Ptolemus* in *Aegypt*; by meanes whereof they that went that voyage, brought backe with them fiftie talents of silver for the people. Item, in that being sent embassadour to *Antipater*, he received thereby twentie talents of silver, which he brought unto the people into the cite of *Eleusin*, where he presented and perswaded them to receive the same. Item, in that he suffered banishment, because he was a protectour and defender of the popular State, never siding nor taking part with any faction of the usurers; nor bearing office or magistracie in common weale, after that the said popular State was put downe and abolished. Item, in that he onely in his time, of all those who medled in the affaires of State, never studied nor intended alteration, and to reduce his countrey unto any another kind of government, but popular. Item, in that by his politicke counsell and administration he hath put in safetie and securitie all judgements passed; all lawes enacted; all decrees concluded; yea and the goods and substance of all the *Athenians*: finally, in that he hath gone about and attempted nothing prejudiciall unto the popular government, either in word or deed.

Lycophron the son of *Lycargus*, of the burrough or communalitie of *Bura*, hath presented this request: That he might be allowed his diet in the palace *Prytanum*, according to the free gift granted before time to his father *Lycargus* by the people; in that yeere wherein *Anaxicrates* was Provost of the cite, and the tribe *Antiochia* President of *Prytanum*: which *Stratocles* the son of *Euthydemus*, of the burrough *Diomeia*, proposed it in this forme: Forasmuch as *Lycargus*, the sonne of *Lycophron* of *Bura*, hath received of his ancestors (as it were) from hand to hand a certaine hereditarie love and affection to the people of *Athens*, and his progenitours likewise, *Diomedes* and *Lycargus*, both during their lives were esteemed and highly honoured by the people; and after their death, had this honour done unto them in testimonie of their vertue and valour, as to be entered at the publicke charges of the cite in that conspicuous street called *Cerameum*: considering also, that *Lycargus* himselfe (whiles he managed the affaires of the State) enacted many good and holosome lawes for his countrey, and being measurer-general of all the cities revenues, by the space of fiftene yeeres, during that time, had the receipt and laying out of the publicke monies, to the summe of eightene thousand and nipe hundred talents: and for that many private mens stocks were put into his hands upon trust, for the confidence they had in him, in regard of his fidelitie; in regard also, that he hath disbursed and laid forth of his owne monies at sundry times and upon divers occasions, for the benefit of the cite and communalitie, as much as amounteth in all, to fixe hundred and fiftie talents: for that likewise in all his imployments, having bene ever found most trustie, just and loyall, and to carie himselfe as an honest man and good citizen, he hath bene many times crowned by the city: moreover, in this respect, that having bene chosen by the people the receiver of the finances, hee gathered together a great masse of money, and brought the same into the common chest within the citadell, and besides, provided ornaments for the goddesse *Minerva*, to wit, images of victorie all of beaten gold, vessels to carie in procession both of golde and silver, besides other jewels of fine gold for the service and worship of the said goddesse, and namely, to the number of one hundred *Cane-phors*, that is to say, Virgins carrying paniers or baskets with sacred reliques upon their heads, Item, for that being elected commissarie for the munitions and provisions necessarie for the warres, he brought into the citadell a great number of armours and weapons, and among the rest, fiftie thousand shot, rigged and fitt a float foure hundred galleies, some new built, others re-

paired and trimmed: over and besides, for that finding certaine of the citie works unperfect, to wit, the Arcenall, the Amorie and the Theater of *Bacchus*, he caused them to be made up, and withall, finished both the Cirque or running place *Panathenicum*, and also the empaled parke for publicke exercises, and built the *Lycium* likewise, and adomed the citie with many faire buildings and publicke edifices: whereas al, king *Alexander* the Great, having already subdued all *Asia*, and intending generally to be commander over all *Greece*, demanded to have *Lycurgus* delivered up into his hands, for that he onely stood in his way, and crossed his desseignes, the people would not deliver him for any feare they had of *Alexander*: and for that being oft times called judicially to his answere, and to render an account of his government and administration in a free citie and governed by a popular State, he was alwaies found innocent and unrepreeable, not tainted with any briberie, nor spotted with corruption and taking gifts for to pervert justice all his life time. To the end therefore, that all men might know that they who are well affected to the maintenance of liberty and popular government be highly accounted of by the people whiles they live, and that after their death the citie is willing to render unto them immortall thanks; in a good and happie houre, let it be ordained by the people, that *Lycurgus* the sonne of *Lycaphron* of *Buta*, be honoured for his vertue and righteousnesse; and that the people erect his statue all of brasse in the market-steed, unlesse it be in some place where the trade expressly forbiddeth it to stand. Item, that there be allowance of diet in the *Prytanæum*, to the eldest of his house in every descent for ever. Also, that the decrees by him proposed, shalbe ratified and engrossed by the publicke notarie of the citie, yea, and engraven in pillars of stone, and let up in the citadell neere unto the offerings consecrated unto the goddess *Athena*: and for the engraving of the said pillars, the treasure of the citie shall defray fiftie drachmes of silver out of those moneys which are allowed for the citie decrees.



OF THREE SORTS OF GOVERNMENT: MONAR- CHIE, DEMOCRATIE AND OLIGARCHIE.



As I devised with my selfe and purposed to put to question for to be decided by this judicious companie, a matter which yesterday I discoursed of before you; me thought that I heard policie vertue in a true vision in deed (and not in the vaine illusion of a dreame) thus to say unto me:

*The golden base and ground that now belongs
unto our worke, is laid with sacred songs.*

I have already laid the foundation of a discourse, perswading and exhorting to the management of State affaires, if now we can proceed to build upon it the doctrine fit for such an exhortation,

which is a due debt unto *Athena*: for meet it is and requisite, that after a man hath received an admonition inciting him to deale in politicke matters of common-weale, there should consequently be given unto him and founded in his eares the precepts of policie; the which he observing and following, may (as much as lieth in man to performe) be profitable to the common-weale; and withall, in the meane time manage his owne private businesse, both in safetie, and also with such honour as is just and meet for him.

First and formeost therefore, we are to consider and discourse of one point; which as it is a very material precedent unto all that shall be said, so it dependeth, and is necessarily to be inferred of that which hath bene delivered already; namely, What manner of policie and government is best: for as there be many sort of lives in particular men; so there are of people in general:

nerall: and the life of a people or commonaltie, is the politicke state and government thereof. Necessarie it is therefore, that we declare which is simply the best; that a man of State may chuse it from among the rest: or at leastwise, if that be impossible, take that which most resembleth the best. Now there is one signification of this word *Politia*, that is to say, *Policie*, which is as much as Burgesioe, that is to say, the indument and enjoying of the right and priviledges of a citie: as for example, when we say that the Megarians (by a publicke ordinance of their city) gave unto *Alexander* the great, their *Politia*, that is to say, their Burgesioe: and when he seemed to laugh at this offer and grant of theirs, they made him answer againe: That they had never decreed this honour to any, but first to *Hercules*, and now to himselfe: which speech of theirs he so admired, that he accepted of their gift, reputed it honourable, because it was so rare. Also the life of a politicke person who administeth State affaires, is called *Policie*: according to which sense and acceptance of the word, wee commend the policie of *Pericles* and *Bias*, that is to say, their manner of government, but contrariwise, we discommend that of *Hyperbolus* and *Cleon*. Moreover, others there be, who call some one worthy act or memorable deed tending to the good of the common weale, by the name of *Policie*: as for example, the contribution of money, the final ending and dissolution of warre, and the publishing or declaration of some notable decree: in which signification we use commonly to say: Such a man hath this day bene the author of a good policie, if haply he have done and effected some worthy things, importing the weale-publicke. Over and above all these significations before specified, there is another; namely, the order and state of a citie and common-weale, by which are managed and administred all the affaires thereof: and according to this sense we say, there be three sorts of policies, Monarchie, that is to say, Roialtie, Oligarchie, that is to say, Seignory; and Democratie, that is to say, Popular authoritie: of which three *Herodotus* maketh mention in the third booke of his historie, comparing them together; and it seemeth that these be the most generall, for all others be (as it were) the depravations and corruptions of these, according to want or excessse, like as it falleth out in accords and consonances of musike, when the first and principall strings or notes are stretched over high, or let downe to low: and so hee divided these three governments among those nations which had the largest empire and greatest dominion: for the Persians held the Monarchie and absolute roialtie, for that their king had plenary power in all things, not subject to be called unto account by any person whatsoever. The Spartians or Lacedaemonians, maintained a grave and severe counsell, consisting of some fewe, and those the best and principall personages of the city, who managed and dispatched all affaires. The Athenians embraced a popular government, living under their owne lawes, free, and without all mixture whatsoever. Now of these States and governments, when they be faulty and out of order, the transgressions, exorbitations and excessses, be called tyrannies, lordly oppressions of the mightier, and unbridled rule, or licentious misuse rather of the multitude: to wit, when the prince in his absolute roialtie taketh upon him insolent pride; to commit wrong and outrage unto whom he list: when some fewe senators or rulers in their seignorie enter into an arrogant and presumptuous lordlinesse, whereby they contemne and oppress all others: also when the multitude in their popular isonomie, runne into anarchie, unrulinesse, disobedience, reames of equalitie, and unmeasurable libertie: and in one word, when all these sorts of government fall to rash and witlesse folly: like as therefore a skilfull and harmonious musician can make use of all kindes of instruments, framing and accommodating himselfe by art and cunning unto every one, striking each one according as he knoweth the quality, and nature thereof, to give the sweetest and most pleasant sound: howbeit, if he follow the counsell of *Plato*, will passe by the fiddels, rebeckes, dulcimers, the many stringed psalteries or virginals, the viols likewise & the triangled harpes, preferring before all others the lute and the citheron or pandora: even to a good politician, will handle with dexteritie the Laconicke seignorie; and manage well enough *Lycurgus* his Oligarchie, applying and fitting his companions in government, who have equall authority unto himselfe, gently drawing and reducing them by little and little unto the bent of his bow: semblably, he will carie himselfe with wisdom and discretion in the popular State, as if he had to deale with an instrument of many sounds, and as many strings, letting downe and remitting some matters, setting up and extending other things in the government, as he seeth his time, giving ease and libertie, and againe, carrying a hard hand and a rigorous, as one who knoweth when to resist and withstand stoutly any proceedings: But if he were put to his choise, among these musickall instruments, as it were of a politicke government; certes if he be pulled by *Plato*, he would never chuse any other but that regall and princely *Athenia*, which onely

* Epithet.

is able to maintaine that direct, absolute and * Iostic note (indeed) of vertue, and not suffer it either by force of necessitie, or upon affectionate favour and grace, to frame it selfe to gaine and profit; for other governments after a sort as they be ruled by a politician, so they rule him, and as he leadeeth them, so they cary him, for that he hath no assured power over those, from whom he hath his authority, but oftentimes he is enforced to exclaime and rebound these verses of *Aeschylus* the poet, which *Demetrius Poliorcetes* was wont to alledge unto fortune, after that he had lost his kingdom:

*Thou mad'st me budde and burge fresh
as first, but now at last,
Thou seem'st my lovely bloume to burne,
and beauty for to blait.*

10



A BREVIARIE OF THE COMPARISON BE- TWEENE ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER.

20

The Summarie.

HE preferreth *Menander* an excellent comick poet, in all respects before *Aristophanes*, who is here described and painted in his colours. Then examineth he in particular what he had said before in generality. He considereth the stile, disposition, uniformity, and artificiall contriving of *Menanders* comedies, shewing that *Aristophanes* in comparison of him was no better than a counterfeit cosin, a craftie and railing companion, ignorant, audacious, and intollerable unto all: having written his comedies not to be read of any honest men, but only for lewd and dissolute persons.

A BREVIARIE OF THE COM- parison betweene *Aristophanes* and *Menander*.

40



HO speake in generall and summarily, he preferreth *Menander* by many degrees before *Aristophanes*; but to come unto particularities, see what he addeth moreover: The stile of *Aristophanes*, and his manner of language is unfavoure and unpleasant, counterfeit, base and mechanically, whereas in *Menander* there is no such thing to be seene. And verily a grosse, ignorant, and unlettered idiot may take pleasure and be delighted in *Aristophanes* his speeches; but a learned man will soone bee displeased and discontented therewith. I meane, his *Anistheta* or opposite tearmes; his clauses ending alike, and his allusions to names, which *Menander* useth but now and then to good purpose, and with great reason and judgement, being therein verie sparke, warie, and religious: whereas the other ever and anon abuseth them hand over head, and out of season without all grace or life to commend them. Praised he is (forsooth) for these cold jests; namely, when he saith: That he had drenched over head and eares the treasurers, who were not *treasurers*, but *navies*. Also, This fellow doth breath out, either malice or slanderous calumination. Again, Here is one that liveth for his belly, his entrails and his guts. Likewise, Even for verie laughter, I shall breake out a laughing. Moreover, What shall I do to thee thou unhappy damned picher, and

and banished; semblably, You women, here I shall make you wild and savage evils, like as I am my selfe, who have bene fed among wild and savage worts: but these curled tresses and frizzled haire lustely have devoured my crell: lastly,

*Come bring him hither his targuer round,
with Gorgons hideous head:
But give me here my cake as round,
as face, buckler in his stead.*

besides many other bald jests of the like sort: for there is in the composition and texture of his words, that which is tragicall and comick both: proude and insolent; base also and lowly; datke and mytticall, and anon plaine and familiar; swelled, puffed up and Iostic; but afterwards, vannie, lightnes, and lothsome scurrillitie, enough to overturne a mans stomacke. Now there being in his writings such diversitie, difference, and dissimilitude; yet giveth not he to every person that which is proper and becomming. As for example; he attributeth not unto a king, a high and Iostic language; to an oratour, eloquent and pitche speech; to a woman, a plaine and simple tongue; to an ignorant and unlettered commoner, base and lowly words; to a busie barritor or pragmaticall merchant, throwd and odious tearmes; but he alloteth unto everie person a venture whatsoever attributes come first to hand; so that a man cannot know nor discern by any speech, whether he be a sonne or a father that speaketh; a countrey peasant or a citizen; a god or an old woman, or some demi-god: whereas the stile and phrase of *Menander* is so uniforme, so consonant and like it selfe, that howsoever it be conversant in fundrie maners and divers passions, howsoever it be accommodate to all sorts of persons, yet it seemeth still one and the same; and to keepe the semblance in common and familiar words, and such as are alwaies in use. And if perhaps otherwhiles according to the matter and present occasion offred, there bee required some extraordinary narration or strange bruit and unexpected noise; he setteth a worke and openeth (as it were) all the holes of his pipe; but presently and with a seemely grace he reduceth and composeth his voice to the naturall state againe. Now albeit there be in all arts & mysteries excellent artifices; yet was there never known any shoemaker to make a shoe; nor artificer a maske or visour; nor tailor a robe or garment, that would fit at one time a man and woman both; a young youth, an aged person, and a varlet; but *Menander* hath so framed his phrase and speech, that proportionate it is and fittable to all natures & sexes, to each state and condition, yea and to every age, and this was he able to performe and doe in his very youth, when he began to write: for then died he when he entred into his floure and best time, either of composing or setting out and publishing his works, at such an age, when as the stile (as *Aristotle* saith) is come to the very growth and height in them who make profession to pen, or write ought. And if a man would consider the first comedies of *Menander*s making, and conferre them with those in the middes, and which he made in his latter end, a man thereby may soone know how much hee would have added to these in other, if he had lived longer: for that of them who put forth their works to be seene and read, some write to the capacity of the multitude and vulgar sort, others for men of marke and understanding; and hardly is a man able to name the author, who can skill how to observe that which is meet and befitting two kinds of people. As for *Aristophanes* he is neither pleasing unto the common sort, nor acceptable to men of woorth and judgement; but his poeise may be likened unto an old stale and overborne whoore, who forsooth would counterfeite an honest married wife; for as the people cannot endure his arrogance; so men of account and quality, detest his intemperance and maliciousnesse: whereas *Menander* on the contrary side, with a good and seemely grace, satisfieth and contenteth all, serving as a lecture, a knowledge and exercise common to theaters, schooles, sports, pastimes, feasts, and bankets, shewing thereby, that his poeise is one of the goodliest things that ever *Greece* brought forth; making it to appeere what a gay matter, and how pleasant is the dexterity of speech and language, passing throughout with an attractive grace, which it is impossible to escape, ravi-
shing and winning everie mans eare and understanding, who hath the knowledge of the Greeke tongue. For wherfore should a learned man take paines to go unto the theater, but for *Menanders* sake? when as the theaters frequented and full of great clerks, but when there is a masked hee before of acting his comedies? And at banquetts, for whom doth the table make roome or *Bacchus* give place more justly than for *Menander*? And as for philosphers, great scholars and students, like as painters when they have wearied their eies with looking upon fresh, lively & bright colours, turne them to those that are verdant and Greene; as namely, upon herbes and flowers for to recreate and refresh their sight; even so *Menander* is he who intertaineth their minds and

spirits

spirits(as it were)in a faire meadow full of lovely and pleasant flowers, where there is shade, fresh and coole aire, with mild and comfortable winds. What is the reason that the city of *Athens* at this day is furnished with many singular actours and plaicers of comedies? even because the comedies of *Menander* are so full of many graces and pleasant conceits, so favorite, as if they sprang forth of the verie sea, out of which *Venus* herselfe was borne: whereas the conceits and jests of *Arifophanes*, are bitter and sharpe withall, carrying with them a mordicative qualitie which doth bite, sting and exulcerate wherefoever they light. And verily I wot not wherein lieth that lively dexteritie which is so highly commended in him; whether in his words & phrases, or in the personages and actours? Certes, those things which he doth imitate and counterfeite, endline alwaies to the worse part: his cunning calts and conveyances are nothing civill and gentle, but shrewd and malicious: the rusticitie in clownes that he resemblance, is not naturall, but affected and foolish: his merrie jests to moove laughter, are nothing jocund, but rather ridiculous and to be derided: his amorous parts be not lovely and delectable, but wanton and dissolute. In summe, it seemeth this man wrote not his poeies to be read of any honest and sober person; for his filthy and lascivious tearmes are meet for lecherous folke, and those which are given over to all loosenes, like as his bitter and spitefull speeches, for envious and malicious persons,



NARRATIONS OF LOVE.

The Summarie.

In this discourse, Plutarch relateth five tragicall histories, which shew the pitifull accidents that befall certaine persons transported with the inordinate and irregular affection of Love; leaving thereby unto the reader a faire and cleere mirror wherein to behold the judgements of God upon those that abandon themselves to be carried away by intemperance and loosenesse.

NARRATIONS OF LOVE.

In the citie *Alartus* situate within *Boetia*, there was sometime a young maiden of excellent beautie, named *Ariftoctes*, and the daughter she was of *Theophanes*: and two young gentlemen there were, that made ture unto her in way of marriage, to wit, *Straton* an *Orchomenian*, & *Callisthenes* of *Alartus* aforesaid. Now was *Straton* the richer of the twaine, and farre more enamoured of the damosell; for sence her he had when she washed herselfe in the fountaine of *Eryne*, which is in *Lebadia*, against the time that she was to carrie in profection to *Jupiter*, fumnamed King, a sacred panier, as the manner was of the *Canebora* to do. But *Callisthenes* had the van-

rage of him, and was deeper in her love, for that he was besides neere of kin unto the virgin. So *Theophanes* her father being doubtfull what to doe (for he stood in feare of *Straton*, as one who for wealth and noble parentage went well-neere beyond all the *Boeotians*) resolved at length to referre the choise unto the oracle of *Jupiter Trophonius*: but *Straton*, who was borne in hand by those of the house about *Ariftoctes*, that she inclined more unto him, laboured earnestly, that the matter might be put unto the election of the damosell herselfe: whereupon, when *Theophanes* the father demanded of her in the face of the world, Whom she loved better, and would chuse to be her husband; she preferred *Callisthenes*: whereat *Straton* shewed himselfe immedi-

atly

atly not a little discontented for this repulse and disgrace; but two daies after, he came unto *Theophanes* and *Callisthenes*, pretending and saying, that he would not fall out with them, but was desirous still of their good favour and friendship; how ever his ill fortune had envied him the marriage of the yoong virgin. They approving well of this speech, and taking his words in very good part, invited him as a guest to the wedding feast: meane while, he provided himselfe of a good number of his friends, and besides, no small troupe of servants, whom he disposed secretly in their houses heere and there, against the time that this maiden (after the custome and manner of the cuntry) should go downe to a certaine fountaine named *Cisseia*, there to sacrifice unto the Nymphes before her marriage day: now as she passed by those who lay in ambush 10 came all running forth from every side, and seized upon her bodie, but *Straton* himselfe principally, who drew and haled the damosell unto him as hard as he could: *Callisthenes* againe on the other side, for his part (as became him) held her fast, & so did they about him: thus the filly maiden was tugged and pulled to and fro so long betwene them, that before they were aware, dead she was among them in their hands: upon which strange occurrent, what became of *Callisthenes*, it is not known, whether he presently made away himselfe, or fled into voluntary exile; for he was no more seene: as for *Straton*, in the very sight of all men there in the place he killed himselfe upon the very body of his elpoused bride.

2 There was one named *Phidon* a *Peloponnesian*, affecting the feignorie of all *Peloponnesus*, and being desirous that the citie of *Argos* his native feat should be ladie over all others, laied 20 an ambush first for the *Corinthians*, to intrap them: for he sent an embassage unto *Corinth*, to demand a levie of a thousand yoong men, that were the lustiest and most valourous gallants of the whole citie. The *Corinthians* sent them accordingly, under the conduct of one of their captaines, named *Dexander*. Now the purpose of this *Phidon* was, to set upon this troupe, and kill them every one, to the end that he might thereby enfeeble the *Corinthians*, and make the citie serve his owne turne (as a strong bulwarke most commodiously seated) to command and subdue all *Peloponnesus*. This desseigne of his he communicated unto certaine of his friends for to be put in execution accordingly; among whom there was one named *Abron*, who being a familiar friend unto *Dexander*, revealed unto him the conspiracie: whereupon the said regiment of a thousand yoong men (before they were charged by the said ambush) retired themselves, and recovered *Corinth* in safetie. Then *Phidon* bestirred himselfe to finde out the man who had thus 30 betrayed and discovered his plot: which *Abron* searing, withdrew himselfe to *Corinth*, taking with him his wife, children, and his whole familie, where he settled and remained in a village named *Melissa*, belonging to the territorie of that citie: there begat he a sonne, whom of the very place which he inhabited, he named *Melissus*; and this *Melissus* in proeffe of time had a sonne of his owne, called *Archon*, who proved the most beautifull, and withall, the modestest lad of all other youths and springals of his age; whereof whereof, many there were enamoured of him; but among the rest, one especially, named *Archias*, descended lineally from the noble race of *Hercules*, and for wealth, credit and authoritie, the greatest person in all *Corinth*. This *Archias*, seeing that by no faire means and persuasions he could prevaille with yoong *Archon*, and winne 40 his love, resolved with himselfe to use violence, and forcibly to ravish and carrie away this faire boy: so he came upon a time (as it were) to make merrie, unto the house of *Melissus* his father, accompanied with a great traine of friends; and attended upon with a good troupe of his owne household servants, where he gave the attempt to have away the boy by force: but the father with his friends made resistance; the neighbours also came forth to rescue, and did all what they could, to holde and keepe the youth with them: but what with the one side and what with the other, poore *Archon* was so pulled and tugged, that betwene them hee lost his life; which done, all the rest went their waies and departed; but *Melissus* the father brought the dead 50 corps of his childe into the market place of the *Corinthians*, presented it there unto them, and demanded justice to be done upon those who had committed this foule outrage. The *Corinthians* made no greater a matter of it, but onely shewed, that they were sorry for his mishaps and so he returned home as he came without effect, attending and waiting for the solemn assembly at the *Isthmicke* games; where being mounted up to the top of *Neptunes* temple, he cried out against the whole race of the *Boeotians*; and withall, rehearsed by way of commemoration, the beneficence of his father *Abron* unto them, and when he had called for vengeance unto the gods, hee threw himselfe downe headlong among the rocks, and brake his necke. Not long after there fell out to be a great drouth, and the citie was sore visited with famine, in somuch as the *Corinthians* sent unto the oracle, for to know by what means they might

might be delivered from this calamitie. unto whom the god made this answer: That the wrath of Neptune was the cause of all their miserie, who would by no means be appeased untill they had revenged *Atlaons* death: which *Atrihus* hearing, (who was himselfe one deputed to this embassy) he was not willing to returne againe to *Corinth*, but crossed over the seas into *Sicily*, where he founded and built the city *Syracusa*; and there hee begat two daughters, *Ortygia* and *Syracusa*; but in the end was himselfe treacherously murdered by one *Telephus*, whom in his youth he had abused as his minion, and who having the conduct of a shippe had sailed with him into *Sicilie*.

3 A poore man named *Seedafus* who dwelt in *Leutira*, a village within the territorie of the Thebians, had two daughters, the name of the one was *Hippo*, and of the other *Atleia*, or as some write, *Clepid* they were, *Theano* and *Enippe*. Now this *Seedafus* was a bounteous and kind person, yea, and a good fellow in his house, and courteous to all strangers, notwithstanding he had but small store of goods about him. So there fortun'd to visit him two young men of *Sparta*, whom hee friendly and lovingly entertained; who being fallen into fancie with his two daughters, had thus much power yet of themselves, that in regard of their father *Seedafus*, and his kindeffe unto them, they attempted nothing prejudiciall unto the honest pudicitie of the virgins for that time; but the next morning took their leave and went directly toward the city of *Delfos*, unto the oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, for to that purpose expressely took they this journey and pilgrimage: after that they had consulted with the god about such matters as they came for, they returned backe againe into their owne country; & as they passed through *Baetia*, took *Seedafus* house by the way, there for to lodge; who at that time was not at *Leutira*, but gone forth: howbeit his daughters according to their courteous bringing up, & their usual manner of entertainment, received these two guests into the house, who seeing their opportunity, & that they were alone, forced & deflowered the silly maidens: and after this deed, seeing them exceedingly offended and angry for this villany offered unto them, so as by no means they would be appeased, they proceeded farther & murdered them both, and when they had so done, threw them into a certaine blinde pit, and so departed. *Seedafus* being returned home, found all things else in his house safe and found as hee left them, only his two daughters hee could not meet with, neither wist he what to say or doe, untill such time as a bitch that he had began to whine and complaine, running one while to him and another while training him as it were to the pit side, whereupon at length, he suspected that which was, and so drew forth the dead bodies of his two daughters; understanding moreover by his neighbors, that the day before they had seene going into his house those two young men of *Lacedemon*, who not long before had bene lodged with him; he doubted presently that they were those who had committed this crime, and namely, when he called to minde that the first time they came, they did nothing but praise the maidens, saying: That they reputed them most happy, whose fortune should be to espouse them for their wives. Well, to *Lacedemon* he went, for to confesse with the *Ephori* about this matter; and by that time that he entred within the territory of *Argos*, he was benighted, so that hee took up his lodging in a common inne or hostelry; within which, he found another poore old man, borne in the city *Oreus*, within the province *Hellas*, whom when *Seedafus* heard to sigh and groane grievously, yea and to fall a cussing of the *Lacedemonians*, he demanded what the *Lacedemonians* had done unto him, that hee feared thus against them, the old man set tale and said: That a subject hee was of the *Spartans*, and that when one *Aristodemus* was sent as governor from the State of *Sparta*, into the citie *Oreum*, hee had dealt very cruelly, and committed many buttages and chormities: for being (quoth he) wantonly fallen in love with a sonne of mine; and seeing that he would not frame nor be induced to satisfie his will, hee assaid to enforce him; and by violence to hale him out of the publicke wrestling place, where hee exercised himselfe with other his feeres and companions: the warden of the exercises impeached the said governor, with the assistance of many young men, who came unto the rescue, in such sort, as for that present *Aristodemus* retired without effect; but the next morrow having set out and manned a galley of purpose, hee came with a second charge, and caried away my child; and no sooner was hee rowed from *Oreum* to the other side of the water, but hee assaid to abuse his body; which when the youth would in no wise abide, nor yeeld unto, hee made no moie ado but cut his throat, and killed him outright in the place, which done, hee returned backe, to *Oreum*, where hee feasted his friends and made great cheere: This accident was I foure advertised of (quoth the old man) whereupon I went and performed the last dutie unto my sonne, and solemnized his funeral; and so immediately put

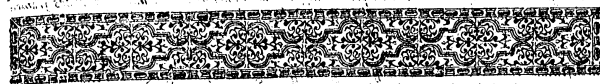
put my selfe upon my journey toward *Sparta*, where I complained unto the *Ephori* or lords controulers, declaring unto them the whole fact, but they gave no eare unto me, nor made any reckoning of my grievance. *Seedafus* hearing this tale was illapaid & troubled in his mind imagining that the *Spartans* would make as little account of him; and therewith to requite his tale, related for his part likewise unto the stranger, his owne case; who therupon gave him counsell, not so much as once to go unto the *Ephori*, but to returne immediately backe into *Baetia*, and to erect a tombe for his two daughters. Howbeit, *Seedafus* would not be ruled by him, but held on his journey forward to *Sparta*, & opened his griefe unto the lords controulers before said: & when hee saw that they tooke small heed of his words, hee addressed himselfe to the kings of *Sparta*; yea and afterwards to some particular burgeoises of the citie, unto whom hee declared the fact, and bewailed his owne infortunite. But seeing that all bootied not, hee ran up and downe the streets of the citie, stretching forth his hands up to heaven, and to the sun and stamping upon the ground with his feet, calling upon the furies of hell to be revenged, and at the last killed himselfe. But in processe of time the *Lacedemonians* paid deere for this their injustice: for when they were grown to that greatness, that they commanded all *Greece*, and had planted their garrisons in everie citie; first *Epaminondas* the Theban cut the throates of those fouldiers who lay in garrison at *Thebes*; whereupon the *Lacedemonians* made warre upon the Thebians, who went out with a power to encounter them as far as to the village of *Leutira*, taking that place for a good preface unto them: for that before time they had been delivered out of servitude, what time as *Amphiclyon* chased by *Sthenelus*, fled and retired himselfe unto the citie of *Thebes*; where finding them subdued by the Chalcidians, and made their tributaries: after hee had slaine *Chalcedon* the king of the Eubaeans, hee slew the Thebans of the tribute which they before had paid. So it fortun'd that the *Lacedemonians* were discomfited and defeated, neere unto the verie same monument or tombe of the said two daughters of *Seedafus*. It is reported moreover that a little before this battell, *Seedafus* appeared in a vision or dreame unto *Pelopidas*, one of the captaines of the Theban army, who had bene altogether discouraged with certaine signes and foretokens, which hee judged and interpreted to portend ill; whom *Seedafus* willed to take a good heart, for that the *Lacedemonians* were thither come, for to suffer that punishment which they owed to him & his daughters; advising him withal the day before hee encountered with the *Lacedemonians*, to sacrifice a young white sole or colt, which hee should find readie even before the sepulcher of his two daughters. And then *Pelopidas*, whiles the enemies lay yet encamped at *Tegae*, sent before unto *Leutira* for to enquire of the said tombe; and being informed thereof by the inhabitants of the country, advanced forward boldly with his army, and won the field.

4 *Phocus*, a Boeotian borne (for descended hee was from *Gleifus*) had a daughter named *Calirhoe*, a maiden of singular beaultie, and surpassing honesty and sobriety withall. So there were to the number of thirtie young gentlemen, the noblest and best reputed of all *Boetia*, who were all futors unto her in the way of marriage. But *Phocus* her father made alwaies some delay or other, and found means to put off still from day to day, as fearing lest shee should be forced. At last seeing how hee was overpressed with these instant wooers; he requested them to referre the election of him that should be her husband unto the oracle of *Apollo*. The young men taking indignation at these words and answer of his, fell upon him and flew him: but in this affray and tumult the young maiden escaped and ran thorow the fields into the country: but the young lustie futers made after and pursued her; and these lighting upon certaine husbandmen, who were laying together and piling up of wheat upon a floor in a ricke, by the means of them faved herselfe; for the said husbandmen hid her within the corne, so as they passed by who followed in chafe after her. Thus having escaped this danger, shee expected the solemne feast and generall assembly, called *Pambotia*, for that all the Boeotians met together: then came shee to the citie of *Coronea*, and there in habite and forme of a suppliant, shee sat before the altar of *Minerva Itonia*; where she related unto all commers the enormous wickednes and mischiefe committed by her wooers, rehearsing them everie one by name, and shewing in what countrey ech one was borne. The Boeotians tooke pittie of the damosell, and were highly displeased and incensed against those young gentlemen: which they hearing, fled into the citie *Orchomenus*; but the *Orchomenians* would not receive them: by occasion whereof they meant to put themselves within *Hippocra*, a pretie towne neere unto *Helicon*, situate betwene *Thebes* and *Coronea*, which gave them entertainment. Then sent the Thebans unto the inhabitants thereof certaine persons to call upon them: for to deliver up the murderers of *Phocus*, that they might receive justice accordingly: but when they would not yeeld so to do, the Thebans with other Boeotians, gathered

an armie and went against them, under the leading of *Phaedus*, who at that time was the chiefe ruler of *Thebes*, and laid siege unto the said towne, which being otherwise strongly fortified, was in the end forced for want of water: where they stoned to death the murderers; brought the inhabitants unto bondage and slavery; rased their walles; overthrew their dwelling houses; and divided their whole territorie among the Thebanes and Coronæans. The report goeth, that overnight before that this towne of *Hippore* was wonne, there was a voice heard from the mount *Helicon* of one effoones iterating these words: *Here I am, Here I am*; which voice the thirty wooers knew all verie well to be the speech of *Phocum*. Also the same day that they were stoned, it is said that the monument or roombe of this old man, which stood at *Gleissus*, flowed and ran with fassion. Thus when *Phaedus* the captaine and ruler of the Thebanes, returned from warre with victorie, newes came unto him that his wife was delivered of a daughter; which he taking to be a good pretage, named her thereupon *Democrita*.

Alcippus, a Lacedæmonian borne, espoused a ladie named *Democrita*; by whom hee was the father of two daughters, who alwaies both giving counsell unto the citie for the best things, and also ready in person to serve, & execute the same in all occurrences presented, for the good of his countrey, incurred the envie and emulation of his concurrents in the government of the State, who with false furnishes and slanderous imputations, went about to seduce the *Ephori*, buzzing into their heads, how this *Alcippus* would overthrow the lawes, and change the whole State and common-wealth of *Sparta*: in so much as they banished him out of his countrey, and would not suffer his wife with her daughters to follow him: and that which woofe is, to they did confiscate his goods, to the end that his daughters might have no portions to bestow them for their advancement in marriage. And notwithstanding that divers yong men in regard of their fathers vertue, made meanes for to marrie these maidens without any dowry, yet his adversaries wrought so cunningly, that they passed an act and publicke edict, forbidding expressly, that any man should seeke unto them for marriage: for they alledged and pretended that their mother *Democrita* had often times made her prayers unto the gods, that her daughters might quickly bring forth children who might be revenged for the injurie done unto their father. *Democrita* then perceiving how on every side she was hardly bested & driven to a straight, observed her time, and waited a certaine solemne and festivall day, which the dames of the citie, with their daughters virgins, with their maid-servants likewise and little children, did celebrate: on which day, the wives of magistrates and men of honour, watched and passed the whole night by themselves in a great and spacious hall. When this day was come, the girded herselfe with a dagger or skeine under her clothes, and taking her daughters with her, when night came, went into the temple; and observing the opportunitie of the time when all the said dames were busie in their divine service and hard at their devotions in the hall above said, when all the waies and passages were shut up, she brought a great deale of wood which was provided for the sacrifice, and piled the same against the doores, and so set it on fire. But when their husbands came running for to helpe from all parts, *Democrita* killed her two daughters and herselfe upon them. The Lacedæmonians not knowing upon whom to discharge their anger, caused the dead bodies of *Democrita* and her two daughters to be thrown without the confines and liberties of their territorie: for which act of theirs, God being highly displeased, sent (as the Chronicles do record) a great earthquake among the Lacedæmonians.

(* *)



WHETHER CREATURES BE MORE WISE, THEY OF THE LAND, OR THOSE OF THE WATER.

The Summarie.

IN this treatise and discourse, affording (among other things) much pleasure in the reading, Plutarch bringeth in two yong gentlemen, Aristotimus and Phocedimus, who in the presence of a frequent company plead the cause of living creatures: Aristotimus in the first place, for them of the land; and Phocedimus in the second, for those of the water: the drift and conclusion of whose pleas cometh to this point, that without resolving unto whom the prize ought to be adjudged, one of the company inferreth that the examples alledged both of the one side and of the other, do prove that those creatures have some use of reason. Moreover, we may distinctly divide this booke into three principall parts: the first containeth a conference betwene Soclarus and Autobulus, who gave eare afterwards unto the others; for Soclarus taking occasion to speake of a written discourse recited in the praise of hunting, commendeth this exercise, and preferreth it before combats of sword playes and fencers; which Autobulus will in no wise approve, but holdeth that this warre against beasts, chooleth (as it were) and traineth mento learne for to kill one another afterwards. And for that some entrance and access there was to be given unto the principall dispute of the intelligence and knowledge which is in brute beasts, they do examine the opinion of the Stoicks, who bereave them of all understanding, passion and pleasure: which opinion of theirs being at large debated, is afterwards refused; with this resolution, that man out goeth beasts in all subtiltie and quicknesse of wit, in justice and equitie meet for civill societie: and yet beasts, although they be more dull and heavier than men, are not therefore void of all discourse and natural reason. Then Autobulus confirmeth this by the consideration of horses and dogges enraged: a sufficient testimonie that such creatures before time had reason and understanding. Soclarus opposeth himselfe against such a confirmation, in the behalfe of the Stoicks and Peripateticks: whereupon Autobulus distinguisheth of the arguments, and inclining partly to the side of the Pythagoreans, sheweth what manner of justice or injustice we ought to consider in the carrying of men toward beasts. And then come the two yong gentlemen above named in place; where Aristotimus taking in hand the cause of land-beasts, discourseth at large thereupon, which is the second part of this present treatise. True it is, that all the beginning of his plea is defective and wanting: howbeit, that which remaineth and is extant, sheweth sufficiently the careful industry of our author in searching into the history of nature, and examples drawn out thereof, as also out of an infinite number of books, to passing good purpose. Well then, Aristotimus sheweth in the first place, that the hunting of land-beasts, is a far nobler and more commendable exercise than that of the water: and coming then to the point, namely, to the use of reason, which consisteth in the election and preference of one thing before another, in provisions, forecasts and prerogatives in affections, as well those which be wilde and gentle, as the other which are violent; in diligence and industry in arts and sciences, in hardihood, equitie, temperance, courage and magnanimitie, he proveth all this to be (with how comparison) farre more in land-creatures than in other: for the proove and verifying whereof, he produceth bulles, elephants, lions, mice, swallows, spiders, ravens, dogs, bees, geese, cranes, herons, pismires, wolves, foxes, mules, partridges, hares, beares, wrens, and divers sorts besides of four-footed beasts: of fowles likewise, insects, wormes and serpents: all which are specified in particular afterwards. In the last part, Phocedimus making some excuse that he was not well prepared, taketh in hand never thelesse, the cause of fishes; and in the very entrance, declareth, that notwithstanding it be an hard matter to shew the sufficiency of such creatures, which are so divided and covered from us, yet notwithstanding, produce he will his prooves and arguments drawn from certaine and notable things, recommending fishes in this respect, that they are so wise

Liii

and considerate (as he sheweth by examples) being not taught nor monished unto any wates framed and trained by man, like as most part of land beasts be; and yet by the way he proveth by eyles, lampreys, and crocodiles, that fishes may be made tame with men, and how our ancients esteemed highly the institution of such more creatures: after this he describeth their natural prudence, both in defending themselves and also in offending and assailing others, alleging infinit examples to this purpose: as the skill and knowledge they have in the Mathemaicks, their amity, their fellowship, their love, their kinde affection to their young ones: alleging in the end divers histories of dolphins love unto men: whereupon Socrates taking occasion to speake, inserteth that these two pleaders agree in one point, and if a man would joine and lay together their arguments, proofes, and reasons, they would make head passing well and strongly against those, who would take from beasts both of land and water all discourse of reason.

WHETHER CREATURES BE more wise; they of the land, or they of the water.

AUTOBULUS.



Autobulus, a king of *Lacedemon*, being demanded upon a time what he thought of *Tyrtaeus*: I take him to bee (quoth he) a good poet, to whet and polish the courages of young men; for that by his verses he doth imprint in the hearts of young gentlemen an ardent affection, with a magnanimous desire to winne honour and glorie, in regard whereof, they will not spare themselves in batels and fights, but expose their lives to all perils whatsoever: Semblably, am I greatly affraid my very good friends, lest the discourse as touching the praise of hunting, which was read yesterday in this company, hath so stirred up and excited beyond all measure our

young men, who love that game so well, that from henceforth they will thinke all other things but accessories and by-matters, or rather make no account at all of other exercises, but will runne altogether unto this sport, and minde none other besides, considering that I finde my selfe now a fresh more hotly given, and youthfully affectionate thereunto than mine age would require, inso much as according to the words of dame *Phedra* in *Euripides*:

*All my desire is now to call
And cry unto my bounds in chase,
The dapple stagge and hinde withall,
To hunt and follow hard at trace.*

So neere unto the quickedid that discourse touch me, alleging such a number of proper and pitie reasons.

SOCRARUS.

Time it is that you say *Autobulus*, for me thought that therein he stirred up and awakened his singular eloquence and skill in Rhetoricke, which some time he had discontinued & which lay asleepe, to gratifie (as I take it) those young gentlemen who were present in place, and withall to solace and disport himselfe among them, but that which pleased me most was this: When hee represented unto our eies by way of comparison, sword-fencers fighting at that one with another to the utterance, alleging this for one of his reasons, wherefore he principally commending hunting, in that it diverteth and calleth away a certaine affection that we have either naturally engraffed, or else acquired by use and custome to take pleasure in seeing men at sword's point enter into combat for life & death one against another, & turneth it especially hither, yielding unto us a faire pure and innocent spectacle of artificial cunning, conjoined with hardihood and courage, guided with reason, against brutish force and wilde strength: and in so doing giveth us to understand that this sentence of *Euripides* is woorthy to be praised when he saith:

*Small is mans strength and puissance corporall;
His wit is great and prudence naturall;
It tames all fish beneath in seas so deepe
And wily beasts doft on earth that keepe.*

AUTOBULUS.

AUTOBULUS.

And yet my good friend *Soclarus*, some there be who hold, that this inflexible rigour and savage impassibility of not being moved at all with pity, came from hence into mens hearts, namely, from the custome of killing of beasts in chafe, and of learning not to have in honour the sight of bloudshed, and of the grievous wounds of beasts which they received, but to take delight in seeing them to die, and to be cut in pieces: and like as in the cite of *Athens*, when it was reduced under the tyrannie of the thirtie usurers, the first man whom they put to death was a lycophant, of whom it was said then, that hee had well deserved it, and was rightly served; and so they said by a second and a third: but from thence they went forward by little and little, untill they came to lay hold upon honest men, and in the end spared not the best and most vertuous citizens: even so he that killed at the first a beare, or a wolfe, was highly commended, and thought to have done a very good deed; and an ox or a swine that had eaten some things provided for a sacrifice or oblation to the gods, was condemned as fit and worthy to die: heereupon staggas and hinds, hares also and goates, which men began already to eat, invited also the flesh of sheepe, yea, and in some places of dogges and horses to the table. But they who taught first to dismember, and cut in pieces for meat, a tame goose, a house dove, and familiar pigeon, a dung-hill cocke, or domesticall henne of the roost, and that not to satistie and remedie the necessitie of hunger, as doe these weezils and cattes, and but only for pleasure, and to feed a daintie tooth, surely have confirmed and strengthened all that bloudiness and savage cruelty which was in our nature, and made it altogether inflexible and immoveable without any compassion: but contrariwise enfeebled and dulled for the most part all naturall mildnesse and humanitie; whereas on the other side the Pythagoreans would have men to accustome themselves to use gentleness even towards beasts, as an exercise of pity and mercy to men: for custome which traineth us familiarly by little and little to any passion and affection, hath a wonderous efficacie, to set a man forward thereunto. But I wot not how, being entred into speech, we have forgotten our selves, and not kept us to that which was begun yesterday, and should be continued and held on this day: for yesterday as you know very well, having agreed upon this: That all sorts of living creatures have in them some little discourse and reason, we gave good occasion and matter of a learned and pleasant disputation, unto our young gentlemen, who love hunting to well, namely, as touching the wit and wisdom of beasts, whether there be more in them of the land, or those of the sea? which question we are as I take it, this day to decide, in case *Aristotimus* and *Phadimus* hold on still, and persist in their defiance and challenges, which yesterday they gave one another; for the one of them undertooke unto his friends and companions, to mainteine that the earth bringeth forth beasts of more sense, capacitie and understanding; and the other contrariwise promised as much in the behalfe of the water.

SOCRARUS.

That they do, *Autobulus*, they are of the same mind still to dispute it out, and here they will be anon for this very purpose; for I saw them in the morning betimes, addressing & making themselves ready: but if you thinke it good, before this combat begin, let us go in hand againe with that which yesterday should have been handled, and was not; partly for that the time and place served not thereto; or rather because the matter was proposed unto them at the table, and among the cups of wine, which went merrily about, and not treated of in good earnest and fadnesse in deed: for one there was, who seemed after a pragmaticall sort to resound on the adverse part not impertinently, as if he came out of the Stoicks schoole, thus much: That like as mortall is opposite unto immortall, corruptible unto incorruptible, and corporall unto incorporeall; even so, confesse we ought, that reasonable is contrarie to unreasonable; so that if one of them be, the other ought likewise of necessitie to be, and that this onely couple of contraries among for many other, ought not to be left defectuous or unperfect.

AUTOBULUS.

And what is he, friend *Soclarus*, who will say, that if we admit in nature, that which is reasonable to subsist and have being; wee should not likewise allow that which is unreasonable: for (no doubt) it is, and that in great measure, namely in all creatures which have no life nor soule: neither need we to seeke farther for any other opposition unto that which is reasonable; for whatsoever is without life and soule, is incontinently opposite unto that which together with soule, hath the use of understanding and reason: and if any one there be who maintaineth, that nature for all this is not unperfect, in that evrie substance having soule is either reasonable or

LIII 2

unreasonable.

unreasonable: another will say unto him likewise, that a nature endued with life and soule, is not defective, namely in that, either it hath imagination, or else is without; it is either sensitive, or else hath no sense; to the end that it may have on either side these two oppositions or privations, making counterpoise one against another, about one and the same kind, as two contrarie branches arising out of one steame or trunk. And if he thinke him to be absurd, who demandeth that it should be granted unto him, that of a nature endued with soule, one branch should be sensitive, and another senseless; for that he thinketh that every nature which hath a soule is incontinently both sensitive, and also imaginative: yet for all this shall he have no more appearance to require that one should suppose this unto him to be true; namely, that whatsoever hath soule, should be either reasonable or unreasonable, discoursing with those men, who held that opinion that nothing hath sense, but the same hath understanding withall; and that there is not one kind of animall creatures, but it hath some manner of opinion and discourse of reason, like as it hath sense and naturall appetite: for nature, who as men say, and that right truly, maketh all things for some cause and to some end, hath not made a living creature sensitive, only and simply to have a passive sense: but whereas there be a number of things proper and agreeable to it, and as many againe for the contrarie, it could not possibly endure and continue the minute of an hour, if it knew not how to fit it selfe with one, and to take heed and beware of the other. So it is therefore, that sense giveth unto every animall creature the knowledge of them both indifferently: but the discretion which accompanieth the said sense, in chusing, receiving, and pursuing after that which is profitable; or refusing, rejecting and flying from that which is hurtfull and pernicious: there is no appearance at all of reason to induce us to say that those creatures have, if they had not withall some meane facultie and aptitude naturall, to discourse, judge, conceive, comprehend, retaine, and remember: as for those creatures verily, from which you take altogether the gift of expectance, remembrance, election, provision, and preparation afore hand: and moreover, the facultie of hoping, fearing, desiring and refusing: good have they none at all of their eies, of their eares, or of any other sense, apprehension or imagination, in case there be no use thereof: and farre better it were for them, that they were cleane destitute and quite deprived of such faculties, than to suffer travell, paine and sorrow, and have not wherewith to put by and repell such inconveniences: and yet there is a discourse extant of the naturall philosopher *Strato*, shewing by plaine demonstration, that impossible it is to have any sense at all, without some discourse of reason: for many times we runne over the letters in bookes and writings with our eies; yea and we heare the found of words with our eares, without conceiving and comprehending either the one or the other, but they fly and passe away, when as our mind is otherwise occupied: but afterwards when the mind is come againe to it selfe and united it, it runneth and pursueth after the same, and gathereth every thing together againe which was scattered: In regard whereof it was not said amiss in old time:

*The mind it is, that doth both heare and see.
As for the rest full deafe and blind they bee.*

as if the motion and passion about the eies and eares, caused no sense at all, if the mind and understanding were away. And therefore *Clomenus*, king of *Lacedemon*, being one day at a feast in *Egypt*, where there was rehearsed at the table a pretie Acroame or care-delight, which pleased the companie verie well; being demanded the question what hee thought of it? and whether hee judged it not verie well penned and set downe? As for that (quoth he) I report me unto you that hee did it, and I referre it to your judgement: for mine part, my mind was all the while in *Peloponnesus*. And therefore necessarie it is, that every creature which hath sense, should likewise be endued with discourse of reason and understanding, considering that by our understanding wee come to sense. But set the case that the senses have no need at all of the understanding, to exercise their functions & operations: but when the sense hath done her part, in discerning that which is proper and familiar unto a living creature, from that it is contrarie & adverse unto it, it passeth away and is gone: What is it then that remembereth and calleth to minde? what is it that feareth things noisome and offensive, and contrariwise desireth those which be good and holmesome? what is it that seeketh meanes to compasse and get things when they are not present? what is it that deviseth offensive, forts and retracts, yea, and engins to catch and take; or contrariwise, shifts and policies to escape nets and grinses laied for them when they are at the point to be caught and surpris'd? and yet these men say as much as this comes to, when ever and anon in all their introductions they dull our eares and make our heads ache againe with their definitions; for they define *negatives*, that is to say, a project or deliberat purpose, to be a desigging

of bringing somewhat to effect; *indivision*, that is to say, endeavour, to be an appetite or desire before an appetite; *desideration*, that is to say, provision, to be an action before action; *perception*, that is to say, remembrance or memorie, to be the comprehension of a proposition affirmative or negative, already past; whereof the present truth was otherwise comprised by the sense: for of all these faculties, there is not so much as one reasonless (I meane) not proceeding from the selfe course of reason: and yet they all concurre, and are to be found in every living creature; and even so verily, they define *intelligences*, that is to say, intelligences, to be notions laied up apart and reserved within; but *imaginings*, that is to say, cogitations, to be notions still in motion: as for passions, they confesse and defining them all in generality to be evil judgements & false opinions, 10 a wonder it is, how they passe over so many effects and motions which are to be found in brute beasts; some proceeding from anger and choler; others againe from feare: and besides all this, envie (I may tell you) and jealousy; when as they themselves (beware me) stick not to punish their horses, and beat their dogs, when they do a fault; nor rashly and in vaine, but considerably, for to correct them and make them wiser, working thereby & imprinting in them a displeasure with themselves proceeding from paine, which we call repentance: as touching other pleasures and delights, that which passeth and is received by the eares, they term it (for sooth) *whimsie*, that is to say, an enchantment; that which cometh by the eie, *varie*, that is to say, bewitching; and they use both the one and the other against wilde beasts; for certaine it is, that staggas and horses do joy in the sound of whistles, flutes and hauboies: also men call forth crabfish, crevisses and gramples out of their holes perforce, with burning torches and light fire brands: moreover, it is said, that the fish *alosa* bearing men to sing, to clap their hands, or otherwise to make a noise, will arise out of the water, and come abroad: likewise, the home owle or bustard is (as it were) enchanted with the beholding of men dancing together in his sight, and so far overaken he is with the delight thereof, that while he thinketh to counterfeite their jestures, stirring and moving his shoulders according to the measures with them, he suffereth himselfe (like a fool) to be taken by the fowler. As for those who of these matters speake so foolishly and absurdly, saying, that beasts rejoice not, are not angry, nor fearful; and namely, that the * nightingale doth not studie, meditate and prepare against her singing; that the bee hath no memorie; but 20 that the swallow seemeth onely to make provision by a kinde of providence; that the lion is (as porche of it were) angry; and the hind given as though she were afraid: I wot not what answer they will 30 make to those who shall urge them to this, that they may aswell say, that the same creatures neither see nor heare, but seeme onely (as it were) to heare and see and to have a voice; and in one word, that they live not at all, but seeme to live: for I assure you (in my judgement) there are no more repugnant to evidence and daily experience, than the other.

SOCARUS.

I thinke no lesse (*Socobulus*) and therefore range me among those of your opinion in this point. But to compare the maners, lives, actions, behaviours and conversations of men, with those of beasts, & to affirme that beasts herein fort with us: besides, that I see in this, great indignitie derogatorie to mans worthinesse, I doubt much, and can not conceive how nature hath 40 given unto them the beginning of vertue, which is reason, and unto which reason is referred and doth aime, considering they can not attaine unto the end: and besides, there is not one of them all that sheweth any signe of tending thereto, of progresse therein, or of desire and appetite that way.

AUTOBULUS.

Yea, but this (my good friend *Soclarus*) is no strange and absurd thing with these men, I meane the Stoicks: for notwithstanding that they put downe the naturall love and affection which we have to the issue of our owne bodies begotten, for the foundation of civill societie and of justice, and see the same in brute beasts very evident and puissant, yet for all that, they staidly and stoutly denie that they have any part of justice in them. And that which more is, mules are 50 not without all the instruments of generation; for nature hath given to the males generative members, and to the females the parts fit for conception; yea, and in the use of these members and instruments they have the same delight and pleasure which other creatures have; howbeit, they never speed, nor attaine to the end of generation. Consider againe on the other side, whether it were not a ridiculous absurditie for such philosophers as they would seeme to be, to asseme and maintaine, that *Socrates* and *Plato*, and such men as they, were no lesse vicious than any vile slave or wicked wretch in the world, but that all were foolish, wilde, lascivious and unjust alike (because forsooth, all sinnes with them be equall) and then to lay the blame and fault

in the source and beginning of vertue, that is to say, Reason, as being not pure nor perfect in brute beasts to the accomplishment of vertue: as if this were not some defect and imperfection of reason, seeing they confesse themselves that there is an imperfection in the use of reason, of which all beasts be full: for yee see in many of them, that there is cowardice, intemperance, injustice and malice: Now he who affirmeth that whatsoever is not apt and fitted by nature, to receive reason aright and in absolute manner, is simply not capable of reason: first he doth as much as if he maintained, that neither the ape is capable of ill favoured deformitie; nor the tortoise of slow pace, because the one of them is not susceptible of beautifull favour, nor the other of swiftnesse and good foote-manship. Again, he doth not see and make the difference between reason perfect, and simple reason; for reason simply proceedeth from nature; but honest, virtuous, and perfect reason commeth by industry, study, diligence, and teaching; which is the cause that all creatures endued with a sensitive soule, are capable and susceptible of a kinde of discipline and learning by the means of this facultie of discourse and reason: many this absolute and right reason indeed which we affect and seeke for; and is nothing: else but sapience and wisdom, they are not able to name any one man that ever attained unto it: Like as therefore a difference there is between sight and sight; between flight and flight; for hawks see otherwise than grasshoppers doe; eagles also and partridges flie not alike; even so all creatures endued with reason, have not the like vivacity, promptitude and nimbleness of reason; as to reach up to the highest pitch and perfection thereof: for we may observe in some beasts many evident tokens of just societie, of valour, of witty industry in their provision and disposing; and contrariwise, in others as many signes of insupportable violence and injustice, of cowardice and foolishnesse, as witnesseth that which now mooveth the contention and debate between our young gentlemen; for as if they both supposed there was a difference in this behalfe, some of them maintaine that naturally, the beasts of the land are proceeded farther in vertue; and others contrariwise affirme, the same of those in the sea and waters; a thing very evident, whosever will compare storkes with the river hoeses; for the foale doe nourish and feede their fathers who engendered them, whereas these doe kill them, because they might ride and cover their mothers: as also who will but confesse cocke-doves with partridges; for doves doe oftentimes squall and marre the egges, yea, and other whiles kill the hennes when they cover or sit, because they are not willing during that time to be troden; whereas the male partridges take upon them part of the care and paine in sitting upon the egges, and in their time doe keepe them warme, that they chill not; yea, and that which more is, they be the first that bring meat in their bills unto the little ones newly hatched; and if haply the damme range abroad, rare forth too long out of the nest, the male beats and pecks her with his bill, drives her home to her egges and young birds. As for *Antipater* who reprocheth and rebuketh both asses and sheepe for their foolishnesse, and being so negligent in keeping themselves cleane, he hath forgotten (I wot not how) to speake of ounces and swallows: for the ounces seeke a by-place by themselves apart, where to bestow their urine, and by all means hide and conceale that fine stony substance, called *Lycurium*, which is engendred of it: and the swallows teach their young ones to turne their tails so, as they may meet out of their nests. Moreover, why say we not that one tree is more ignorant or untaught than another, like as we hold, and that truly, that a sheepe is more dull of capacitee than a dogge? or that this herbe is more fearefull than that, like as we affirme very well, that a stagge is more timorous, or rather lesse valourous than a lion: and as in things which are unmoveable, we never say, that one is more slow than another; nor among such things as yeeld no sound at all, that this hath a smaller or bigger voice than that; Scemably, it is never said, that there is lesse witte, more dulnesse, and greater intemperance in such or such things, unlesse it be in that kinde, whereof all by nature are endued with the gift of reason, and of prudence in some measure, which puiſſance and facultie being given to some more, and to others lesse, is that which maketh all life difference that we see. Yea many, but there is no comparison will some man say, betweene men and beasts; so infinitely surpasseth he them in swiftnesse of witte, in justice and equity, becoming civill societie, that it is wonderfull: And even so, (my good friend) there be many which in biggnesse and strength of bodie, in swiftnesse of feet, in quicknesse of sight, and subtilty, of hearing our goe all the men in the world, and leave them farre behinde, and yet for all this, we are not to inferre and conclude that man is blinde, that he is impotent of hand and foot, or otherwise deafe: neither hath nature deprived us altogether of bigge armes and bodies, or of strength both in the one and the other, although in comparison of the elephant and the camell, our force and bulke of bo-

dy is nothing: after the same manner may we speake of beasts; if their discourse and understanding be more grosse, if their witte be more dull than ours, it followeth not thereupon, that they have neither reason nor naturall witte: for without all question, both they have, feeble though they be and troubled, like as an ele is otherwhiles weak, dimme, and muddy: and were it not that certainly expect, and that among our young men who are studious, learned and verie well versed in the books of our ancient writers, that they will alledge an infinit number of examples, the one from the land, and the other out of the sea; I could not containe my selfe but recite and alledge heere before you an innumerable sort of proofes and arguments; as well of the naturall subtilty of beasts, as of their docility, which the beautiful and famous city of Rome hath afforded unto us to draw and lade up abundantly by whole scuppers and buckets full (as they say,) from the stately theaters of their emperours, and the princely games exhibited there: But let us leave this matter first, and entree for those young men, thereby to embellish their discourses, and set out their eloquence: meane while I would gladly examine and consider one point with you now that we are at leisure. For I suppose that in every part & naturall power or facultie of our bodie, there doth befall some proper defect, some maine or malicie, as namely, in the eye, blindness; in the legges, lamenesse; in the tongue, stotting and stammering; and that which is proper to one members, is not incident unto another: for wee use not to say, that a thing is become blinde, which never had power by nature to see; nor lame which was not ordained to goe; neither was there ever man who would say, that a thing flammered which never had tongue, or muffled and wharled, which naturally yeeldeth no voice at all: and even so we cannot (to speake properly and truly) tearme that foolish, furious, or enraged, which by course of nature is not capable of understanding, discourse and reason: for impossible it is, that a part may be said to be interested, affected or prejudiced in a thing, which never had an aptitude or naturall power, that might receive diminution by privation, mutilation, or otherwise some infirmitee: and yet I doubt not but you have otherwhiles seene dogges runne madde; and for mine owne part I have knowne horses enraged; and there be moreover, who affirme that kine and other beestes will be horne-wood, yea and foxes as well as dogges: but the example of dogges whereof no man makes doubt, may suffice to prove and beare witness, that this kinde of beast hath reason and understanding, and therefore not in small measure to be contented but when it chanceth that it is troubled and confounded, then comes upon them that disease which is called rage and madnesse; for at such a time we cannot perceive in them, that either their sight or their hearing is altered: but like as he that should give out of a man who is overcharged with a melancholike humour, or given to rave and go beside himselfe, that his understanding is not transported and out of order, that his discourse of reason is not out of the way, nor his braines broken, or memorie corrupt, were very absurd: for that the ordinary custome and behaviour of such foolish and besttraught persons sufficiently convinceth, that they are past themselves, and have lost the discourse of reason; even so, whosoever thinketh that mad dogges suffer any other passion, than a confusion and perturbation of that part in them, which before time was wont to imagine, discourse and remember, in such sort that when they be thus surprised with rage, they are so foolish and foolish, as they know not their best friends, who were wont to make much of them, but flie those places of their feeding and bringing up, which they used most to haunt & to converse in, & do not so much as discern, but oversee that which is presented plaine before them: this man (I say) seemeth obstinately to strive against the truth, and not to comprehend that which daily experience doth shew.

SOCIARUS.

Certes, your conjecture in mine opinion is very good, and you are in the right: but the Stoicks and Peripateticks stiffly stand against all this, and impugn it with tooth and naile, saying: That justice cannot have any other breeding and beginning; and that impossible it is to maintain that there is any justice in the world, if it be confessed that all beasts are any waies capable of reason: for that necessitie it is, either that we do injurie in not sparing them; or in case we make no use of them for our food, that impossible it were for us to live; or else our life should remaine destitute of such things as well it may not misse and be without. In summe, that we were to live in some sort a savage and beastlike life, if we should reject the profits and commodities which they afford. For I passe by infinit thousands and millions of the Troglodytes and Nomades, that know no other feeding, but of flesh only and nothing else: but as for us who seeme to lead a mild, civill, & more gentle life, what worke were there left for us to do upon the land; what busi-

finesse have wee at sea? what skill or art should wee exercise among the mountaines? what ornament or beautie would there be in our life, if wee were taught this once as a true lesson, that we ought to respect all beasts, and use all equitie towards them, as being reasonable creatures as we are, and made of the same mould that we be? Certes, it were verie hard to say; and therefore there is no answer to assaile this doubt; no medicine or salve to heale this sore; no device to undo this knot, and difficulty which taketh away, either all civilitie, or else all justice out of mans life, unless wee keepe that ancient limit and lawe, whereby God having separated (according as *Hesiodus* saith) sundrie natures and distinguished every kind a part by it selfe:

To fishes, beasts, and feathered fowles, hath granted power and might;

One of another for to feed, because they have no right.

To men alone, he justice gave therein to take delight.

Given (I say) he hath justice unto them for to exercise among themselves; and as for other living creatures as they cannot deale justly with us, so it is certaine that we cannot use injustices to them; and looke whosoever reject this conclusion and resolution, have left no other use, nor so much as a simple way whereby justice may enter and come among us.

AUTOBULUS.

Now truly my friend, you have said this very well, and even according to the mind and hearts desire of these men: howbeit we are not to give & grant unto these philosophers (as the manner is to be about those women who have hard travell, some *Oxytocum*, or medicinale drogue, to cause them for to have more speedy and easie deliverance) this device to hang upon them, that 20 they may with ease and without all paine, beare and bring forth justice unto us; seeing that in the maine and most important points of all philosophie, they would not allow *Epicurus* so small a thing, & so vile, as to decline one only atome, or indivisible body never to little aside, for to make way for the itares, for living creatures; and fortune to come into the world, and that thereby our free will might be saved: for they ought either to proove by demonstration, that which is doubtfull, or to suppose that which of it selfe is manifest; and not to take this article as touching beasts, for to establish justice, seeing that it is neither confessed & granted unto them, nor they otherwise doe proove it: for another path-way there is to bring in justice among men, which is nothing to slipperie, dangerous, and full of steepe down-falles, nor that which leadeth thorough the subversion and overthrow of things most evident; even that which my sonne 30 and one of your familiar friends (*Socrus*) having learned of *Plato*, doeth shew and teach those who will not obstinately contest, but follow reason and learne: for that man is not altogether cleere and void of injustice, in using beasts, and dealing with them as he doeth. *Heracitus* and *Empedocles* receive as an undoubted truth, complaining in many places, and reproching nature, as if she were under necessity, and a very warre, having in her nothing that is simple, pure, sincere, and unmixed, but performing all her operations by many unjust accidents and passions; seeing they hold that even her generation proceeded from injustice, namely, by conjunction of mortall with immortal, and in that the thing which is engendred thereof, rejoiceth to dismember unnaturally, that which engendred it: but haply all this may seeme too bitter and exceeding sharpe: well there is another gentle meanes, and easie remedy of this inconvenience, which doth not quite bereave beasts of all use of reason, and saveth justice in those who use them as they ought; which meanes and indifferent way being in times past brought in by wise men, was afterwards rejected and wholly destroyed by a conspiracie of gourmandise and fleshy pleasure together; howsoever *Pythagoras* would have recovered it againe, by teaching men how they might make use and commoditie of beasts, and yet doe them no wrong nor injuries; for they who punish and put to death those wilde beasts which have no societie nor fellowship at all with man, but rather doe him much hurt and dammage, commit no injustice; no more than they who make them tame and familiar, training them up to their use and employing them in services, whereunto they are by nature most fit:

The race of horse and asses for to breed,

With bulles encrease, which in the fields doe feed,

whom *Prometheus* in a tragédie of *Aeschylus*, saith he bestowed upon us,

To serve and drudge in stead of us,

And do our works laborious.

Neither do they any wrong, who make use of dogges to keepe their flocks of goats and sheepe: nor they who milke goats and sheepe, and sheare their fleeces for the wooll, especially if they give them pasturage: for it can not be said, that men can not live, or their life is utterly undone, if

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if they have not their platters of fish, or their livres of geefe, or if they cut not beefe and goats into pieces for to serve up at their feasts: or if for their idle disport in theaters, or to take their pleasure in chase and hunting, they put not some to the combat and force them to fight whether they will or no; and kill others which have no defence of their owne, nor any meanes to make resistance: for he who needs will have his delights and pastimes, ought in all reason (as I thinke) to make himselfe merrie, and solace his heart with those that can play and disport together with him; and not to do (as *Eion* said) like to little children, who joy in throwing stones at frogs, and make a game of it; meane while, the poore frogges have no pleasure in this their game, for they are sure to die for it in good earnest; even so we are not either to hunt or fish for any delight 10 that we have in the paine, and much lesse in the death of other creatures: no more to take a pleasure in driving or taking them away from their whelps and yoong ones, a pitifull fight to behold; for they be not they that commit injustice, who use beasts, but such as misuse them unmercifully and cruelly, without any respect and commiseration.

SOCRUS.

Stay a while, good *Aristobulus*, and put off this invective of yours unto another time; for now I see coming toward us neere at hand, a crew of yoong gentlemen, all great hunters and lovers of the game, whom it were neither an easie matter to drive off unto another day, neither is it needfull to provoke and offend them.

AUTOBULUS.

20 True it is that you say, and I like your admonition; but as for *Enbiotus*, I know very well, and my nephew *Ariston*; the two sonnes also of *Dionysius* a citizen of *Delphos*, to wit, *Acides* and *Aristimus*, yea, and after them, *Nicander* the sonne of *Euthydamus*,

All skillfull hunters (in good faith)

upon the land (as Homer saith)

and therefore (no doubt) they will side every one with *Aristotimus*, and take his part; whereas contrariwise, the others who be Islanders, and were borne along the sea side, I meane *Heracleon* of *Megara*, and *Philostatus* of the isle *Euboea*,

Who cunning are upon the seas,

And therein much themselves do please.

30 Lo, how they accompanie your friend *Phasidius*, and are ready to stand with him:

As for Tydides there, 'tis hard to say,

To whether side he will in judgement sway.

I meane that same *Opatus*, our fellow and companion in yeeres,

Who of wilde beasts on mountanes slaine,

and fishes caught in sea,

With many swift fruits and essays,

to testifie his pre,

Hath often duely honoured

Diana goddess bright,

*Who cleped is * Agrotera,*

*and is * Dictynna bright.*

40 for so, how he cometh directly toward us, as one who will not range himselfe to one side more than to another. How say you, *Opatus*, do we not conjecture well, that you meane to be an indifferent arbitrator or common umpire betweene these two yoong gentlemen.

OPATUS.

Very well guessed of you *Autobulus*, I purpose to indeed; for long since was that law of *Solon* repealed and abolished, by vertue whereof, they were punished who in a civill sedition joined not to the one side nor to the other.

AUTOBULUS.

50 Come hither, therefore, and sit by us, that if we have need of any testimonies, we trouble not the books of *Aristotle*, with dripping and turning over their leaves; for that we will refferre our selves and stand to that which you shall say, as justly and truly delivered, in regard of your great knowledge and experience.

SOCRUS.

How now my masters, you two gentlemen, are you agreed betwene your selves of the order, who shall begin first to speake?

PHASIDIUS.

* Of chasing in the forest.

* Of fithers calling nets, called properly, *stercoraria*.

tu dices, i. baccus, of casting: in which sense, the calling net is also called *baccus*.

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PHARMIS.

Yes *Soclarus*, we are at a point for that now, although we were long enough debating about it, for in the end (to use the very words of *Euripides*)

*Lot, Fortunes child, hath his caerie rid,
As one ordain'd doubt to decide.*

and hath appointed that the land-beasts cause should be pleaded before theirs of the sea.

SCLARUS.

Well then it is time (*Aristotimus*) that both you begin to speake, and we also to heare.

In this place a great defect and breach there is in the Greeke originall, which can not be made up and supplied without the helpe of some ancient copie, not yet extant.

* It may seeme he speaketh of cerene mullets in the land of fishes, by way of opposition to some land-creatures. * Haply the milt.

The barre and the hall is for them that plead. * But these destroy the spawn within the wombe, by running upon their females when they be great and neere the time of casting the same. And one kinde there is of spotted mullets, called thereupon *Perdis*, which feed upon their owne * slime and glutinous substance that proceedeth from themselves. As for the poulpe or polyp fish, he catcheth and gnaweth himselfe, sitting still all Winter

In house full cold, without fire light,

In wofull bale and wretched plight,

so idle is he, or so blockish and senselesse, or els so gluttonous, or rather subject to all these vices together: which is the reason that *Plato* also in his booke of lawes, forbiddeth effoonnes young men to set their minds upon fishing in the sea, or rather he detesteth it in them, as an abominable thing, if they should take a love thereto. For no exercise there is of hardinesse and valour, no prooffe of wit or triall of wilddome, no imploiment of strength, swiftnesse or activitie of bodie in combats and fights with the wide mouthed sea-pikes, with congres or guiltheades, like as there is in hunting upon the land, where the fierce and courageous beasts exercise the fortitude of those who encounter them, and stirring up their animosities to enter upon dangers: the wily and craftie, what and sharpen the wits of such as set upon them, causing them to looke about and bestirre themselves every way with great circumspection: and the swift and light-footed, trie the able, nimble, and painfull bodies of those who have them in chase: in all which respects hunting is reputed an honest and commendable exercise: whereas contrariwise, fishing hath nothing in it to commend the game, and make it honourable; neither shall you ever finde my good friend, any one of the gods, desirous to be called *Congroctonus*, that is to say, the conger-killer; as *Apollo* gloried to be named *Lycotonus*, that is to say, the killer of woollves: nor any of them delighted in the name of *Triglobolus*, that is to say, the striker of barbels: like as *Diana* joied in the epithit of *Elaphobolus*, that is to say, a shooter at stagges and hindes: and no marvell, considering that it is more laudable for a gentleman to take in chase a wilde boare, a stagge, a fallow deere, a roe bucke, yea, & it were but an hare, than to buie any of these with his money: but surely it is more for his credit & reputation to go into the fish market as a cater to exchange his coine for a tunny, a lobster, or the * *Ania*, than to be seene fishing for them: for the cowardise, blockishnesse, stupiditie, want of shifts and means in fishes, either offensive, or defensive, cause the taking of them to be dishonest, discommendable, unlovely, and liblerall.

In summe, forasmuch as the proofes and arguments which philosophers alledge, to shew that beasts have some discourse and use of reason, are drawn from their projects, their elections in preferring one thing before another, their provisions and forecalls, their memories, their affections, their tender care of their yong ones, their thankfulness to those who have done them good, their hatred & rankor against them who have done them a shrewd turne: their industry to find out things necessary for them, the evident appearance of vertues in them, to wit, of fortitude, sociable equity & communion, temperance and magnanimitie: Let us consider these maritime sea creatures, whether they have any one at all of these parts, or if there be any little shew thereof, it is so darke and obscure, that unneeth or hardly it can be perceived, how diligent forever we be in searching after it; whereas in these terrestre beasts, and such as the land breedeth, a man may conceive, yea and plainly see most elgere, evident, and assured examples of each, of the qualities before said. First & formost behold I pray you the first setting out, the preparatives

and

and flourishes as it were, that bulles and boares make against their combat, how they raise and cast up the dust with their feet about them; as also how these whet & sharpen their tusks; the elephants likewise for that one of their two teeth wherewith they root in the earth, or plucke up and cut such matters as they feed upon, is ordinarily thereby worned dull and blunt, they use it onely for these purposes, but the other they keepe and reserve alwayes sharpe pointed and keene edged; for to serve their turnes when they are to fight; the lion when he goeth in the forest, marcheth evernote with his pawes drawn in close and turned round, hiding his cleses and nailes within, for feare lest being worne with going, their points should be dull and blunt, he also because he would give no light by his tracks to the hunters that follow in chafe; for hardly and with much ado shall you trace a lion by his foot, the print of his claws is so small that it cannot be seene, whereby they that are full upon their footing, yet misse of him, and wander a contrary way.

Yee have heard I am sure of the Ichneumon, a creature of *India*, how he prepares himselfe against he should fight with the crocodile, no lesse than a legionarie fouldiour armed at all pieces, in complete harness, such a deale of mudde, and the same hardened and baked in manner of a crust, hath he all over his body, as it were a good currence of prooffe.

What provision and preparation the swallows or martins make against their breeding and laying time, we daily see; namely, how in building of their nests, they lay first as a ground worke underneath, good stickes, stiffe straws, and found bents, and thence they enteele afterwards with others that be more gentle and pliable; and if they see that their nests had need of some glutinous mudde to glue and fodder all together, what doe they? may they flye floting fo close to the water of some river, lake, or the sea, that lightly they dippe their wings therewith, so that they may be onely wette, and in no wise heavy and overcharged with moisture, then they role and basker themselves in the dust, by which means they close up, binde, and knit as with parget or plastre, all chinks and breaches, and whatsoever was not well compact and united together in their nests: as for the forme and figure thereof, they make them not cornered nor yeelding many sides and faces, but even and smooth as possible may be, and the same round as a ball; for surely this kinde of workmanship is most durable without, and of greatest capacity within, and such as giveth least hold unto other beasts abroad that lie in wait to destroy them.

The cowpels that spiders weave, which serve for pattens, as well for our women to make their webbes of cloth, as for fishers to knit and worke their nets, are in many respects very admirable: first in regard of the fine threads, and the subtil weaving thereof, which are not distinct one from another, nor ranged after the order of the warpe & woofe in our artificiall webbes upon the loome, but are continued and runne all into one, in manner of thinne slime, kell, & skin, united and sodred as one would say, with I wot not what glutinous humidity mingled among, after an invisible and imperceptible manner; then the tincture and colour thereof, which maketh it seeme a farre off like unto some thicke or dusky air, to the end that it selfe might the lesse be perceived; but principally and above all, the very governing, conduct, and managing of this fabrick & device made by her selfe, surpasseth; namely, when some flie or small creature

is gotten within the compasse of this toile & entangled, to see how immediately she perceiveth it, and can skill quickly to pull in and draw the net; no hunter & fouler in the world, be he never so cunning, more nimble, for to enclose the prey: al which because we daily see in our continuall experience presented unto our eyes, we beleeve and know to be true; otherwife we would hold all to be fables: like as wee thinke that to be a tale of the crows and ravens in *Barbery*, who when they are very thirsty & the water stilled so low where they should drinke, that they can not reach unto it, cast stones into it for to make it arise so high as they may easily meet with it. And verily upon a time, I marvelled my selfe very much when I saw a dog within a ship, while the mariners were out of the way, to cast little stones into an earthen pot, which was nothing needfull of oyle, how he should discourse and reason thus in his mind, that the lighter things, as namely oyle, must needs mount up & be driven aloft, when the weightier such as the stones were went downe to the bottome. As much may be said of the bees in *Candia*, and the geefe of *Cilicia*. As for the bees, being to double a point or cape lying into the sea, which is much exposed to the winds, they ballast themselves with small grit or pretie stones, for to be able to endure the weather, and not be carried away against their wils with the wind through their lightnes otherwise. And the geefe aforesaid being afraid of the eagles, which have their aeries upon the high rocks, at what time as they should passe over the mountaine *Taurus*, take every one within their bills a good big stone, thereby to stop and muzzle (as it were) their mouthes, that being by nature clamorous

morous and given much to gagling, they might make too noise nor crie at all during their flight, and so in silence and safetie both, get beyond the said hill. The verie order that cranes keepe in their flying is wonderfull and memorable: for when the aire is troubled and the wind aloft, they fly not as they use to do when it is faire weather and calme, either all afloat, or in manner of the halfe moone or croissant: but presently at their first setting out, they cast themselves into a triangle with the point forward, thereby to cut and piece the wind that bloweth before and about them, to the end that their ranke thus ranged and set in order, might not possibly be broken: afterwards when they are alighted and settled upon the ground, they looke whose course and charge it is to watch at night, stands up right upon one leg, & in the foot of the other claspes a stone and holds it up aloft; for the continual streining of themselves to hold the said stone, keepeth them so long they cannot sleepe: and when once they chance to let go their hold, the stone falling upon the rocke, quickly awaketh her that let it fall. So that after I had seene this, I did not greatly wonder at *Hercules*, if putting his bow under his arme hole, and clipping it hard with his mightie strong arme

*Holding full fast in his right hand,
His masie club, a sleepe doth stand.*

neither marvelled I much at him who first devised the meanes how to open an oyster close and hard shut, when I beheld once the craftie subtiltie of herons: for the heron when he hath swallowed downe an oyster, or other shell fish, all whole and fast shut, although it put him to some trouble, yet he endureth for a time and keepeth it within his craw or giser, untill he perceive that it is mollified and relaxed by the naturall heat of his bodie, then casteth he it up againe by vomit, findeth it gaping and wide open, and so picketh out of it the good meat therein.

As touching the industrious provision and care of housekeeping which is in spiders, to discourse thereof in particular, and exquisitely to deliver the same were a verie hard piece of worke, if not impossible; and to passe the same over in silence, argueth supine negligence: for looke throughout the whole historie of nature, you shall not find so small a mirror againe for to represent greater things and more beautifull, being (as it were) a most pure and cleere drop, wherein appeareth most apparently the full resemblance of entire vertue. Here may be seene lovely friendship and civill societie: here sheweth it selfe the verie image of valour and prowess, with painful patience and industrie: here may a man behold many feeds of continence, many sparks of wisdom, and as many of righteousness. *Cleanthes* the philosopher, although he maintaineth not that beasts have any use of reason, made report nevertheless that he was present at the sight of such a spectacle and occurrent as this. There were (quoth he) a number of ants which went toward another ants hole, that was not their owne, carrying with them the corps of a dead ant: out of which hole, there came certaine other ants to meet them on the way (as it were) to parke with them, and within a while returned backe and went downe againe: after this they came forth a second, yea a third time, & retired accordingly untill in the end they brought up from beneath (as it were a ransom for the dead body) a grub or little worme; which the others received and tooke upon their shoulders, and after they had delivered in exchange the foresaid corps, departed home: moreover, it is worth the observation, although it be a thing daily seene of everie man, what curtesie and civilitie they use in meeting one another, how those who be light and carelesnothing, willingly give way unto such as be charged and loaden, and suffer them to passe: likewise how they gnaw asunder and divide piece meale such burdens, as they being single, cannot beare whole, to the end that the same may be carried and transported from place to place by more in number. *Aratus* in his prognostickes setteth this downe for a signe of raine toward, when they bring forth their seeds and graines, and lay them abroad to take the aire:

*When ants make haste with all their eggs a load,
Forth of their holes to carrie them abroad.*

And yet there be some who in this place write not *wis*, that is to say, eggs, but *ius*, as if they would say, their goods, to wit, the fruits or seeds which they have gathered and laid up for their provision, when they perceive them to begin to mould or bee full, or feare that they will corrupt and putrifie. But that which surpasseth all other prudence, policie and wit, is their caution and prevention which they use, that their wheat or other corne may not sprout and grow. For this is certaine, that dry it cannot continue alwaies nor found and uncorrupt, but it will in time waxe soft, resolve into a milkie juice, when it turneth and beginneth to swell and chit: for feare therefore that it become not a generative seed, and so by growing, loose the nature & property of food for their nourishment, they gnaw that end thereof or head, where it is wont to sprout and bud forth.

For

For mine owne part, I do not admit or beleeve all that which some do anatomize of their caves and holes: who give out that there is not one direct and straight way leading downe therinto, nor the same easie and ready for any other creature to passe through; but there be certeine secret allies, blinde-paths, crooked turnings, and hollow cranks, which meet all at the end in three holes or concavities; whereof the one footth is the common hall for them to meet all together: the second is their cellar or ambry for their victuals and provision; and the third a by-room where they bestow their dead.

Well, I thinke it not amisse nor impertinent, if next after spiders, I bring forth upon the stage before you the elephants, to the end that we may know the nature of this art, and intelligence which now is in question, as well in the greatest beasts as the smallest creatures, and see how as it appeareth in the one, so it is not defective or wanting in the other. Other men I am sure doe make a wonder at that which the elephant learneth, and is taught, whose docilitie is exhibited unto us in the theaters, by his sundry sorts of gestures, and changes in dauncing, such as for their varietie and exquisite elegancie, it were very hard for men with all their memorie, perfection of witte, and exercise, to remember, to expresse, and performe accordingly: but I for my part, me thinks, doe see more clearly and evidently the prudence and sagacitie of this beast, in the passions, affections, and motions which he hath of himselfe without teaching, as being more simple, sincere, and naturall; for not long since, at *Rome* there were a number of them trained and exercised against the solemnity of their games and plaies, in certeine strange stations, intricate motions, and hard turnings round, to goe, to come, to stande, and wheele about in a trice: but among them, there was one more dull, blockish, grosse, and slowe, than the rest, both in conceiving, and also in retaining; by reason whereof, he being ever and anon reproched and rated with shamefull words, yea, and many times beaten well for his untowardnesse, was found otherwhiles alone by himselfe in the night, repeating as it were and conning his lessons by moone-shine, labouring hard for to expresse and attaine unto that which hee had beene taught. *Agon* writeth, that before this time, in *Syria* there was an elephant kept and nourished in a private mans house, whose governour had allowed unto him from his master, a certeine measure of barley every day for his provender; but there was not a day went over his head, wherein he robbed and deceived him not of the halfe: it fortuned, that one time above the rest, the master of the house would needs see the elephant served, then his governour powred out before him his full allowance, even the whole measure that was his due; but the elephant calling an unhappy and untoward eie at him, divided his barley with the snout of his trunk, and put a part the one moiety thereof, shewing the best way he could devise unto his master, the wrong that the governour aforesaid had done unto him: He reporteth likewise of another, who seeing that his keeper blended earth and stones among his barley, to make the measure to seeme compleat; spied his time and came unto the potage pot standing over the fire, wherein was flesh a seething for dinner, and filled it up with ashes.

Another being provoked and misused at *Rome*, by certeine little boies, who with their bodkins and penknives used to pricke and punch his snout or trunk; caught up one of them by the middle, and held him up in the aire, so as it was thought he would have crushed and squeezed the guttes out of his belly; they that saw the maner of it, tooke up a great cry incontinently for feare of the poore boy, but the elephant set him downe softly againe upon the ground, in the very place where he caught him up, and doing him no hurt at all passed by; judging it a sufficient chastisement for so little a childe, that he was onely put in a fright: Thus much of tame and trained elephants. As for those which are savage, and live in the wilde fields at their liberty, wonderfull things be reported of them, and namely as touching their passage over rivers; for the youngest and least of them all, exposing himselfe to hazard for the rest, leadeth the way, and wadeth first thorough; the other seeing him landed upon the banke on the other side, make this account, that if the least and lowest of their head be tall enough to surmount the depth of the channell, they which are bigger and higher, have no cause to feare any thing; but that they also may get over in safety.

And since I am fallen into this argument, and proceeded so farre into it, me thinks I should not forget one example of *Reinard*, for the affinitie and conformity it hath with this device last rehearsed: Those who have invented fabulous tales make report, that during the great deluge, *Deucalion* used to let forth a dove out of the arke, to know what weather it was like to be abroad; for if she returned soone againe, she brought newes of tempest and raine, but if she

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flew cleane away, and came no more backe, the shewed thereby that it was calme and faire weather.

But true it is that the Thracians even at this day when they purpose to passe over a river frozen all over with ice, take a fox with them for their guide, to found the way before them, whether the ice be strong enough and able to beare; the fox goes gently before, and laeth his care close to the ice, and if by the noise of the water running underneath and coming unto his care, he guesseth that the ice is not thicke nor frozen deepe, but thinne and weak, he maketh a stay, and returneth if a man will let him: contrariwise, if hee perceive by his care no noise at all of water running under the ice, he passeth forward confidently: Surely we cannot say that this is onely an exquisite quicknesse in the sense of hearing, without any discourse of reason, but without all question a kinde of syllogisme or reasoning, by consequence drawn from that natural sense in this sort: that which soundeth stirreth; that which stirreth is not frozen or congealed; what is not congealed, must needs be liquid; and whatsoever is liquid, yeeldeth, and is not able to hold, *ergo, &c.*

The Logicians holde that the hound meeting with a quarefferie or croffe way divided into many paths, useth a kinde of argumentation or reasoning, which is called a disjunct proceeding from the enumeration of many parts; in this manner discourseth with himselfe: It must needs be that the beast in chafe, passed by one of these three waies: but this way it went not, nor yet that way; therefore it can not chuse, but this way he took, for the first of the noetherals yeelded him no other intelligence, than of the premises: and it was the discourse of reason which gave him to understand the necessitie of the consequence or conclusion inferred upon the said premises and suppositions. Howbeit, the dogge hath need of no such testimonie of Logicians, for false it is and counterfeit, because it is the smell it selfe and sense of the nose, which by the tract of the foot and the fluxion of the odour coming from the beast, sheweth him which way it fled, bidding farewell to these propositions either disjunct or junct, neither careth it for that enumeration of parts; but by many other effects, passions, functions, offices and actions which proceed neither from sense of feeling nor of smelling, but onely from intelligence and discourse of reason, by which they are evidently performed, a man may sufficiently perceive and comprehend what is the nature of a dogge, whose continence, obedience, sagacitie, patience and paines-taking in chafe, if I should now discourse upon, I should but make my selfe ridiculous unto you, who see the same daily, and have experience and practise thereof continually. But this one example will I alledge unto you; namely, that during the civill warres at Rome, when a Romane citizen was murdered, the murderers could never cut off his head, untill they environed his dogge round and stabbed him to death, who guarded his masters bodie, and fought most fiercely for him. King *Pyrrhus* as he travelled by the way, met with a dogge who kept the dead corps of his master lately slaine, and understanding by the inhabitants of the place, that he had continued three daies already, and never stirred from thence, nor yet eat or drunke ought, he commanded the bodie to be interred, ledde the dogge away with him, and made much of him: certaine daies after, there hapned a muster or generall review to be made of his souldiers, who shewed themselves and passed before the king sitting in his chaire of estate, and having the said dog hard by him, who never quetched nor stirred all the whiles, untill he had a sight of those persons who murdered his master; upon whom he ranne immediately, baying and barking at them with open mouth and in great anger, effoones running backe and making toward *Pyrrhus*; in so much as not onely the king, but all those who were about his person, entred into great suspicion that those parties were they who had killed his master; whereupon they were apprehended, put in prison, and judicially brought to their answer upon the point, and together with other presumptions and light evidences inferred against them, they were so hardly urged, that they confessed the fact, and suffered punishment accordingly. The like (by report) did the dogge of learned *Hesiodus*, who detected the sonnes of *Ganyx* for the Naupactian, of murder committed upon the person of his master. But that which our fathers saw themselves with their owne eyes whiles they were students at *Athens*, is more evident than all that hath bene said already. And this it was: A certaine fellow had by stealth entred into the temple of *Aesculapius*, & stolen from thence the fairest and goodliest jewels both of gold and silver among the oblations there, which were most portable, and thinking that he was not espied by any creature, made means to get away againe secretly. The dog which kept the said temple, and was named *Cynarum*, did his best to bakke and bay; but seeing none of the sextanes and wardens of the church to come for all that,

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purshed the church-robber as he fled away, and notwithstanding that he flung stones at him, yet gave not he over his pursure, but traced him hard at heels all the night. When day light was come, he would not approach neere unto him, but kept aloofe, followed him with his sicke and never lost the sight of him; and notwithstanding that he cast him bread and other meat, he would none: so the night following the theefe laid him downe to sleepe, the dog likewise kept all night hard by him; and the morrow morning when he took his way againe, the dog likewise arose and went after. Met he any passengers or waiting men, hee would fawne upon them and wag his taile; contrariwise he barked eagerly at the theefe, and was ready to fly upon him. They who had the charge to follow with huy and crie, being informed thus much by the travellers whom they met, as also of what bignes, colour and haire the dog was, continued their chafe more willingly, and made such hot pursure that they overspake the fellow at *Crommyon*, & from thence brought him to *Athens*. The dog he marched before them all and leade them the way, as jocound, pleasaunt, and gamefull as possibly could bee, as taking great joy, that this church-robber had bene the game and prey that he had hunted and gotten. The Athenians when they heard the truth of this matter related unto them, ordained that the said dog should have a certaine measure of corne allowed him at the cities charges for his bread, and gave an especially charge to the priests of that temple, to have a care of him so long as he lived: following herein the kindeesse and liberallitie of their ancestors which they extended in times past to a mule. For what time, as *Pericles* caused to be built the temple of *Minerva*, named *Hecatompedon*, within the castle of the citie, there were is ordinarie for such buildings, conveyed thither daily stones, timber, and other stuffe in carts and wagons drawn with beasts. Now when many of those mules which before time had willingly and painefully served, were now for verie age discharged and sent away to pasture: one there was among the rest, who everie day would come into the high broad street *Ceramicum*, and go before those draught beasts which drew up stones to the mount, yea & accompanie them, as if he encouraged and hartned them to labour and travell. The people of *Athens* commending and admiring the good heart and industrious mind of the beast, gave order by a publike decree for his maintenance and keeping at the cities cost, so lesse than they would have done for an old bruised souldier, who now was past service. And therefore we must say, that those philosophers who hold: That there is no communion nor societie of justice betweene us and brutt beasts, say true, if they restraine their speech unto those creatures onely, which live in the sea and deepe bottomlesse waters, with whom in deed we can have no fellowship at all of good will, love and affection, as being beasts farre remote from all gentleness, sweet converse, and good nature: and therefore *Homer* speaking unto a man, who seemed to be inhumane, cruell and unsociable, said elegantly thus:

*The blackish blew sea I thinke well,
Engendred thee, thou art so fell.*

as if he would thereby give us to understand, that the sea brings forth no creature that is milde, lovely, meek and gentle: but he that should say as much and apply the former proposition unto the land-beasts, were himselfe cruell and savage; if I say, he denied that there was no reciprocall commerce of amitie and justice betweene king *Lysimachus* and his dog *Hycanus*, who remained continually alone about his corps when he was dead; yea and at the time that it was burned in the funeral fire, leapt into it and was consumed into ashes with him for company. And reported it is, that there was another dog named *Astus* did no lesse which *Pyrrhus* kept, I meane not the king of that name, but another private person: for after his master was dead, he would never stirre from the bodie; and when the corps was carried forth in a couch upon the bier, he leapt upon it and was borne withall: and finally sprung himselfe into the fire and was burnt with him.

When king *Porus* was fore wounded in a battell against king *Alexander* the Great; the elephant upon whose backe he rode and fought, drew forth with his trunk right gently for feare of doing harme, many darts, arrowes and javelins wherewith hee was thor: and albeit himselfe was grievously hurt, yet never fainted he and gave over before he perceived that his lord the king was ready to reele and sinke downe, by reason of the effusion of blood which hee had lost; and then fearing that he would fall from on high to the ground, he gently couched and yeelded with his bodie downward to the earth, that he might alight with ease and without all danger.

King *Alexanders* horse called *Eucephalus*, all while he was bare without his saddle and caparison, would wel enough abide that his keeper should mount upon his backe: was he trapped once and richly set out with the kings royall furniture, harnesse, and ornament, hee would suffer none to sit him but *Alexander* alone. And if others came neere him, and went about to get upon his

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backe,

backe, he would runne a front upon their huffing, snorting and neighing, rising up all afore at them; and if they made not good haste to retire behind him and fly, hee would bee sure to have them under his feet and trample over them: I know full well that you thinke these examples are huddled together in a confused varietie; but surely it is no easie matter to find any action of these noble beasts, which representeth one bare vertue and no more: for together with their kindeesse and naturall love there is to be seene a certaine desire of honour: amidst their generosities a man may perceive a kind of industrious sagacitie and wisdom; neither is their wit and subtiltie void of courage and magnanimitie: howbeit, if men be disposed to distinguish and separate one from another by themselves; the dogs do represent an example of a mild and gentle nature together with an haughtie courage and high mind, namely when they passe by and turne aside from those that submit themselves before them, according to that which *Homer* saith in one place:

*The dogs ran forth with open mouth,
they cried and barkt amaine;
ulysses wife his staffe let fall,
and stirred not againe.*

For their manner is not to fight any longer against those who humbly fall downe prostrate, or shew any semblance of lowly suppliants. Certes, the report goeth of a principall Indian dogge, who being for a singulartie above all other, sent to fight a combat before king *Alexander* the Great, when there was let loose at him first a stag, then a wild boare, and afterwards a beare, made no reckoning of them, nor deigned once to stirre out of his place nor rise up: but when hee saw a lion presented unto him, then incontinently he stood upon his feet, and addrested himselfe to the combat; shewing evidently that he esteemed the lion alone worthe to fight with him, and disdaind all the rest. As for those here among us which are wont to hunt hares, if they themselves chauce to kill them with faire play in the open field, they take pleasure to teare them in pieces; they like and lap their blood still willingly: but if the hare being out of heart and in despair of her selfe, as many times it falleth out, employ all the force and strength that shee hath in one course for all, and run her selfe out of breath, so as her winde is now cleane gone, and the dead whittill: the hounds finding her so, will not once touch her; but they keepe a wagging of their tales round about her body, as if they would say, it is not for greedinesse of hares flein, but an earnest desire to winne the prize in running, that we hunt thus as we do.

As touching the craft and subtiltie which is in beasts; forasmuch as there be infinit examples thereof, overpasse I will the wily pranks of foxes, wolves, cranes and jaics: for common they be and every man seeth them; onely produce I will the testimonie of wile *Thales*, the most ancient of the seven sages, who by report was not least admired for his skill and cunning, in that hee discovered right well the craftines in a beast, and went beyond it. There was a companie of mules that had salt a load, and were carrying it from one place to another; and as they passed through the foord of a river, one of them chanced to fall under his burden into the water: the salt in his sacke by this meane taking wet, melted and resolved into water for the most part of it, in such sort as the mule having recovered himselfe upon all foure, found that he was well lightened of his load, and presently conceived what was the reason: which gave so deepe an impression in his memorie, that ever after, as often as he was to go throw a river, hee would be sure to stoupe and couch his bodie low; first leaning of one side, and then of another, purposely and for the nonce to wet and drench the bags on his backe which had salt in them. *Thales* hearing of this unhappy and shrewd wit of the mule, commanded the mulster to fill the sacks with the same weight of wooll and sponges, in stead of salt, to lay them upon his backe, and so to drive him with the rest. The mule left not his old wont; but when he perceived that he was overcharged now with water besides his ordinary load of wooll and sponges, he tooke himselfe in the manner, and found that his craft now stood him in small stead, but did him hurt: whereupon, ever after, he would go upright whensoever he waded, and was very careful that none of his packs or carriages should once (though full against his will) touch the water.

Partridges have another kinde of subtiltie and craft by themselves, and the same proceedeth from a certaine naturall love and motherly affection to their young birds, whom, when they are yet so feeble that they cannot flie & make shift for themselves being pursued, they teach to cast themselves on their backs, with their heeles and bellies upward, and to hold either a clot of earth or some Locke of straw or such like stuffe, to cover and shadow their bodies withal: meane while, the olde rowens turne those that follow in chace another way, drawing them toward themselves in flying to and fro just before them, even at their feet, seeming (as it were) by little and little to retire,

retire, and making as though they were scarce able to arise from the earth; and as if they were ready to be taken, untill such time as they have trained the fowlers farre from their little ones.

The hares when they have kiled, and be afraide of the hunters, returne to their formes, and carrie their leverets, some one way and some another, so as many times there is an arpent or good acre of ground distance betweene them, to the end that if either hound or hunter should come upon them, they might not be all in danger at once to be taken; and they themselves runne up and downe backward and forward in divers places, crossing this way and that way, leaving their tracks very confused, and in the end take one great leape as farre as ever they can, from their foresaid footing, and spring unto their forme, where they rest and take their repose.

The beare being surprisid with a certaine drowfie disease, called *Phobia*, before she be altogether so heavily benumbed and stupified therewith, that she can not well stirre, maketh cleane the cave into which the meaneth to retire herselfe: & when she is to go downe into it, all the way besides which is toward it, she treadeth very lightly, bearing herselfe (as it were) upon her tip-toes: and being come neere unto it, she turnes upon her backe, and so croucheth forward her bodie as well as she can into her den.

Oftred deere, the hynds commonly calve neere unto highway sides, where ravenous beasts, such as live by prey, doe not ordinarily haunt. The stags when they perceive themselves to be fat, well fleshed, and good venison, seeke blinde corners to hide themselves in, for the better security of their lives, as not trusting then to their heeles and swift running.

The land-urchins are so wile and wary in defending and saving themselves, that they have thereby given occasion of this proverb:

*At thow and wiles and mo,
of craftie fox there are:
The urchin one doth know,
and that is singular.*

for when the urchin perceiveth Renard coming toward him,

*All of a lump, as round as bur or ball,
His bodie lies, with prickles beset withal:
No meane she hath, for thornie bristles thicke,
To bite, to pinch, or touch him to the quicke.*

and yet more ingenious is their foresight and providence for the feeding of their little ones, for in Autumne, a little before vintage time, you shall have an urchin or hedge-hogge get under a vine, and with his feet shake the stocke untill the grapes from their branches be fallen upon the ground, then he roulet himselfe round like a foot-ball among them, and catcheth them up with his sharpe prickles; inasmuch as when we stood all of us sometime to behold the manner of it, it seemed as if a cluster of grapes had bene quicke, and so crept upon the ground; so beset went he and covered all over with grapes: then so foone as he is gotten into his hole or neast, he offereth them unto his young ones to eat, to take from him and lay up for store. This hole hath two faces or prospects; the one regardeth the south, the other looketh into the north. When they foresee change & alteration of weather, like as skilful ship-masters turne their sailes according to the time; even so, they shut up that hole or entrie which standeth in the wind, and let open the other: which when one of the citie *Cyzicene* had once observed and learned, he got a great name and reputation of a weather-wise-man, as if he foreknew of himselfe by some singular gift, and could foretell from which coast the wind would blow.

As touching social love and fidelitie, accompanied with wit and understanding, the elephants asking *Juba* writeth, shew unto us an evident example: for they that hunt them are wont to dig deepe trenches, and hatch them over with a thinne cote of light straw or some small brush. Now when one of the heard chanceth to fall into a trench, for many of them use to go and feed together, all the rest bring a mighty deale of stones, rammell wood, and whatsoever they can get, which they fling into the ditch for to fill it up, to the end that their fellow may have meane thereby to get up againe. The same writer recordeth also that elephants use to pray unto gods, to purifie themselves with the sea water, and to adore the sunne rising, by lifting up their trunked snout into the aire (as if it were their head) & all thus of their own accord & untaught. And to say a truth of all beasts the elephant is most devout & religious, as *K. Protelemus Philopater* hath testified: for after he had defeated *Antiochus*, & was minded to render condign thanks unto the gods for so glorious a victorie, among many other beasts for sacrifice, he slew foure elephants: but af-

terwards being much disquieted and troubled in the night with fearefull dreames; and namely, that God was wroth and threatened him for such an uncouth and strange sacrifice; hee made meanes to appease his ire by many other propitiatorie oblations, and among the rest, hee dedicated unto him fower elephants of braffe, in steed of those which were killed: no lesse is the fabled kindnesse and good nature which lions shew one unto another; for the younger sort which are more able and nimble of body, lead forth with them into the chace for to hunt and prey those that be elder and unwelwy; who when they be weary, sit them downe and rest, waiting for the other; who being gone forward to hunt if they meet with game and speed, then they all set up a roaring note altogether, much like unto the bellowing of bulles, and thereby call their fellowes to them; which the old lions hearing, presently runne unto them, where they take their part, and devour they prey in common.

To speake of the amatorious affections of brute beasts, some are very savage and exceeding furious: others more milde, and not altogether unlike unto the courting and wooing used betwene man and woman, yea, & I may say to you, smelling somewhat of wanton and venerious behaviour: and such was the love of an elephant, a counter fute or corivall with *Aristophanes* the grammarian, to a woman in *Alexandria*, that shee did chaplets or garlands of flowers: neither did the elephant shew lesse affection to her than the man, for hee would bring her alwaies out of the fruit market, as hee passed by, some apples, pears, or other fruit, and then he would stay long with her, yea, and otherwhiles put his snout, as it were his hand, within her bosome under her parden, and gently feele her soft pappes and white skinned about her faire breist.

A dragon also there was enamoured upon a yong maiden of *Actolia*: it would come to visit her by night, creepe along the very bare skinned of her body, yea, and winde about her without any harme in the world done unto her, either willingly or otherwise, and then would gently depart from her by the breake of day: now when this serpent had continued thus for certaine nights together ordinarily; the last the friends of the yong damosell removed her, and sent her out of the way a good way off; but the dragon for three or fower nights together came not to the house, but wandered and fought up and downe heere and there as it might seem for the wench; in the end, with much ado, having founde her out, he came and clapped her about, not in that milde and gentle manner as before time, but after a rougher sort; for having with other windings and knots bound her hands and armes fast unto her body, with the rest of his taile he flapped and beat her legges, shewing a gentle kinde of amorous displeasure and anger, yet so, as it might seeme he had more affection to pardon, than desire to punish her.

As for the goose in *Aegypt* which fell in love with a boy; and the goat that cast a fassie to *Glauce* the minstrell wench: because they are histories so wel known, and in every mans mouth: for that also I suppose you are wearie already of so many tedious tales and narrations, I forbore to relate them before you: but the merles, crows, and perroquets or popinjays, which learne to prate, and yeeld their voice and breath to them that teach him, so pliable, so tractable and docible, for to forme and expresse a certaine number of letters and syllables as they would have them, me thinks they plead sufficiently, and are able to defend the cause of all other beasts, teaching us as I may say, by learning of us, that capable they be not onely of the inward discourse of reason, but also of the outward gift uttered by distinct words, and an articulate voice: were it not then a meere ridiculous mockerie, to compare these creatures with other dumbe beasts which have not so much voice in them, as will serve to houle withall, or to expresse a groane and complaint? but how great a grace and elegancie there is in the naturall voices and songs of these, which they resound of themselves, without learning of any masters, the best musicians and most sufficient poets that ever were do testifie, who compare their sweetest canticles and poems unto their songs of swannes and nightingales: now forasmuch as to teach, sheweth greater use of reason; than to learne we are to give credit unto *Aristotle*, who saith: that brute beasts are endued also with that gift, namely, that they teach one another: for hee writeth that the nightingale hath bene seene to traine up her yong ones in singing; and this experience may serve to testifie on his behalfe, that those nightingales sing nothing so well, which are taken very yong out of the nest, and were not fedde nor brought up by their dammes; for those that be nourished by them, learne withall, of them to sing, and that not for money and gaine, nor yet for glory, but because they take pleasure to sing well, and love the elegancie above the profit of the voice: and to this purpose report I will unto you a storie which I have heard of many, as well Greeks as Romans, who were present and eie witnesses: There was a barber within the city of *Rome*, who kept a shoppe over against the temple, called *Grecostiffis*, or *Forum Graecum*,

and there nourished a pie, which would so talke; prate, and chatte, as it was woonderfull; counting the speech of men and women, the voice of beasts, and sound of muscical instruments; and that voluntarily of her selfe without the constraint of any person; onely the accustoned her selfe so to doe, and tooke a certaine pride and glory in it, endeavouring all that she could to leave nothing unpoken, or not exprest: now it hapned that there were solemnized great funerals of one of the welchiest personages in the city, and the corps was carried forth in a great state, with the sound of many trumpets that matched before; in which solemnitie, for that the manner was that the pompe and whole company should stand still and rest a time in that verie place, it fell out so, that the trumpeters who were right cunning and excellent in their arte, staid there, founding melodiously all the while: the morrow after this, the pie became mute and made no noise at all, nor uttered not so much as her naturall voice which she was wont to doe, for to expresse her ordinarie and necessarie passions; inso much, as they who before time woondered at her voice and prating; marvelled now much more at her silence, thinking it a very strange matter to passe by the shop and heare her say nothing; so as there grew some suspition of others professing the same art and trade, that they had given her some poison: howbeit, most men guessed that it was the violent sound of the trumpets which had made her deafe, and that together with the sense of hearing, her voice also was utterly extinct: but it was neither the one nor the other; for the truth was this, as appeared afterwards: she was in a deepe studie, and through meditation retired within herselfe, whiles her minde was busie and did prepare her voice like an instrument of musike, for imitation; for at length her voice came againe and wakened (as it were) all on a sudden, uttering none of her olde notes nor that which she was accustomed before to prate and counterfeit; onely the sound of trumpets she resembled, keeping the same periods, the same stops, pauses and strains; the same changes, the same reports, and the same times and measures: a thing, that confirmeth more and more that which I have said before; namely, that there is more use of reason in teaching of themselves, than in learning by another. Yet can I not containe my selfe; but I must needs in this place recite unto you one lesson that I my selfe saw a dogge to take out, when I was at *Rome*: This dog served a plaier who professed to counterfeit many persons, and to represent sundry gestures; & among sundry other praty tricks which his master taught him, answerable to divers passions, occasions and occurrences represented upon the stage, his master made an experiment on him with a drogue or medicine which was somniferous indeed and sleepe, but must be taken and supposd deadly; who tooke the piece of bread wherein the said drogue was mingled, and within a little while after he had swallowed it downe, he began to quake as though hee trembled, quaked, yea and staggered, as if he had bene astonished, in the end hee stretched out himselfe, and lay as stiffe as one sturke dead, suffering himselfe to be pulled, haled, and drawn from one place to another, like a very blocke, according as the present argument and matter of the place required; but afterwards, when hee understood by that which was said and done, that this time was come, and that he had caught his hint, then beganne he as the first to stirre gently by little and little, as if hee had newly revived or awakened, and started out of a dead sleepe, and lifting up his head, began to looke about him too and fro; at which object all the beholders woondered not a little; afterwards he arose upon his feet, and went directly to him unto whom he was to goe, very jocund and merry: this pagant was performed so artificially, I cannot tell whether to say or naturally, that all those who were present, and the emperor himselfe (for *Vespasian* the father was there in person, within the theater of *Marcellus*) tooke exceeding great pleasure, and joied woonderfully to see it.

But peradventure we may deserve well to be mocked for our labour, praising beasts as we do so highly, for that they be so docible and apt to learne, seeing that *Democritus* sheweth and proveth, that we our selves have bene apprentices and scholars to them in the principall things of this life; namely, to the spider, for spinning, weaving, denning, and drawing up a reft; to the swallow, for architecture and building; to the melodious swanne and shrill nightingale, for vocall musike, and all by way of imitation. As for the art of physicke, and the three kindes thereof, we may see in the nature of beasts, the greatest and most generous part of each of them: for they use not onely that, which ordeined drogues and medicines to purge ill humours out of the body, seeing that the tortoises take origin; wezels, rue, when they have eaten a serpent; dogges also when they be troubled with choler of the gall, purge themselves with a certaine herbe, thereupon called dogges-grasse; the dragon likewise if he finde his ciesto be dimme, clenferh, scoureth, and dispatcheth the cloudinesse thereof with fenell; and the beare so soone

as she is gone out of her denne, seeketh out the first thing that she doth, the wilde hee be called *Arion*, that is to say, wake-robin, for the acrimonie and sharpnesse thereof openeth her bowels when they are grown together, yea, and at other times finding herself upon fulnesse, giveth to loth and distaste all food, she goes to finde out ants nests, where she fits her downe licking out the tongue which is glibbe and soft, with a kinde of sweet and slimy humour, untill it be full of ants and their egges, then draweth she it againe, & swalloweth them downe, and thereby cureth her loathing stomacke. Semblably it is said, that the Aegyptians having observed their bird *Ibis*, which is the blacke stork, to give herselfe a cliffer of sea water, by imitation of her did the like by themselves. Certaine it is, that their priests use to besprinkle, purifie, and hallow themselves with that water out of which she hath drunke; for let any water be venomous, or otherwise hurtfull and unhollome, the *Ibis* will none of it: but also some beastes there be, which feeling themselves ill at ease, are cured by diet and abstinence; as namely woollves and lions, when they have devoured too much flesh, and are cloied or glutted therewith, they lie me downe, take their ease, cherishing and keeping themselves warme.

It is reported likewise of the tygre, that when a yooing kiddie was given unto her, she fasted two daies, according to the diet which she useth, before she touched it, and the third day being very hungry, called for other food, ready to burst the cage wherein she was enclosed, and forbore to eat the said kid, supposing that now she was to keepe it with her, as a familiar & domestical companion. Nay that which more is, recorded it is, that elephants practise the feat of chirurgery; for standing by those that are wounded in a battell, they can skill of drawing out iron-clions of speares, javelin heads, arrowes and darts out of their bodies, with such dexterity and ease, that they will neither teare and hurt their flesh, nor put them to any paine whatsoever. The goats of *Candy* when they be shotte into the body with arrowes or darts, fall to eat the herbe *Dittamus*, & thereby thrust them out, and make them fall off with facility, & by this meanes they have taught women with child that this herbe hath a propertie to cause abortive birth, and the child in their wombe to miscarrie: for the said goats are no sooner wounded, but they runne presently to this herbe, and never seeke after any other remedy. VVonderfull these things are (no doubt) howbeit lesse miraculous, when we consider the natures of beastes, how they be capable of arithmetike, and have the knowledge of numbring and keeping account: as the kine and oxen about *Ufa*, for appointed they be there to water the kings gardens, drawing up water in buckets with a device of wheels that they turne about in manner of a windles; and everie one of them for their part must draw up an hundred buckets in a day: so many they will do just, but more you shall not get of them, neither by faire means nor foule, for no sooner have they performed their task, but presently they give over & impossible it is to force them any farther then their account: notwithstanding triall hath bene made; so justly and exactly they both know, and also keepe the reckoning, as *Ctesias* the Guidian hath left in writing. As for the Libyans they mocke the Aegyptians, for reporting this of their beast called *Oryx*, as a great singularity, that hee setteth up a certaine crye that verie day and houre, when as the star named by them *Sorbe*, and by us the Dog, or *Sirius* doth arise: for they give out, that with them all their goats together, at the verie instant when the said starre mounteth up within their horizon, will bee sure to turne and looke into the east: and this they hold to be an infallible signe of the revolution of that starre, agreeing just with the rules and observations of the Mathematicians. But to close up and conclude at length this discourse, that it may come to an end, let us (as it were) take in hand the sacred anchor, and for a small conclusion knit up all with a briefe speech of their divinitie and propheticall nature. For certaine it is, that one of the greatest, most noble and ancient parts of divination or toothlaying, is that which being drawn from the flight and singing of birds, they call *Augurie*: and in truth the nature of these birds being so quick, so active, so spiritual, and in regard of that agility & nimblenesse verie pliable, and obsequent to all visions & fantasies presented, offereth it selfe unto God, as a proper instrument to be used & turned which way he will; one while to motion, another while into certaine voices, laies & tunes, yea & into divers & sundrie gestures: now to stop and stay, anon to drive and put forward, in manner of the winds; by meanes whereof he impeacheth and holdeth backe some actions and affections, but directeth others unto their end & accomplishment. And this no doubt is the reason that *Euripides* teacheth all birds in general the heralds and messengers of the gods; and particularly *Socrates* said, that he became a fellow servant with the swans: sensibly, among the kings, *Pyrrhus* was well pleased when as men called him the Eagle, and *Antiochus* tooke as great pleasure to be called the Sacre or the Blanke. Whereas contrariwise, when we are disposed to mocke, to scold, or to reproch those that be

be dull, indocible and blockish, wee call them fishes. To bee short, an hundred thousand things there be that God doth shew, foretell and prognosticate unto us by the meanes of beastes, as well those of the land beneath, as the fowles of the aire above. But who that shall plead in the behalfe of fishes or water-creatures, will not be able to alledge so much as one; for, deafe they be all land-dombe; * blind also for any fore-sight or providence that they have, as being cast into a balefull place and bottomlesse gulfe; where impious Atheists & rebellious Trens or giants against God are bestowed; where they have no sight of God, no more than in hell: where damned soules are; where the reasonable and intellectual part of the soule is utterly extinct, and the rest that remaineth, drenched or rather drowned (as a man would say) in the most base and vile sensuall part, so as they seeme rather to pant then to live.

H E R A C L E O N.

Plucke up your browes, good *Phedimus*, open your eyes, awake your spirits, and bestirre your selfe in the defense of us poore Islanders and maritime inhabitants: for here we have heard not a discourse wisly merrily devised to passe away the time, but a serious plea premeditate and laboured before hand; a verie Rhetoricall declamation which might become well to bee pronounced at the barre in judiciall court, or delivered from a pulpit and tribunal before a publicke audience.

P H A E D I M U S.

Now verily, good sir *Heraclion*, this is a meere surpise and a manifest ambush laid craftily of 20 set purpose; for this brave orator (as you see) being yet fasting and sober himselfe; and having studied his oration all night long hath set upon us at the disadvantage, and altogether unprovided, as being still heavy in the head, and drenched with the wine that we drunke yesterday. Howbeit we ought not now to draw backe and recule for all this: for being as I am an affectionate lover of the poet *Pindarus*, I would not for any good in the world, heare this sentence of his justly alledged against me.

*When games of prize and combat once are set,
Who shrinketh backe, and doth pretend some let,
In darkness hies and obscuritie,
His fame of vertue and activitie.*

30 for at great leisure we are all, and not the dances onely be arrepose, but also dogs and horses, cast-nets, drags, and all manner of nets besides; yea 30 this day there is a generall cessation given to all creatures as well on land as in sea, for to give ease unto this disputation. And as for you my masters here, have no doubt, nor be you afraid; for I will use my libertie in a meane, and not draw out an Apologic or counterplea in length, by alledging the opinions of philosophers; the fables of the Aegyptians; the headlesse tales of the Indians or Libyans, without proofe of any testimonies; but quickly come to the point, and looke what examples be most manifest and evident to the eie, and such as shall bee testified and verified by all those mariners or travellers that are acquainted with the seas, some few of them I will produce. And yet verily in the proofes and arguments drawn from creatures above the ground, there is nothing to empeach the fight, the view 40 of them being so apparant and daily presented unto our eie, whereas the sea affordeth us the sight of a few effects, within it & those hardly and with much adoe (as it were) by a glance and glimmering light, hiding from us the most part of the breeding and feeding of fishes: the meane also that they use, either to assaile one another or to defend themselves wherein I assure you there be actions of prudence, memory, societie, and equity not a few, which because they are not knownen, it cannot chuse but our discourse as touching this argument will be lesse enriched and enlarged with examples, and so by consequence the cause more hardly defended and maintained.

Over and besides, this advantage have land beastes, that by reason of their affinity as it were, and daily conversation with men, they get a tincture as it were from them, of their manners and 50 fashions, and consequently enjoy a kinde of nurture, teaching, discipline, and apprenticing by imitation; which is able to dulce, allay, and mitigate all the bitterness and austerity of their nature, no lesse than fresh water mingled with the sea, maketh it more sweet and potable: likewise all the unsociable wildenesse, and heavy unwelldinesse therein, it stirreth up, when the same is once moved and set on foot by the motions that it learneth by conversing with men; whereas on the other side the life of sea-creatures being farre remote and devided by long and large confines from the frequentation of men, as having no helpe of any thing without, nor any thing to be taught it by use and custome, is altogether solitarie and by it selfe, as nature brought it

it fourth, so it continueth and goeth not abroad; neither mingled nor mixed with forren fathions, and all by reason of the place which they inhabit, and not occasioned by the quality of their owne nature, for surely their nature conceiving, and retaining within it selfe as much discipline and knowledge as it is possible for to attaine unto and apprehend, exhibiteth unto us many tame and familiar eeles (which they call sacred) that use to come to hand; such as are among the rest, of those in the fountaine *Aethusa*, besides many other fishes in diuers places, which are very obsecant and obsequious when they are called by their names, as is reported of *Mareus Crassus* his lamprey, for which he wept when it was dead; and when *Dominus* upon a time reproched him for it, by way of mockerie in this wise: Were not you the man who wept for your lamprey when it was dead; he came upon him presently in this manner: And were not you the kinde and sweet husband who having buried three wives never shed teare for the matter? the crocodiles not only know the voice of the priests when they call unto them, and endure to be handled and stroked by them, but also yawne and offer there teeth unto them to be picked and clenched with there hands, yea and to be skoured and rubbed all over with linen clothes. It is not long since that *Philinus* a right good man and well reputed, after his returne from his voyage out of *Aegypt*, where he had bin to see the country recounted unto us, that in the city of *Anteus* he had seene an olde woman ly a sleepe on a litle pallet together with a crocodile, who very decently and modestly couched close along by her side. And it is found in old records, that when one of the kings called *Ptolomai*, called unto the sacred crocodile, it would not come nor obey the voice of the priests, notwithstanding they gently praised and intreated her; a signe thought to be a prognosticke and preface of his death, which soone after ensued: whereby it is plaine that the kind and generation of these water beasts, is neither incapable, nor deprived of that sacred and highly esteemed science of divination and foretelling future things; considering that even in the country of *Lydia*; betweene the cities of *Phellus* and *Alyze*, that is, a village called *Sura*, where I heare say, the inhabitants use to sit and behold the fishes swimming in the water, like as in other places they observe birds flying in the aire, marking their lying in wait and ambush, their scuffling away and pursue after them; whereby according to a certaine skill that is among them, they can foretell future things to come. But this may suffice to shew and declare, that their nature is not altogether estranged from us, nor unfociable.

As touching their proper wit, and naturall prudence, wherein there is no mixture at all borrowed from other, this is ingenerall, a great argument thereof, that there is no creature that swimmeth or liveth in the waters, except those which sticke to stones, and cleave to rocks, that is so easie to be caught by man, or otherwise to be taken without trouble, as asses are by wolves, bees by the birds *Meropis*, grasshoppers by swallowes; or serpents by staggies, who are so easily caught up by them; in Greeke they tooke the name *Uroseris*, not *Uroseris* but *Uroseris*, that is to say, of lightnesse: for *Uroseris* is *Uroseris*, that is to say, of drawing up a serpent out of his hole. The sheepe calleth as it were the wolfe, by the foote; like as by report the leopard allureth unto him the most part of beasts, who are willing to approach him for the pleasure they take in his smell, and above all others the ape. But sea creatures generally all, have a certaine inbred sagacity, a wary perceivance before hand, which maketh them to be suspicious and circumspects, yea, and to stand upon their guard against all fore-laying; so that the arte of hunting and catching them is not a small piece of worke, and a simple cunning; but that which requireth a great number of engins of all sorts, and asketh wonderfull devices, and subtil sleights to compass and goe beyond them; and this appeareth by the experience of such things, as we have daily in our hands: For first and foremost the cane or reed of which the angle rodde is made, fishers would not have to bee bigge and thicke, and yet they had need of such an one as is tough and strong, for to plucke up and hold the fishes, which commonly doe mightily fling and struggle when they are caught; but they chuse rather that which is small and slender, for feare lest if cast abroad shadow, it might moove the doubt and suspicion that is naturally in fishes: moreover the line they make not with many water-knots, but desire to have it as plaine and even as possibly may be without any roughnesse, for that this giveth as it were some denuntiation unto them of fraud and deceit: they take order likewise that the haire which reach to the hooke, should seeme as white as possibly they can devise, for the whiter they be, the lesse are they seene in the water, for the conformity and likenesse in colour to it: as for that which the poet *Homer* saith:

*Downe right to bottome of the sea,
like plumbe of leade she went,*

That

*That peseth downe the fishers hooke,
and holdes the line extent;
Which passing through transparent * borne,
that small oxes head bare,
To greedy fishes secretly
brings death ere they be ware.*

Some misunderstanding these verses, would infer therupon, that men in old time used the hairs of an oxes tale to make there lines withall, saying that this word *εξω*, which commonly in Greeke is taken for an horne, signifieth in this place haire; & that hereupon *εξω* is derived, which betokeneth to sheere or cut haire; and *εξω*, that is to say, sheering or clipping; as also, that from hence it is that *Archilochus* tearmeth a daintie & wanton minion, who taketh delight in tricking and trimming the haire & wearing a peruke curiously set, *εξω*. But surely, this their collection is not true, for they used as we do, the haire of horse tiales, to make their angle-lines withall, chusing those that grow either on stone-horses or geldings, and not of mares, for that ever & anon they wet their tiales with staling, and by that means the haire of them are tenderer apt to breake. And *Aristotle* himselfe writeth, that in those verses above cited there is no deepe matter that requireth such an exquisit & curious scanning; for that (in truth) fishers use to overcast the line nere unto the hooke with a piece of horne, for feare lest fishes when they have swallowed down the hooke, should with their teeth bite or fret a two the line. And as for the hooke, they use those that be round, for to take mullers and the fishes *amia*, because they have narrow monthes: for very wary they are to avoid the longer and freighter kind; yea, and many times the mullet suspecteth the round hooke, swimming round about it, and flurting with the taile the bait and meat that is upon it, and never limes flapping, untill he have shaken it off, and then devoureth it: but say he can not speed that way, he draws his mouth together, and with the very edge and unmovt brim of his lips he nibbleth about the bait, untill he have gnawen it off. The wide mouthed sea-pike, when he perceiveth that he is caught with the hooke, sheweth herein more valour and animositie than the elephant; for he plucketh not out of another the dart or arrow sticking the bodie; but maketh meanes to deliver himselfe from the said hooke, shaking his head and writhing it to and fro untill he have enlarged the wound and made it wider; enduring most stoutly and resolutely the dolour to be thus rent and torne, and never gives over; untill he have wrested and wrung the hooke out of his bodie. The sea fox will not many times come neere unto an hooke, he reculeth backe and is afraid of some deceitfull guile; but say that he chance to be surprisid quickly, he maketh shift to winde himselfe off againe: for such is his strength, agility and slipperie moisture withall, that he will turne himselfe upside downe with his taile upward, in such sort, that when by overturning his stomacke all within is come forth, it can not chuse but the hooke loose the hold which it had and falleth forth.

These examples do shew a certaine intelligence, and withall a wittie and readie execution of that which is expedient for them, as need and occasion requireth. But other fishes there be, which besides this industrious sagacitie in shifting for themselves, do requite a fociable nature and loving affection one unto another; as for example, the *anthie* and *car*: for when the *car* hath swallowed downe an hooke, other of his fellows come leaping about him; and gnaw the line afunder; and if peradventure there be any of them gotten within anet and entangled, their companions give them their tiales without, which they holde as fast as they can with their teeth, and the other lie pulling and haling of them untill they have drawn them forth. As for the *anthie*, they come to rescue and succour one of their owne kinde with more audacie; for putting the line against their backe, they set to it the ridge bone, which is sharpe toothed in manner of a saw, and with it they endeavour to file and saw it in twaine. And verily, there is not a creature living on the land (as farre as wee know) that hath the heart and courage to aid their fellows being in danger of life, neither beare, bore lion, nor leopard. Well may those gather all together in heaps, which are of the same kind and run one with another round about the cirque or show-place with the Amphitheaters: but to rescue or succour one another neither know they the meanes how, nor have they the courage to doe it: for they fly and leape backward as fast as ever they can possibly from one that is hurt or killed in their sight: as for that story my good friend that you alledge of the elephants, that they cast into the ditch or trench whereinto one of their company is fallen all that ever they can get & gather together, thereby to make a banke, that he may cast himselfe upon, & besides so get forth; it is very strange and farre: and because it cometh

meth out of the books of king *Juba*, it would seeme to command us (as it were) by a roiall edict, to give credit thereto. But say it were, true there be examples of sea-creatures enough to prove that for sociable kindeesse and prudence withall, there be many of them which give no place to the wisest of all those which the land affordeth: but as touching their communion and fellowship, we will treat thereof apart, and that anon.

To returne unto our ffishers: perceiving as they doe, that the most part of fishes come the line and hooke as stale devices or such as be discovered, they betake themselves to fine force, and shut them up within great casting nets, like as the Persians use to serve their enemies in their warres, making this account, that if they be enclosed once within those nets, they are theirs sure enough, as if no discourse of reason in the world, no wit & policie whatsoever will serve them to escape: for with hoopnets or castnets are mullets caught, & the *salides*, the *marmyri* also, the *far-gi*, sea-gogoon, and the wide mouthed pikes: but such as plunge themselves downe to the bottom of the water, called thereupon *construes*, such as are the barbel, the guilthead, and the scorpions of the sea, those they use to catch and draw up with great drags and sweepnets. And verily this kinde of net *Homer* calleth *Panagra*, which is as much to say, as catching and swooping all afore it. And yet as cunningly devised as these engins be, the sea-dogs have devices to avoid the same, as also the wide mouthed *labrax*; for when he perceiveth that the said sweepe net is a drawing along the bottome, he stretcheth all his strength to, scapeth in the earth, and pareteth it so, as he maketh an hole therein; and when he hath thus digged (as it were) as deepe a trench as will hide him against the incurion of the net, then he coucheth himselfe close within it, waiting untill the net be glided over him and past. The dolphin, if he be surprisid, and perceive that he is inclosed and claipt within the armes (as one would say) of a net, endureth his fortune resolutely, and never dismaith for the matter; nay, he is very well appaied and pleased; for he is glad in his heart, that he hath so many fishes about him caught in the same net, which hee may devour and make merrie with at his pleasure without paines taking: and when he sees that he is drawn up neere to the land, he makes no more ado but gnawes a great hole in the net, & away he goes. But say that he cannot dispatch this feat so quickly, but he comes into the fishers hands, yet hee dieth not for this at the first time; for they draw a rish or reed thorow the skinn along his crest, and so let him go: but if he suffer himselfe to be taken the second time, then they beat and cudgell him well; and know him they do by the feames or skars remaining of the foresaid reed. Howbeit, this falleth out verie seldome; for the most part of them when they have beene once pardoned, do acknowledge what favour they have received, and beware for ever after how they do a fault and come into danger againe. But whereas there be infinit other examples of subtile flights and wittie wiles which fishes have invented, both to foresee and prevent a perill, & also to escape out of a danger, that of the cuttle is woorthie to be recited and would not be passed over in silence: for having about her necke a bladder or bag hanging, full of a blacke muddie liquor, which thereupon they call *blow*, that is to say, Inke; when she perceives herselfe beset & compassed about, so as she is ready to be taken, she casteth forth from her the said inke full craftily, that by troubling the water of the sea all about her, and making it looke thicke and blacke, she might avoid the sight of the fisher, and so make an escape unscene. Following here in the gods in *Homer*, who many times with overspreading a back cloud withdraw and steale away those whom they are minded to fave: but enough of this.

Now as touching their craft and subtiltie in assailing and chasing others, there be many experiments and examples presented unto our sight: for the fish called the Stare, knowing full well, that whatsoever he toucheth will melt and resolve, offeth and yeeldeth her body to be handled, suffering as many as passe by her, or approach neere to stroke him: and as for the cramp-fish *Torpedo*, you all know well enough her powerfull propertie; not onely to benumme and stupifie those who touch her, but also to transmit a stupefactive qualitie, even along the maihes and eords of the net, to the verie hands of the fishers who have caught her. And some there be who report thus much moreover, as having farther experience of her wonderfull nature, that in case she escape and get away alive, if men do baddle aloft in the water, or dash the same upon them, they shall feele the said passion running up to the verie hand, and benumbing their sense of feeling, as it should seeme, by reason of the water which before was altered and turned in that manner. This fish therefore having an imbred knowledge hereof by nature, never fighteth a front with any other; neither hazardeth himselfe openly: but fetching a compasse about the prey which it hunteth after, thootheth forth from her these contagious influences like darts, infecting

ding or charming rather the water first therewith, and afterwards by meanes thereof the fish that she laith for; so that it can neither defend it selfe, nor fle and make an escape, but remaineth as it were arrested, and bound fast with chaines, or utterly astoned.

The sea-frog, called the Fisher, which name he gat by a kind of fishing that he doth practise, is known well enough to many: and *Aristotle* saith, that the cuttle aforesaid useth likewise the same craft that he doth. His manner is to hang downe as it were an angle line, a certaine small string or gut from about his necke, which is of that nature, that hee can let out in length a great way when it is loose, and draw it in againe close together verie quickly when he list. Now when he perceiveth some small fish neere unto him, hee suffreth it to nibble the end thereof and bite it, and then by lide and little privily plucketh and draweth it backe toward him, untill hee can reach with his mouth the fish that hangeth to it.

As touching pouls or purcutes, and how they change their colour, *Pindarus* hath ennobled them in these verses:

*His mind doth alter most mutable,
To poult the sea fish skinnes semblable,
Which changeth hue to all things suitable,
To live in all worlds he is pliable.*

The poet *Theognis* likewise:

*Put on a mind like polyp fish,
and learne so to dissemble,
Which of the rocke whereto it sticks,
the colour doth resemble.*

True it is that the chameleon also effsoone changeth colour, but it is not upon any craftie devise that he hath, nor yet for to hide himselfe, but only for that he is so timorous; for cowardly he is by nature, and feareth everie noile. Over and besides (as *Theophrastus* writeth) full he is of a deale of wind, and the bodie of this creature wanteth but a little of being all lungs and lightness whereby it may be guessed that it standeth altogether upon ventositie and wind, and so consequently verie variable and subject to change: whereas that mutabilitie of the polype is a powerful and deliberate action of his, and not a momentarie passion or infirmite: for hee altereth his colour of a fedelate purpose, using it as a sleight or device, either to conceale himselfe from that whereof he is afraid; or else to catch that whereof hee feedeth: and by meanes of this deceitfull wile, he praith upon the one that escapeth him not, & escapeth the other that passeth by & sees him not. But to say that he eateth his owne cleies or long armes that he useth to stretch forth, is a loud lye; marie that he standeth in feare of the lampray and the conger, is verie true: for these fishes do him many shrewd turnes, and he cannot requite them the like, so slipperie they be and so foone gone. Like as the lobster on the other side if they come within his clutches, holdeth them fast & squeeze them to death: for their glibby slicknesse serveth them in no stead against his rough cleies; and yet if the polype can get & entangle him once within his long laces, hee dies for it. See how nature hath given this circular vicissitude to avoid and chase one another by

turnes, as a verie exercise and trial to make proove of their wit and sagacitie.

But *Aristotimus* hath alledged unto us the hedgehogge, or land urchin, and flood much upon it wot not what for he hath of the winds: and a wondrous matter he hath made also of the triangular flight of cranes. As for me, I will not produce the sea urchins of this or that particular coast, to wit, either of *Bizantine*, or of *Cyzicum*, but generally all in what seas soever; namely, how against a tempest and storme, when they see that the sea will bee very much troubled, they charge and ballast themselves with little stones, for feare of being overturned or driven to and fro for their lightnesse, by the billows and waves of the sea: and thus by the meanes of this weight, they remaine firme and fast upon the little rocks whereto they are fetled. As for the cranes, who change their maner of flying according to the winde; I say, this is a skillfull quality, not proper and peculiar to one kinde of fishes, but common unto them all; namely, to swimme evermore against the waves & the currents yea, and verie warie they be, that the winde blow not their tailles, and raise their skales, and so hurt and offend their bodies laid bare and naked; yea and made rugged by that meanes. Heereupon they carie their snouts and muzzels alwaies into the winde, and so direct their course: and thus the sea being cut afront at their head, keepeth downe their finnes, and gliding smoothly over their body, laith their scales even, so as none of them stand staring up. This is a thing, as I have said, comon unto all fishes, except the *Eloppis*, whose nature is to swimme downe the winde and the water; neither feareth he that the winde

Nann

will

will drive up his scales in so swimming, because they doe not lie toward his taile, but contrary to other fishes, toward his head.

Moreover, the tuny is so skillfull in the solstices and equinoxes, that he hath taught men to observe them without need of any astrological rules; for looke in what place or coast of the sea the winter tropicke or solstice finds him, there resteth he, and stirreth not untill the equinox in the spring. But a wonderfull wisdom (quoth he) there is in the crane, to hold a stone in his foot, that by the fall thereof he may quickly awaken. How much wiser then, my good friend *Aristotimus*, is the dolphin? who may not abide to lie still and cease stirring, for that by nature he is in continuall motion, and endeth his mooving and living together: but when he hath need of sleepe, he springeth up with his body to the toppe of the water, and turneth him upon his backe with the belly upward, and so suffreth it partly to float and hull, and in part to be carried through the deepe, waving to and fro as it were in a hanging bedde, with the agitation of the sea, sleeping all the while, untill he fettle downe to the bottom of the sea, and touch the ground: then wakeneth he, and mounting up with a jerke a second time, suffreth himselfe to bee carried untill he be felled downe againe; and thus hath he devised to have his repose and rest intermingled with a kinde of motion. And it is said that the tunies doe the like, and upon the same cause.

And now foras much as we have shewed already the mathematicall and astrological knowledge that fishes have in the revolution and conversion of the sunne, which is confirmed likewise by the testimonie of *Aristotle*, listen what skill they have in arithmeticke; but first (beleeve me) of the perspective sciences; whereof as it should seeme, the poet *Archylus* was not ignorant: for thus he saith in one place:

*Like tuny fish he comes to spie,
He doth so looke with his left eye.*

For tunies in the other eye are thought to have a dimme and feeble sight: and therefore when they enter *Mer major* into the sea of *Pomus*, they coast along the land on the right side; but contrariwise when they come forth, wherein they doe very wisely and circumspectly, to commit the custody of the body alwaies to the better eye. Now for that they have need of arithmeticke, by reason of their societie (as it may be thought) and mutual love wherein they delight, they are come to that height and perfection in this arte, that because they take a wondrous pleasure to feed together, and to keepe one with another in sculles & troupes, they alwaies cast their company into a cubicke forme, in manner of a battailon, solid and square every way, close, and environed with six equall sides or faces; and arranged in this ordinance as it were of a quadrat battell doe they swim, as large before as behind, & of the one side as of the other, in such sort, as he that lieth in especiall to hunt these tunies, if he can but take the just number how many there be of that side or front that appeareth next unto him, may presently tell what the number is of the whole troupe, being assured that the depth is equall to the breadth, and the breadth even with the length.

The fish called in Greeke *Hamie*, tooketh that name, it may be thought, for their conversing in companies all together; and so I suppose came the *Pelargides* by their name. As for other fishes that be sociable & love to live & are faine to converse in great companies together, no man is able to number the, they be so many. Come we rather therefore to some particular societies & inseparable fellowships that some have in living together: among which is that *Pinnotheres*, which cost the philosopher *Chrysippus* so much inke in his description; for in all his books as well of morall as naturall philosophie, he is ranged foremost. As for the *Spongotheres*, I suppose he never knew, for otherwise he would not have left it out. Well, this *Pinnotheres* is a little fish, as they say, of the crabs kind, which goeth & cometh evermore with the *Naree*, a big shell fish keeping still by it, and fits as it were a porter at his shell side, which he letteth continually to stand wide open, untill he spie some small fishes gotten within it, such as they are wont to take for their food: then doth he enter likewise into the *Narees* shell, and seemeth to bite the fleshy substance thereof; whereupon presently the *Naree* shute the shell hard, and then they two together feed upon the bootie which they have gotten prisoners within this enclosure.

As touching the *Spongotheres*, a little creature it is, not like unto the crabbe fish as the other, but rather resembling a spider, & it seemeth to rule and governe the sponge, which is altogether without life, without blood and sense; but as many other living creatures within the sea, cleave indeed heard to the rocks, and hath a peculiar motion of the owne, namely, to stretch out and draw in it selfe: but for to do this, need she hath of the direction and advertisement of another

ther: for being of a rare, hollow, and soft constitution otherwise, and full of many concavities, void & so dull of sense besides, & idle withal, that it perceiveth not when there is any substance of good meat gotten within the said void and empty holes; this little animal at such a time giveth a kind of warning, and with it the gathereth in her body, holdeth it fast, and devoureth the same: but much more will this sponge draw in her selfe when a man comes neere and touches her; for then being better advertised and touched to the quick, she quaketh as it were for feare, and plucketh in her body so straight and so hard, that the divers, and such as seeke after them have no small adoe, but finde it to be a painfull matter for to get under and cut them from the rocks.

- 10 The purple fishes keepe in companies together, & make themselves a common cel, much like to the combs which bees doe frame, wherein by report, they do engender & breed: and looke what they have laid up for their store and provision of victuals, to wit, moffe, reits and such seaweeds, those they put forth out of their shells, & present them unto their fellows for to eat, banqueting round as it were every one in their turne, and keeping their course to feast, one eating of anothers provision. But no great marvell it is to see such an amiable society and loving fellowship among them, considering that the most unfociable, cruel and savage creature of all that live either in rivers or lakes or seas, I mean the crocodile, sheweth himselfe wonderfull fellow-like and gracious in that societie and dealing that is betweene him & the *trochilus*. For this *trochilus* is a little bird of the kinde of those which ordinarily doe haunt meres, marshes and rivers, waiting and attending upon the crocodile as it were one of his guard: neither liveth this bird at her owne finding nor upon her owne provision, but of the reliques that the crocodile leaveth. The service that the doth for it is this: when the seeth the ichneumon, having plastrd his body as it were with a coat of mud baked hard in manner of a crust, and like unto a champion with his hands all dusty, ready to wrestle & prepared to take hold of his enemy, in wait for to surpris the crocodile aleepe, the awakeneth him partly with her voice, and partly by necthing him with her bill. Now the crocodile is so gentle and familiar with her, that he will gape with his chawes wide open, and let her enter into his mouth, taking great pleasure that she should picke his teeth and pecke out the little morsels of flesh that flicke betweene, with her pretty beake, & withal, to scarifie his gummies. But when he hath had enough of this, & would shut and close his mouth againe, he letteth fall the upper chaw a little, which is a warning unto the bird for to get forth: but he never bringeth both jawes together, before he knowe that the *trochilus* is flownen out.

- There is a little fish called the guide, for quantity & proportion of shape, resembling the gadgeon, only without forth it seemeth like unto a bird, whose feathers for feare stand up; the scales stare so, and are so rough. This fish is ever in the company of one of these great whales, swimming before, and directing his course as if he were his pilot, for feare lest he should light upon some helvies, runne upon the sands in the shallowes, or otherwise shoot himselfe into some narrow creeke where he can hardly turne and get forth. The whale followeth hard after, willing to be guided, and directed by him, even as a shippe by the helme: and looke what other thing soever besides cometh within the chaos of this monsters mouth, be it beast, boar, or stone, downe it goes all incontinently that foule great swallow of his, and perisheth in the bottomlesse gulfe of his panch: onely this little fish be knoweth from the rest, and receiveth into his mouth and no farther, as an anchor, for within it sleepeth; and while the fish is at repose, the whale likewise resteth still, as if he ridde at anchor; no sooner is it gotten forth, but he followeth on a fresh, never leaving it by day nor by night, for otherwise hee would wander heere and there: and many of these whales there have beene lost in this manner, wanting their guide & pilot, which have runne themselves a land, for default of a good pilot. For we our selves have seene one of them for cast away not long since about the isle *Anticyra*: and before time by report, there was another cast upon the sands, and not farre from the city *Buna*, which lay there stinking and putrified; whereupon by the infection of the aire, there ensued a pestilence in those parts adjoining. What should one say? Is there any other example worthy to bee compared with these societies so streightly linked, and interlaced with mutual benevolence? *Aristotle* indeed reporteth great friendship and amitie betweene foxes and serpents, joining and combining together against their common enemy the eagle; also betweene the *Otidæ* and horses; for the bird *otus* delighteth in their company, and to be neere them, for that they may rake into their dung. For mine owne part, I cannot see that the very bees, or the pismires, are so industrious and carefull one for another. True it is, that they travell and labour in common for a publike weale; but to aime at any particular good, or to respect the private benefit one

* *Otidæ*, that is to say, altogether.

* Of *otus*, a new.

* Some take it for the stirring.

of another, we can finde example of no beast upon the land whereforever: but we shall perceive this difference much better, if we convert our speech to the principall duties and greatest offices of societie; generation (I meane) and procreation of young: First and foremost, all fishes which haunt any sea, either neere unto lakes, or such as receiue great rivers into it, when they perceive their spawning time to be neere, come up toward the land, and seeke for that fresh water which is most quiet and least subject to agitation for that calmenesse is good for their breeding; besides, these lakes and rivers ordinarily have none of these monstrous sea monsters; so as both their spawne and their young frye, is there in most safetie, which is the reason that there are so many fishes bred about the Euxine sea; for that it nourisheth no whales or other great fishes: onely the sea-cattle which there is but small, and the dolphin who is as little. Moreover, the mixture of many great rivers which discharge themselves into the sea, causeth the temperature of the water to be very good and fit for great belled spawners. But most admirable of all others, is the nature of the fish antios, which *Homer* called the sacred fish; although some thinke that sacred in that place, is as much to say, as great: in which sense we terme the great bone, *hiss*, that is to say, sacred; whereupon the ridge bone resteth: as also the great maladie, called the falling sicknesse, is termed in Greeke *hiss*, that is to say, the falling sicknesse: others interpret it after the common and vulgar manner, namely, for that which is vowed and dedicated to some god, or otherwise abandoned: but it seemeth that *Erastophanes* so called the gulthead or golden-ey, as appeareth by this verse of his:

*Most swift of course, with browes as bright as gold,
This is the fish which I doe sacred holde.*

but many take it for the elopis; for rare he is to be found, and hard to be taken: howbeit, manie times he is seene about the coast of *Pamphylia*; and whensoever the fishermen can meet with any of them, and bring them home, both they themselves weare chaplets of flowers for joy, and also they crowne and adorne their barques with garlands, yea, and at their arrivall they are receiued with much shouting and clapping of hands; but the most part are of opinion, that the antios before said, is he which they call the sacred fish; and so he is held to be; for that whereforever he is, there may no hurtfull nor ravening monster be found there: in so much as the Divers plunge downe into the sea for sponges, boldly in those coasts where these be; yea, and other fishes, both of spawne and reare their young frye safely there, as having him for their pledge and warrant of all safety and security, as in a privileged place. The cause hereof is hardly to be rendred; whether it be that such hurtfull fishes upon a secret antipathie in nature, doe avoid him as elephants a swine, and lions a cocke; or that there be some marks & signes of those coasts which are cleere of such harmful monsters, which he knoweth well and observeth, being a fish quick of wit, and as good of memorie. Common it is to all females for so respective that way, and so farre off from devouring the seed of their owne kinde, that they continue neere unto the spawne that the females have cast, and keepe the same, as *Aristotle* hath left in writing. Some milters there be, that follow after the spawners, and sprinkle them a little about the taile; otherwise, the spawne or frye will not be faire and great, but remaine imperfect, and come to no growth. This property particularly by themselves have the phycides, that they build their nests with the sea weeds or teits, covering and defending therewith their spawne and frye against the waves of the sea.

Dog-fishes give not place in any sort to the most tame and gentle beasts in the world, for kinde love and naturall affection to their young: for first they engender spawne, and after that, a quickie frye; and that not without, but within, nourishing and carrying the same within their owne bodies, after a kind of second generation; but when they are grown to any bignesse, they put them forth and teach them how to swim hard by them, and afterwards receive them by the mouth into their bodie, which serveth in stead of a place of abode, of nourishment and refuge, untill such time as they be big, that they can shift for themselves.

Moreover, the provident care of the tortoise in the generation, nourishment and preservation of yer young, is wonderfull: for out the goeth of the sea, and laith her egges or casteth her spawne upon the banke side; but being notable to cove or sit upon them, not to remaine herselfe upon the land out of the sea any long time, she bestoweth them in the gravell, and afterwards covereth them with the lightest and finest sand that she can get: when the hatch thus hidden them surely, some say, that with her feet she draweth raies or lines, or els imprinteth certeine pricks, which may serve for privy marks to herselfe, to finde out the place againe: others affirme, that the male turneth the females upon the backe, and so leaveth the print of their shell within the

Male or Female.

the same: but that which is more admirable, she observeth just the fortieth day (for in so many daies, the egges come to their maturity, and be hatched) and then returneth she to the place where knowing her owne treasure by the scale, she openeth it with great joy and pleasure, as no man doth his casket of jewels or cabinet where his golde lieth.

The crocodiles deale much after this manner in all other points; but at what marks they aime in chusing or finding out the place where they breed, no mortal man is able to imagine or give a reason whereupon it is commonly said, that the foreknowledge of this beast in that respect, proceedeth not from any discourse of reason, but out of some supernaturall divination: for going neither farther nor neerer than just to that gage and height where *Nilus* the river for that yeere will rise and cover the earth, there laith the her egges: so that when the paissant or countrey man chanceth by fortune to hit upon a crocodiles nest, himselfe knoweth and telleth his neighbours how high the river will overflow that Summer following: so just doth the measure the place that will be drowned with water, that herselfe may be sure not to be drenched while she sitteth and coveth: furthermore, when her young be newly hatched, if the see any one of them (so soone as ever it is out of the shell) not to catch with the mouth one thing or other coming next in the way, be it flie, pismire, gnar, earth-worme, straw or grasse, the damme taketh it betwene her teeth, teareth it and killeth it presently; but such as give some prooffe of animosity, audacity and execution, those she loveth, whose the cherifsteth and maketh much of, bestowing her love as the wisest men judge it meet and reasonable, according to reason and discretion, and not with blinde affection.

The sea-calves likewise bring forth their young on the dry land; but within a while after they traine them to the sea; give them a taste of the salt water, and then quickly bring them back againe: this practise they with them by little and little many times together, untill they have gotten more heart and begin of themselves to delight for to live within the sea. Frogs about their breeding time, call one to another, by a certaine amorous note or nuptiall tune, called properly *Ologoson*. And when the male hath by this means enticed and allured the female to him, they attend and waite together for the night: and why? In the water they cannot possibly engender, and upon the land they fear to do it in the day time; dark night is no sooner come, but boldly they go forth of the water, and then without feare they claspe and embrace one another. Moreover against a shoure of raime their croaking voice, such as it is, you shall heare more cleere and shrill than ordinary, which is a most infallible signe of raime.

But (oh sweet *Neptune*) what a foule fault and grosse error was I like to have committed; how absurd and ridiculous should I have made my selfe, if being amused and busied to speake of these sea-calves and frogs, I had forgotten and overpassed the wisest creature, and that which the gods love best, of all those that do frequent and haunt the sea; for what musick of the nightingale is comparable to that of the halcyon; what artificiall building of the swallowes, and martintets; what entier amitie & love of doves; what skilfull cunning of the bees, deserveth to be put in balance with these sea-fowles halcyones? Of what living creatures have the gods and goddesses so much honored the breeding, travell and birth; for it is said that there was but one onely *Helen*, that was so well beloved, that it received the child birth of *Latona*, when she was delivered of *Apollo* & *Diana*; which island floating before time, continued afterwards firme land; whereas the pleasure of God is such, that all seas should be still and calme without waves, winds or drop of raime falling upon them, all the while that the halcyon laith and coveth, which is just about the winter solstice, even when the daies be shortest: which is the reason that there is no living creature that men love so well; by whose means seven daies they have, and seven nightes even in the verie heart of winter, during which time they may safely saile, having their voyage by sea for those daies space, more secure than their travell by land. Now if I must say somewhat likewise of each particular vertue that this bird hath: first and foremost the female is so loving to the male her mate, that she tarrieth not with him for one season only, but all the yeere long keepeth him company; and that not for shamelesse lust & wantonnesse (for she never admitteth any other male to tread her) but onely upon a kind love and tender affection; even like an honest wedded wife that keepeth onely to her husband. And when the male growth to be for age weake and unwieldie, in such sort as he cannot follow her, but with much ado, she beareth and feedeth him in his old age; she never forsaketh nor leaveth him alone for any thing, but she taketh him upon her shoulders, carrieth him everie where about, tendeth him most tenderly, and is with him still unto his dying day. Now for the affection which she beareth to her young, and the care that she hath of them and their safetie: when she perceiveth once that she is with egge, presently shee goeth about the

building of her nest; not tempering mudde or cley for to make thereof mortar; nor dawbing it upon the walles, and spreading it over the roufe as the swallowes do; and yet employing her whole body or the most part thereof about her worke, as doth the bee, which entering in the honny-combe with her entier bodie; and working withall the six feet together, divideth the place in six angled cels: but the alcyon having but one instrument, one toole, one engine to worke withall, even her owne bill, without any thing else in the world to helpe her in her travell and operation; yet what workmanship she makes & what fabricks she frameth, like unto a master carpenter or shipwright, hard it were to belevee, unlesse a man had seene it, being in deed such a fabrick and piece of worke, which onely of all other cannot bee overthrowen nor drenched with the sea: for first and formost shee goes and gathers a number of bones of the fish called Belone, that is to say, a Needle, which shee joineth and bindeth together, interlacing them some long, wife, others overthwart, much like as the woofe is woven upon the warpe in a loome, winding, plaiting and twisting them up and downe one within another; so that in the end fashioned it is in forme round, yet extended out in length like unto a filthers weele or bow-net: after shee hath finished this frame, shee bringeth it to some creeke, and opposeth it against the waves, where the sea gently beating and dashing upon it, teacheth her to mend that was not well compact, and to fortifie it in such places where shee sees it gapeth, or is not united close by reason of the sea-water that hath undone the composition thereof: contrariwise, that which was well jointed, the sea doth so settle and drive together, that hardly a man is able to breake, dissolve or doe it injurie either with knocke of stone or dint of edged toole. But that which yet maketh it more admirable, is the proportion and forme of the concavite and hole within this vessell; for framed it is & composed in such sort, that it will receive and admit no other thing, but the verie bird which made it, for nought else can enter into it, so close it is and shut up, no not so much as the very water of the sea. I am assured that there is not one of you all, but he hath many times seene this nest: but for mine owne part, who have both viewed, touched and handled it, and that verie often, I am readie to say and sing thus:

*The like at Delos once I've seen,
Was in Apollos temple seene.*

I meane the altar made all of hornes, renowned amongst the seven wonders of the world; for that without solder, glew, or any other matter to binde and holde the parcels together, made it was and framed of hornes which grew on the right side of the head onely. But o that this god would be so good and gracious unto me, being in some sort muscical and an inslander, like himselfe, as to pardon me if I sing the praise of that firene and mer-maid so highly commended; as also gently to heare mee laugh at these demands and interrogatories that these propound, who in mockerie seeme to aske, Why *Apollo* is never called *Kατακτείνων*, that is to say, the killer of conger, nor *Diana* his sister *Τορνήτωρ*, that is to say, a slinker of barbels, knowing that even *Penny*, borne as she was of the sea, and instituting her sacrifices neere unto it, taketh no pleasure that any thing should be killed. And moreover, ye wot well enough, that in the city of *Leptis*, the priests of *Neptune* eat nothing that cometh out of the sea, as also that in the cite *Elysium*, those who are professed religious, and admitted to the holy mysteries of *Ceres*, honour the barbell; yea, and in the city of *Arges* the priestesse of *Diana* upon a devout reverence forbeareth to feed of this creature; for that these barbles doe kill and destroy all that ever they can, the sea-hare, which is so venomous and so deadly a poison to man: in regard of which benefit, reported they are friendly unto mankind, and preservers of their health, and therefore honoured they be, and kept as sacrosanct: and yet you shall see in many cities of *Greece*, both temples and altars dedicated unto *Diana* surnamed *Δελφύνα*, as one would say, affected unto filthers nets: like as to *Apollo Delphinios*: for certaine it is, that the place which he especially chose above all others for his abode, the posteritie defended from the Cretanians came to inhabit and people, being conducted thither by the guidance of a dolphin: and not because himselfe (as some fabulous writers report) being transformed into a dolphin, swam before their fleet: but surely a dolphin he sent to direct those men in their navigation, and so he brought them to the bay of *Cirrhæ*.

Also written it is in histories, that those who were sent by king *Ptolemaeus* surnamed *Soter*, to the city *Sinope*, for to carie the god *Serapis*, together with their captaine *Dionysius*, were by force of winde and tempest driven against their willes beyond the cape or promontorie *Mæda*, where they had *Peloponnesus* on the right hand; and when they wandered and were tossed to and fro upon the seas, not knowing where they were, making account they were lost and cast away, there shewed himselfe before the prow of their ship, a dolphin, which seemed to call unto them, and

who guided them unto those coasts where there were many commodious havens and faire baies for ships to harbour and ride in with safetie; and thus he conducted and accompanied their ship from place to place, untill at length he brought it within the rode of *Cirrhæ*; where after they had sacrificed for their safe arrivall and landing, they understood that of two images there, they were to have away that of *Pluto*, and carie it with them; but the other of *Proserpina* to leave behind them, when they had taken onely the mould and patterne thereof. Probable it is therefore, that the god *Apollo* caried an affection to the dolphin, for that it loveth musike so well: whereupon the poet *Pindarus* comparing himselfe unto the dolphin, saith that he was provoked

10 and stirred up to musike by the leaping and dancing of this fish;
*Like as the dolphin swimmes apace,
Directly forward to that place
Whereas the pleasant shawmes do sound,
And whence their noise doth soone rebound:
What time both winds and waves do lie
At sea, and let no harmonic*

or rather we are to thinke that the god is well affected unto him, because he is so kind and loving unto man: for the onely creature it is, that loveth man for his owne sake, and in regard that he is a man: whereas of land-beasts, some you shall have that love none at all; others, and those that be of the tamest kinde, make much of those onely, of whom they have some use and benefit; 20 namely such as feed them or converse with them familiarly, as the dogge, the horse and the elephant: and as for swallowes, received though they be into our houses, where they have entertainment, and whatsoever they need, to wit, shade, harbour and a necessary retreat for their safetie, yet they be afraid of man, and thus him as if he were some savage beast; whereas the dolphin alone of all other creatures in the world, by a certaine instinct of nature, carrieth such sincere affection unto man, which is so much sought for and desired by our best philosophers, even without any respect at all of commoditie: for having no need at all of mans helpe, yet is he nevertheless friendly and courteous unto all, and hath succoured many in their distresse; as the storie of *Arion* will testifie, which is so famous, as no man is ignorant thereof: and even you

Arifotimus your owne selfe, rehearsed to very good purpose the example of *Heliades*:
30 *But yet by your good leave my friend,
Of that your tale you made me end.*

for when you reported unto us the fidelitie of his dogge, you should have proceeded farther, and told out all, (as you did) the narration of the dolphins: for surely the notice that the dogge gave, by baying, barking, and running after the murderers with open mouth, was (I may tell you) but a blinde presumption, and no evident argument. About the cite *Nemium*, the dolphins meeting with the dead corps of a man floting up and downe upon the sea, tooke it up and laied it on their backs, shifting it from one to another by turnes, as any of them were wearie with the carriage, and very willingly, yea, and as it should seeme, with great affection, they conveyed it as farre as to the port *Rhium*, where they laied it downe upon the shore, and so made 40 it known that there was a man murdered. *Myrtilus* the Lesbian writeth, that *Aenaius* the Acolian being fallen in fanisie with a daughter of *Phineus*, who according to the oracle of *Amphirite*, was by the daughters of *Pentheus* cast downe headlong into the sea, threw himselfe after her; but there was a dolphin tooke him up, and brought him safe unto the isle *Zesbos*. Over and besides, the affection and good will which a dolphin bare unto a yong lad of the cite *Iasos*, was so hot and vehement, in the highest degree, that if ever one creature was in love with another, it was he; for there was not a day went over his head, but he would disport, play and swimme with him, yea, and suffer himselfe to be handled and tickled by him upon his bare skinn; and if the boy were disposed to mount aloft upon his backe, he would not refuse, nor seeme to avoide him; nay hee was verie well content with such a carriage, turning what way soever 50 heereined him, or seemed to incline: and thus would hee doe in the presence of the Iassians, who oftentimes would all runne forth to the sea side for purpose to behold this sight. Well on a daie above the rest, when this ladde was upon the dolphins backe, there fell an exceeding great shower of raine, together with a monstrous storme of haile; by reason whereof the poore boy fell into the sea, and there died: but the dolphin tooke up his bodie dead as it was, and together with it shut himselfe upon the land; neither would he depart from the corps so long as there was any life in him, and so died, judging it great reason to take part with him of his death, who seemed partly to be the cause thereof. In remembrance of which memorabile accident,

cident, the Iasians represent the historie thereof stamped and printed upon their coine, to wit, a boy riding upon a dolphin; which storie hath caused that the fable or tale that goeth of *Ceramus* is beleev'd for a truth: for this *Ceramus*, as they say, borne in *Paros*, chanced to be upon a time at *Byzantium*, where seeing a great draught of dolphins taken up in a casting-net by the fishers, whom they meant to kill and cut into pieces, bought them all alive, and let them go againe into the sea. Not long after, it hapned that he failed homeward in a foist of fittie oares, which had aboard (by report) a number of pyrates and tovers; but in the streights betwene *Naxos* and *Paros* the vessel was cast away, and swallowed up in a gulf: in which shipwracke, when all the rest perished, he onely was saved; by meanes as they say of a dolphin, which comming under his bodie as he was newly plunged into the sea, bare him up, tooke him upon his backe, and carried him as farre as to a certaine cave about *Zacynthus*, and there landed him: which place is shewed for a monument at this day, and after his name, is called *Ceranium*: upon this occasion, *Archilochus* the poet, is said to have made these verses:

*Of fittie men by tempest drown'd,
And left in sea all dead behind:
Cowan alone alive was found,
God Neptune was to him so kind,*

Afterwards the said *Ceramus* himselfe died: and when his kinsfolke & friends burned his corps nere to the sea side in a funerall fire, many dolphins were discovered along the coast hard by the shore, shewing (as it were) themselves how they were come to honour his obsequies; for depart they would not before the whole solemnitie of this last dutie was performed. That the scutcheon or shield of *Ulysses* had for the badge or ensigne, a dolphin, *Strabon* hath testified, but the occasion and cause thereof, the *Zacynthians* report in this manner, as *Critem* the historian beareth witnesse. *Telemachus* his sonne being yet an infant, chanced to slip with his feet, as men say, to fall into a place of the sea, where it was very deep; but by the means of certaine dolphins who tooke him as he fell, saved he was and carried out of the water: whereupon his father in a thankfull regard and honour to this creature, engraved within the collet of his signet, wherewith hee sealed the portrait of a dolphin, & likewise carried it as his armes upon his shield. But forasmuch as I protested in the beginning that I would relate to you no fables, and yet (I wit not how) in speaking of dolphins, I am carried farther than I was aware, and fallen upon *Ulysses* and *Ceramus*, somewhat beyond the bounds of likelihood and probability, I will set a fine upon mine owne head, and even here for amends lay a straw and make an end. You therefore my masters who are judges, may when it pleaseth you proceed to your verdict.

SOCIARUS.

As for us, we were of mind a good while fine to say according to the sentence of *Sophocles*:

*Your talke ere while which seem'd to disagree,
Will soon accord, and joint-wisely framed be.*

for if you will, both of you confesse your arguments, proofes and reasons which you have alleged of the one side and the other, and lay them all together in common betwene you, it will be seene how mightily you shall confute and put downe those who would deprive brut beasts of all understanding and discourse of reason.



WHETHER

WHETHER THE ATHE- NIANS WERE MORE RE- NOWMED FOR MARTIAL ARMES OR GOOD LETTERS.

The Summarie.

WE have here the fragments of a pleasant discourse written in the favour of Athenian warriors and great captaines; which as this day hath neither beginning nor end, and in the middle is altogether maimed and imperfect: but that which the informitie of the times hath left unto us is such yet, as thereout we may gather some good, and the invention of Plutarch is therein sufficiently discovered unto us: for he sweareth that the Athenians were more famous and excellent in feats of armes than in the profession of learning. Which position may seeme to be a strange paradox, considering that Athens was reputed the habitation of the muses: and if there were ever any brave historians, singular poets, and notable orators in the world, we are to looke for them in this cite. Yet for all this, he taketh upon him to prove that the promise of Athenian captaines was without all comparison more commendable and praiseworthy than all the dexteritie of others, who at their leisure have written in the shade and within house the occurrence and accidents of the times, or exhibited pleasures and pastimes to the people upon the stage or scaffold. And to effect this intended purpose of his, he considereth in the first place, historiographers, and adjoineth thereto a brieve treatise of the art of painting: and by comparison of two persons, bringing newes of a field fought, whereof the one was onely a beholder and looker on; the other an actor himselfe, and a souldier fighting in the battell, he sheweth that noble captaines ought to be preferred before historians, who pen and set downe their desseignes and executions. From history he passeth on to poeise, both comickall and tragicall, which he reproveth and debaseth, notwithstanding the Athenians made exceeding account thereof; giving to understand, that their valor consisted rather in martial exploits. In the last place he speaketh of orators, and by conference of their orations and other reasons, proveth that these great speakers deserve not that place, as to have their words weighed in ballance against the deeds of so many polinike and valiant warriors.

WHETHER THE ATHENIANS
were more renowned for martiall
armes or good letters.



HE said this was (in truth) of him unto those great captaines and commanders who succeeded him; unto whom hee made way and gave entrance to the executions of those exploits which they performed afterwards, when himselfe had to their hands chafed out of Greece the barbarous king *Xerxes*; and delivered the Greeks out of servitude: but aswell may the same be said also to those who are proud of their learning and stand highly upon their erudition. For if you take away men of action, you shall be sure to have no writers of them: take away the polinike government of *Pericles* at home; the navall victories and trophies achieved by *Themio*, neere the promontorie of *Chium*; the noble prowesses of *Alexis* about the isle *Cythera*; as also before the cities of *Corinth* and *Megara*; take away the sea-fight of *Demothenes* before *Pylos*; the four hundred captives and prisoners of *Cleon*; the worthy deeds of *Telesias* who sowed all the coasts of *Peloponnesus*; the brave acts

of

of *Myronides*, and the battell which he woon against the Boeotians in the place called *Oenophyta*; and withall, you blot out the whole historie of *Thucydides*; take away the valiant service of *Alcibiades* shewed in *Helleſpont*; the rare manhood of *Thraſylus* neere unto the iſle *Lesbos*; the happie ſuppreſſion and abolition of the tyrannicall oligarchie of the thirty uſurpers, by *Theramenes*; take away the valourous endeavours of *Thraſylus* and *Archippus*, together with the rare deſſignes and enterpriſes executed by thoſe ſeven hundred, who from *Phyla* roſe up in armes and were ſo hardie and reſolute as to lewie a power and wage warre againſt the lordly potentates of *Apollonia*; and laſt of all *Canon*, who cauſed the Athenians to go to ſea againe and maintaine the warres; and therewithall, take away *Cratippus* and all his Chronicles. For as touching *Xenophon*,¹⁰ he was the writer of his owne historie, keeping a booke and commentarie of thoſe occurrents and proceedings which paſſed under his happie conduct and direction: and (by report) he gave it out in writing, that *Themistogenes* the Syracuſian compoſed the ſaid narration of his acts, to the end that *Xenophon* might win more credit and be the better beleevd, writing as he did of himſelfe as of a ſtranger, and withall, gratifying another man by that meanes with the honour of eloquence in digeſting and penning the ſame. All other hiſtorians beſides, as theſe, *Chondeni* and *Dizili*, *Philochorus* and *Philarchus*, may be counted as it were the actors of other mens plaiſes: who ſetting downe the acts of kings, princes and great captaines, ſtrowed cloſe under their memorials, to the end that themſelves might have ſome part with them of their light and ſplendor. For ſurely there is a certaine image of glorie, which by a kinde of reflexion; as in a mirror, doth reſound from thoſe who have achieved noble acts, even unto them that commit²⁰ the dole to writing, when as the actions of other men are repreſented by their reports and records.

Certes this city of *Athens* hath beene the fruitfull mother and kinde nouriſe of many and ſundry arts, whereof ſome ſhe fiſt invented and brought to light; others the gave growth, ſtrength, honour and credit unto. And among the reſt, the ſkill of painters craft hath not beene leaſt advanced and adorned by her. For *Apollodorus* the painter, the fiſt man who deviſed the mixture of colours, and the manner of darkning them by the ſhadow, was an Athenian: over whole works was ſet this epigram by his owne ſelfe.

Sooner will one ſee this carpe and witz
Than doe the like or ſample it.

So were *Euphranor* and *Nicias*, *Aſclepiodorus* alſo, and *Pliſanetus* the brother of *Pheidias*, whereof ſome portraied victorious captaines, others painted batells, and others drew to the life offomes and demigods: like as *Euphranor* who painted noble *Theſeus*, and ſet this picture as a paragon in compariſon with another of *Parthaſius* making; ſaying that the *Theſeus* of *Parthaſius* had eaten roſes, but his *Theſeus* had beene fed with good oxe beefe: for to ſay a trueth, that picture of *Parthaſius* was daintily and delicately made, reſembling in ſome ſort that which *Euphranor* talketh of; but he that ſhould ſee this of *Euphranors* doing, might ſay (not unſuly) theſe verſes out of *Tower*:

The people of Erechtheus ſtout,
Whom Pallas, daughter deare
Of Iupiter that mighty god,
Sometime did feed and reare.

Euphranor alſo depainted the battell of horſemen before the citie *Mantineia*, againſt *Epaninondas*, which ſeemeth not to be without ſome furious and divine inſtinct. The argument and ſubject matter whereof was this: *Epaninondas* the Theban, after the battell which he won before the towne *Leuctra*, puffd up with glory in this greeneſſe of his, determined reſolutely to inſult over *Sparta*, which now was already downe the winde, and at once to tread and trample under foot the high ſpirit and reputation of that city. Fiſt therefore he invaded *Laconia* with a mightie power of theſe core and ten thouſand fighting men, ſpoiling and harrowing the country as he went; whereby he withdrew all the neighbour-nations from their confederacie and alliance with the *Lacedaemonians*. After this, when they put themſelves in battell ray, and made head againſt him before *Mantineia*, hee challenged and provoked them to fight: which they neither would nor durſt accept, expecting aid that ſhould come unto them from *Athens*. Whereupon he brake up his campe, and diſlodging in the night ſeaſon ſecretly and contrary to all mens expectation, courd againe into *Laconia*, in which journey and expedition he went within a litle of beſieging the citie of *Sparta* and winning it, naked as it was and without defendants. But the itales and confederates having intelligence of his comming, came with all ſpeed to ſuccour the citie.

citie. Then *Epaninondas* made ſemblance that hee would turne and bend his forces to the waſting and ſpoiling of their territorie, as hee had done before. Thus having by this ſtratagem deluded his enemies, and lulled them aſleepe in ſecuritie, hee departed ſuddenly by night out of *Laconia*, having over-runne and deſtroied all before him with great celeritie, and preſented himſelfe with his whole armie before them of *Mantineia*, who looked for nothing leſſe than ſuch a gueſt, but were in conſultation for to ſend helpe to *Lacedaemon*: but he interrupting & breaking their counſels, immediatly commanded the Thebans to arme, who being brave & courageous ſouldiours, invellid the city of *Mantineia* round about, ſtroke up the alarme and gave an aſſault. The *Mantineians* heereat aſtoniſhed, ran up and downe the ſtreets, howling¹⁰ and wailing, as being not able to ſuſtaine, and much leſſe put backe ſo great a puiſſance, which all at once in manner of a violent ſtreame, came running upon them; neither did they thinke of any aid or meanes to relieve themſelves in this diſtreſſe. But at the very point of this extremity, the Athenians were diſcovered, deſcending from the hilles downe into the plaines of *Mantineia*, who knowing nothing of this ſudden ſurpriſe and preſent danger wherein the citie ſtood, marched ſoſly, and tooke leiſure; but when they were advertiſed hereof by a vaunt courier who made meanes to get forth of the city ſnotwithſtanding they were but a handfull in compariſon of the great multitude of their enemies, and withall ſomewhat wearie with their journey, and not ſeconded with any other of their allies and affiliates; they advanced forward, and put themſelves in order of battell againſt their enemies, who were in number many for one:²⁰ the horſe men alſo for their parts being likewiſe arranged, ſet ſpurs to their horſes, and rode hard to the gates and walles of the city, where they charged their enemies ſo hotly with their horſes, and gave them ſo cruell a battell, that they gat the upper hand, and reſcued *Mantineia* out of the danger of *Epaninondas*. Now had *Euphranor* painted this conflict moſt lively in a table, wherein a man might have ſcene the furious encounter; the courageous charge and bloudie fight, wherein both horſe and man ſeemed to puffe and blow againe for winde.

But I ſuppoſe you will not compare the wit or judgement of a painter, with the courage and policy of a captaine, nor endure thoſe, who preſerre a painted table before a glorious trophie; or the vaine ſhadow before the reall ſubſtance and thing indeed: howſoever *Simonides* ſaid that picture was a dumbe poeſie, and poeſie a ſpeaking picture: for looke what things or³⁰ actions painters doe ſhew as preſent and in manner as they were in doing, writings doe report and record as done and paſt; and if the one repreſent them in colours and figures, and the other exhibite the ſame in words and ſentences, they differ both in matter and alſo in manner of imitation, howbeit both the one and the other ſhoote at one end, and have the ſame intent and purpoſe. And hee is counted the beſt hiſtorian who hath the ſkill to ſet out a narration, as in a painted table with divers affections, and ſundry conditions of perſons, as with many images and pourtraictures. And verily this may appeare in *Thucydides*, who throughout his whole hiſtory contendeth to attaine unto this diluciditie of ſtile, ſtriving to make the auditour of his wordes the ſpectatour as it were of the deeds therein conteined, and deſirous to imprint in the readers the ſame paſſions of aſtoniſhment, wonder⁴⁰ and agony, which the very things themſelves would worke when they are repreſented to the ſie. For *Demosthenes* who put the Athenians in ordinance of battell, even upon the very ſandies and ſhore within the creeke of *Pylos*; and *Brasidas* who haſtening the pilot of his galley to runne with the prow a land, walking along the hatches himſelfe, and being there wounded and ready to yeeld up his vitall breath, ſunke downe among the ſeats of the rowers: alſo the *Lacedaemonians* who fought a battell at ſea, as if they had beene on firme land: the Athenians likewiſe who upon the land embattailed themſelves, and fought as if they had beene within their gallies at ſea againe; in the Sicilian warre: the deſcription which he maketh of the two armies arranged on the land, hard by the ſea ſide, to behold their men fighting a navall battell, wherein the victory hung a long time in equall ballance, and inclined neither to the one ſide nor the other, by⁵⁰ occaſion of which doubtfull iſſue, they were in an intollerable agony, diſtreſſe, and perplexity, to behold the ſundry encounters and reciprocal charges and recharges, communicating their violence and heat of contention even to the very bodies of the beholders upon the ſhore, who puffing, blowing, panting, and ſweating in as great paine and feare, as if they had beene perſonally in the very conflict: the orderly diſpoſition, the graphicall deſcription and the lively narration which he maketh of all this, what is it but an evident repreſentation of a picture? Now if it be not meet to compare painters with captaines, there is as little reaſon to ſet hiſtorians in compariſon with them.

He who brought the newes of the battell and victorie at *Marathon*, as *Heraclides of Pontus* writeth, was one *Thersippus of Eræ*, or as most histori-ans report, it was one *Euclees*, who came running in a great heat from the field in his armour as he was, and knocking at the gates of the principall mens houses of *Athens*, was able to say nothing else but this, *αἰετὸν*, & *χολαίχον*, that is to say, rejoyce yee, all is well with us, and therewith his breath failed, and so he gave up the ghost, and yet this man came and brought tidings of that battell wherein himselfe was an actour. But tell me I pray you; if there were some goat-herd or near-herd, who from the toppe of an hill or an high banke, had beheld a farre off this great service, and indeed greater than any words can expresse, should have come into the city with newes thereof, not wounded himselfe, nor having lost one droppe of blood, and for his good tidings demand afterwards to have the same honors and memorials which were graunted unto *Cynegirus*, to *Callimachus*, and *Polyzelus*, onely because forsooth he had made report of the doughty deeds, the wounds and death of these brave men; would you not thinke that he surpassed all the impudencie that can be imagined? considering especially, that the Lacedæmonians, by report, sent unto him who brought the first word of the victory at *Mantineæ*, that *Thueydidēs* described in his story, a piece of flesh from one of their dinners, or hairs, called *Philetia*, for a recompence of his happy newes? And (to say a truth) what are historiographers else but certaine messengers to relate and declare the acts of others, having a loud and audible voice, and who by their pleasant eloquence and significant phrases, are able to set forth the matter to the best, which they take in hand: unto whom they owe indeed the reward due for good tidings, who first do light upon their compositions, and have the first reading of them: for surely, praised they bee onely when they make mention of such exploits, and read they be in regard of those singular persons whom they make known, as the authours and actours thereof. Neither are they the goodly words and fine phrases in histories that performe the deeds, or deserve so greatly to be heard: for even poetry hath a grace, and is esteemed, for that it describeth and relateth things as if they had beene done, and which carie a resemblance of truth: and according as *Homer* in one place saith:

*Many false tales how for to tell,
Much like to truthties, the knowes full well.*

And it is reported, that one of *Menanders* familiar friends said unto him upon a time: *Menander*, the Bacchanale feasts are at hand, and hast not thou yet done thy comedy? who returned him this answer: Yes it is I have, I, so helpe me the gods, composed it I say, I have: for the matter thereof is laid forth, and the disposition digested already; there remaineth no more to be done, but onely to set thereto the verses that must go to it. So that you see that the poets themselves reputed the things and deeds more necessary and important than words and speech. The famous courtizan *Corinna* one day reprooved *Pindarus*, who then was a yong man, and tooke a great pride in himselfe, for his learning and knowledge: Thou hast no skill at all *Pindarus* (quoth she) in poetrie, for that thou doest not invent and devise fables, which is indeed the proper and peculiar worke of poetrie; as for thy tongue, it minisreth some rhetoricall figures, catachreses and metaphrases, songs, musically measures and numbers, unto the matter and argument onely, as pleasant sauces to commend the same. *Pindarus* pondering well these words and admonitions of hers, thought better of the matter, and thereupon out of his poeticall veine, powdered out this canticke:

*Imenæus, or the lunee with stiffe of gold,
Sir Cadmus, or that sacred race of old,
Which dragons teeth they say sometime did yeeld,
Of warriors brave, when sown they were in field:
Or Hercules who was in such account,
And his maine force of body, to surmount, &c.*

Which when he had shewed to *Corinna*, the woman laughed a good, & said: That corne should be sown out of ones hand, and not immediately from out of the full sacke: for in trutth much after this sort had *Pindarus* gathered and heaped up a miscellane deale of fables, and powdered them forth all huddled together in this one canticke. But that poesse consisteth much in the fine invention of fables, *Plato* himselfe hath written: and verily a fable or tale is a false narration, resembling that which is true, and therefore farre remote it is from the thing indeed, if it be so, that a narration is the image of an act done, & a fable the image or shadow of a narration. Whereupon this may be inferred, that they who devise and feigne fabulous deeds of armes, are so much inferior to historiographers that make true reports, as historiographers who relate onely

onely such deeds come behinde the actours and authours themselves. Certes this city of *Athens* had never any excellent or renowned worke-men in the feat of poetrie, no not so much as in the Lyrick part thereof, which profesteth musically odes and songs: for *Cynæus* seemeth to have made his dithyrambes or canticles in the honor of *Bacchus*, hardly and with much ado, and was himselfe barren and of no grace or gift at all; besides, he was so mocked and flouted by the comicall poets, that he grew to be of no reckoning and reputation, but incurred an ill and odious name: As for that part of poetrie which dealeth in representation of personages in plaies upon a stage, so small account they made at *Athens* of the Comedians and their professions; nay they disdaind and scorned it so much, that a law there was enacted, forbidding expressly, that no senator of the counsell *Areopagus*, might make a comedy: contrariwise, the tragœdie flourished, and was in much request, for delivering the best eare-sport, and representing the most wonderfull spectacle that men in those daies could heare or behold; giving both unto fictions, & affections a deceivable power, which was of such a propertie, according to the saying of *Gorgias*: That he who deceived thereby, was more just than he who deceived not; and he who was deceived became wiser than he that was not deceived at all: the deceiver (I say) was more just, because he performed that which he promised; and the deceived person wiser: for that such as are not altogether grosse, doltish, and senselesse, are soonest caught with the pleasure and delight of words.

To come now to the maine point: what profit ever brought these excellent tragœdies unto the citie of *Athens*, comparable unto that which the prudent policie of *Themistocles* effected in causing the walles of the citie to be built? or to the vigilant care and diligence of *Pericles*, who adorned the castle and citadell with so many beautifull buildings; or to the valour of *Miltiades* who delivered the citie from the danger of servitude; or to the brave minde of *Cimon*, who advanced that State to the soveraigntie and command of all *Greece*? If the learning of *Euripides*, the eloquence of *Sophocles*, or the sweet and pleasant tongue of *Aeschylus* had freed them from any perils and extremities, or purchased and procured them any glory more than they had before, good reason peradventure it were, to compare poeticall fictions and inventions with warlike triumphs and trophies; to set the theater against the generals pavilion and palace; and to oppose the schooling and teaching of plaiers how to act comedies and tragœdies, unto prowess and brave feats of armes. Will you that we say in place the personages themselves? carrying with them the marks, badges & ensignes that testifie their deeds, and allow either of them entrance apart by themselves, and passage along by us. Then let there march on the one side poets with their flutes, harps, lutes and viols, singing and saying:

*Silence, my masters, or all words of song good;
Depart be must, there is no remedie;
Our learning here who never understood,
And hath no skill in play or tragœdie:
Whose tongue's impure, or who in melody
And dance unnespret is, that doth belong
To service of the sacred muses minde,
Or who is not professed by the tongue
To Bacchus rites of bells-god Oatime.*

Let them bring with them their furniture, their vestments and players apparel, their masks, their altars, their rolling engines and devices to be turned and removed to & fro all about the stage and scaffold, together with their trevets of gold the prizes of their victories. Let them be accompanied with their traine, of players and actors, to wit *Nicestrus*, *Callipides*, *Meniscus* and *Pollus* and such as they, attending upon a tragœdie, to trick and adrim her; or to beare up her traine, and carry her litter, as if she were some stately and sumptuous dame; or rather as enamellers, guilders, and painters of images following after. Let there be provision made I say of habiliments, of visours, of purple mantles & royall robes of estate, of fabrics & pageants devised to stand and be employed upon the stage, of dancers, jesters, of stagekeepers, wifels & henchmen a troublefome sort and rable of grooms: and in one word let there be brought all the geere and implements belonging to such plaies exceeding costly & chargeable: such as when a Laconian saw upon a time and wisely beheld, brake out into this speech, and that to very good purpose: O how farre amisse and out of the way are the Athenians, to dispend so much mony, and employ such serious study in games and fooleries: surely they deffray in the furniture and setting out of a theater, as much as would serve to set ashore a royall armada at sea, and maintaine a

O o o o

puissant

puissant army upon the land. For he that would set downe and cast account, how much every comedi-
 cious cost them, shall find that the people of *Athens* spent more in exhibiting the tragoe-
 dies of *Baccha*, *Phenisse*, of both the *Oedipodes*, & of *Antigon*, or in representing the calamities
 of *Medea* and *Electra*, than they disbursed in their wars against the Barbarians, either to win the
 sovereignty and dominion over them, or to defend their owne freedome and libertie: for many
 times their great captaines and commanders led forth their souldiers to battell, having made
 proclamation before, for to carrie with them such victuals as * required no fire for their dress-
 ing. This is certaine, that the captaines of gallies and war-ships, for their sailers, having pro-
 vided no other cates and viands, but meale, onions and cheefe for their mariners, atwell rowers as
 sailers, have to embarked them & gone to sea: whereas the wardens and Aediles who were to set
 forth plaies and dances have (to their great cost) fed their actors and plaiers with delicate celes,
 with tender leGues, with cloves of garlicke, and with good marrow-bones, feasting them a long
 time before, most deintilie, and whiles they did nought els but exercise their voice, scowre their
 throats and cleere their breits, they made good cheere full merrily. And what good had these
 wastefull spenders of their goods (spent about such vanities) in the end? If their plaies sped not
 well, but lost the victorie, they were well mocked, hissed and laughed at for all their paines
 and cost: but say they went away winners and having the better hand, what got they by it?
 surely not a trevet or threefooted stoule nor any other marke and monument of victorie, as *De-
 metrius* said, but to remaine a lamentable example of unthrifits, who have laied all they had upon
 roies and fooleries, and left behinde them their houses like emptie sepulchres and imaginarie
 tombs. This is the end that commeth of such expences about poetrie; and no greater honour
 is to be looked for.

Now on the other side, let us beholde likewise their brave captaines and warriours: and while
 these passe along,

*There should indeed be silence or good words:
 They ought to void out of this company,
 Whom live, and never drew their swords
 In field, or serv'd with care and agonie
 In common weale: whose heart would never stand
 To such exploits, whose minde is clepe profane!*
*Who neither by Miltiades his hand,
 But slew the Medes, nor by the Persians bane,
 Themistocles, was ever institute,
 And sworn to lawes of knight hood resolution.*

Yea many, heere (me thinks) I see a martiall maske, and brave shew toward: set out with squa-
 drons embattel'd on land, with fleets arranged for to fight at sea, laden and heavily charged
 with rich spoiles and glorious trophæes:

*Alas! Alala, daughter deare,
 Of bloody warre, come forth and heare.*

Behold and see a Forrest of pikes and lances in the fore-front, the very preamble and flourish
 before the battell: me thinks I heare one of them recount: Embrace death most hardy knights,
 the best sacrifice and most faine oblations, that is, (for so saith *Epaminondas* the Thebane) fight-
 ing valiantly, and exposing your selves to the most honorable and bravest services that be in
 defence of country, of your ancestors tombes and sepulchers, and of your temples and reli-
 gion: mee thinks also I see their victories, coming toward mee in solemne pompe
 and procession, not drawing or leading after them for their prize and reward, an ox or a goat; nei-
 ther be the said victories crowned with ivie, or smelling strong of new wine in the lees, as the
 Bacchanals doe; but they have in their traine, whole cities, islands, continents, and firme
 lands, as wel mediterranean as maritime sea-coasts, together with new colonies of ten thousand
 men a peece, to be planted heere and there; and withall, crowned they be and adorned on eve-
 ry side with trophæes, with triumphes, pillage and booty of all forts; the ensignes, badges, and
 armes that these victorious captaines give; the images also that they represent in shew, be their
 stately & beautiful temples, as the Parthenon, the Hecatompedos; their city walled on the south
 side, the arcenals to receive & lodge their ships; their beautifull porches and galleries; the provin-
 ce of the demy ile *Chersonesus*, & the city *Amphipolis*; as for the plaine of *Marathon*, it goeth
 before the laureat garland and victorie of *Miltiades*; *Solanus* accompanieth that of *Themistoc-
 les*, trampling under his feet, and going over the broken timber and shipwracke of a thousand
 vessels:

vessels: as for the victorie of *Cimon*, it bringeth with it an hundred Phœnician great gallies,
 from the rivers *Eurymedon*: that of *Demophones* and *Cleon*, comes from *Sphacteria*, with the rag-
 uet of captaine *Brasidas* wonne in the field, and a number of his souldiers captivè and bound in
 chains: the victorie of *Conon*, walled the city, and that of *Thrasibulus* reduced the people with
 victorie and liberty from *Phyle*: the fundry victories of *Alexandros* set upright the State of the
 city, which by the infortunate overthrow in *Stelie*, reeled, and was ready to fall to the ground;
 and by the battels fought by *Neleus* and *Andronicus* in *Lydia* and *Caria*: *Greece* saw all *Ionis* rai-
 sed up againe and supported. And if a man demand of each one of the other victories, what
 benefit hath accrued unto the city by them? one will name the idle *Lashos*; and another *Samos*:
 one will speake of the *Euxine* sea, and another of five hundred gallies, and he shall have another
 talke of ten thousand talents; over and above the honour and glory of trophæes. These be the
 causes why this city doeth solemnize and celebrate so many festivall daies, and heereupon it is
 that it offeth sacrifices as it doeth to the gods; not iwis for the victorie of *Aeschylus* or *Sopho-
 cles*, nor for the prizes of poetry: no, nor when *Carcinus* lay with *Aerope* or *Cephalus* with *Hec-
 tor*: But upon the sixth of May, even to this present day, the city holdeth festivall the me-
 mory of that victorie, in the plaines of *Marathon*: and the sixth day of [* another *] moneth,
 maketh a solemne offering of wine unto the gods, in remembrance of that victorie which *Cha-
 brias* obtained neere unto the idle *Naxos*: and upon the 12. day of the same moneth, there is
 another sacrifice likewise performed in the name of a thanks-giving to the gods, for their li-
 berty recovered, because upon the same day those citizens which were prisoners and in bon-
 dage within *Phyle*, came downe and returned into the city: upon the third day of March they
 wonne the famous field of *Plataea*: and the sixteenth day of the said March, they consecrated
 to *Diana*; for on that day this goddesse shone bright, and it was full moone; to the victorious
 Greeks, before the isle of *Salamis*. The noble victorie which they achieved before the citie of
Marinaea, made the twelfth day of September more holy, and with greater solemnity obser-
 ved, for upon that day when all other their allies and associates were discomfited and put to
 flight, they only by their valour wonne the field, and erected a trophæe over their enemies
 who were upon the point of victorie. See what hath raised this city to such grandence! Lo what
 hath exalted it to so high a pitch of honor! and this was the cause that *Pindarus* called the city of
Athens, the pillar that supported *Greece*; not for that by the tragedies of *Phrynichus* or *Thespi-
 us*, it set the fortune of the Greeks upright, but in regard of this, that as himselfe writeth in ano-
 ther place, along the coast of *Artemisium*:

*Where Athens youth as poet Pindar said,
 Off freedom first the glorious ground worke laid.*

And afterwards at *Salamis*, at *Mysale*, and *Plataea*, having setled it firme and strong as upon a
 rocke of diamonds, they delivered it from hand to hand unto others.

But haply some man will say: True it is indeed, all that ever poets doe, are no better than
 sports and pastimes: But what say you to orators, they seeme to have some prerogative and
 ought to be compared with martiall captaines: whereupon it may seeme, as *Aeschylus* scoffing
 40 menly, and quipping at *Demophones* said: That there is some reason why the barre or pulpit for
 publicke orations, may commence action and process against the tribunall seat of generals,
 and their chaire of estate. Is it then meet and reasonable that the oration of *Hippias* intitu-
 led *Plataicus*, should be preferred before the victorie which *Aristides* wonne before the city *Pla-
 tea*? or the oration of *Lyfies* against the thirty tyrants, goe before the massacre and execution
 of them performed by *Thrasibulus* and *Archias*? or that of *Aeschines* against *Timarchus*, be-
 ing accused for keeping harlots, and a brothell house, before the aide that *Phocion* brought into
 the city of *Byzantium*, besieged? by which succour he impeached the Macedonians, and re-
 pressed their insolent villanies and outrages committed in abusing the children of the Athenian
 confederates? or shall we compare the oration of *Demophones* as touching the crowne, with
 50 those publicke and honorable coronets which *Themistocles* received for setting *Greece* free?
 considering that the most excellent place of all the said oration, and fullest of eloquence is that
 wherein the said orator conjureth the foules of those that their ancestors, and citeth them for wi-
 nefness, who in the battell of *Marathon* exposed their lives with such resolution for the saviour
 of *Greece*? or shall we put in balance to weigh against woorthy warriours, these that in schooles
 teach young men rhetoricke, namely, such as *Socrates*, *Antiphon*, and *Isæus*? But certaine it
 is, that this city honored those valiant captaines with publicke funerals, and with great devoti-

on gathered up the reliques of their bodies; yea, and the same orator canonized them for gods in heaven, when he swore by them, although he followed not their steps: and *Socrates* who extolled and highly praised those who manfully fought & willing were to spend their harbloud in the battell of *Marathon*, saying, that they made so little account of their lives, as if their owne soules had bene else-where, & other mens in their bodies, magnifying this their resolution, and the small reckoning which they made of this life; yet when himselfe was very old, upon occasion that one asked him how he did: answered: I doe even as an aged man, (having above 90. yeeres upon my backe) may do; and who thinketh death to be the greatest misery in the world: and how waxed he thus old: certes, not by filing and sharpening the edge of his sword, not by grinding and whetting the point of his speares head, not with scouring & forbisshing his head-piece or morion; not with bearing armes in the field; not by rowing in the galleies: but forthwith with couching, knitting, and gluing as it were together rhetoricall tropes and figures; to wit, his *antitheta*, consisting of contraries, his *parisi*, standing upon equal weight and measure of syllables, his *homoeoptata*, precisely observing the like termination, and falling even of his clauses, polishing, smoothing, and perusing his periods and sentences, not with the rough hammer and pickaxe, but with the file and plainer most exactly. No marvell then, if the same could not abide the rustling of harness, and clattering of armour; no marvell (I say) if hee feared the shooke and encounter of two armies, who was afraid that one vowel should runne upon another, and let him should pronounce a clause or number of a sentence which wanted one poore syllable: for the very morrow after that *Athides* had wonne that field upon the plaines of *Marathon*, he returned with his victorious armie into the cite of *Athens*: and *Pericles* having vanquished and subdued the Samians within the space of nine moneths, gloried more than *Agamemnon* did, who had much adoe to winne *Troie*, at the tenth yeeres end: whereas *Socrates* spent the time well nere of three *Olympiades* in penning one oration which hee called *Panegyricus*: notwithstanding all that long time, he never served in the warres, nor went in any embassage: hee built no city, nor was sent out as a captaine of a galley and warre-shipp, and yett that verie march brought forth infinit warres: But during the space that *Timotheus* delivered the little *Euboea* out of bondage; all the while that *Chabrias* warred at sea about the island *Naxos*, and *Sphacteria* desired and hewed in pieces one whole regiment of the Lacedaemonians, nere the port of *Lechaum*, and in which time the people of *Athens* having enfranchised all cities, enclosed *Greece* throughout with the same libertie of giving voices in the generall assemblee of the States, as they had themselves, hee sat at home in his house poring at his booke, seeking out proper phrases and choise words for the said oration of his; in which space, *Pericles* raised great porches, and the goodly temple *He catompedes*; and yett the comical poet *Cratinus*, scoffing even at this *Pericles*, for that he went but slowly about his works, I speaketh thus as touching his wail, halfe done and halfe undone:

In words long since our *Pericles*,
hath reared us up a wall,
But in effort and very deed,
he doth nothing at all.

Consider now I pray you a little, the basemind of this great professour of rhetoricke, who spent the ninth part of his life, in composing of one onely oration: but were it meet and reasonable to compare the orations of *Demosthenes* as he was an orator, with the martiall exploits of *Demosthenes* being a captaine; namely, that which he made against the confederate folly of *Corinth*, with the trophies which himselfe erected before *Pylus*, or that which hee wrote against *Asiatibus* as concerning slaves, with his worthy service, whereby hee brought the Lacedaemonians to be slaves: neither in this respect, for that he composed one oration for the granting of freebougess to those who were newly come to inhabit *Athens*, therefore he deserved as much honour as *Alembudes* did, who combined the Mantineans and Elians in one

league to be associates with the Athenians against the Lacedaemonians:
and yet this must needs be confessed, that his publicke orations deserved this praise, that in his *Philippiques*, he inciteth the Athenians to take armes, and commendeth the enterprise of *Leptines*.

WHETHER

WHETHER OF THE TWAINE IS MORE PROFITABLE, FIRE OR WATER.

The Summarie.

In this Academicke declamation, Plutarch in the first places alledgeth the reasons which attribute more profit unto water. Secondly, he propoeth those that are in favor of the fire: whereunto hee seemeth her rather to incline, although hee resolveth not: wherein he followeth his owne manner of philosophizing upon naturall causes; namely, not to dispute either for or against one thing: leaving unto the reader his owne libertie, to settle unto that which he shall see to be more probable.

WHETHER OF THE TWAINE is more profitable, Fire or Water.

Water is of all things best,
And golde like fire is in request.
Thus said the poet *Pindarus*: whereby it appeareth evidently, that he gives the second place unto fire. And with him accordeth *Hesiodus* when he saith:
Chaos was the first thing
In all the world that had being.
For this is certteine, that the most part of ancient philosophes called water by the name of *Chaos*, *χάος*, that is to say, for that it followeth so easily. But if we should stand onely upon testimonies about this question; the prooffe would be caried equally on both sides: for that there be in manner as many who thinke fire to be the primitive element and principle of all things, and the very seed which as of it selfe it produceth all things, so it receiveth likewise all into it selfe, in that universall conflagration of the world. But leaving the testimonies of men, let us consider apart the reasons of the one and the other; and see to whether side they will rather draw us. First therefore, to begin withall; may not this be laid for a ground? that a thing is to be judged more profitable, whereof we have at all times and continually need, and that in more quantitie than another? as being a tople or necessarie instrument, and as it were a friend at all seasons and every houre; and such as a man would say, presenteth it selfe evermore to doe us service? As for fire, certainly, it is not alwaies commodious unto us; nay, contrariwise, it oftentimes doth molest and trouble us; and in that regard we withdraw our selves farre from it: whereas water serveth our times both in Winter and Summer, when wee are sicke, and when wee are whole, by 50 night and by day; neither is there any time or season; wherein a man standeth in no need of it. And this is the reason that they call the dead, *dehydrates*, as one would say *dehydrates*, that is to say, without juice, or wanting moisture, and so by consequence deprived of life. Moreover, without fire a man hath oft continued a long time, but without water never. And withall, that which hath bene from the first beginning and creation of man, is more profitable than that which was invented afterwards: And there is no question, but that nature hath given us the one, to wit, water, for our necessarie use; but the other (I meane fire) either fortune or industrie hath devised and found out as an appendant and accessories. Neither can it be said, what time of the world

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it was when as man had no water : nor ever read we in any records that one of the gods or demigods was the inventor thereof ; for it was at the very infant with them : nay, what and we say that it gave them their being ? But the use of fire was but yesterday or the other day , to speake of, found out by *Prometheus* : so that the time was when as men lived without fire ; but void of water, our life never was. Now that this is no devised poetical fiction, this daily and present life of ours doth plainly testifie : for there be at this day in the world divers nations that are maintained without fire , without house , without hearth or chimney , living abroad in the open wide aire. And *Diogenes* the Cynicke , feldome or never had any use of fire , in somuch as having upon a time swallowed downe a polype fish : Lo (quoth he) my masters, how for your sake we put our selves in jeopardy : howbeit, without water there was never any man thought that either we might live honestly and civilly , or that our nature would possibly endure it. But what need is there that I should particularize thus, and go so neere, as to search farre into the nature of man ? considering that whereas there be so many , or rather so infinit kinds of living creatures , mankind onely in a manner knoweth the use of fire : whereas all the rest have their nourishment and food without the benefite of fire. Those that brouse, feed, flie and creepe, get their living by eating herbes, roots, fruits and flesh , all without fire : but without water there is not one that can live , neither going or creeping on the land nor swimming in the sea , nor yet flying in the aire. True it is, I must needs say, that *Aristotle* writeth, how some beasts there be, even of those that devoure flesh , which never drunke ; but in very truth , nourished they be by some moisture. Well then, that is more profitable without which no manner of life can consist or endure. Proceed we farther, & passe from those living creatures which use to feed upon plants & fruits, even unto the faine that are by us & them used for food : Some of them there be, which have no heat at all : others so little, as it can not be perceived. Contrariwise, moisture is that which causeth all kind of seeds to chit, to bud, to grow, and in the end to bring forth fruit : for what need I to alledge for this purpose either wine and oile, or other liquors which we draw, presse out, or milke forth out of beastes paps, which we do see daily before our eyes : considering that even our wheat which seemeth to be a drie nutriment, is engendered by the transmutation, putrefaction and dissolution of moisture. Furthermore, that is to be held more profitable, which bringeth with it no hurt nor damage : but we all know that fire , if it breake forth, get head and be at libertie, is the most pernicious thing in the world : whereas the nature of water of it selfe doth never any harme.

Againe, of two things, that is held to be more commodious which is the simpler, and without preparation can yeeld the profit which it hath : but fire requireth alwaies some succour and matter, which is the reason that the rich have more of it than the poore, and princes than private persons ; whereas water is so kind and courteous, that it giveth it selfe indifferently to all sorts of people : it hath no need at all of tooles or instruments to prepare it for use ; compleat and perfect it is in it selfe, without borrowing ought abroad of others. Over and besides, that which being multiplied as it were and augmented , loseth the utilitie and profit that it had , is by consequence lesse profitable : and such is fire , resembling herein a ravenous wild beast, which devoureth and consumeth all that it commeth neere ; in so much as it were by the industrie and artificiall meanes of him who knoweth how to use it with moderation, rather than of the owne nature, that it doth any good at all ; whereas water is never to be feared. Againe, of two things, that which can do good being both alone, and also in the company of the other, is the more profitable of the twaine : but so it is, that fire willingly admitteth not the fellowship of water, nor by the participation thereof is any way commodious ; whereas water is together with fire profitable, as we may see by the fountaines of hot water how they be medicinable, and verie sensibly by their helpe perceived. Never shall a man meet with any fire moist ; but water as well hot as colde is ever more profitable to man. Moreover, water being one of the foure elements hath produced as one may say, a sift, to wit the sea, and the faine well neere as profitable as any one of the rest for many other causes besides, but principally in regard of commerce and traffike. For whereas before time, mans life was savage, and they did not communicate one with another ; this element hath conjoined and made it perfect, bringing societie and working amitie among men by mutual succours and reciprocal retributions from one to the other. *Hieracitus* saith, in one place : if there were no sunne, there had beene no night ; and even as well may it be said ; Were it not for the sea, man had beene the most savage creature ; the most penurious and needie, yea and the least respected in all the world : whereas now this element of the sea hath brought the vine out of the Indians as farre as *Greece* ; and from *Greece* hath transported it unto the farthest provinces : likewise from out of *Phamia*, the use of letters for preservation of the memorie of things :

things : it hath brought wine : it hath conveyed fruits into these parts, and hath beene the cause that the greatest portion of the world was not buried in ignorance. How then can it be otherwise, that water should not be more profitable, since it furnisheth us with another element ?

But on the contrarie side, peradventure a man may begin hereupon to make instance oppositely in this manner : saying, that God, as a master-workman having the foure elements before him, for to frame the fabricke of this world withall ; which being repugnant and refusing one another, earth and water were put beneath, as the matter to be formed and fashioned ; receiving order and disposition, yea and a vegetative power to engender and breed such as is imparted unto it by the other two, aire and fire, which are they that give forme and fashion unto them, yea and excite the other twaine to generation, which otherwise had lien dead without any motion. But of these two, fire is the chiefe and hath dominion, which a man may evidently know by this induction. For the earth if it be not enchaired by some hot substance, is barren, & bringeth forth no fruit : but when as fire spreadeth it selfe upon it, it infuseth into it a certaine power, which causeth it to swell (as it were) and have an appetite to engender. For other cause there can be none rendered why rocks, cliffs, and mountaines be barren and drie, but this, that they have either no fire at all, or else participate verie little the nature thereof : in summe, so farre off is water from being of it selfe sufficient for the owne preservation or generation of other things, that without the aide of fire it is the cause of the owne ruine and destruction. For heat it is that keepeth water in good estate, and preserveth it in her nature and proper substance, like as it doth all things besides : and looke where fire is away or wanteth, there water doth corrupt and putrifie ; in such sort as the ruine and destruction of water, is the default of heat, as we may evidently see in pools, marshes, and standing waters, or wheresoever water is kept within pits and holes without issue ; for such waters in the end become putrified and stinke againe, because they have no motion, which having this propertie to stirre up the naturall heat which is in everie thing, keepeth those waters better which have a current and runne apace, in that this motion preserveth that kind heat which they have. And hereupon it is, that *To live*, in Greeke is expressed by *ζωω*, for that *ζωω* significeth to boile. How then can it otherwise be, that of two things it should not be more profitable which giveth being and essence to the other , like as fire doth unto water ? Furthermore, that thing, the utter departure whereof is the cause that a creature dieth, is the more profitable : for this is certaine and manifest , that the same without which a thing cannot bee, hath given the cause of being unto the same when it was with it. For we do see that in dead things there is a moisture, neither are they dried up altogether ; for otherwise moist bodies would not putrifie, considering that putrefaction is the turning of that which is drie to be moist, or rather the corruption of humours in the flesh ; and death is nothing else but an utter defect and extinction of heat : and therefore dead things be extreme cold, in somuch as if a man should set unto them the very edge of razours, they are enough to dull the same through excessive cold. And we may see plainly, that in the verie bodies of living creatures, those parts which participate least of the nature of fire, are more senselesse than any other , as bones and haire, and such as be farthest removed from the heart : and in manner all the difference that is betweene great and small creatures, proceedeth from the presence of fire, more or lesse : for humiditie simply it is not, that bringeth forth plants and fruits ; but warme humiditie is it that doth the deed : whereas cold waters be either barren altogether, or not verie fruitful and fertile ; and yet if water were of the owne nature fructuous, it must needs follow, that it selfe alone and at all times should be able to produce fruit ; whereas we see it is cleane contrarie ; namely, that it is rather hurtfull to fruits.

And now to reason from another head and go another way to worke, to make use of fire as it is fire, need wee have not of water ; nay, it hurteth rather, for it quencheth and putteth it out cleane : on the other side many there be who cannot tell what to doe with water without fire, for being made hot it is more profitable, and otherwise in the owne kinde hurtfull. Of two things therefore, that which can do good of it selfe without need of the others helpe, is better and more profitable. Moreover water yeeldeth commodity but after one sort onely, to wit, by touching, as when we feele it or wash and bathe with it : whereas fire serveth all the five senses & doth them good : for it is felt both neere at hand and also scene afarre of : so that among other meanes that it hath of profiting, no man may account the multiplicity of the uses that is afforded : for that a man should be at any time without fire it is impossible : nay he cannot have his first generation without it : and yet there is a difference in this kinde, as in all other things. The very least selfe is made more commodious by heat, so as it doth heat more by the agitation and current that

that it hath, than any other waters: for oft it selfe otherwise it differeth not. Also for such as have no need of outward fire, we may not say that they stand in need of none at all; but the reason is because they have plenty and store of naturall heat within them; so that in this very point, the commodity of fire ought to be esteemed the more. And as for water, it is never in that good state, but some need it hath of helpe without: whereas the excellencie of fire is such, as it is content with it selfe, and requireth not the aid of the other. Like as therefore, that captain is to be reputed more excellent, who knowes to order and furnish a citie so as it hath no need of forren allies; so we are to thinke that among elements, that is the woorthier, which may often times consist without the succour and aide of another. And even as much may be said of living creatures, which have least need of others helpe. And yet haply it may be replied contrariwise, that the thing is more profitable which we use alone by it selfe, namely, when by discourse of reason we are able to chuse the better. For what is more commodious and profitable to men than reason? and yet there is none at all in brute beasts. And what followeth hereupon? Shall we inferre therefore that it is lesse profitable, as invented by the providence of a better nature, which is god? But since we are fallen into this argument: What is more profitable to mans life than arts? but there is no art which fire devised not, or at least wife doth not maintaine: And hereupon it is, that we make *Pluto* the prince and master of all arts. Furthermore, whereas the time and space of life is very short that is given unto man, as short as it is, yet sleepe as, *Ariston* saith, like unto a false baile or publicane, taketh the halfe thereof for it selfe. True it is, that a man may lie awake, and not sleepe all night long; but I may aswell say that his waking would serve him in small stead, were it not that fire presented unto him the commodities of the day, and put a difference between the darknesse of the night and the light of the day. If then there be nothing more profitable unto man than life, why should we not judge fire to be the best thing in the world, since it doth augment and multiply our life? Over and besides, that of which the five senses participate most, is more profitable: but evident it is, that there is not one of the said senses maketh use of the nature of water apart and by it selfe, unless some aire or fire be tempered with it: whereas every sense findeth benefit of fire as of a vivificant power and quickening virtue: and principally our sight above the rest, which is the quickest of all the senses in the bodie, as being the very flame of fire, a thing that conformeth us in our faith and beliefs of the gods: and as *Plato* saith, by the means of our sight we are able to conforme our soule to the motions of celestiall bodies.

OF THE PRIMITIVE OR FIRST COLD.

The Summarie.

WE have here another declaration of *Plutarch*, wherein he examineth and discusseth after the manner of the *Academick* philosophers, without deciding or determining any thing, a naturall question as touching Primitive cold. And in the very first entrie thereof refuteth those who are of opinion that this first cold is the privation of heat: following on the contrary side, that it is more opposite unto heat as one substance to another, and not as privation unto habitude. Then proceedeth he to dispute of the essence, nature, and fountain of this cold: for the clearing of which point, he examineth at large three opinions: the first, of the *Stoicks*, who attribute the primitive cold unto aire: the second, of *Empedocles* and *Chrysippus*, who ascribe the cause thereof unto water. Unto all their reasons and arguments he maketh answer, and inclineth to a third opinion, namely, that earth is that primitive cold. which position he confirmeth by divers arguments, yet resolveth he not, but leaveth it to the discretion of *Phavorinus*, unto whom he writeth, for to conserne all the reasons of the one part and the other, without resting on any particular opinion, supposing that to suspend and hold his judgement in matters obscure and uncertaine.

in the worse part of a philosopher, than to yeeld and grant his consent either to one part or the other. wherein we may see, that in regard of naturall philosophie, our author was of the *Academicks* sect: but as touching the morall part, we have scene before, and specially in divers treatises of the former time, that he followeth of all the ancient philosophers, those who were least impure and corrupt, such I meane, as in all their discourses had no other light to direct them, but Nature.

OF THE PRIMITIVE OR first colde.



LS there then (o *Phavorinus*) a certaine primitive power and substance of cold, like as fire is of heat, by the presence and participation whereof, each one of the other things is said to be cold? or rather are we to hold and say, that cold is the privation of heat, like as darknes of light, and station of moving; and namely, considering that cold is stationaire and heat motive? and the cooling of things which were hot, is not done by the entrance of any cold power, but by the departure of heat? for as soone as it is once gone, that which remaineth is altogether cooled; and the verie vapour and steim which seething waters doe yeeld, passeth away together with the heat, which is the reason that refrigeration diminisheth the quantitie thereof, in as much as it chafeth that heat which was, without the entrance of any other thing into the place? Or rather, may not this opinion be suspected? first and foremost for that it overthroweth and taketh away many powers and puissances, as if they were not qualities and habitudes really subsisting, but onely the privations and extinctions of qualities and habitudes: as for example, heaviness of lightnesse, hardnesse of softnesse, blacke of white, bitter of sweete, and so of other semblable things, according as each one is in puissance contrarie unto an other and not as privation is opposite unto habit? Moreover, for as much as verie privation is idle and wholly without action, as blindnesse, deafnesse, silence and death, for that these be the departures of formes, and the abolitions of substances, and not certaine natures nor real substances apart by themselves. We see that cold after it be entred and imprinted (as it were) within the bodie, breedeth no fewer nor lesse accidents & alterations than doth heat; considering that many things become stiffe and congealed by cold, many things I say, are staied, retained and thickened by the means thereof: which consistence and stabilitie unapt to stirre and hard to be moved, is not therefore idle, but it is weightie and firme, having a force and power to arrest and to hold in. And therefore privation is a defect and departure of a contrarie power; whereas many things be cooled, although they have plenty of heat within: and some things there be, which cold doth constrain and confituate so much the more, as it findeth them hotter, like as we may observe in iron red hot, when by quenching it becometh the harder. And the stoicke philosophers doe hold that the naturall spirits enclosed within the bodies of young infants lying in the wombe, by the cold of the ambient aire environing them about is hardened (as it were) and refined, and so changing the nature becometh a soule. But this is a nice point and verie disputable; yet considering that we see cold to be the efficient cause of many other effects, there is no reason to thinke that it is a privation. Furthermore, privation is not capable of more or lesse; for so of twaine that see not at all, the one is not more blind than the other: and of two who cannot speake, one is not more domb than another: neither of twaine who live not, is one more dead than the other: but among cold things we may well admit more & lesse: overmuch and not overmuch, and generally, intensions and remissions like as in those things that are hot, and therefore each matter according as it suffreth more or lesse, by contrarie puissances produceth of it selfe some substances, cold and hot, more or lesse than others, for mixture and composition on there can be none of habitude with privation; neither is there any power which receiveth or admitteth the contrary unto it, to bring a privation, nor ever maketh it her companion, but yeeldeth and giveth place unto it. But contrariwise, cold continueth very well, as it is mixed with heat, unto a certaine degree; like as blacke with white colours; base notes with small and shrill; sweet favours, with tart & austere; and by this association, mixture & accord of colours, sounds, drogues, favours, and tastes; there are produced many compositions exceeding pleasant and delectable: for the opposition which is betweene habitude and privation, is alwaies a oddes and enmity, without any means of reconciliation, considering that the essence and being

ing of the one, is the destruction of the other: whereas that fight which is occasioned by contrary powers, if it meet with fit time and season, serveth oftentimes in good stead unto arts, and to nature much more, as well in other productions and procreations, as in changes and alterations of the aire: for in the orderly governance and rule whereof, God who disposeth and disposeth them, is called Harmonicall and Musically; not in regard that he maketh a friendly accord betweene base and treble, or a loving medly of white and blacke, but for that by his providence he ordereth so well the accord and discord of the elementary heat & cold of the world, that in a certaine moderation, and without excess he they strive, and yet are reconciled againe, by taking from the one and the other that which was excessive and reducing them both in such a temperature and estate as apperteineth. Semblably, a man may sensibly feele cold as well as hee doth heat; whereas you shall never see, heare, or touch, nor by any other sense perceive a privation, for it need to have some substance with it that doth affect the senses, and where there appeareth no substance, there we must suppose a privation, which is as it were the denial of substance, like as blindness is the negation of sight; silence, of voice; void emptiness, of a body: for never shall one perceive voidness by the sense of feeling; but where there is not a body to be touched, there we must suppose its vacuity: neither doe we heare silence, but when we heare no noise at all, then we understand there is silence: the like we are to say of those who are blinde, of the naked and disarmed, there is no sense of such privations, but rather a bare and negative of sense: and even so, we should have no feeling and perceivance of cold, but onely where there wanted heat, there we should have imagined cold to be, in case it were no thing else but a deprivation of heat; but if it be so, that like as heat is felt by the warmth of the skinne, and diffusion or dilatation of the flesh; even so is cold also by the striction & condensation thereof, therefore it appeareth evidently, that it hath a proper, principle, and particular source, as well as heat: over and besides, in every kind, privation is one and simple, but substances have many differences, and as many powers and faculties, for silence is never but after one sort, whereas the voice is divers, one while troublesome, another while delightfull. Senses, colours, and figures sensibly have like differences, which dispose and affect diversly the subject which they approach unto, but that which is not palpable, not coloured, and generally not qualified with any quality, hath no diversitie, but is ever alike. Now then, doth this cold resemble these privations in such sort, as it worketh no diversitie in the accidents thereof? Or rather is it cleane otherwise? for as sometimes there come unto bodies great and profitable pleasures by cold, so contrariwise it findeth as much hurt, as great displeasure, trouble, and encombrance thereby: by the offensive qualities whereof, the naturall heat of the body is not alwaies chased quite forth and cleane gone, but oftentimes being pent and restrained within the body, it fighteth and maketh resistance, which combat of two contraries, is called horriour, quaking or trembling; but when the said heat is altogether vanquished, there must needs ensue a benumbing and congelation of the body, but if heat get the victorie, it bringeth a certaine warmth and dilatation with pleasure, which *Homer* by a proper terme calleth *ἡδονή*: whereby it appeareth evidently unto every man, and as much by these accidents it is manifest, or rather more, than by any other arguments, that cold is opposit unto heat, as one substance to another, or as a passion to passion; but not as privation to habitude, or negation to affirmation: and that it is not the corruption or utter destruction of heat, but a nature and puissance active by it selfe and powerful to corrupt and destroy: for if it were not so, we must not have winter to bee one of the lower seasons of the yeere; nor the north winde one of the lower windes; as if the one were but a privation of the hotte season, and the other of the fourth winde, and we shall be driven to say, that they have no proper source and peculiar principle: howbeit there being in the universall world lower principall bodies, which in regard of their pluralitie, simple nature and puissance, most men call the elements, and suppose them to be the principles of all other bodies, to wit, fire, water, aire, and earth, it followeth by necessary consequence, that there be also lower primitive and simple qualities: and which be they, if they be not heat, cold, moisture, and drynesse: by the means whereof, the said elements, both doe and suffer all things interchangeably? And like as in the elements and principles of Grammar, which be the letters, there be briefes and longs; like as also in musike notes, there is high and lowe, base, and treble, and one of these is not the privation of the other; even so we are to thinke, that in these naturall bodies of the elements, there be contraries of moisture against drynesse, and of colde against heat, if we will believe either reason or outward sense: or else we must say as old *Anaximenes* was of opinion; that there is nothing hot or colde absolutely in substance; but we must confidently

solutely thinke that these be common passions of the matter comming, and occasioned after mutations: for he affirmeth that the thing which is pent, constrict, and thickened in any matter, the same is colde, and that which openeth & relaxeth it selfe, for so he useth this proper terme *ῥαγή*, is hot; and therefore it is not without some reason, that we commonly say, that a man bloweth both hot and cold out of his mouth; for the breath is cooled when it is pressed close betweene the lippes, but issuing forth of the mouth all open, it is hot by reason of the raritie and laxity thereof: howbeit, *Aristotle* saith; that it was mere ignorance in him thus to say: For that when we breath with our mouthes wide open, we let forth the hot aire that is within us, but when we make a blast with our lippes together, we blow not out the breath that ariseth from 10 us selves, but drive that aire from us that is before our mouth, which is cold, & felt before the other that cometh out of us. Seeing then that upon necessitie enforced by so many reasons, we must admit a substance of colde and heat, proceed we and continue our first intent to search what is the substance, nature, and fountaine of the foresaid primitive colde? They then who say that starkness and stiffness for colde, trembling and quaking of the body, and the staring and standing of haire upright, and such like accidents and passions, are occasioned by certaine triangular formes with unequal sides which are within our bodies, although they faile and misse the marke in particularity: yet so it is, that they fetch the beginning from whence they should, for surely the foundation and original of this inquisition ought to be drawn as it were from the goddesse *Vesta*, after the common proverbe, even from the universall nature of all things: And 20 herein it seemeth, that a philosopher most of all differeth from an empiricke physician, a husbandman, a minstrell, and other such particular artificers, whom it sufficeth to know and understand the last and conjunct causes. For so it be, that a physician doe comprehend the nearest and next cause of his patients malady, for example, of an ague, that it is a shooting or falling of the blood out of the veines into the arteries; and the husbandman conceive that the cause of blasting or Maying his corne, is an hot gleame of the sunne after a shower of raine: and the plaier upon the flutes comprise the reason of the base sound, is the bending downward of his instrument, or the bringing of them one neere unto another: it is sufficient for any of these to proceed to their proper worke and operation: But a naturall philosopher who searcheth into the truth of things, onely for mere knowledge and speculation, maketh not the knowledge of these last causes the end, but rather taketh from them his beginning, and ariseth from them to the primitive and highest causes. And therefore well did *Plato* and *Democritus*, who searching into the causes of heat and of heaviness, staid not the course of their inquisition, when they came to fire and earth, but referring and reducing things sensible unto intelligible principles, proceeded forward, and never staid untill they came unto the least parcels as it were to the smallest seeds and principles thereof. Howbeit, better it were first to handle and discusse these sensible things, wherein *Empedocles*, *Straton*, and the Stoicks do repose the essences of all powers: the Stoicks attributing the primitive colde unto aire, but *Empedocles* and *Straton* unto water: and another peradventure would suppose the earth rather to be the substantiall subject of cold. But first let us examine the opinions of these 40 before named. Considering then that fire is both hot and shining; it must needs be that the nature of that which is contrarie unto it, should be colde and darke: for obscuritie is opposit unto brightness, like as cold to heat: and like as darkness and obscuritie doth confound and trouble the sight; even so doth colde the sense of feeling: whereas heat doth dilate the sense of him that toucheth it, like as cleerenesse the sight of him that seeth it: and therefore we must needs say, that the thing which is principally darke and mistie, is likewise colde in nature. But that the aire above all things els is dimme and darke, the very poets were not ignorant: for the aire they call darkness, as appeareth by these verses of *Homer*:

For why, the aire stood thicke the ships about,
And no moone shone from heaven shewed throughout.

50 And in another place:

The aire anon be loose dispatcht,
And mist did drive away:
With that, the sunne shone out full bright,
And battell did display,

And hereupon it is, that men call the aire wanting light, *ἠέρας*, as one would say, *ἠέρας* *ἠέρας*, that is to say, void of light: and the grosse aire which is gathered thicke together, *ἠέρας*, by way of privation of all light: Aire also is called *ἠέρας* and *ἠέρας*, that is to say, a mist and looke what things

things fover hinder our fight, that we cannot see thorow, be differences all of the aire: and that part of it which can not be seene and hath no colour, is called *dark*, that is to say, *dark*, to wit, invisible, *dark*, which is as much to say, as *dark*, for want of colour. Like as therefore the aire remaineth darke, when the light is taken from it; even so when the heat is gone, that which remaineth is nothing but colde aire. And therefore, such aire by reason of coldnesse, is named *Tartarus*, which *Hesiodus* seemeth to insinuate by these words, *ταρταρος ἵκεσθαι*, that is to say, the aire *Tartarus*; and to tremble and quake for cold, he expresth by this verbe, *ταρταροῦσθαι*. These are the reasons alledged in this behalfe. But forasmuch as corruption is the change of anything into the contrary, let us consider whether it be truly said, The death of fire is the birth of aire? For fire dieth aswell as living creatures, either quenched by force, or by languishing and going out of it selfe. As for the violent quenching and extinction thereof, it sheweth evidently, that it turneth into aire: for smoke is a kinde of aire, and according as *Pindarus* writeth,

*The vapour of the aire thicke,
Is wont against the smoke to kicke.*

And not onely that, but we may see also that when a flame beginneth to die for want of nourishment, as in lamps and burning lights, the very top and head thereof doth vanish and resolve into a darke and obscure aire: and this may sufficiently be perceived, by the vapour which after we are bathed or sit in a touphe, flieth and steimeth up along our bodies, as also by that smoke which arised by throwing cold water upon; namely, that heat when it is extinguished, is converted into aire, as being naturally opposit unto fire: whereupon it followeth necessarily, that the aire was first darke and cold. But that which is more, the most violent and forcible impression in bodies by cold, is congelation, which is a passion of water, & action of the aire: for water of it selfe is given to spread and flow, as being neither solide nor compact and fast by nature; but hard it becommeth, thicke also and stiffe, when it is thrust close to by the aire, and cold together coming betwene: and therefore thus we say commonly:

*If after South, the North-winde straight do blow,
We shall be sure anon to have some snow.*

For the South wind prepareth the matter which is moisture, and the aire of the North winde coming upon it, doth frize and congeale the same: which appeareth manifestly in snow, for no sooner hath it evaporated and exhaled a little the thinne and colde aire in it, but immediately it resolveth and runneth to water. And *Aristotle* writeth, that plates and plummetts of lead doe melt and resolve with the cold and rigor of Winter, so soone as water only cometh unto them and be frozen upon them. And the aire (as it should seeme) by pressing such bodies together with colde, breaketh and knappeth them asunder. Moreover, the water that is drawn out of a well or spring, is sooner frozen and turned to ice, than any other, for that the aire hath more power over a little water, than a great dole. And if a man draw up a small quantitie of water in a bucket out of a pit or well, and let the same downe againe into the well, yet so, as the vessell touch not the water, but hang in the aire, and so continue there but a while, that water will be much colder than that which is in the bottome of the well: whereby it appeareth manifestly, that the primitive cause of cold, is not in water, but in aire. And that so it is, the great rivers will testifie, which never are frozen to the bottome, because the aire is not able to pierce and enter so low, but as much as it can take holde of with the colde, either in touching or approaching neere unto it, to much it frizeth and congealeth. And this is the reason that Barbarians when they are to passe great rivers frozen over with ice, send out foxes before the: for if the ice be not thicke, but superficiall, the foxes hearing the noise of the water running underneath, returne backe againe. Some also that are disposed to fith, do thaw and open the ice with casting hot water upon it, and so let downe their lines at the hole; for then will the fishes come to the bait and bite. Thus it appeareth that the bottome of the river is not frozen, although the upper face thereof stand all over with an ice, and that so strong, that the water thereby drawn and driven in so hard, is able to crush and breake the boats and vessels within it; according as they make credible relation unto us, who now doe winter upon the river *Danew* with the emperor. And yet, without all these faire-set examples, the very experiments that we finde in our owne bodies, doe testifie no lesse: for after much bathing or sweating, alwayes we are more colde and chill; for that our bodies being then open and resolved, we receive at the pores, cold together with aire in more abundance. The same befalleth unto water it selfe, which both sooner cooleth and groweth also colder, after it hath bene once made hot: for then more subject it is to the injurie of the aire: considering also that even they who sling and cast up scalding water into the aire, do it for no other purpose,

but

but to mingle it with much aire. The opinion then of him, *ὁ Φαερινος*, who assigneth the first cause of cold unto aire, is founded upon such reasons and probabilities as these. As for him who alcribeth it unto water, he laith his ground likewise upon such principles: for in this manner writeth *Empedocles*:

*Beholde the Sunne how bright alwayes,
and hot he is beside,
But raine is ever blacke and darke,
and colde on every side.*

For in opposing cold to heat, as blacknesse unto brightnesse, he giveth us occasion to collect and inferre, that as heat and brightnesse belong to one and the same substance, even so cold and blacknesse to another. Now that the blacke hew proceedeth not from aire, but from water, the very experience of our outward senses is able to prove: for nothing waxeth blacke in the aire, but every thing in the water. Do but cast into the water and drench therein a locke of wooll or peece of cloth be it never so white, you shall when you take it forth againe, see it looke blackish, and so will it continue, untill by heat the moisture be fully sucked up and dried, or that by the presse or some weights it be squeezed out. Marke the earth, when there falleth a shower of raine, how every place whereupon the drops fall, seemes blacke, and all the rest beside retaineth the same colour that it had before. And even water it selfe, the deeper that it is, the blacker hew it hath, because there is more quantity of it: but contrariwise, what part fover thereof is neere unto aire, the same by and by is lightome and cheerefull to the eye.

Consider among other liquid substances, how oile is most transparent, as wherein there is most aire: for proove wherof, see how light it is; and this is it which causeth it to swim above all other liquors, as being carried aloft by the meanes of aire. And that which more is, it maketh a calme in the sea, when it is slung and sprinkled upon the waves, not in regard of the slippery smoothnesse, whereby the windes do glide over it and will take no hold, according as *Aristotle* laith; but for that the waves being beaten with any humor whatsoever, will spread themselves and ly even: and principally by the meanes of oile, which hath this speciall and peculiar property above all other liquors, that it maketh cleere, and giveth meanes to see in the bottome of the waters, for that humidity openeth and cleaveth when aire comes in place: and not onely yeeldeth a cleere light within the sea to Divers, who fish ebb in the night for sponges, and plucke them from the rocks whereto they cleave, but also in the deepest holes thereof, when they spurt it out of their mouths, the aire then is no blacker than the water, but lesse colde: for triall heereof, looke but upon oile, which of all liquors having most aire in it, is nothing cold at all, and if it frize at all, it is but gently, by reason that the aire incorporate within it, will not suffer it to gather and congeale hard: marke worke-men also and artificers, how they doe not dippe and keepe their needles, buckles, and claspes, or other such things made of iron, in water, but in oile, for feare lest the excessive colde of the water would marre and spoile them quite. I stand the more heereupon, because I thinke it more meet to debate this disputation by such proofes, rather than by the colours; considering that snow, haile, and ice, are exceeding white and cleere, and withall most colde; contrariwise, chafe is hotter than hony, and yet you see it is more darke and duskyish. And heere I cannot chuse but wonder at those who would needs have the aire to be colde, because forsooth it is darke; as also that they consider not how others take and judge it hot, because it is light: for tenebrositie and darknesse be not so familiar and neere consens unto colde, as ponderositie and unwelldnesse be proper thereto: for many things there be altogether void of heat, which notwithstanding are bright and cleere: but there is no colde thing light and nimble, or mounting upward; for clouds the more they stand upon the nature of the aire, the higher they are carried and lie aloft, but no sooner resolve they into a liquid nature and lubintance, but incontinently they fall and loose their lightnesse and agilltie, no lesse than their heat, when colde is engendered in them: contrariwise, when heat cometh in place, they change their motion againe to the contrary, and their substance mounteth upward so soone as it is converted into aire. Neither is that supposition true as touching corruption; for every thing that perisheth is not transfused into the contrary: but the truth is, all things are killed and die by their contrary: for so fire being quenched by fire turneth into aire. And to this purpose *Aeschylus* the poet said truly, although tragically, when hee called water the punishment of fire, for these be his words:

αἰὲρ ὁ δῶπ δῖον πυρὸς.

The water say, which fire doth slay.

Ppp

And

And *Homer* in a certaine battell opposed *Vulcane* to the river, and with *Neptune* matched *Apollo*, not so much by way of fabulous fiction, as by physicall and naturall reason: and as for *Arachne*, a wicked woman, who meant cleane contrary to that which the said and shewed, wrote elegantly in this wise:

*The crasy queane in right hand water cold,
And in the left, hot fire did closely hold.*

And among the Persians the most effectfull manner of supplication and that which might in no wise be rejected and denied, was, if the suppliant with fire in his hand entred into a river, & there menaced to fling it into the water, if he might not have his request granted: & then he obtained verily his petition, but afterwards punished he was for that threatening which he used, as being wicked, wretched & unnatural. And what proverbe is there readier in every mans mouth than to say, when we would signify an impossible thing, This is to mingle fire and water together? which testifieth thus much, that water is the mortall enemy unto fire, warring with it, punishing & quenching it, and not the aire, which receiveth & entertaineth fire, & into the substance whereof it is transmuted: for if that into which a thing is turned when it perissheth, were contrary unto it, then fire should be more contrary to aire than water is. For aire when it doth gather and thicken is converted into water, but when it is made more subtil it resolveth into fire: as also in like case, water by rarefaction is resolved into aire and by condensation becommeth earth, not upon any enmity or contrariety that it hath to these both, as I take it, but rather by reason of some amity and kindred that is betwene them. Wel, whether way of these two it is that these philosophers will take, they overthrow still their intent and purpose. But to say that it is the aire which causeth water to fize and become yce, it is without all sense and most absurd: for we see that the very aire it selfe is never congelate nor frozen, nor hardened, considering that mists, fogs and clouds are no congelations, but onely gatherings and thickenings of a moist and vapourous aire: for the true aire indeed which hath no vapour at all and is altogether drie, admitteth no such refrigeration as may alter it to that degree and heighth. And certein mountaines there be which are not subject either to clouds, mists, or dewes, for that their heads reach up to that region of this aire which is pure and exempt from all humidity: whereby it is apparent, that these gatherings and thickenings which are scene in the aire beneath, proceed from cold and moisture, which is mingled therewith & runneth from els where. As for the bottoms of great rivers which be never frozen to yce; great reason there is of it: for that the upper part being glazed over with ice, suffreth not the exhalation which riseth from beneath to passe thorow, but keepeth it enclosed & striketh it downward, whereby is engendered a certaine heat in the water that runneth in the bottome. And hereof we may see a faire demonstration in this, that when the yce is broken, the water riseth up, and there mounteth withall a great quantity of vapours and exhalations; which is the reason also that the bellies and other concavities within the bodies of living creatures, are always hotter in winter, for that they hold and containe the heat, which the coldnesse of the circumstant aire driveth inward. As for the drawing & flinging up of water into the aire, it taketh not onely the heat away from waters but also their cold, and therefore they that desire to have their snow or the liquor expressed out of it exceeding cold, movee it as little as they can, for in this stirring chafeth away the colde both of the one and the other. But that is the inward power of the water and not of the aire that doth it, a man may thus discourse and begin againe: First and formost, it is not probable that the aire being so nere as it is to the elementary fire, touching also as it doth that ardent revolution, and being touched of it againe, hath a contrary nature and power unto it: neither is it possible that it should be so, considering that their two extremities are contiguate, yea, and continuant one to the other: neither foundeth it and is conformable to reason, that nature hath fastened with one tenon (as they say) and placed fo nere together the killer and that which is killed, the consumer and that which is consumed; as if the were not the mediators betwene them of peace, unitie and accord, but rather the workmistrresse of warre, debate and discord. For surely her order and custome is not to joine front to front, substances that be altogether contrarie, and open enemies one to the other; but to place betwene them such as participate with the one and the other, which are so seated, disposed and interlaced in the middle, as that they tend not to the destruction, but to the affection of two contraries. Such a situation and region hath the aire in the world, being fired under the fire, and before the water, for to accommodate and frame it selfe both to the one and the other, and to conjoine and linke them both together, being of it selfe neither hot nor colde, but is as it were a medley and temperature of them both; not (I say) a pernicious mixture, but a gracious,

cius, which gently entertaineth and receiveth these contrarie extremities. Furthermore, the aire is alwaies equal, and yet the Winter is not evermore colde a little: but some parts of the world be cold and exceeding moist; others colde and as dry, and that not casually and by fortune, but for that one and the same substance is susceptible both of heat and colde. For the greater part of *Aspicke* is hot and dry, altogether without water. And those who have travelled through *Scythia*, *Thracia* and *Pontus*, doe report that there be exceeding great lakes therein, and that those kingdoms be watered with many mighty deepe rivers; also that the countries in the midst betwene, and those parts which adjoyne upon those huges, meres, and fens be extreme colde, by reason of the vapours that arise from them. As for *Pasidonius* when he saith that the colde of that moisture is this, that the fenny and moist aire is ever fresh and moist, he hath not solved the question which was probable, but made it more doubtfull and without probability; for the aire seemed not alwaies so much colder as it is more fresh, in case cold be not engendered of moisture: and therefore *Homer* said much better:

*The winde from river, if that it hold,
Is always bleake, and blowes full cold.*

as if he pointed with his very finger to the source and fountaine of colde. Moreover, our sense doth oftentimes beguile and deceive us, as namely, when we touch wooll or clothes that be colde, for we thinke that they be moist and wet, for that there is one substance common to both these qualities, and both these natures be neighbours and familiar. Also in those climates of the world where the winter is extreme hard and rough, the colde many times cracketh and breaketh vessels of brasse and of earth; not any I meane that is voided and empty, but all full, by reason that the water by the coldnesse thereof doth violence unto them: howsoever *Theophrastus* thinketh, that it is the aire that bursteth such vessels; using colde as it were a spike or great nail to doe the feat. But take heed that this be not rather a pretty & elegant speech of his, than founding to truth; for if aire were the cause, then should vessels full of pitch or milke, sooner burst than other. More likely it is therefore, that water is colde of it selfe and primitive-ly, for contrary it is to the heat of fire, in regard of that coldnesse, like as to the drinnes thereof, in respect of humidity. To be briefe, the property of fire ingenerall, is to dissipate, divide, and segregate; but contrariwise, of water to joine, conglutinate, unite, and binde, knitting and closing together by the vertue of moisture. And this makes me thinke that *Empedocles* upon this occasion, ever and anon calleth fire a pernicious debate, but water a fast amity; for swell and flood of fire, is that which turneth into fire, and every thing turneth which is moist proper and familiar; as for that which is contrary, the flame is hardly to be turned, as water which of it selfe it is impossible to burne, causing both greene or wet herbes, as also moist or drenched wood hardly to take fire, and so in the end with much a doe, they kinde and catch fire, although the flame be not light and cleere, but darke, dimme, and weake, because the viridity or greenenesse by the meanes of colde, fighteth against the heat, as his naturall enemy.

Peising now and weighing these reasons, confesse them with the others. But for that *Chrysippus* esteeming the aire to be the primitive colde, in that it is dimme and darke, hath made mention of those onely who say, that water is more distant and farther remote from the elementary fire, than the aire, and being desirous to say somewhat against them: By the same reason (quoth he) may a man aswell affirme that the earth is the said primitive cold; for that it is farthest from the elementary fire, rejecting this argument and reason as false, and altogether absurd. Me thinks that I can well shew that the earth it selfe wanteth no probable proofes, laying my foundation even upon that which *Chrysippus* hath taken for the aire: And what is that? namely, because it is principally and above all things els obscure & darke; for if he taking two contraries of powers, thinketh of necessitie the one must follow upon the other; certes, there be infinit oppositions and repugnances betweene the earth and the aire, for the earth is not opposit unto the aire, as heavy unto light, nor as that which bendeth downward unto that which tendeth upward onely; nor as masse, unto rare; or flow and steadfast unto quicke and moveable; but as moist heavy unto moist light; most masse unto most rare; and finally, as immovable in it selfe, unto that which moveth of it selfe; or as that which holdeth still the center in the mids, unto that which turneth continually round. Were it not then very absurd to say; that upon so many, and those so great oppositions, this also of heat and cold did not likewise jointly follow? Yes verily: but fire is cleere and bright, and earth darke: nay rather it is the darkest of all things in the world, and most without light; for aire is that which doth participate of the first light & brightnesse, which soonest of all other burneth: being also once full thereof, it distributeth that

light every where, exhibiting it selfe as the very body of light: for as one of the Dithyrambick poets said:

*No sooner doth the sunne appeere
In our horizon faire and cleere,
But with his light the palace great
Of aire and windes is all repleat.*

And then anon it descendeth lower, and imparteth one portion thereof to the lakes and to the sea; the very bottomes of the rivers doe rejoice and laugh for joy, so farre forth as the aire pierceth and entrencheth into them: the earth onely, of all other bodies, is evermore destitute of light, and not penetrable with the radiant beames of sunne and moone; well may it be warmed a little, and present it selfe to be fomented with the heat of the sunne, which entrencheth a little way into it, but surely the soliditie of it will not admit the resplendent light thereof; onely it is superficially illuminated by the sunne, for all the bowels and inward parts of it be called *Orphne, Chaos*, and *Ades*, that is to say, darknesse, confusion, and hell it selfe: and as for *Erebus*, it is nothing else, so say a truth, but terrestriall obscurity, and mirke darknesse within the earth. The poets feigne the night to be the daughter of the earth; and the mathematicians by reason and demonstration, proove, that it is no other thing than the shadow of the earth, opposed against the sunne: for the aire as it is full of darknesse from the earth, so it is replenished with light from the sunne; and looke how much of the aire is not lightened nor illuminate, to wit, all the shadow that the earth casteth, so long is the night, more or lesse; and therefore both man and beast make much use of the aire without their houses, although it be night season: and as for beasts, many of them goe to reliefe and pasturage in the night, because the aire hath yet some reliques and traces left of light, and a certaine influence of brightnesse, dispersed here and there: but he that is enclosed within house, and covered with the rouse thereof, as it were blinde and full of darknesse, as one environed round about within the earth: and verily the hides and hornes of beasts, so long as they be hole and found, transmit no light through them: let them be cut, sawed, pared, and scraped, they become transparent, because aire is admitted into them. And I thinke truly that the poets offhooes heereupon call the earth blacke, meaning thereby darke and without light, so that the most important and principall opposition, between cleere and darke, is found rather in the earth than in the aire: But this is impertinent to our question in hand; for we have shewed already that there be many cleere things which are known to be cold, and as many browne and darke which be hot.

But there be other qualities and puissances more proper unto colde, namely, ponderositie, steadinesse, soliditie, & immutability, of which the aire hath not so much as one, but the earth in part hath them all more than the water. Furthermore, it may be saide, that colde is that which most sensibly is hard, as making things stiffe and hard: for *Theophrastus* writeth, that those stilles which be frozen with extreme rigour of colde, if they be let fall upon the ground, breake and knap in pieces, no lesse than glass or earthen vessels: and your selfe have heard at *Delphi*, of those who passed over the hills *Parnassus*, to succour and relieve the women called *Bacche*, who were surprized with a sharpe pinching winde and drifts of snow; that their cloakes and mantles through extremity of colde, were as flake and stiffe as pieces of wood, inso much as they brake and rent into tatters, so soone as they went about to stretch them out, To say yet more, excessive colde causeth the sinewes to be so stiffe, as hardly they will bend: the tongue likewise so flake, that it will not sturre or utter any voice, congealing the moist, soft, and tender parts of the body; which being seene by daily experience, they proceed to gather this consequence: Every power and facultie which getteth the maiestrie, is wont to turne and convert into it selfe, that over which it is predominant: whatsoever is overcome by heat, becometh fire; that which is conquered by spirit or winde, changeth into aire; what falleth into water, if it get not forth againe, dissolveth, and in the end runneth to water. Then must it needs follow, that such things as are exceeding colde, degenerate into that primitive colde whereof we speake: now excessive colde is first; and the greatest alteration that can be devised by colde, is when a thing is congealed & made an ice, which congelation altereth the nature of the thing so much, that in the end it becometh as hard as a stone; namely, when the cold is so predominant, as well all the moisture of it is congealed, as the heat that it had driven out perforce. Heereupon it is that the earth toward her center, and in the bottom thereof, is frozen all together, and in manner nothing else but ice, for that the excessive colde which never will yeeld and relent, there dwelleth and abideth continually, as being thrust and driven into that corner, farthest

farthest off from the elementary fire. As touching those rocks, craggies, and cliffes, which we see to appeere out of the earth: *Empedocles* is of opinion, that they were there set, driven up, susteined, & supported by the violence of a certaine boiling and swelling fire within the bowels of the earth: but it should seeme rather, that those things out of which all the heat is evaporate and flown away, be congealed and conglaciat so hard by the means of colde: and this is the cause that such craggies be named in Greeke *μῆγας*, as one would say, congealed: toward the head and toppes whereof, a man shall see in them many places blacke againe, namely, whereas the heat flew out when the time was, so as to see to, one would imagine that they had heretofore beene burnt; for the nature of colde is to congeale all things, but some more, others lesse; but above all, those in which it is naturally at the first inherent: for like as the property of fire is to alleviate, it cannot otherwise be, but the hotter that a thing is, the more light also it is: and so the nature of moisture is to soften; inso much as the moister any thing is, the softer also it is found to be: semblably, given it is to colde, to astringe and congeale: it followeth therefore of necessity, that whatsoever is most astrict and congealed, as is the earth, is likewise the coldest; and looke what is colde in the highest degree, the same must be principally and naturally that colde, whereof we are in question. And thereupon we must conclude, that the earth is both by nature colde, and also that primitive colde; a thing apparent and evident to our very sense; for dirt and clay is colder than water: and when a man would quickly suffocate and put out a fire, he throweth earth upon it. Blacke smithes also, and such as forge iron, when they see it redde hot, and at the point to melt, they throw upon it fine powder, or grit of marble or other stones that have fallen from them, when they were squared and wrought, for to keepe it from resolving too much, and to coole the excessive heat: the very dust also that is used to be thrown upon the bodies of wrestlers, doth coole them and represseth their sweats. Moreover, to speake of the commodity that causeth us every yeere to remove and change our lodgings, what is the meaning of it? winter maketh us to seeke for high lofts, and such chambers as be farre from the earth; contrariwise, summer bringeth us downe to the halles and parlours beneath, driving us to seeke retiring roomes, and willingly we love to live in vaults within the bowme of the earth: doe we not thus thinke you, directed by the instinct of nature, to seeke out & acknowledge that which is naturally the primitive colde? and therefore when winter comes, we lay for houses and habitations neere the sea side, that is to say, we flee from the earth as much as we can; because of colde, and we compasse our selves with the aire of the sea, for that it is hot: contrariwise, in summer time, by reason of immoderate heat, we cover mediterranean places farther within the land, and farre removed from the sea, not for that the aire of it selfe is colde, but because it seemeth to spring and budde as it were out of the primitive colde, and to have a tincture as I may so say, after the manner of iron from the power which is in the earth: and verily among running waters, those that arise out of rocks, and descend from mountaines, are evermore coldest: but if welles and pites, such as be deepest yeeld the coldest waters: for by reason of their profunditie, the aire from without is not mingled with thesies and the others passe thorough pure and sincere earth, without the mixture of aire among.

As for example, such is the water neere the cape of *Tenarus*, which they call *Syrx*, destilling by little and little out of the rocke, and so gathered unto an head: which water is so extreme colde, that there is no vessell in the world will holde it, but only that which is made of an asses hoofe; for put it into any other, it cleaveth and breaketh it. Moreover, we heare physicians say, that to speake generally, all kinds of earth do restraime and coole: and they reckon unto us a number of minerals drawn out of entrails of the earth, which in the use of physick yeeld unto them an astringent and binding power: for the very element it selfe from whence they come, is nothing incive, nor hath the vertue for to stirre and extenuate; it is not active and quicke, nor emollient, nor apt to spread; but firme, steadfast and permanent, as a square cube or die, and not to be removed: whereupon, being massive and ponderous as it is, the colde also thereof having a power to condensate, concompact and to expresse forth all humors, procreeth by the astringency and inequality of the parts, shakings, horrors and quakings in our bodies: and if it prevails more and be predominant, so that the heat be driven out quite and extinct, it imprinteth an habitude of congelation and dead stupefaction. And hereupon it is, that the earth either will not burne at all, or els hardly and by little and little: whereas the aire many times of it selfe sendeth forth flaming fire, it shooteth and floweth, yea, and seemeth as inflamed, to lighten and flash: and the humiditie which it hath, serveth to feed and nourish the heat thereof. For it is not the

solide part of wood that burneth, but the oleous moisture thereof; which if it be once evaporate and spent, the solide substance remaineth drie, and is nothing els but ashes. As for those who labour and endeavour to shew by demonstration, that the same also is changed and consumed, for which purpose they sprinkle it effusively with oil, or temper it with grease, and so put it into the fire againe, prevaile nothing at all: for when the fatic and unctuous substance is burnt, there remaine still evermore behinde, the terrestriall parts. And therefore earth being not onely immovable in respect of situation, but also immutable in regard of the very substance, the ancient called *vesis*, that is to say, *vesta*, standing as it were fixe and steadfast within the habitation of the gods: of which steadfastness and congelation, the bond and linke is cold, as *Archilochus* the Naturallist said: And nothing is there able to relax or mollifie it, after it hath once bene baked in the fire or hardened against the Sun. As touching those who say that they feele very sensibly the winde and the water colde, but the earth not so well; surely these do consider this earth here, which is next unto us, and is no other thing in truth, than a mixture and composition of aire, water, sunne and heat; and me thinks this is all one, as if a man should say, that the elementaire fire is not the primitive and originall heat, but rather scalding water, or an iron red hot in the fire; for that in truth there is no touching of these or comming nere unto them; as also that of the said pure and celestiall fire, they have no sensible experience nor knowledge by feeling, no more than they have of the earth which is at about the center, which we may imagine to be true, pure and naturall earth, as most remote and farthest separate from all other: howbeit, we may have some guesse and token thereof by these rockes heere with us, which from their profunditie send forth a vehement colde, which is in manner intolerable. And they likewise who desire to drinke their water passing colde, use to throw pibble stones into it, which thereby cometh to be more colde, sharpe and piercing, by occasion of the great and fresh colde that ariseth from the said stones. And therefore we ought thus to thinke, that when our ancients, those deepe clearks and great scholars I meane, thought there could be no mixture of earthly things with heavenly, they never looked to places high or low, as if they hung in the scales of a balance, but unto the difference and diversitie of their powers; attributing the qualities of heat, cleerenesse, agility, celeritie and lightnesse, unto that immortal and eternall nature: but colde, darknesse and tarditie, they assigned as the unhappie lot and wretched portion of those infernall wights that are dead and perished. For the very bodie of a creature, all while that it doth breathe and flourish in verdure as the Poets say, hath life and heat, but so soone as it is destitute of these, and left in the onely portion and possession of the earth, it presently becometh stiffe and colde, as if heat were in any other body naturally, rather than in that which is terrestrial.

Compare now good sir *Phavorinus*, these arguments with the reasons of other men; and if you finde that they neither yeeld in probability, nor over-way them much, bid all opinions and the stiffe maintaining of them farewell, and thinke that to forbear resolution and to holde off in matters obscure and uncerteine, is the part of the wisest philosopher, rather than to sette his judgement and assent to one or other.



NATVRALL QUESTIONS.

The Summarie.



This collection of divers questions taken out of Naturall philosophie, and resolved by the author according to the doctrine of Naturallists, being so cleerely distinguished by it selfe, requireth no long deduction: for that at the very first sight each question may sufficiently be under stood.

NATVRALL

NATVRALL QUESTIONS.

What is the cause that sea water nourisheth no trees?



Sit for the same reason, that it nourisheth no land-creatures? for that a plant according to the opinions of *Plato*, *Anaxagoras* and *Democritus*, is a living creature of the sea, as also to fishes, and is to them their drinke, yet we must not inferre thereupon, that it feedeth trees that be without the sea and upon the land: for neither can it pierce downe to their rootes, it is so grosse, nor rise up in the nature of sappe, it is so heavy. That it is grosse, heavy, and terrestrial, appeareth by many other reasons, and by this especially, for that it beareth up and susteineth both vessels and swimmers more than any other.

Or is it principally for this, that whereas nothing is more offensive and hurtfull to trees than drinke the water of the sea is very delectative? which is the reason that salt withstandeth putrefaction so much as it doth, and why the bodies of those who are washed in the sea, have incontinently their skin exceeding dry and rugged.

Or rather may it not be, for that oil is naturally an enemy to all plants, causing as many of them as are rubbed or anointed therewith to die? Now the sea water standeth much upon a kinde of fatnesse, and is very unctuous, in such sort that it will both kinde and also increase fire: and therefore we give warning and forbid to throw sea water into flaming fire.

Or is it because the water of the sea is bitter and not potable, by reason (as *Aristotle* saith) of the burnt earth that is mixed with it? like as lie, which is made by casting fresh water aloft upon ashes: for the running and passing through the said ashes marreth that sweet and potable quality of the water: as also within our bodies, the unnatural heats of an ague turbe humors into cholar. As for those plants, woods or trees, which are said to grow within the red sea, if they doe, certainly they beare no fruit; but nourished they are by the fresh rivers, which bring in with them a deale of mud; an argument heereof is this: for that such grow not farre within the sea but neere unto the land.

What might the reason be, that trees and seeds are nourished better with raine, than any other water that they can be watered withall?

Sit for that raine as it falleth, by the dint that it maketh, openeth the ground and causeth little holes, whereby it pierceth to the rootes, as *Latius* saith?

Or is this untrue? and *Latius* was ignorant heereof, namely that moist plants and such as grow in pooles, as the reed mace, canes and rushes, will not thrive if they want their kinde raines in due season? But true is that which *Aristotle* saith: That the raine water is all fresh and new made, whereas that of meeres and lakes is old and stale.

Or haply this carrieth more shew and probability, with it than truth, for certeine it is, that the water of fountaines, brookes, and rivers, come as new and fresh as they: for as *Heracitus* saith: It is impossible for a man to enter into one and the same river twice, because new water cometh still, and runneth away continually, and yet these nourish lesse than raine waters.

Is this therefore the reason, because the water from heaven is light, subtil, aereous, and mixed with a kinde of spirit, which by that subtiltie, entrench soone, and is easily carried to the root of plants: and heereupon in the fall it raiseth little bubbles, because of the aire and spirit enclosed within.

Or doth raine water nourish more in this regard, that it is sooner altered and overcome by that which it nourisheth; for this is it that we call concoction properly: contrariwise, cruditie and indigestion, when things are so strong and hard that they will not suffer; for such as be thinne, simple, and unfavory, are most easily and soonest altered: of which kinde is raine water, for being engendred as it is in the aire and the winde, it falleth pure and cleane; whereas springing waters, are like to the earth, out of which they issue, or the places through which they passe, gathering

gathering thereby many qualities, which cause them unwilling to be digested, and more flow to be reduced by concoction, into the substance of that which is to be nourished thereby: on the other side, that raine waters be easie to be changed and transmuted, it appeareth by this: that more subject they are to corruption and putrefaction, than those either of rivers, or of pites and welles: and concoction seemeth to be a kinde of putrefaction: as *Empedocles* beareth witness: saying:

*When in vine-wood the water putrifies,
It turnes to wine, whiles under barke it lies.*

Orrather the truest and readiest reason that can be alledged, is the sweetnesse and hollo-
 mnesse of raine waters, falling as they doe for presently, so soone as the winde fends them downe: 10
 and hereupon it is that beastes desire to drinke thereof before any other: yea, and the frogges
 and paddocks expecting a raine, for joy finge more thrill and merily, ready to receive and
 entertaine that which will seale the dead and dormant waters of fanning lakes, as being the very
 feed of all their sweetnesse: for *Aristotles* reckoneth this also for one of the signes of a shewe
 toward, writing thus:

When wretched brood,
The adders food,
from out of standing lake,
(The ad-pole fires,
I mean) desires

20

3

What might be the cause that shepherds and other herdmen give salt unto their sheepe and cattell which they feed?

I S it as most men doe thinke, to the end that they should fill the better to their meate, and so consequently feede faster the sooner? because the acrimony of fild provoketh appetite, and opening the pores, maketh way unto the nourishment for to be digested and distributed more easily throughout the whole body: in regard whereof the physician *Apollonius*, the fonne of *Herophilus*, gave counsell and prescribed leane folke and such as thrived not in their flesh: not groffe sweet wine, thicke gnell, and frumentie, but fild oil out of the pickle, anchoves, powdered meats, and such as were conde in brine: the subtil acrimonic whereof might in manner of setting a petuke for want of haire, serve to apply nutriment through the pores of the body into those parts that need it.

Or, rather may it not be for health-fake? in which regard they use their cattell to little faine, thereby to take down their ranke feeding, and reſtrain their groſſeneſſe and compulſion; for ſuch as grow exceeding fat, are ſubject to breed diſeaſes; but fat conſumeth and diſpatcheth this fat; and by this means alſo when they are killed, they are ſooner and with greater expedition ſlaied, becauſe the fat which knit and bound the ſkinne faſt to the fiſh, is now become more thinn, gentle, and pliable through the acrimony of the falt; beſides, the blood alſo of ſuch as be ever hick of falt, becometh more liquid; and nothing there is within, that will gather and grow together, in caſe there be falt mingled therewith.

It may be moreover, that they doe it for to make them more fruitfull and after for generation; for we see that falt birches which have bene fed with falt meates, are more hot, after to goe proud, and sooner with helpe. And for this cause, those keeles and barges that transport falt, breed greater flore of mice, for that they engender the offenser.

Now commeth it to passe, that of raine waters, such as fall with thunder and lightning, which there-
upon be called *acques*, are better for to water seeds or yong plants, than any other? 50

MAY it not be, because they be full of winde and ventositie, by reason of the trouble and confused agitation of the aire? And the nature of wind and spirit is to stirre the humiditie; and by that meanes doth send it forth and distribute it the better?

Or is it not rather, that heat fighting againſt colde, is the cauſe of thunder and lightning in the aire? which is the reaſon that ſeldome there is any thunder in winter: but contrariwiſe, very often

often in the Spring and Autumne, for the inconstant and unequall dittemperature of the aire: which being suppoed, the heat concocting the humiditie, causeth it to be more pleasant and profitable unto the plants of the earth.

Or why may it norbe, because it thundreth and lightneth especially and more often in the Spring, than in any other season of the yeere, for the reason before alledged : now the Spring showers and raines are most necessarie for feeds and herbs , against the Summer time : whereupon those countries wherein there be many good ground flowers in the Spring , as the idle *Sushe*, bring forth plentie of good fruits.

10 How is it, that there being eight kind of ⁹ favours, there is no more but only one of them, to wit, falsitie, that can not be found naturall in fruits? For as touching the bitter savour, the olive hath it at first; and the grape is sour at the beginning; but as these fruits begin to chage and grow to their ripenesse, the bitternesse of the olive turneth into a fuisse and sweetish savour, and the sharpe verdure of the grape into a plucke of wine: fembally, the harshnesse in the unripe dates, as also the austere and unpleasant sharpsnesse in pomgranats, changeth into sweetnesse. As for pomgranats, some there be, as also other apples, which are softly soue, and never become their taste. And as for the sharpe and biting savour, it is so warlike in many roots and seeds.

20 **I**s it for that the salt savor is not primitive nor engendred originally, but is rather the corrup-
tion of other primitive favors; and in that regard can not serve to nourish any creature, living
with grasse or graine; but it is to some in stead of a sauce, because it is a meanes that they should
not upon fullnesse either lothe or distaste that which they feed upon.

Or because, that like as they who boile sea water, rid it from that salt, brackish and biting quality that it hath: so, in those that are hot by nature, the salt favour is dulled and mortified by heat.

Or rather, for that a favour or snacke, according as *Plato* faith, is a water or juice passing thorough the stem or stalk of a plant: but wee see that the sea water running as thorow a streiner, loseth the saltnesse, being the terrestriall and grossest part that is in it. And hereupon it is that when as men digge along by the sea side, they meet with springs of fresh and potable water. And many 30 there be, who draw out of the very sea, fresh water and good to be drunke; namely, when it hath runne thorow certaine vessels of wax, by reason that the terrestriall and saltish parts thereof be strained out. In one word, * cley or marle also, yea, and the carrying of sea water in long conduct pipes, causeth the same when it is so strained, to be potable, for that there are kept still in them the terrestriall parts, and are not suffered to passe thorow. Which being so, very probable it is that plants neither receive from without forth any salt favour, nor if they any such qualities breed in them, doe they transmute the same into their fruits; for that the conducts of their pores being very small and streight, there can not be transmitteth thorow them any grosse or terrestriall substance.

Or els we must say, that saltneffe is in some sort a kinde of bitterneffe, according as *Homer* 40 signifieth in these verses:

*Bitter salt-water at mouth he cast againe,
And all therewith his head did drop amaine.*

And Plato affirmeth, that both the one and the other fauour is absterfifve and liquefaactive; but the faltneth, leffe of the twaine, as that which is not rough: and fo it will feeme that bitter differeth from falt in exceffe of drineffe, for that the falt fauour is alfo a great drier.

6

This is the cause, that if folke use ordinarily and continually to goe among young trees or shrubs full of dew, those parts of their bodies which do touch the twigs of the said plants, are wont to have a scurfe or mange rise upon their skin?

IS it (as *Larus* faith) for that the dew by the subtiltie thereof doth fret and pierce the skin ?
Or rather, because like as the blaff and mil-dew is incident to thofe feeds or plants that take wet and be drenched; even fo, when the smoothie and tender fuperficial parts of the skinned be fretted, fcarified, and diffolved a little with the dew, there arifeth a certaine humour, and filtheth the fretted place by a fmart and angry fcurle : for lighting upon thofe parts which have but little blood, fuch as be the fmalles of the legs and the feet, it birthe & gnaweth the fuperficies

* Сохлане, Гит
Брѣжнєвѣ
коа^т коа^т.
Антифронт
Ев.

* *ANIMUS*, *animus*, Latin.
I make choice
of [Savours] to
expelle the
object of taste;
continuing to
need as it
doth to Sa-
vors, and our
speech may
beare it
well as to lay,
This meat is
favourite or
unfavourite
when it af-
fecth the tast:
although I
know, we co-
mmonly at-
tribute favours
to our smell-
ing: but yet
as *ANIMUS*, as
I thinke,

* *εἰρη*, haply
rest or setting.

of them. Now that there is in dew a certaine inordinate qualitie, it appeareth by this, that it maketh those who are grosse and corpulent, to be leaner and more spare of bodie: witnesseth our women who are given to be fat, and would be fine, who gather dew with linnen clothes, or els with locks or fleeces of wooll, thinking therewith to take downe and spend their fogginesse, and make themselves more gant and slender.

What is the cause that barges and other vessels in Winter time, go more slowly upon the rivers than at other seasons; but they do not so upon the sea?

What say you to this? May it not be, for that the aire of rivers being alwaies grosse and heavy, in Winter is more insipilate by reason of the circumstant cold, and so is an hindrance to the course of ships?

Or haply this accident is to be imputed to the water of rivers, rather than to the aire about them; for colde driving in and restraining the water, maketh it more heavy and grosse; as we may perceive in water houre-glasses, for the water runneth out of them more leafully and slowly in winter then in summer. And *Theophrastus* writeth that in *Thracia*, nere unto the mount called *Pangæon*, there is a fountaine, the water whereof is twice as much heave in winter than it is in summer, weigh it in one & the same vessell full. That the thicknesse of water maketh a vessell to passe more sluggishly, it may appeare by this, that the barges of the river carry greater fraights by farre, in winter than in summer: because the water being thicke, is stronger and able to beare more. As for the sea water it cannot be made more thicke in winter, by reason of the owne heat, which is the cause that it congealeth not, and if it gather any thickening, it seemeth to be very slender and little.

What is the reason that we observe, all other waters, if they be mooved and troubled, are the colder, but the sea the more surging and waving, the hotter it is?

It is because, if there be any heat in other waters, the same is a stranger unto it, and comming from without, and so the motion and agitation thereof doth dissipate and drive the same forth againe: but that heat of the sea which is proper and naturall to it, the windes doe stirre up and augment. That the sea is naturally hot, may evidently be proved by this, that it is so transparent and shining; as also for that it is not ordinarily frozen, heavy though it be and terrestriall.

What should be the cause that in winter the sea water is lesse bitter and brackish in taste?

It or so (by report) writeth *Dionysius* the great conuairer of conduits, who in a treatise of that argument, saith that the bitterness of the sea water is not without some sweetnesse, seeing that the sea receiveth so many and so great rivers: for admit that the funne doe draw up that which is fresh and potable: out of it, because it is light and subtile; that is but from the upper part onely: and withall, it doth more in Summer than in any other season, by reason that in Winter his beames are not so strong to strike, for that his heat likewise is but faint and feeble: and so a good portion of the sweetnesse remaining behinde, doth delay that excessive bitterness and brackishnesse, like a medicine that it hath. And the same befalleth unto river waters, and all other that be potable: for even such in Summer time become worse and more offensive to the taste than in Winter, by how much the heat of the funne doth resolve and dissipate the light and sweet parts thereof: but in Winter it runneth alwaies new and fresh; whereof the sea cannot chuse but have a good part, as well because it is evermore in motion, as also for that the rivers running into it, be great and impart their fresh water unto it.

What is the reason, that men are wont to powre sea water into their wine vessels, among the wine?

And the common report saith that there were sometime certaine mariners and fisher-men who brought with them an oracle, commanding to plunge and dip *Bacchus* in the sea: *As such as dwell farr from the sea, instead of sea water, put in baked plaster of Lacyntus?*

It is to this end, that the heat thereof should helpe to resist the colde, that it take not away the heart of the wine? Or rather cleane contrary, doth it not weaken the headinesse of wine, by extinguishing the power and strength thereof?

Or

Or it may be, that seeing wine is much subiect to alteration, and will quickly turne, the terrestriall matter which is cast into it, having a naturall property to restraine, to binde and to stoppe, doth in some sort condensate and stay the waterish and spirituall substance of it. Now the salt together with the sea water, comming to subtilitate and consume that which is superfluous, and naught in the wine, and not the proper substance thereof, keepeth it so, as it will not suffer any strong & evil smell or corruption to be ingendred therein: Besides all the grosse and terrestriall parts of the wine, sticking and cleaving to that which sedleth to the bottom, and being drawn downward with it, maketh a residence of the lees and dregges, and by consequence leaveth the rest more cleere, pure, and neat.

What is the cause that those who saile upon the sea, are more sicke in the stomacke, than they that saile upon rivers, yea, though the weather be faire and the water calme?

It is for that of all the senses, smelling, and of all passions, feare, causeth men most to be stomacke sicke? for so soone as the apprehension of any perill seileth upon a man, he trembleth and quaketh for feare, his haire standeth and standeth upright, yea and his belly groweth to be loose. Whereas there is none of all this that troubleth those who saile or row upon the river: for why, the smell is acquainted with all fresh and potable water, neither is the sailing so perillous: whereas upon the sea men are offended with strange and unusuall smells, yea, and be effected soone sallow, how faire soever the season be, not trusting upon that which they see present, but misdoubting that which may fall out. And therefore little or nothing serveth the calme without, when the minde within is tossed, troubled, and vexed, partly with feare, and in part with distrust, drawing the body into the fellowship of like passions and perturbations.

What is the reason that if the sea be sprinkled aloft with oile, there is to be seene a cleere transparence, together with a calme and tranquillity within?

Whether is it (as *Aristotle* saith) because the winde gliding and glancing over oile which is smooth and even, hath no power to stirre it, or to make any agitation. Or, this reason may well carie with it some probability as touching the outward part, and upmost superficies of the sea: but seeing that they also by report, who plunge and dive to the bottom thereof, holding oile within their mouths, if they spurt the same forth when they are in the bottome, have a light all about them, and are able to see cleere in the deepe; a man cannot attribute the cause thereof unto the gliding over of the wind. See therefore if it may not rather be, for that the oile by the solidity and thicknesse that it hath, doth drive before it, cut, and open the sea water first, being terrestriall and unequal; which after being returned and drawn together againe into it selfe, there be left still in the mids betwene, certaine little holes which yeeld unto the eyes a through-light and transparence.

Or rather is it, for that the aire mingled within the sea, is by reason of heat, naturally light, some and perspicuous; but when it is troubled and stirred, becommeth unequal and shadowy, when as the oile therefore by means of solidity commeth to pollish and smooth the said inequality, it resumeth againe the owne plainnesse and perspicuity.

What is the reason that fisher mens nets doe rot in Winter rather than in Summer, notwithstanding that all other things putrifie more in Summer than in Winter?

It is because (as *Theophrastus* supposeth) the heat then beset round about with the circumstant colde, giveth place thereto, and therefore causeth the bottome of the sea as well as of the earth, to be the hotter? which is the reason that spring waters be warmer, yea and both lakes and rivers doe reike and smooke more in Winter than in Summer, because the heat is kept downe, and driven to the bottome by the colde, which is predominant over it?

Or rather are we to say, that the nets rot not at all, but whensoever they be stiffe congealed with colde which drieth them up, soone broken afterwards they are with the violence of the waves, and so seeme as if they were rotten and putrified indeed; for in more danger they are in colde and frosty weather; and like as strings and sinewes over-stretched doe breake, seeing especially that the sea in Winter most commonly is troubled, which is the reason that they use to restraine

reftreine and thicken them with certaine tinctures, for feare they should be overmuch relaxed and refolved; for otherwife, if it were not for that doubt, being not fo died and befmeared all over, they would fooner deceive fifhes, becaufe they could not perceive them fo foon; for that the colour naturally of the lines and threds refembling the aire, is very meet to deceive within the fea.

14

*What is the reason that the * Dorians, * pray for to have illinning of their hey?*

** Dorians, some translate it husband-men's ending.*
I S not this the caufe, becaufe hey is not well inned wet, or having taken a shower? for mowen downe it is not dry, but while it is Greene and full of fap³; and if it take wet withall, it rotte⁴th incontinently and is marred: whereas contrariwife if standing corne be moistened with raine a little before harvelt, it taketh much good againft hot fourthetne windes, which will not fuffice the corne to gather and knit in the eare, but caufe it to be loofe that it cannot eare well by meanes of heat, were it not by the drenching and watering of the ground, the moisture did coole and mollifie the earth.

15

What is the reason that a fat, strong, and heavy clay ground, beareth wheat best: but contrariwife a light and sandy soile, is better for barley?

M Ay not this be a reason, that of all corne, that which is more strong and folide, requireth a larger food, and the weaker lesse, and more slender nourishment? now it is well known that barley is a more feeble and hollow graine than wheat is: in which regard it will not abide and beare plentifull nouriture and strong. An argument and testimonie hereof we may have of that kinde of wheat which is called three-month wheat, for that in drier grounds it liketh better, and commeth up in greater plenty: the reason is, becaufe it is not so firme and solid as others, and therefore requireth lesse nutritment: in regard whereof, also it commeth fooner to ripenesse and perfection.

16

How cometh this common proverbe: Sow wheat in dirt, and barley in dust?

** Yellow, I suppose it should be golden, or orange, that is to say, in fow, mulcise you understand it thus, that their ricks of corne and thrashing flowers were nere unto their corne lands.*
I S it not as I said before, becaufe wheat is able to overcome more nourishment, but barley can not endure much moisture to drench and drowne it?

O In this respect, that wheat being a stiff and hard kinde of graine, refembling the nature of wood, doth fooner come and chit within the ground, in case it be well foked and softened with moisture, and therefore liketh better of a wet ground; whereas the drier soile at the first sowing agreeth better with barley, and is more commodious for it, being as it is, a more loofe and spongyous kinde of graine.

O becaufe such a temperature of the ground in regard of the heat, is more proportionable and lesse hurtfull unto barley, being as it is the colder graine?

O rather, husbandmen are afraid to * thrash their wheat upon a dry and sandy floore, becaufe of * ants; for fooner will they take to that kinde of graine in such a place. As for barley, they use lesse to beare it, becaufe the cornes thereof be hard to be caried and recaried from one place to another, they are so bigge.

17

What is the cause that fishers chuse the haire of stone-horse-tailes, rather than of mares, to make their angling lines?

I S it becaufe the male, as in all other parts, so in haire also, is more strong than the female? Or rather, for that they thinke the haire of mares tailes, drenched and wet as it is ever and anon with their staling, is more brittle and woofe than the other?

18

*What is the reason that when the * Calamacie fish is seene in the sea, it is a signe of a great tempest?*

** Some write it for the cause.*

I S it becaufe all soft and unscaly fishes are very impatient of colde and of foule-weather, they be so bare and naked, and have withall their flesh exceeding tender, as being covered, neither with shell nor thicke skinn, yet scale; but contrariwife, having their hardy, gristly, and bony substance

substance within? which is the reason that all such fishes be called *Calamacia*, as one would say, Soft and tender. For which cause naturally they fooner foresee a tempest, and feele colde coming, for that it is offensive unto them: and therefore likewise, when the Poulpe or Polyp runneth to land, and catcheth holde of some little rocks, it is a token that there is great winde toward. And for the Calamacie, he leape³th forth for to avoid the colde and the trouble or agitation of the water in the bottome of the sea: for of other soft fishes, his flesh is most tender and apt to be pierced and hurt.

19

Why doth the Polyp change his colour?

I S it according to the opinon of *Theraprasus*, becaufe it is a fearefull and timorous creature by nature; and therefore when he is troubled or amazed as his spirit turneth, so the altereth withall his colour, even as we men do? whereupon we say in the common proverbe:

The coward, in view

Soone changeth hew.

O may this be a good probable conjecture of the change, but not sufficient, for the resemblance? considering that he changeth so, as he refembleth the rocks which he fetleth upon. Unto which propertie, *Pindarus* alluded in these verses:

His mude doth alter most mutable,

To Poulpe the sea-fish skin semblable;

Which changeth hue to eehing futable:

To live in all works he is pliable.

And *Theophrastus*:

Put on a minde like Polype fish,

and learne to dissemble:

Which of the rocks where'er it sticks,

the colour doth resemble.

Also, men usually say, such as surpasse others for cunning and cautelous dealing, studie and practise this: that for to save themselves, and not to be seene or known of those about them, they alwaies will be like unto the poulpe, and change their colours, that is to say, their maners and behaviour.

O do they thinke such an one to make use of his colour readily; as of a garment, to change and put on another whensoever he will?

Well then, the poulpe fish himselfe, by his feare may haply give the occasion and beginning of this change and passion; but the principall point of the cause consisteth in something els. And therefore weigh and consider what *Empedocles* writeth:

Wot well, all morrall things that be,

Defluxions have in some degree.

For there passe away continually, many defluxions; not onely from living creatures, plants, earth and sea, but also from stones, brasse and iron: for all things perith and yeeld a smell, in that there runneth something alwaies from them, and they weare continually: inasmuch as it is thought that by these defluxions are all attractions and insulations: and some suppose their embracings and connexions; others, their smilings: some their impussions, and I wot not what circumplexions and environments, to be attributed unto such defluxions; and especially from rocks and stones along the sea continually, washed and dashed with the waves, there be decissions paffe of some parcels and small fragments, the which do cleave unto other bodies, and cling about those which have their pores more strit and close, or els passe thorow such as have the same over rare and open. As for the flesh of the Polype, it is so fee, fitilous and spongyous, like unto honey-combs, apt to receive all such defluxions and decissions from other bodies, when as then he is afraid, his winde goeth and commeth, and withall, shutteth up his bodie, and bringeth it together, that he may receive and retene in the superficies of his skin, the defluxions that come from that which is next it: for the rivels and wrinkles of his soft skin, which are knit with feare, are in stead of crooke and bending cleies fit to enterteine the defluxions and parcels lighting upon them, which scatter not here and there, but gathering upon the skin, make the superficies thereof to be of fembable colour. And that this is a true cause, it may appear by one great argument, namely, that neither the Polyp doth resemble in colour all that which is

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neere

neere unto it, nor the Chamæleon the white colour; but both the one & the other, such things onely, as the defluxions whereof are proportionate unto their pores and small passages;

What is the cause that the teares of wilde boares be sweet, but of flugges and hinds, saltish and unpleasant to the taste?

Heat and colde are the cause of both; for the flaggie is colde of nature, but the bore exceeding hot and fierie: whereupon it is, that the one fleeth away, the other maketh head, and stands to it when he is assailed, and then is it most of all that he sheddeth teares, upon a fell heart: for when plentie of heat (as I said before) mounteth up unto his eyes,

His bristles flare and stand upright,

His ardent eyes like fire are bright,

and so the humour that distilled from his eyes, is sweet. Others say, that these teares are pressed and wrong out from the blood being troubled, like as whey from milke: and of this opinion was Empedocles. And forasmuch as the blood of the wilde bore is blacke and thicke in regard of heat, but that of flags and hinds, thin and waterish, great reason there is that the teares which passe from the one in anger, and the other in feare, should be such as is afore said.

What is the reason, that tame swine do sorrow often in one yeere, some at one time, and some at another; whereas the wilde of that kinde, bring forth pig; but once in the yeere, and all of them in a manner upon the same daies, and those are in the beginning of Summer: whereupon we say in our vulgar proverbe:

The night once past, of wilde sows sorrowing:

T'will raine no more be sure, for any thing.

Is it (thinke you) for the plentie they have of meat; as in trueth, fulnesse brings wantonnesse, and of full feeding comes lust of breeding: for abundance of food causeth superfluitie of seed, as well in living creatures as in plants. As for the wilde swine, they seeke their vituals themselves, and that with travell and feare: whereas the tame have alwaies store thereof, either naturally growing for them, or els provided by mans industry.

Or is the cause of this difference to be attributed unto the idle life of the one, and the painful labour of the other: for the domestickall and tame are sluggish, and never wander farre from their swineherds: but the other range and rove abroad among the forrests and mountaines, running to and fro, dispatching quickly all the food they can get, and spending it every whit upon the substance of their bodies, leaving no superfluities, expedient for geniture or feed.

Or may it not be, that tame sows doe keepe company, feed and goe in heards together with their bores, which provoketh their lust, and kindleth the desire to engender: according as Empedocles hath written of men in these verses:

The sight of eye, doth kindle lust in breest,

Of looking, liking, then loving and there rest.

Whereas the wilde, because they live apart, and pasture not together, have no such desire and lust one to another; for their naturall appetite that way is dulled and quenched.

Or rather, that is true which *Aristotle* saith, namely, that *Homer* calleth a wilde bore *ῥαβδω*, as having but one genitorie, for that the most part of them, in rubbing themselves against the trunks and stocks of trees, doe crush and breake their stones.

What is the reason of this usuall speech: that beares have a most sweet hand, and that their flesh is most pleasant to be eaten?

Because those parts of the body which doe best concoct and digest nourishment, yeeld their flesh most delicate: now that concocteth and digesteth best, which stirreth most, and doth greatest exercise: like as the beare mooveth most this part, for his forepawes he useth as feet to goe and runne withall, he maketh use also of them as of hands to apprehend and catch any thing.

What

What is the cause that in the spring time wilde beasts are hardly hunted by the fens, and followed by the trace?

Is it for that hounds, as Empedocles saith,

By sent of nostrils, when they trace

Wilde beasts, to finde their resting place.

doe take hold of those vapours and defluxions which the said beasts leave behind them in the wood as they passe; but in the spring time these are confounded or utterly extinct by many other smells of plants and shrubs, which as then be in their flower; and coming upon the aire that the beasts made, and intermingled therewith, do trouble and deceive the sent of the hounds, whereby they are put out and at default, that they cannot truly hunt after them by their trace; which is the reason, (men say) that upon the mountaine *Aetna*, in *Sicilie*, there is never any hunting with hounds, for that all the yeere long there is such abundance of flowers, both in hills and dales, growing as it were in a meadow or garden, whereof the place smelleth all over so sweet, that it will not suffer the hounds to catch the sent of the beasts: And verily, there goeth a tale, that *Plato* ravished *Proserpina* as she was gathering flowers there: in which regard the inhabitants honouring the place with great reverence and devotion, never put up or hunt the beasts that pasture about that mountaine.

What is the reason, that when the moone is at the full, it is very hard for hounds to meet with wilde beasts by the trace or sent of the footing?

Is it not for the same cause before alledged, for that about the full moone there is engendered store of dew: whereupon it is that the poet *Aleman* calleth dew the daughter of *Jupiter*, and the moone in these verses:

Dame Dewy is nurse, whom of god Jupiter

And lady Moone, men call the daughter.

For the dew is nothing else but a weak and feeble raine: and why? because the heat of the moone is but infirme: whereof it commeth to passe, that she draweth up vapours indeed from the earth, as doeth the sunne, but not able to fetch them up aloft, nor there to comprehend them, leteth them fall againe.

What is the cause that in a white or hoare frost, wilde beasts are hardly traced?

Whether is it for that they being loth for very colde to range farre from their dens, leave not many marks of their footings upon the ground: which is the reason that at other times they make spare of that prey which is neere unto them, for feare of danger if they should be forced to range farre abroad in Winter, and because they would have ready at hand about them at such an hard season to feed upon.

Or else is it requisite that the place where men doe hunt, have not onely the tracts of the beast to be seene, but also of force to affect the sent of the hounds, and to set their nostrils a worke, but then doe they move this sense of theirs, when as they are gently dissolved and dilated as it were by heat: whereas the aire if it be extreme colde, congealing as it were the sinels, will not suffer them to spread and be diffused abroad, thereby to move the sense: and hereupon it is (as folke say) that perfumes, ointments, and wines, be lesse fragrant and odoriferous in Winter, or in cold weather, than at other times, for the aire being it selfe bound and shut close, doth likewise lay within it all fents, and will not suffer them to passe forth.

What is the cause that brute beasts, so often as they are sicke, or feele themselves amiss, seeke after drivers medicinable means for remedie, and using the same, finde many times helpe? as for example: dogges when they be stomacke sicke, fall to eat a kinde of quitchy grasse, because they would cast and vomit choler; hogges search for craibshes of the river, for by feeding upon them they cure their headach; the tortoise likewise having eaten the flesh of a viper, catcheth upon it the herbe origan; and the beare when she is full in the stomacke and doth loath all victuals, licketh up pisoners with her tongue, which she no sooner hath swallowed downe, but she is revived, and yet none of all this were they taught, either by experience, or some casual occasion?

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15

It is then the fuel that mooveth them to seeke these remedies, and like as the hony combs by the odor stirre up the bee : and the flesh of dead carions the vultures, drawing and alluring them a farr off : so the crailfishes invite unto them swine, origan the tortoise, and pismires the beare, by certaine fents and fluxions which are accommodate and familiar unto them, without any sense leading them thereto by discourse of reason, and teaching them what is good and profitable?

Or rather be they the temperatures of the bodies disposed unto sicknesse, that bring unto these creatures such appetites, engendering divers ceremonies, sweetnesse, or other strange & unusual qualities : as we see it ordinary in great bellied women, who during the time that they go with child fall to eat grit & earth with greedinesse in so much as expert phisicians fore-know by the sundry appetites of their patients, whether they shall live or die, for so *Mnesibem* the phisitian doth report, that in the beginning of the *Pneumonie* or inflammation of the lungs, one patient of his, longing for to eat onions escaped that maladie ; and another whose appetite flooded to figgs, died for it, of the same disease : for that the appetites follow the temperatures, and the temperatures are proportionate to the diseases.

It standeth therefore to great reason that beasts likewise, such as are not surpris'd with mortal maladies, nor sicke to death, have that disposition and temperature, whereby their appetites doe moove and provoke each one to that which is good and holosome, yea and expedient to the cure of their sicknesse.

27
What is the cause that must or new wine, continueth sweet a long time, in case the vessel wherein it is kept be colde round about it?

It is because the alteration of this sweet favour into the naturall taste of wine, is the very concoction of the wine ; and colde hindereth the said concoction, which proceedeth from heat.

Or contrariwise, because the proper joice and naturall favour of the grape is sweet, for we say that then the grape beginneth to ripen, when it waxeth sweet. Now colde not suffering new wine to exhale, but keeping the kinde heat thereof within, preserveth the said sweetnesse still. And this is the very cause that those who make their vintage in a rainy constitution of the weather, do find that their new wine wil not worke so well in the vault, because that such ebullition proceedeth of heat, and the colde doth reframe and refresh the said heat.

28
What is the cause that of all savage beasts, the beare doth never lightly gnaw the net and toile with her teeth, whereas wolves and foxes use ordinarily to cate the same?

It is for that her teeth grow farr within her mouth, in such sort that she cannot get within the cords of the nets, having besides so great and thicke lippes betwene, that they hinder her for catching hold with her said fangs.

Or rather because the having more force in her fore-feet, which she useth in stead of hands, do therewith the doth teare and breake the cords ; or else having use both of her pawes and also of her mouth : the impleieth those to the burling of the nets, and with her teeth fightheth, and maketh her part good against the hunters. Besides the tumbling and rolling of her body that the doth practise, serveth her in as good stead as any thing else. And therefore seeing her selfe in danger to be taken within the toile many times, catest her selfe round upon her head, and devoureth that way to escape, rather than either by pawes or fangs to burst the toile.

29
What is the reason that we wonder not to see any sources or springs of colde water, like as we doe of hot, notwithstanding it is evident that as heat is the cause of these, so is colde of the other.

For we must not say as some holde opinion, that heat indeed is an habitude of it selfe, but colde nothing else but the privation of heat : for it were in truth more wonderfull how that which had no subsistence, should be the cause of that which hath a being. But it seemeth that nature would have us to wonder hereat, onely for the rare sight hereof ; and because it is not often seene, therefore we should enquire for some secret cause, and demand how that may be, which is but seldom observed.

But

*But see'st thou this starry firmament,
So high above and infinitely vast,
In bosom moist of water element,
The earth beneath how it enclareth fast,*

How many strange and wonderfull sights doth it represent unto us in the night season, and what beauty sheweth it unto us in the day time? and the common people wonder at the nature of these things * * * As also at the rainbowes, and the divers tinctures formes and pictures of the clouds appeering by day : and how they be adorned with sundry shapes, breaking out of them in maner of bubbles.

30
What is the cause that when vines or other young plants, which be ranke of leaves, and otherwise fruitlesse, are said to engender?

It is because that goats in Greeke *καγρη*, which are exceeding fat, be lesse apt to engender, and hardly for their fatnesse can leape the females. For generative feed is the superfluous excrement of that nourishment which is conglutinate to the substantiall parts of the body. Now when as any living creature or plant is in very good plight and grown grosse, it is an evident signe, that the nouriture is imployed and spent altogether in the maintenance of it selfe, leaving no excrement at all, or the same very small, and not good for generation.

31
What is the reason, that if a vine be sprinkled and drenched with wine, especially that which came of the owne grape, it drieth and withereth away?

It is there not the same reason heereof as of the baldnesse in great drinkers, when as the wine by meanes of heat, causeth the moisture to evaporate which should feed the haire of their head? Or is it not rather, because the very liquor of wine commeth in some sort of putrefaction, according to the verses of *Empedocles* :

30
*When in wine, wood the water putrefies,
It turnes to wine, whiles under barke it lies.*

When as then a vine commeth to be wet with wine outwardly, it is as much as if fire were put into it, which doth corrupt the naturall temperature of that humour which should nourish it?

Or rather, pure wine, being of an astringent nature, soketh and pierceth to the very soor, where shutting up and enclosing the pores, it impeacheth the entrance of that sap (by vertue whereof, the vine is wont to bud, burgen, and flourish) that it can not runne to the stocke?

Or may it not be, it is cleane contrary to the nature of a vine, that the liquor which once went out of it, should returne againe into it? for a liquor or humour whiles it is within the plant in the nature of a sap, may well have power to feed the same; but that being departed once from thence, it should joine thereto againe, or become a part thereof, I cannot see how it is possible.

32
Why doth the date tree onely of all others arise arched, and bend upward, when a weight is laide thereupon?

Whether may it not be that the fire and spiritual power which it hath and is predominant in it, being once provoked, and as it were angered, putteth forth it selfe so much the more, and mounteth upward?

50 Or because the poile or weight afore said forcing the boughes suddenly, oppresseth and keepeth downe the airc substance which they have, and driveth all of it inward; but the same afterwards having resumed strength againe, maketh head afresh, and more egerly withstandeth the weight?

Or lastly, the softer and more tender branches not able to susteine the violence at first, so soone as the burden resteth quiet, by little and little lift up themselves, and make a shew as if they rose up against it.

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What

* I sende more of these questions in the Greeke original, or the French translation, but in one Latine translation it followeth on in this wise,

33

What is the reason that pit-water is lesse nutritive than either that which ariseth out of springs, or fallett downe from heaven?

IS it because it is more colde, and withall hath lesse aire in it?

Or, for that it containeth much salt therein, by reason of such store of earth mingled therewith: now it is well knownen, that salt above all other things causeth leanness.

Or because standing as it doeth still, and not exercised with running and stirring, it getteth a certaine malignant quality, which is hurtfull and offensive to all living creatures drinking thereof; for by occasion of that hurtfull qualitie, neither is it well concocted, nor yet can it feed or nourish any thing. And verily the same is the very cause that all dead waters of pooles and meares be unwholsome, for that they cannot digest and dispatch those harmefull qualities which they borrow of the evill propertie, either of aire or of earth.

34

*Why is the west wind held commonly to be of all other the swiftest, according to this verse of Homer:
Let us likewise bestir our feet,
As fast as westerne winds do fleet.*

IS it not thinke you, because this winde is wont to blow when the skie is very well clenfed, and the aire exceeding cleere and without all clouds; for the thicknesse and impuritie of the aire, doth not (I may say to you) a little impeach and interrupt the course of the winds.

Or rather, because the sunne with his beames striking through a cold winde, is the cause that it passeth the faster away; for whatsoever is drawn in by the refrigerative force of the windes, the same if it be overcome by heat as his enemies, we must thinke is driven and set forward both farther, and also with greater celeritie.

35

What should be the cause that bees cannot abide smoke?

WHether is it because the pores and passages of their vitall spirits be exceeding streight, and if it chance that smoke be gotten into them and there kept in and intercepted, it is enough to stop the poore bees breath, yea and to strangle them quite?

Or is it not the acrimony and bitterness (thinke you) of the smoke in cause? for bees are delighted with sweet things, and in very truth they have no other nourishment; and therefore no marvell if they detest and abhorre smoke, as a thing for the bitterness most adverse and contrary unto them: and therefore hony masters when they make a smoke for to drive away bees, are wont to burne bitter herbes, as hemlock, centaury, &c.

36

What might be the reason that bees will sooner sting those who newly before have committed whoredome?

IS it not because it is a creature that woonderfully delighteth in puritie, cleanness and elegance? and withall she hath a marvellous quick sense of smelling: because therefore such uncleanle dealings betweene man and woman in regard of fleshly and beastly lust, immoderately performed, are wont to leave behind in the parties much filthinesse and impurity; the bees both sooner finde them out, and also conceive the greater hatred against them: heereupon it is that in *Theocritus* the shepherd after a merry and pleasant manner, sendeth *Venus* away into *Antibes* to be well stung with bees, for her adultery; as appeareth by these verses:

*Now go thy way to Ida mount,
go to Anchises now,
Where mightie oaks, where banks along
of square Cyprus grow,
Where hives and hollow trunks of trees,
with hony sweet abound,
Where all the place with humming nose
of busie bees resound.*

And

And *Pindarus*:

*Thou painfull bee, thou pretie creature,
Who hony-combs fixe angled, as they be,
With feet doest frame, false Rhœcus and impure,
With sting hast prickt for his leasd villania.*

37

What is the cause that dogges follow after a stone that is thrown at them, and biteth it, letting the man alone who flang it?

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IS it because he can apprehend nothing by imagination, nor call a thing to minde: which are gifts and vertues proper to man alone? and therefore, seeing he can not discern nor conceive the partie indeed that offered him injurie, he supposeth that to be his enemy which seemeth in his eie to threaten him, and of it he goes about to be revenged?

Or thinking the stone whiles it runnes along the ground, to be some wilde beast, according to his nature he intendeth to catch it first: but afterwards, when he seeth himselfe deceived and put besides his reckoning, he setteth upon the man?

Or rather, doth he not hate the stone and man both alike; but pursueth that onely which is next unto him?

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38

What is the reason that at a certaine time of the yeere, fivee wolves doe all whelpes within the compass of twelve daies?

A*ntipater* in his booke containing the historie of living creatures, affirmeth, that shee wolves exclude forth their young ones about the time that mast-trees doe shed their blossomes; for upon the taste thereof their wombs open: but if there be none of such blowmes to be had, then their young die within the bodie, and never come to light. He saith moreover, that those countries which bring forth oaks and mast, are never troubled nor spoiled with wolves. Some there be who attribute all this to a tale that goes of *Latona*; who being with childe, and finding no abiding place of rest and safetie by reason of *Juno*, for the space of twelve daies; during which time, she went to *Delos*, being transmuted by *Jupiter* into a wolfe, obtained at his hands, that all wolves for ever after might within that time be delivered of their young.

39

How cometh it, that water seeming white aloft, sheweth to be blacke in the bottome?

IS it, for that depth is the mother of darkenesse, as being that which doth dimme and marre the Sunne beames before they can descend so low as it: as for the uppermost superficies of the water, because it is immediatly affected by the Sunne, it must needs receive the white brightness of the light; the which *Empedocles* verily approveth in these verses:

*Arivier in the bottome seemes,
by shade of colour blacke;
The like is scene in caves and holes,
by depth, where light they lacke.*

Or many times the bottome of the sea and great rivers being full of mud, doth by the reflexion of the Sunne beames represent the like colour that the said mud hath?

Or is not more probable, that the water toward the bottome is not pure and sincere, but corrupted with an earthy qualitie, as continually carying with it somewhat of that, by which it runneth and wherewith it is stirred; and the same feeling once to the bottome, causeth it to be more troubled and lesse transparent?



PLATO



PLATONIQUE QVE- STIONS.

10

The Summarie.



In these gatherings, Plutarch expoundeth the sense of divers hard places, which are found in the disputations of Socrates, contained in the Dialogues of Plato his disciple, but especially in Timæus; which may serve to allure young students to the reading of that great philosopher, who under the burke of words, hath delivered grave and pleasant matters.

20

PLATONIQUE QUESTIONS.

I

What is the reason, that God other-whiles commanded Socrates to do the part of a Midwife, in helping others to be delivered of child-birth, but forbad himselfe in any wise to procreate children? according as it is written in a treatise intituled Theætetus. For we ought not to thinke that if he had bene disposed to cavill, jest or to speake ironically in this place, he would have abused the name of God. Besides, in this selfe same treatise he attributeth many other high and magnificall speeches unto Socrates, & namely this among many others: Certes (quoth he) there be many men (right good for) who carry this minde to me-ward; that they are disposed plainly to carpe and bite me, in case at any time I seeme to hold them of any foolish opinion that they have, neither thinke they thus I do it of good will and meaning well unto them; shewing themselves herein far short of his doctrine, That no God beareth evil will to men: no more verily do I this unto them upon any malice: but surely I can not otherwise chuse, neither doe I thinke it lawfull for me either to smother her up and pardon a lie, or to dissemble and suppress a truth.

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So it for that he teardmeth his owne nature, as being more judicious and inventive, by the name of God: like as Alexander doth, saying: This minde, this our intelligence. In truth is of divine essence.

And Heraclitus:

*Mans nature we must needs confesse,
Is heavenly and a god doubtlesse.*

Or rather in very truth, there was some divine and celestiall cause, which suggested and inspired into Socrates this manner of philosophy; whereby sitting as hee did continually, and examining

others, hee cutted them of all swelling pride, of vaine error, of presumptuous arrogancy; likewise of being odious, first to themselves, and afterwards to those about them of their company: for it fortunated about his time, that a number of these sophisters swarmed over all Greece, unto whom young gentlemen resorting & paying good hummes of money for their salary, were filled with a great weening and opinion of themselves, with a vaine persuasion of their owne learning and zelous love to good letters, spending their time in idle disputations, and frivolous contentions, without doing any thing in the world, that was either good, honest, or profitable. Socrates therefore, who had a speciall gift by his manner of speech and discourse, as it were by some purgative medicine, to argue and convince, was of greater authority and credit when he

he confuted others, in that he never affirmed nor pronounced resolutely any thing of his owne; yea, and he pierced deeper into the soules and hearts of his hearers, by how much he seemed to seeke out the truth in common, and never to favorize and mainteine any opinion of his owne: for this begetting of a mans owne fancies, mightily impeacheth the facultie and power to judge another, for evermore the lover is blinded in the behalfe of that which he loveth: and verily there is nothing in the world that loveth so much the owne, as a man doth the opinions and reason whereof himselfe was the father; for surely that distribution and partition among children which is commonly laid to be most and equall, is in this case of opinions and reasons most unjust; for in the former every one must take his owne, but in this hee ought to chule the better, yea, though it were another mans: and therefore once againe, he that fadereth somewhat of his owne, becommeth the worse judge of other mens: And like as there was sometime a sophister or great learned man, who said: That the Elians would be the better umpires and judges of the sacred Olympick games, in case there were never any Elian came in place to performe his prizes; even so, he that would be a good president to sit and determine of divers sentences and opinions; no reason there is in the world that he should desire to have his owne sentence crowned, no nor to be one of the parties contending, and who in truth are to be judged by him. The Grecian captaines after they had defeated the Barbarians, being assembled in counsell to give their voices unto those whom they deemed worthy of reward and honour, for their prowesse; judged themselves all to have done the best service, and to be the most valorous warriors. And of philosophers I assure you there is not one but he would doe as much, unlesse it were Socrates and such as he, who confesse that they neither have, nor know ought of their owne: for these in truth be they who onely shew themselves to be uncorrupt, and competent judges of the truth, and such as cannot be challenged: for like as the aire within our eares if it be not firme and steady, nor cleere without any voice of the owne, but full of singing sounds, and ringing noises, cannot exactly comprehend that which is said unto us; even so, that which is judge of reasons in philosophie, if it meet with any thing that resoundeth and keepeth an hammering within, hardly will it be able to understand that which shall be delivered without foorth: for the owne particular opinion which is domestical and dwelleth at home, of what matter soever it be that is treated of, will alwaies be the philosopher that hitteth the marke, and toucheth the truth best; whereas all the rest shall be thought but to opine probably the truth. Moreover, if it be true that a man is not able perfectly to comprise or know any thing, by good right and reason then did God forbid him to cast forth these false conceptions as it were of untrue and unconstant opinions, and forced him to reprove and detect those who ever had such: for no small profit, but right great commoditie comes by such a speech as is able to deliver men from the greatest evil that is, even the spirit of error, of illusion and vanitie in opinion:

*So great a gift as God of speeall grace,
Gave never to Aclepius his race,*

For the phyicke of Socrates was not to heale the body, but to cleanse and purifie the soule, festered inwardly and corrupt. Contrariwise, if it be so, that the truth may be known, and that there be but one truth, he who learned it of him that found it not out, hath no lesse than the inventor himselfe; yea, & better receiveth it he, who is not perfwaded that he hath it: may he receiveth that which is simply best of all: much like as hee who having no naturall children of his owne body begotten, taketh the best that he can chuse, for to make his adopted child. But consider heere with me, whether other kinds of learning deserve not haply to have much study imployed in them, as namely, Poetry, Mathematics, the art of Eloquence, and the opinions of Sophisters and great clearks: Therefore God of that divine power whatsoever, forbad Socrates to engender them; but as touching that which Socrates esteemed to be the onely wisdom, to wit, the knowledge of God and spiritual things, which hee himselfe calleth the amorous science, there be no men that beget or invent it, but call the same onely to remembrance: whereupon Socrates himselfe never taught any thing, but proposing onely unto young men certaine beginning of difficulties and doubts, as it were the fore throwes of child-birth, stirred up, awakened, and drew forth their owne naturall wits, and inbred intelligences: and this was it that he called the midwives art, which brought nothing into them from without, as others would make them believe, who conferred with them, that they infused reason and understanding, but shewed onely and taught them, that they had already within themselves a minde and understanding

understanding of their owne, and the same sufficient to nourish, though it were confus'd and imperfect.

What is the reason that in some places he called the soveraigne God, father and maker of all things?

WAs it for that he is in trueth the father of gods, such as were ingendred, and also of men, as Homer calleth him, like as the maker of those creatures which have neither reason nor foule: for according as Chrysippus saith, we use not to call him the father of the secondine where in the infant is wrapped within the wombe, who conferred generall seed, although the said secondine be made of the seed.

Or useth he not a metaphor, as his maner is, when figuratively he termeth him Father of the world, who is the efficient cause, according to his usuall maner of speaking: as namely, in the Dialogue entituled *Symposium*, where he maketh *Phaedrus* the father of amorous discourses, for that he it was, who propos'd answer abroad the same: like as he named *Callipeda* in a dialogue bearing his name, The father of philosphicall discourses, for that there pass'd many beautiful speeches in philosophy, whereof he ministred the occasion and beginning?

Or rather was it not, because there is a difference betwene father and maker, as also betwene generation and creation? for whatsoever is ingendred, is made, but not *de converso*; whatsoever is made, is likewise ingendred: sensibly, who hath begotten, hath also made; for generation is the making of a living creature: but if we consider a workeman, to wit, either a mason or carpenter, a weaver, a lute maker, or imager; certes, the worke is distinct and separate from the maker: whereas the moving principle, and the puffsance of him who begetteth, is infused into that which is begotten; it containeth his nature, being as it were a parcell distracted from the very substance of him who ingendred it. Forasmuch then, as the world doth not resemble a conjunction of many pieces, set, joined, fastened and glued together; but hath in it a great portion of the animal life, yea, and of divinity, which God hath infused and mingled in the matter, as derived from his owne nature and substance; good reason it is therefore, that he should be sumamed both the father and maker of the world, being a living creature as it is. These points being very conformable and proportionate to the opinion of *Plato*, consider withall a little, if this also which I shall deliver, be not likewise accordant thereunto; namely, that the world being composed of two parts, to wit, of body and of soule: the one, which is the body, God hath not ingendred; but having the matter thereof exhibited unto him, he hath formed, shaped and fitted it, binding and knitting it according to the infinitie thereof, with termes, bounds and figures proper thereto: but the soule having a portion of understanding discourse of reason, order and harmonie, is not onely the worke, but also a part of God, not by him, but even of him, and issuing from his owne proper substance. In his booke therefore of Politiques or Common wealth, having divided the whole world, as it were a line into two segments or sections unequal, he subdivideth either section into other twaine, after the same proportion: for two generall kinds he maketh of all things; the one sensible and visible, the other intelligible: unto the intelligible kind he attributeth in the first degree the primitive formes and *Ideas*; in the second degree, the Mathematicks: and as for the sensible kinde, he attributeth thereto in the first ranke, all solide bodies; and in the second place, the images and figures of them. Also to every one of these four members of his said division, he giveth his owne proper judge: to the first of *Ideas*, understanding; to the Mathematicks, imagination; to the solide bodies, faith and beleefe; to the images and figures, conjecture. To what end then, and upon what intention hath he divided the whole world into two sections, and the same unequal? and of those two sections, whether is the greater, that of sensible objects, or that of intelligible? As for himselfe, he hath not shewed and declared it: but presently it will appear, that the portion of sensible things is the greater: for the indivisible substance is of things intellectuall, being evermore of one sort, and resting upon the same subject in one state, and reduced to very thort and narrow roome, and the same pure and neat: whereas the other being spread and wandering upon bodies, is that section of sensible things. Moreover, the propertie of that which is incorpall, is to be definite and determinate. And as touching the matter thereof, is indefinite and undeterminate; becoming sensible, when by participation of the intelligible it is made finite and limitable. Over and besides, like as every sensible thing hath many images, many shadowes, and many figures, and generally, out of one onely patterne there may be drawn many copies and examples, imitated as well

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by art as by nature; so it can not chuse, but the things that here be sensible, should be more in number than they above, which are intelligible, according to the opinion of *Plato*, supposing this, that things sensible be as it were the images and examples of the original patterns; to wit, the intelligible *Ideas*. Furthermore, the intelligences of these *Ideas* and formes by subtraction, deduction and division of bodies, is ranged answerable to the order of the Mathematicks; arising first Arithmetick which is the science of Numbers, into Geometry, to wit, the skill of measures; then afterwards to Astrologie, which is the knowledge of the stars; & in the highest place above all the rest, I seteth *Harmonie*, which is the skill of sounds and accords: for the subject of Geometry is this, when as to quantity in generally, there is adjoined magnitude in length & breadth: of Stereometric, when to the magnitude of length and breadth, there is added depth or profunditie. Likewise, the proper subject of Astrologie is this, when to the solid magnitude there cometh motion. The subject of harmony or musick, when to a bodie moving, there is adjoined sound or voice. If we subtract then and take away, from moving bodies, voice; from solide bodies, motion; from superficies, depth and profundity; and from quantities, magnitude; we shall come by this time to the intelligible *Idea* which have no difference amongst them, in regard of one and sole thing: for unitie maketh no number, unless it come once to touch binarie or two, which is infinite: but in this wise having produced a number, it proceedeth to points and pricks, from pricks to lines, and so forth from lines to superficies, from superficies to profundities; from thence to bodies, and so forward to the qualities of bodies subject to passions and alterations. Moreover, of intellectuall things, there is no other judge but the understanding or the mind; for cogitation or intelligence, is no other thing but the understanding, so long as it is applied unto Mathematics, wherein things intellectuall appear as within mirrors; whereas, for the knowledge of bodies, by reason of their great number, nature hath given unto us five powers and faculties of severall and different senses for to judge withall: and yet sufficient they are not to discover all objects; for many there be of them so small, that they can not be perceived by the senses. And like as, although every one of us being composed of soule and bodie, yet that principall part, which is our spirit and understanding, is a very small thing; hidden and inclosed within a great masse of flesh; even so, very like it is, that there is the same proportion within the universall world, betwene things sensible and intellectuall: for the intellectuall are the beginning of corpall: now that which proceedeth from a beginning, is alwaies in number more, and in magnitude greater, than the said beginning.

But on the contrary, a man may reason thus and say: First and foremost, that in comparing sensible and corpall things with intellectuall, we doe in some sort make mortall things equal with divine, for God is to be reckened among intellectuall. Now this is to be granted, that the content is alwaies lesse then the continent; but the nature of the universall world, within the intellectuall, comprehendeth the sensible. For God having set the soule in the midst, hath spread and stretched it through all within, and yet without forth hath covered all bodies with it. As for the soule it is invisible, yea and inperceptible to all the naturall senses, according as he hath written in his booke of lawes: and therefore every one of us is corruptible; but the world shall never perish: for that in each of us that which is mortall and subject to dissolution, containeth within it the power which is vital; but in the world it is cleane contrary, for the principall puffsance and nature, which is ever after one fort immutable, and doth alwaies preserve the corpall part, which it containeth and embraceth within it selfe. Besides, in a bodily nature and corpall, a thing is called individuall and importible for the smallnesse thereof, to wit, when it is so little that it cannot be divided, but in the spiritual and incorpall, it is so called for the simplicity, sincerity & purity thereof, as being exempt from all multiplicity & diversity: for otherwise folly it were to cast a guesse at spiritual things by corpall. Furthermore the very present time which we call Now, is said to be inpartible and indivisible: howbeit, instant together it is every where, neither is their any part of this habitable world without it: but all passions, all actions, all corruptions & generations throughout the world are comprised in this very present Now. Now the onely instrument to judge of things intellectuall is the understanding, like as the eye, of light; which for simplicity is uniforme, & every way like unto it selfe: but bodies having many diversities & differences, are comprehended by divers instruments, & judged some by this, and others by that. And yet some there be who unworthily disesteem and contemne the intellectuall puffsance and spiritual which is in us: for in truth, being goodly and great, it surmounteth every sensible thing and reacheth up as farre as to the gods. But that which of all others is most, himselfe in his booke entituled *Symposium*, teaching how to use love and love matters,

some reade
these words
that is to say,
they are so
small, that

matters, in withdrawing the soule from the affection of beauties corporall, and applying the same to those which are intellectuall, exhorteth us not to subiect and inthrall our selves into the lovely beauty of any body, nor of one study and science, but by erecting and lifting up our mindes aloft from such base objects, to turne unto that vast ocean indeed of pulcritude and beauty, which is vertue.

How cometh it to passe, that considering he affirmeth evermore the soule to be more ancient than the body as the very cause of the generation, yet, and the beginning likewise the contrarywise he saith, that the soule was never without the bodie, nor the understanding without the soule, and that of necessitie the soule must be within the bodie, and the understanding in the soule? for it seemeth that here in there is some contradiction; namely, that the body both is, and is not, in case it be true, that it is together with the soule, and yet never thelesse ingendred by the soule?

IS it because that is true which we oftentimes doe say? namely, that the soule without understanding, and the body without forme have alwaies benee together, & neither the one nor the other had ever commencement of being nor beginning of generation; but when the soule came to have participation of understanding and of harmonie, and became to be wife by the meanes of consonance and accord, then caused the mutation in matter, and being more powerfull and strong in her owne motions, drew and turned into her the motions of the other? and even so the bodies of the world had the first generation from the soule, whereby it was shaped and made uniforme. For the soule of her selfe, brought not forth the nature of a body, nor created it of nothing, but of a body without all order and forme whatsoever, he made it orderly and very obsequant: as if one said that the force of a seed or kernell is alwaies with the bodie, but yet nevertheless the body of the fig tree or olive tree is engendred of the seed or kernell, he should not speake contraries: for the very body it selfe being mooved and altered by the seed, springeth and groweth to be such: sensibly the matter void of forme and indeterminate, having once bene thapen by the soule, which was within, received such a forme and disposition.

What is the reason, that where as there be bodies and figures some consisting of right lines and others of circular, he hath taken for the foundation and beginning of those which stand of right lines, the triangle? Isocrates, with two equall sides, and Scalenum, with three sides all unequal. Of which, the triangle with two even legs composed the cube or square bodie, which is the element and principle of the earth: and the triangle with three unequal legs made the pyramidall body, as also octaedron with eight faces, and coaedron with twenty faces whereof the first is the element and seed of fire, the second of aire, and the third of water: and yet he hath overpassed quite all bodies and figures circular: notwithstanding that he made mention of the sphericall figure or round body when he said, that every one of those figures above named is apt to divide a globe or sphericall body into equall parts?

IS it as some doe imagine and suppose, because he attributed the Dodecaedron, that is to say, the body with twelve faces unto the globe or round sphere, in saying that God made use of this forme and figure, in the framing of the world? for in regard of the multitude of elements, and bluntnesse of angles, it is farthest off from direct and right lines, whereby it is flexible, and by stretching forth round in manner of a ball made of twelve pieces of leather, it approacheth nearest unto roundnesse, and in that regard is of greatest capacitie; for it contained twenty angles solid, and every one of them is comprized and environed within three flate obtuse or blunt angles, considering that every of them is composed of one right and fitt part: moreover compact it is and composed of twelve pentagones, that is to say, bodies with five angles, having their angles and sides equal; of which every one of thirty principall triangles, with three unequal legges: by reason whereof, it seemeth that he followed the degrees of the Zodiacke, and the daies of the yeere together, in that division of their parts so equal and just in number.

Or may not this be the reason, that by nature the right goeth before the round? or rather, to speake more truly, that a circular line seemeth to be some vicious passion or faulty qualitie of the right, for we use ordinarily to say, that the right line doth bow or bend; and a circle is drawn

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and described by the center, and the distance from it to the circumference, which is the verie place of the right line, by which it is measured out; for the circumference is on every side equally distant from the center. Moreover, the *Conus*, which is a round pyramys; and the *Cylindre*, which is as it were a round colonne or pillar of equall compass, are both made of figures with direct lines, the one, to wit, the *Conus*, by a triangle, whereof one side remaineth firme, and the other with the base goeth round about it: the *Cylindre*, when the same befalleth to a parallell. Moreover, that which is lesse, cometh nearest unto the beginning, and resembleth it most: but the least and simplest of all lines is the right; for of the round line that part which is within, doth crooke and curve hollow, the other without doth bumpy and bunch. Over and besides, numbers are before figures, for unity is before a pricke; seeing that a pricke is in position and situation an unity, but an unity is triangular, for that every number triangular, eight times repeated or multiplied, by addition of an unity becometh quadrangular, and the same also befalleth to unity; and therefore a triangle is before a circle, which being so, the right line goeth before the circular. Moreover, an element is never divided into that which is composed of it: but contrariwise, every thing else is divided and resolved into the owne elements whereof it doth consist. If then the triangle is not resolved into any thing circular; but contrariwise, two diameters crossing one another, part a circle just into four parts; then we must needs inferre the figure consisting of right lines, went before those which are circular: now that the right line goeth first, and the circular doth succeed and follow after, *Plato* himselfe hath shewed by demonstration, namely when hee saith, that the earth is composed of many cubes or square solid bodies, whereof every one is enclosed, and contained with right lined superficies, in such manner disposed, as yet the whole body and masse of the earth seemeth round like a globe, so that we need not to make any proper element thereof round; if it be so that bodies with right lines, conjoined and set in some sort one to another, bringeth forth this forme: Over and besides the direct line, be it little or be it great, keepeth alwaies the same rectitude: whereas contrariwise we see the circumferences of circles if they be small, are more coping, bending, and contracted in their outward curvature: contrariwise, if they be great, they are more extent, lax, and spread, inasmuch as they that stand by the outward circumference of circles, lying upon a flat superficies, touch the same underneath, partly by a pricke if they be small, and in part by a line if they be large; so as a man may very well conjecture, that many right lines joined one to another taile to taile by piece-meale, produce the circumference of a circle. But consider whether there be none of these our circular or sphericall figures, exquisitely and exactly perfect; but in regard of the extensions and circumventions of right lines, or by reason of the exilitie and finalnesse of the parts, there can be perceived no difference, and thereupon there sheweth a circular and round figure: And therefore it is, that there is not a bodie here, that by nature doth moove circularly, but all according to the right line; so that the round and sphericall figure is not the element of a sensible body, but of the soule and understanding, unto which he attributeth likewise the circular motion as belonging unto them naturally.

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To what sense and meaning delivered he this speech in his booke entitled Phaedrus, that the nature of a wing, whereby that which is heavy and ponderous, is carried up aloft, of all other things that belong unto a body, hath a certaine communion and participation with God?

IS it because he discourseth there of love; and love is occupied about the beauty of the body, and this beauty for the resemblance that it hath to divinity, doth moove the minde, and excite the reminiscence thereof?

Or rather are we to take it simply without curious searching farther into any mystery thereof; namely, that the soule being within the body, hath many faculties & powers, whereof that which is the discourse of reason and understanding, doth participate with the deitie, which hee not improperly and impertinently tearmeth a wing, because it lifteth up the soule from things base and mortall, unto the consideration of heavenly and celestiall matters.

How is it that Plato in some places saith, the Anteperistasis of motion, that is to say, the constant contrariety debarring a body to moove, in regard that therein is no voidnesse or vacuity in nature, is the cause of those effects which we see in physicians ventoses and cupping glasses of snallowing downe our wounds, of throwing of mussy waights, of the course and convergence of rivers

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ters of the fall of lightnings, of the attraction that amber maketh of the drawing of the lode-stone, and of the accord and consonance of voices? For it seemeth against all reason to yeld one only cause, for so many effects so diverse and so different in kinde. First, as touching the respiration in living creatures, by the antiperistaltis of the aire, he hath elsewhere sufficiently declared, but of the other effects, which seeme as he saith to be miracles, and wonders in nature, and are nothing for that they be nought else but bodies reciprocally and by alternative course, driving one another out of place round about, and mutually succeeding in their roomes, he hath left for to be discussed by me, how each of them particularly is done?

First and foremost for ventoses and cupping glasses thus it is. The aire that is contained within the ventose, striking as it doth into the flesh, being inflamed with heat, and being now more fine and subtil than the holes of the brasie (box or glass) whereof the ventose is made, getteth forth, not into a void place, for that is impossible, but into that other aire which is round about the said ventose without forth, and driven the same from it; and that fortheth otherwise it, and thus as it were from hand to hand, whiles the one giveth place, and the other driven continually, and so entrench into the vacant place which the first left, it commeth at length to fall upon the flesh which the ventose thickest fast unto, and by heating and inheating, it expelleth the humor that is within, into the ventose or cupping vessel.

The swelling of our vituals is after the same manner, for the cavities as well of the mouth as of the stomacke, be always full of aire: when as then, the meat is driven within the passage or gullet of the throat, partly by the tongue and partly by the glandulous parts or kernelles called tonsells, and the muscles which now are stretched, the aire being pressed and thrained by the said meat, followeth it hard as it giveth place, and sticking close, it is a meanes to helpe for to drive it downward.

Sensibly the waighy things that be slung, as bigge stones and such like, cut the aire and divide it, by reason that they were sent out and jewelled with a violent force; then the aire all about behind, according to the nature thereof, which is to follow where a place is left vacant and to fill it up, pursueth the masse or waight afore said that is lanced or discharged forcibly, and setteth forward the motion thereof.

The shooting and ejaculation of lightening is much what after the manner of these waights thrown in manner afore said, for being enflamed and set on a light fire, it flasheth out of a cloud by the violence of a stroke, into the aire, which being once open and broken, giveth place unto it, and then closing up together above it, driveth it downe forcibly against the owne nature.

As for amber, we must not thinke that it draweth any thing to it of that which is presented before it, no more than doth the lode stone; neither that any thing comming nere to the one or the other, leape thereupon. But first, as touching the said stone; it sendeth from it I wot not what strong and statuous fluxions, by which the aire next adjoining giving backe, driveth that which is before it; and the same turning round and reentring againe into the void place, doth thrust from it and withall carry with it the yron to the stone. And for amber it hath likewise a certaine fragrant and stauent spirit, which when the out-side thereof is rubbed, it putteth forth by reason that the pores thereof are by that meanes opened. And verily that which influeth out of it, worketh in some measure the like effect that the Magnet or lode stone did: and drawn there are unto it such matters nere at hand as be most light and dry, by reason that the substance comming thereof is but slender and weake: neither is it selfe strong nor hath sufficient waight and force, for to chace and drive before it a great deale of aire, by means whereof it might overcome greater things, as the lode stone doth. But how is it that this aire driveth and sendeth before it neither wood nor stone, but yron only, and so bringeth it to the Magnet? This is a doubt and difficulty that much troubleth all those who suppose that this meeting and cleaving of two bodies together, is either by the attraction of the stone, or by the natural motion of the yron: Yron is neither so hollow and spongeous as is wood, nor so fast and close, as is gold or tunc, but it hath small holes, passages and rough apertures, which in regard of the inequality are well proportionate and sortable to the aire, in such wise, as it runneth not easily through, but hath certaine staies by the way to catch hold of, so as it may stand steady and take such sure footing as to be able to force and drive before it the yron untill it have brought it to kisse the lode stone. And thus much for the causes and reasons that may be rendred of these effects.

As considering the running of water above ground, by what manner of compression and co-actation round about, it should be performed it is not so easy either to be perceived or declared.

But

But thus much we are to learne, that for waters of lakes, which stirre not but continue alwaies in one place, it is because the aire, spread all about, and keeping them in on every side, mooveth not nor leaveth unto them any vacant place. For even so the upper face of the water, as well in lakes as in the sea, riseth up into waves and billowes, according to the agitation of the aire; for the water still followeth the motion of the aire, and floweth or is troubled with it, by reason of the inequalities. For the stroke of the aire downward maketh the hollow dent of the wave: but as the same is driven upward it causeth the swelling and furling tumor of the wave untill such time as all the place above containing the water be settled and laid, for then the waves also doe cease, and the water likewise is still and quiet. But now for the course of waters which glide and run continually above the face of the ground: the cause thereof is because they alwaies follow hard after the aire that giveth way and yet are chased by those behinde by compression and driving forward, and so by that meanes maintaine a continuall streame that never resteth: which is the reason also that great rivers when they are full and doe overflow the banks, run with a more swift and violent streame: and contrariwise when there is but a little water in the chanell, they glide more slowly, because the aire before doth nothing so much give place, for that they are more feeble: neither is there so great an antiperistaltis to urge and presse them forward; and even so the spring waters must of necessity boile and rise upward, for that the outward aire entering closely into the void hollow places within the ground sendeth up againe the water forth.

The paved floor of a darke close house, containing in it a great deale of fill aire, without any winde from without entring into it, if a man doe call water upon it, engendreth presently a winde and colde vapour; by reason that the aire is displaced and removed out of his seat, by the water which fell, and is thereby beaten, and receiveth the stroke and dint thereof. For this is the nature of them, to drive one another, and likewise to give place one to the other interchangeably, admitting in no wise any emptinesse, wherein the one of them should be so settled, as that it did not reciprocally feele the change and alteration of the other.

To come now unto the above named symphonie and consonance, himselfe hath declared how it is that that founds and voices do accord: for the small and treble is quicke and swift; whereas the bigge and base is heave and slow. And thereupon it is, that small and shrill founds do move the sense of hearing before others: but if when these begin to fall and decay, the slow and base begin to succeed and receive then the mixture and temperature of them both, by a kind of conformitie yeeldeth a delight and pleasure to the eare, which they call a symphonie or accord. And that hereof the aire is the instrument, it may evidently appeare by that which we have said already: for voice is a stroke or percussion by the aire of that which the eare doth heare; for as the aire is smitten by motion, so it striketh againe the auditive organ forcibly, if the motion be quicke; and gently, if the same be slow: and that which is stricken forcibly with a violence, commeth first into the sense of hearing, but afterwards, turning about and meeting with that which is more slow, it followeth and accompanieth the same.

40 What is the meaning of Timæus, when he saith: That the soules are dispersed and sowne (as it were) upon the ground, the moone and all other instruments of time whatsoever.

It is because he was of opinion, that the earth did move like unto the sunne, moone and other five planets, which he calleth the instruments of time, because of their conversions? and held besides, that we ought not to imagine the earth so framed, as it if were firme and immovable, fast fixed and perpetually to the axletree or pole that passeth thorow the world; but that it turneth round in manner of a wheele: like as afterwards *Anaxarchus* and *Seleucus* have shewed; the one supposing it only, the other affirming so much flatly. To say nothing of that which *Theophrastus* wrote; namely, how *Plato* toward the latter end of his daies, repented that he had assigned unto the earth the center and middle of the world, a place inuis and unmeet for it?

Or rather, because this is directly repugnant unto many sentences which this philosopher undoubtedly held, we ought therefore to change the writing of this place of *Timæus*, by putting the daive case in stead of the genetive, to wit, *Zeiton* for *Zeiton*, yea, and to understand by the instruments of time, not the planets or starres, but the bodies of living creatures; according as *Aristotle* hath defined the soule, to be a continuall act of a bodie, Naturall, Organical, having life potentially: so that the sentence in the foresaid place should be read thus: The soules have bene disseminated and sowne by time in organical bodies, meet and agreeable for them. And yet

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even this also is contrary unto his own opinion : for that not in one onely place, but in many, he hath called the flares, instruments of time, considering that he affirmeth that the very sunne was made to distinguish and keepe the number of time with other planets. The best way is therefore to understand, That the earth is the instrument of time, not because it moveth as doe the flares; but for that so continuing as it doeth, alwaies firme and steady in it selfe, it giveth meanes unto the flares moving round about it, to rise and to fall; whereby are limited the day and the night, which are the first measures of time: and therefore himselfe hath called it the Guardian, yea, the Arian indeed and right truly of night and day: for the Gnomons in Sundials, not moving with the shadows, but standing still and keeping their place, are the instruments and measures of time, representing the obstacle of the earth opposite unto the Sun moving round about it; like as *Empedocles* saith:

*The earth set just twice Sun beames and our sight,
Shuts up the day and bringeth in the night.*

And thus much for the enodation of this knot.

But haply this a man may doubt to be a strange and absurd speech, to say that the Sun, together with the Moone & the planets, were made for distinction of times: for otherwise by it selfe, great is the dignity of the Sun; and *Plato* himselfe in his books of Common-wealth, calleth him the king and lord of all the sensible world, like as *Good* he pronounceth to be the sovereign of the intelligible world. And the Sun (saith he) is the very issue extract from that *Good*, giving unto things visible, together with their apparance, being also, & substance; like as *Good* giveth unto intelligible things this gift, both to have a being, and also to be known. Now, that *God* having such puissance and so great, should be the instrument of time, and an evident rule and measure of the difference that is of swiftnesse or of slownesse among the eight heavenly spheres, seemeth not very decent; no nor any consonant to reason. It remaineth therefore thus much to say, those who trouble themselves about these points, for very ignorance are deceived, supposing that time according to the definition of *Aristotle*, is the measure of motion, and the number in regard of priority and posteriority: or the quantity in motion after the opinion of *Speusippus*; or else the distance of motion, and no other thing, as the Stoicks describe it, defining for such an accident, but never coming neere unto the substance and power thereof, which as it should seeme, the poet *Pindarus* imagined and conceived not amiss when he said:

*In right of age, time hath this odds,
That it surpasseth all the gods.*

Pythagoras also, who being asked what time was? answered: The soule of the heaven: for time be it what it will be, is not some accident or passion of any motion, but it is the cause, the puissance and the principle of that proportion, and order that containeth and holdeth together all things, according to which, the nature of the world, and this whole universality, which also is animate, doth move, or rather the very same proportion it selfe and order which doth move, is the thing that we call time:

*For waken it doth with silent pace,
In way where as no wile wrode:
Conducting justly to their place,
All small things that passe and fade.*

And lastly according to the minde of ancient philosophers, the substance of the soule was determined to be a number moving it selfe; which is the reason why *Plato* said: That time and heaven were made together; but motion was before heaven, at what time as there was no heaven at all; for why, there was no order nor measure whatsoever, no nor any distinction, but an undetermined motion, like as the matter was rude without forme & figure: but after that nature once had cast this matter into a colour, and had shaped it with forme and figure, and then determined motion with periodicall revolutions, the made withall, both the world and time both: for since what are the very images of *God*: to wit, the world of his substance, and time of his eternitie: for *God* in that he moveth, is time, and in that he hath being, is the world. This is the reason why he saith: That both of them coming together, shall likewise both be dissolved together, in case that ever there will be any dissolution of them. For that which had a beginning and generation, cannot be without time, no more than that which is intelligible without eternitie; in case the one is to continue for ever, and the other being once made, shall never perith and be dissolved. Time then being so necessarily linked and interlaced with the heaven, is not simply a motion, but as we have said already, a motion ordeined by order, which hath

hath a just measure, set limits and bonds, yea and certaine revolutions; of all which, the sunne being superintendent, governour and directour, for to dispose, limit, and digest all; for to distribute, set out and shew, the alterations and seasons the which bring forth all things, as *Heraclitus* saith: confessed it must be, that he is a workman coopeart with that chiefe and soveraigne *God*, the prince of all, not in petie, base, and frivolous things, but in the greatest and most principall works that be.

8

Plato in his books of common-wealth, having excellently well compared the symphony of the three faculties & powers of the soule, to wit, the reasonable, the irascible & concupiscible, unto the musickall harmony of the notes, *Mese*, *Hypate*, and *Nete*, hath given occasion for a man to doubt, whether hee set the irascible or reasonable part, correspondent to the meane? seeing that he shewed not his meaning in this present place; for according to the situation of the parts of the body, wherein these faculties are seated, surely the courageous and irascible is placed in the middles, and answered to the region of *Mese* the meane: but the reasonable is ranged into the place of *Hypate*: for that which is aloft, first and principall our amiceffours used to call *Hypaton*: according to which sense *Xenocrates* calleth *Jupiter* or the aire (that I meane which converseth above where all things continue the flame, and after one sort) *Hypatos*; like as that which is under the moone, *Neatos*. And before him *Homer* speaking of the soveraigne *God* and prince of princes, saith thus: *Ωκυνοτος*, that is to say, our soveraigne and supreme of all rulers. And in trueth, nature hath by very good right given unto the best part of the soule, the highest place in lodging the discourse of reason, as the governour of the rest within the head; but hath removed farre from thence to the base and inferior members, the concupiscible: for the low situation is called *Neate*, according as appeareth by the denomination of the dead, who are termed *Νεφτης* and *Εντερι*, that is to say, inferior or infernal: and for this cause, some there be who say, that the winde which bloweth from beneath, and out of places unseene, that is to say, from the pole *Antarctice*, is called *Νεμος*, that is to say, the south. Since then it is so, that there is the same proportion of contrariety between concupiscible and reasonable parts of the soule, as there is between lowest and highest, last and first; it is not possible, that reason should be the highest and principall, and not withall, correspondent to *Hypate*, but to some other note in musick: for they who attribute unto her as unto the principall faculty and power *Mese*, that is to say, the meane, see not (ignorant as they be) how they take from her that which is more principall, to wit, *Hypate*, which cannot fit well either with ire or lust, for both these, the one and the other are made for to follow, and be commanded by reason, and not to command or goe before reason. Moreover, it should seeme by nature, that anger ought to have the meane and middle place, considering that naturally reason is to command; and anger both to command and be commanded, as being on the one side subject to the discourse of reason, and on the other side, commanding lust, yea, and punishing it, when she is disobedient to reason. And like as in grammar, those letters which we call semivowels, be of a middle nature, betwene mute consonants and vowels: for that as they found more than the one, so they found lesse than the other: even so in the soule of man, wrath is simply a meere passion, but hath many times an apparence of duty and honesty mixed with desire of revenge. And *Plato* himselfe comparing the substance of the soule unto a couple of horses drawing a chariot, and guided by a chariot man, who driveth them, and understandeth by the driver & guide, as every man well knows the discourse of reason: now of the two steeds, that of lusts and pleasures is frampold, skittish, flogging, winfling, unruly altogether, and unbroken, stiffnecked, deafe, hardly caring either for whip or spur; where as the other of ire, is for the most part tractable, and obseant to the bridle of reason, yea, and ready to joine with it in execution of good things. And like as in a chariot with two horses, the driver or chariot-man is not in vertue and puissance the middle, but rather one of the horses, which is worse than the chariot man, and better than his fellow that draweth with him: even so likewise hath not the given the middle place unto that part which doth rule and governe in the soule, but unto that wherein there is lesse passion than in the first, and more reason than in the third: for this order and disposition observeth the proportion of the irascible to the reasonable part, as is of *Diatesaron* to *Hypate*; and to the concupiscible, as *Dapente* to *Nete*: also of the reasonable part to the concupiscible, as *Hypate* to *Nete*, which is *Diapason*. But if we draw reason and the discourse thereof to the meane, anger shall be farther off from lust and concupiscence, which

Rrrr 3

some of the philosophers held to be one and the selfe same thing, for the great similitude and resemblance betwene them.

Or rather, it is but a ridiculous thing to attribute unto the places, first, midst, and last, seeing (as we do) how in a harpe, lute, or stringed instrument, Hypate hath the first and highest place; but in flutes and pipes the lowest & the last: furthermore, the meane in what place soever of the harpe or lute you let it, you shall find it foundeth alwaies the same note still, to wit, smaller than Hypate, & bigger than Nete: for the very eie it selfe hath not the same situation in all creatures, but in any creature, and in what place soever it is set according to nature, alwaies it is ordained and made for to see. Like as therefore the pædagogus or governour of youth, who ordinarily commeth behinde, and goeth not before his children, is notwithstanding said to lead to and guide them: And the captaine of the Trojanes in *Homer*:

*Who with the foremost in the front,
sometimes appeer'd in fight,
And in the rearward others vailed,
his men stirr'd up to fight.*

As well in the one part as the other, was alwaies the chiefe, and had the principall power: even so we ought not to force the parts of the soule to any places or names, but to examine and search the power and proportion of them; for that the discourse of reason in situation should be set in the first and principall place of mans body, falleth out accidentally: but the first and principall power it hath, as being Meise or the meane, in regard of Hypate, the concupiscible part; and Nete the irascible, by letting downe and setting up, by making consonance and accord, by taking from the one and the other that which is excessive; and againe, by not sufficing them either to be let loose and slacke altogether, or to lie asleepe: for mediocrity and a competent temperature, is limited by a meane; or rather to speake more properly, a principall piece of worke this is, and a singular gift and puiſſance of reason, to make and imprint in passions, meanes and mediocrities, if we may so say, which are called holy and sacred, consisting in a temperature of two extremities with reason, yea and betweene them both by the meanes of reason: for the teeme of two steeds hath not for the meane & in the midst, that of two which is better: neither are we to imagine, that the government of them is one of the extremities; but rather we ought to thinke, that it is the middes and mediocritie betwixt the immoderate celeritie or slownesse of the two steeds; like as the power of reason which holdeth in the passions when they stirre without measure and reason, and by composing and framing them unto her in measurable proportion, setteth downe a mediocritie and meane betwene too much, and over little, betweene excess (I say) and defect.

What is the reason that Plato saith: Our speech is tempered and composed of nownes and of verbes? for he seemeth to make no account of all other parts of speech beside these two: and to thinke that I Homer in a gallant youthfull humour to shew his fresh wit affected to thrust them all eight into this one verse:

ὁμοῖα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

For heere you have a Pronome, a Participle, a Nowne, a Verbe, a Preposition, a Conjunction, and an Adverbe for the Participle, is, is put in stead of the Preposition is, that is to say, to: and ἀνθρώπων, that is to say, to thyself, is after the manner of ἀνθρώπων, that is to say, to Athens: But what shall we answer in the behalfe of Plato.

* The sense of this is altogether unperceived, depending of the precedent and subsequent verses, but serving the tune as it stands, it requirerh not to be done into English.

It sit for that in olde time they called that ὁμοῖα λόγος, that is to say, the first speech, which then was named ὁμοῖα, that is to say, a proposition, and now they teame ἀνθρώπων, that is to say, dignitie: which when they utter first, they either lie or speake truth. And this proposition is compounded of a Nowne and a verbe, whereof the one is called by the Logicians, πρόθεσις, that is to say, the case; the other, ἀποκρίσις, that is to say, the predicable or *prædicatum*. For when we heare one say, *Socrates* teacheth; and againe, *Socrates* is turned; we say the one is true, and the other is false: and we require no more words. For it is probable that men at the first had need of speech and voice articulate, when they were desirous to explaine and signifie one unto another the actions and the persons and the doers thereof: like as the passions and the persons who suffer the same. Forasmuch then, as by the Verbe we expresse sufficiently the actions and passions; and

and by the Nowne, the persons doing or suffering according as he himselfe saith; it seemeth that these be the two parts of speech that he meant: as for the rest, a man may well and truly say, that they signifie nothing, no more than doe the groanes, sighes and lamentations of plaiers in a tragedie, yea, and many times iwis, a smile, a reticence or keeping silence, which otherwise may well expresse a speech, and make it more emphaticall; but surely, no necessarie and significative power have they to declare ought, like as the Verbe & the Nowne hath: onely they serve as accessory adjuncts, to vary, illustrate & beautifie the speech; like as they also diversifie the very letters, who put to their spirits and aspirations, their accents also to some, whereby they make them long & short, and reckon them for elements & letters indeed, whereas they be passions, accidents, & diversifications of elements, rather than distinct elements by themselves, as it appeareth manifestly by this, that our ancients contented themselves sufficiently to speake and write with sixteene letters and no more. Moreover, consider and see whether we doe not take the words of *Plato* otherwise than he delivered them; when he saith that the speech is tempered of these two parts, and not by them. Take heed (I say) we commit not the same error as he doth, who should cavill and finde fault with one for saying, that such an ointment or salve was made of wax and *gallanum*, alledging against him for saying, that he left out fire and the vessel, without which a man knoweth not how to temper the said simples or drogues: for even so, if we should reprove him because he omitted the naming of Conjunctions, Prepositions and other parts of speech, we were likewise to be blamed: for in truth, a speech or sentence is not compounded of these parts, but by them and not without them. For like as he, who should pronounce simply these Verbs, To beate, or To be beaten; or otherwise these bare Nownes, *Socrates* or *Pythagoras*; giveth some light (such as it is) of a thing to be conceived & understood: but he that should come out with these godde words, For, or Of, and say no more, a man can not imagine what he meaneth thereby, nor gather any conception either of action or of body; for if there be not some other words pronounced with them or about them, they resemble naked sounds and vaine noises without any significations at all: for that neither by themselves alone, nor one with another, it is possible that they should betoken any thing. Nay, admit that we should conjoin, mingle and intrelace together Conjunctions, Articles and Prepositions all in one, minding to make one entire bodie of them all, we shall seeme rather to creake than speake: so to soome as a Verbe is joined to a Nowne, that which resulteth thereupon is immediately a sentence and significant speech. And therefore not without good reason some doe thinke that these two (to speake properly) be the onely parts of speech. And peradventure *Homer* had some such meaning, and gave us so much to understand, by saying in so many places,

ὅμοιόν τ' ἔπειτα, καὶ τ' ἰσχυρότερον.

*He spake the word, and with the same,
Immediately out came the name.*

For by this, that is to say, the words his manner is to signifie a Verbe: as namely in this other verse;

ὁ γὰρ αὖτε ἰδὼν αὖτε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

*Now surely woman, vouch to blame thou art;
This word to speake, it strikes so to my hart.*

As also elsewhere:

καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὁ γὰρ αὖτε ἰδὼν αὖτε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

*Alien good Father; guest and friend
Farewell: And if some word unkind
Hath bene let fall, I wish it may
By winds and stormes be caught away.*

For surely it is neither Conjunction, Article, nor Preposition, that can be said either unkind or to touch the heart, but some Verbe signifying a shamefull deed, proceeding from an undecent and dishonest passion. And therefore you see how we are wont to praise poets and historiographers, or otherwise to blame and dispraise them, saying in this wise: Such a poet hath used Atticke Nownes and elegant Verbs: and contrariwise, Such an historiographer hath used triviall and base Nownes and Verbs. And no man will say that either *Empirides* or *Thucydides* wrote a stile consisting of Articles that were homely and base, or otherwise elegant and Atticke. How then (may some one say) serve these parts to no purpose in our speech? Yes iwis I say, even as much as salt in our meats, or water for our bread and gruell. *Euenus* was wont to say that fire also was an excellent kinde of sauce: and even so be these parts of speech the seasoning of our

our language, like as fire and salt of our broths and viands, without the which we can not well do: and yet our speech doth not alwaies of necessitie stand in need of them: for so me thinks I may very well affirme of the Romane language, that all the world I see in maner useth at this day: for the Romans take away all Propositions, except a very few; and as for those that be called Articles, they admit not so much as one, but use their Nounes plaine, and as one would say, without skirts and borders. Whereat we may wonder the lesse, considering that *Homer*, who for trimme and beautifull verses surpassed all other poets, set to very few Nounes any Articles as eares unto cups and other vessels, for to take hold by, or as pennaches and crests upon morions: and therefore looke in what verses he useth so to doe, be sure they were of speciall make, or els suppositions and suspected to be none of his making. As for example:

ἀνὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα δὲ τὴν ἐνδοξάν οὐκ

τῆς πελαγονίδου.

*This speech the courage most of all
excited then anon,*

*Of Ajax, him I meane, who was
the sonne of Telamon.*

Againe:

μήνιν, ὅτε δὴ τότε δὴ σὺν ἑσπερίῳ ἀλόστον.

This did he that, by flying in his apace,

He might escape the whale that was in chace.

And a few others besides these. But in the rest which are innumerable, although there be no Article, yet the phrase of speech is thereby nothing diminished or hurt either in beautie or perspicuitie. And thus we see, that neither living creature, if it be maimed or dismembred, nor institution, nor armour, nor anything in the world whatsoever, by the want and defect of any proper part belonging thereto, is the more beautifull or adive thereby, neither more pleasant than it was therefore: whereas a speech or sentence, when all the Conjunctions be taken quite away, is many times more emphaticall, yea, and carrieth a power and efficacie more patheticall and apter to move and affect, as this:

One found, unhurt, she catching fast,

another wounded new,

Alive she held, another dead,

in fight by heels she drew.

Allo this place of *Demosthenes* his oration against *Midias*: For many things may he doe who striketh, whereof some the party who suffereth, can not declare unto another, by gesture, his port, by regard, his eie, in his voice, when he wrongeth insolently in a bravery, when he offereth injurie as an enemy, when with the clutched fist, when upon the cheek, when upon the ear: this mooveth, this is that remooveth, that transporteth men beside themselves, who are not acquainted with outrages, who have not beene used to beare such abuses. And againe another place afterwards. But it is not *Midias*. He from this day is a speaker, he maketh orations, he ratieth, exclaimeth, he passeth somewhat by his voice: Is there any election? *Midias* the Anagyrthian is propounded, he is nominated. *Midias* interteineth *Plutarch* in the name of the city, he knoweth all secret; the city is not sufficient to hold him. This is the reason that they, who write of rhetoricall figures, so highly praise *Asyndeton*: whereas those who are so precise, so religious, and too observant of Grammar, that they dare not leave out one Conjunction otherwise than they were accustomed to doe: The said rhetoricians thinke blameworthy and to be reprooved, as making the stile dull, enervate, without affection, tedious and iksome, by reason that it runnes alwaies after one sort, without change and variety.

Now whereas logicians have more need than any other profcours in learning of Conjunctions copulatives, for to knit and connex their propositions or disjunctives, to disjoine and distinguish them; like as waine-men or carters have need of yokes or geeres; or as *Ulysses* had of officers in *Cyclops* his cave to binde his sheepe together: This doth not argue, nor prove that the Conjunction is a substantiall member or part of speech; but a pretie instrument and meane to binde and conjoine according as the very name of it doth import, and to keepe and hold together not all words or sentences indifferently, but such alone as are not simply spoken: unless men will say, that the coard or girt wherewith a packe or fardell is bound, is a part of the said packe, or the paste and glue a part of the booke; or donatives and largesses, a part of politike government; like as *Demades* was wont to say: That the dole of many distributed

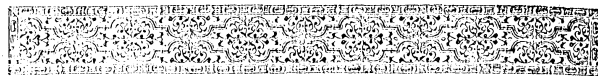
but by the poll to the citizens in the theaters for to see the plaies, was the very glew of the popular State. And tell me what conjunction is that which will make of many propositions one, by couching and knitting them together, as the marble doth unite the iron that is cast and melted with it by the fire; and yet I trow no man will say, that the marble for all that is part of the iron, or so to be called. Howbeit, such things verily as enter into a composition, and which be liquified together with the drogues mingled therewith, as went after a sort to doe and suffer reciprocally from the ingredients. But as for these conjunctions, there be who deny that they doe unite any one thing, saying: That this manner of speaking with conjunctions is no other but a certeine enumeration, as if a man should reckon in order all our inagistrates; or count the daies of a moneth.

Moreover, of all other parts of speech, it is very evident, that the Pronome is a kinde of Noun, not only in this respect, that it is declined with cases, as the Noun is; but also for that some of them being pronounced and uttered of things and persons determinate, doe make a most proper demonstration of them accordant to their nature: neither can I see, how he who hath exprefly named *Socrates*, hath declared his person more, than hee who said: This man heere.

To come now unto that which they tearme a Participle, surely it is a very medly and mixture of a Noun and a Verbe, and not a part of speech substituting alone of it selfe, no more than those Nounes or names which are common to Masculine and Feminine: and these Participles are ranged with them both; with Nounes in respect of their cases, and with Verbes in regard of tenses: and verily the logicians call such, tearmes reflected, as for example, *γενόμενος, τὸν τῷ γενέσθαι*, that is to say, wisely foreseeing; is a reflexion of a wise foreseer: and *σπεύσας, τὸν τῷ σπεύειν*, that is to say, minding fobriety, is a reflexion of a sober minded person, that is to say, as if they had the nature and power of Nounes and appellations.

As touching Propositions, a man may liken them very well to pennaches, crests, or such like ornaments above morions or head attires, or else to bales, predittals, and footstaps under statues and pillars: for as much as they are not so much parts of speech, as busie and conversant about them: but see I pray you whether they may not be compared to truncheons, pieces, and fragments of words, like as those who when they write a running hand in haste, doe not alwaies make out the letters full, but use pricks, minims and dashes. For these two Verbes *ἐλπίσας*, and *ἐλπίσας*, be both of them manifest clippings of the full and compleat words *ἐλπίσας*, and *ἐλπίσας*, whereof the one signifieth to enter in, the other to goe forth. Likewise *μεγέθυς*, is a plaine abbreviation of *μεγέθυς γενέσθαι*, that is to say, to be borne, or have being before. Allo *ἀνέστη*, of *ἀνέστη γενέσθαι*, that is to say, to sit downe, or cause one to sit downe. Semblable *ἀνέστη*, and *ἀνέστη* men are disposed to say for *ἀνέστη γενέσθαι*, and *ἀνέστη γενέσθαι*, that is to say to sling stones, and to digge through walles, when they are disposed to make haste to speake short. And therefore a man may well say, that every one of these, excepting Noun and Verbe, doe some good in our speech, and helpe well in a sentence, but for all that, they cannot be called either elements of speech: for there is none but the Noun and the Verbe, as it hath beene said before, that maketh this composition, containing verity and falsity, which some tearme proposition, others axiome, and Plato nameth speech or oration.





A COMMENTARIE OF
THE CREATION OF THE
SOULE, WHICH PLATO DE-
SCRIBETH IN HIS BOOKE
TIMAEUS.

The Summarie.

Among those discourses which may exercise the wittes, and busie the braines of most curious spirits, those of Plato may be ranged, which in divers places of his dialogues, but especially in his *Timaeus* he hath delivered, and namely, where he treateth of nature metaphysically, intermingling with a certaine deepe and profound manner of doctrine (as a man may perceive by his writings) his resolutions as I may say resolute, proceeding all from the ignorance of the sacred story and the true sense of Moyses. As for example, that which he saith touching the soule of the world: an absurd and fantastical opinion, if it be not handled and expounded aright. Our author being minded in this treatise to dispute philosophically upon the creation of the said soule, runneth thorow numbers, tones, and harmonies, as well terrestrial as celestiall, for to declare the meaning of Plato: but with such brevitie in many places, that a man had neede to reade with both his eyes, and to have his minde wholly intente and amused upon his words, for the understanding of him. Meane while, this would be considered, seeing that in such matters we have (God be thanked) sufficient to resolve us in the word of God, and the good books of the doctors of the church, all this present discourse should be read, as coming out of the hands of a man walking in darkness; and to speake in one word, of one blinde himselfe and following a blinde guide: to the end that in stead of highly admiring the subtilties of Plato, as some in these daies doe, whose heads as a nor flack and well settled eye might know that the higher that man in his wisdom mounteth with his pen, farre from Gods schoole, the lesse he is to be received and accepted of.

A COMMENTARIE OF THE
creation of the soule, which Plato describeth
in his booke *Timaeus*.

The father to his two sonnes AUTOBULUS and
PLUTARCH, Greeting.



How much as ye are of this minde, that whatsoever I have heere and there said and written in divers places by way of exposition touching that which I supposed in mine opinion Plato held, thought and understood concerning the soule, ought to be reduced & brought together into one; and that I should doe well to declare the same at large in a speciall treatise apart by it selfe, because it is not a matter which otherwise is easie to be handled and managed; as also for that seeming as it doth, somewhat contrary to most of the Platonic philosophers themselves: in which regard it had neede to be well mollified. I will therefore in the first place set downe the very text of Plato in his owne proper tearmes, word for word, as I finde them written in his booke entitled *Timaeus*.

Of

Of that indivisible substance which alwaies continueth about the same things; as also of that which is divisible by many bodies, he composed a third kinde of substance in the mids of them both, holding partly of the nature of *The same*, and in part of *The other*: and thus he ordeined and set in the mids betwene the indivisible substance conversant about the same things, and the other which is divisible by bodies. Then taking these three natures or substances, he mixed them altogether into one forme or *idea*, and fitted perforce the nature of *The other*, which was untoward to be mixed, to that nature of *The same*. Having thus mingled them with *Substance*, and of three made one, he divided this whole againe into such portions, as were fit and convenient: each one of them being mingled with *The same*, with *The other*, and with *Substance*. And this division of his he began in this manner, &c.

To begin withall if I should discourse unto you at this present what a number of disputations and contentious debates, these words have ministred unto those who tooke upon them to expound the same, it were for my selfe a peece of worke endlesse, and for you who have read the most part of them together with me, a labour needlesse. But seeing that of the most principall and excellent professors, *Xenocrates* hath drawn some unto his opinion, in defining the substance of the soule to be a number moving it selfe: and others have ranged them selves to *Crantor* of *Soli*, who affirmed the soule to be tempered of the nature intellectuall & of the other which is opinionative about objects sensible; I suppose that these two sentences being well displayed and opened will make the way and give you an easie entrance to the understanding and finding of that which we seeke for and is in question. And verily there need not many words for the exposition of them both. For the one sort of them thinke that *Plato* meant nothing else but the generation of number, by the said mixture of indivisible with divisible: for that unity is indivisible, and plurality divisible: of which twaine is engendered and produced number, whiles unity doth determine plurality, and limit out an end to that which is infinite, to wit, the binary or two indeterminate: which is the reason that *Zaratras* the matter of *Pythagoras* called two the mother, and one the father of numbers: as also for that the better numbers be those which resemble unity: and yet for all that this number is not the soule, because that both the motor and the moveable is wanting: but when *The same* and *The other* were mingled together, of which the one is the beginning of motion and mutation, the other of rest and station, then commeth the soule to have a being, which is as well the principall, to staie and to be staied, as it is to move and to be moved.

But *Crantor* and his followers supposing that the proper and principall operation of the soule was to judge things intelligible and sensible, together with the similitudes and dissimilitudes which they have, as well them selves, as one in respect of another, affirme, that the soule is composed of All, to the end that she may judge of all. The which All aforesaid standeth upon fower principall kindes: the first is a nature intelligible, which is alwaies one and evermore after the same sort: the second a nature passible and mutable concerning bodies: the third the nature of *the same*: and the fourth the nature of *the other*: for the two first, participate in some sort both of *the same* and also of *the other*. But all these doe jointly and equally holde, that the soule was never after a certaine time, nor ever engendered, but hath many powers and faculties, into which *Plato* resolving for speculative disputation sake, the substance of her, supposeth in much onely, that she was engendered mixed and tempered, saying moreover that he thought as much of the world: for full well he knew, that eternal it was and ingenerable, but seeing it was not easie to comprehend how, and in what order it was found, composed, governed and administered, for those who at the first presupposed not the creation and generation neither of it selfe, or of such things as concurred thereto, he therefore tooke the course to speake in such sort.

This much you see in sum what they both doe say: which when *Eudorus* well considered, he thought there was good probability both in the one and the other of their opinions; but for mine owne part, perswaded verily I am, that neither of them twaine hath touched the point, or so come neere unto the minde and meaning of *Plato*.

If we will use the rule of probability & verisimilitude indeed, not fully building our owne proper opinions, but be willing for to say something agreeable & accordant thereto; for that mixture of the substance intelligible and sensible which they speake of, giveth not us to understand thereby, that it is the generation of the soule, more than of any other thing whatsoever that a man may name. For the very world and every part thereof is compounded of a substance intelligible or spirituall, and of a substance sensible or corporall: whereof the one hath furnished the thing that is made and engendered with forme and shape, the other with subject matter. And as much

* *Xenocrates*
and his se-
cretaries.

much of the matter as is forme by participation or resemblance of the intelligible, becometh incontinently palpable and visible: but the soules is not perceptible by any sense. Neither was it ever found that *Plato* called the soule number, but alwaies a motion mooving of it selfe, yea the very fountain & beginning of motion. True it is, I confesse that embellished he hath & adorned the substance therof with number, proportion, accord & harmony, which he hath bestowed therein as in a subject capable & susceptible of the most beautifull forme that can be imprinted therein, by those qualities before said. And I suppose it is not all one to say that the soule is composed by number, and that the substance thereof is number: for certaine it is that it hath the subsistence and composition by harmony, but harmonie it is none, according as himselfe hath shewed in his treatise of the soule. Moreover altogether ignorant they are, what *Plato* meant, by the same and the other: for they say, that the same conferreth to the generation of the soule, the power or faculty of station and rest: the other, of motion: whereas *Plato* himselfe in his booke entituled, *The Sophist*, putteth downe, that which is, the same, the other, motion and station, as five distinct things differing the one from the other, severing them a part, as having nothing to doe in common one with another; which they all with one accord, yea and many more even of those who lived and conversed with *Plato*, fearing and being mightily troubled with, doe devise and imagin all that they can, bestir themselves wresting forcibly, heaving and shoving and turning every waie, as in case of some abominable thing and not to be named, supposing that they ought either altogether, for his honour and credit to denie, or at least wise to cover and conceal that which he had delivered, as touching the generation or creation of the world, and of the soule thereof, as if the same had not bene from all eternity, nor had time out of minde their essence: whereof we have particularly spoken a part else where; and for this present suffice it shall to say by the way, that the arguing and contestation, which *Plato* confesse himselfe to have used with more vehemence than his age would well beare, against Atheists: the same I say they confound and thrustle up, or to speake more truly abolish altogether. For if it be so, that the world be eternall and was never created, the reason of *Plato* falleth to the ground, namely that the soule being more ancient than the bodie, and the cause and principal author of all motion and mutation, the chiefe governour also and head Architect, as he himselfe hath said, is placed and bestowed therein. But what, and whereof the soule is, and how it is said, and to be understood, that it is more ancient than the body and before it in time, the progress of our discourse hereafter shall declare: for this point being either unknown or not well understood, brings great difficulty as I thinke in the well conceiving, and hinderance in believing the opinion of the truth?

In the first place therefore I will shew what mine owne conceit is, proving and fortifying my sentence, and withall, mollifying the same (because at the first sight it seemeth a strange paradox) with as probable reasons as I can devise: which done, both this interpretation and proofe also of mine, I will lay unto the words of the text out of *Plato*, and reconcile the one unto the other. For thus (in mine opinion) stands the case.

This world (quoth *Heraclitus*) there was never any god or man that made: as if in so saying he feared, that if he disavow God for creatour, we must of necessity confesse that man was the architect and maker thereof. But much better it were therefore, that we subscribe unto *Plato*, and both say and sing aloud, that the world was created by God: for as the one is the goodliest piece of worke that ever was made, so the other the most excellent workman and greatest cause that is. Now the substance and matter whereof it was created, was never made or engendered, but was for ever, time out of minde and from all eternitie, subject unto the workman for to dispose and order it, yea and to make as like as possible was to himselfe. For of nothing and that which had no being, there could not possibly be made ought: but of that which was now well made not as it ought to be, there may be made somewhat that is good; to wit, an house, a garment, or an image and statue. But before the creation of the world, there was nothing but a chaos, that is to say, all things in confusion and disorder: and yet was not the same without a bodie, without motion, or without soule: howbeit, that bodie which it had, was without forme and confidence; and that mooving that it had, was altogether rath, without reason and understanding: which was no other but a disorder of the soule not guided by reason. For God created that bodie which was incorporeall, nor a soule which was inanimate; like as we say that the musician maketh not a voice, nor the dancer motion; but the one maketh the voice sweet, accordant and harmonious; and the other, the motion to keepe measure, time, and compass with a good grace. And even so, God created not that palpable soliditie of a bodie, nor that moving

moving and imaginative puissance of the soule; but finding these two principles, the one darke and obscure, the other turbulent, foolish and senselesse: both imperfect, disordered and indeterminate, he fo digested and disposed them, that he composed of them the most goodly, beautifull and absolute living creature that is. The substance then of the bodie, which is a certaine nature that he calleth susceptible of all things, the very seat, the nourish also of all things engendered, is no other thing than this. But as touching the substance of the soule, he teacheth it in his booke entituled *Philebus*, Infinitie, that is to say, the privation of all number and proportion; having in it neither end, limit, nor measure, neither excess nor defect, neither similitude nor dissimilitude. And that which hee delivereth in *Timaeus*, namely, that it is mingled with the indivisible nature, & is become divisible in bodies, we must not understand this to be either multitude in unities, or length and breadth in points or pricks, which things agree unto bodies, and belong rather to bodies than to soules: but that mooving principle, disordinate, indefinite, and mooving of it selfe, which hee calleth in manie places Necessitie, the same in his books of lawes hee teacheth directly, a disorderly soule, wicked and evil doing. This is the soule simply, and of it selfe it is fo called; which afterwards was made to participate understanding, and discourse of reason, yea, & wise proportion, to the end that it might become the soule of the world. Semblably this materiall principle, capable of all, had in it a certaine magnitude, distance, and place: beauty, forme, proportionate figure, and measure it had none; but all these it gat afterwards, to the end that being thus digested and brought into decent order, it might afford the bodies and organs of the earth, the sea, the heavens, the starrs, the plants and living creatures, of all sorts. But as for them who attribute & give that which he calleth in *Timaeus*, necessity; and in his treatise *Philebus*, infinity and immensity of excess & defect of too much and too little; unto matter, and not unto the soule: how are they able to maintain that it is the cause of evil, considering that he supposeth alwaies that the said matter is without forme or figure whatsoever, destitute of all qualities and faculties proper unto it, comparing it unto those oiles, which having no smell of their owne, perfumers use in the composition of their odors and precious ointments: for impossible it is that *Plato* should suppose the thing which of it selfe is idle, without active qualitie, without mooving and inclination to any thing, to be the cause and beginning of evil, or name it an infinity, wicked & evil doing; nor likewise a necessity, which in many things repugneth against God, as being rebellious, and refusing to obey him: for as touching that necessity, which overthroweth heaven, as he saith in his Politiques, and turneth it cleane contrary; that inbred concupiscence and confusion of the first and ancient nature, wherein there was no order at all, before it was ranged to that beautifull disposition of the world as now it is; how came it among things, if the subject, which is matter, was without all qualities, and void of that efficacy which is in causes? and considering that the Creatour himselfe being of his owne nature all good, desired as much as might be, to make all things like unto himselfe: for a third, besides these two principles, there is none. And if we will bring evil into the world, without a precedent cause & principle to beget it, we shall run and fall into the difficult perplexities of the Stoicks; for of those two principles which are, it cannot be that either the good, or that which is altogether without forme and quality whatsoever, should give being or beginning to that which is naught. Neither hath *Plato* done as some that came after him, who for want of seeing and understanding a third principle and cause, betwene God and matter, have runne on end, and tumbled into the most absurd and falsest reasons that is, devising forsooth I wot not how, that the nature of evil should come without forth casually and by accident, or rather of the owne accord: forasmuch as they will not grant unto *Epicurus* that the least atome that is, should turne never so little or decline a side, saying, that he bringeth in a rash and inconsiderate motion, without any cause precedents whereas they themselves the meane while affirm that sin, vice, wickednesse and ten thousand other deformities and imperfections of the body, come by consequence without any cause efficient in the principles. But *Plato* saith not so, for he hiding matter from all different quality, and removing farre from God all cause of evil, thus hath hee written as touching the world in his Politiques: The world (quoth he) received all good things from the first author who created it; but what evil thing soever there is, what wickednesse, what injustice in heaven, the same it selfe hath from the exterior habitude, which was before, and the same it doth transmit, & give to the creatures beneath. And a little after he proceedeth thus: In tract of time (quoth he) as oblivion tooke holde and fetter footing, the passion and imperfection of the old disorder

order came in place and got the upper hand more and more; and great danger there is, least growing to dissolution, it be plunged againe into the vast gulfe, and bottomlesse pit of confused dissimilitude.

But dissimilitude there can be none in matter, by reason that it is without qualitie, and void of all difference: whereof *Eudemus* among others being ignorant, mocked *Plato* for not putting that to be the cause, source, and first originall of evil things, which in many places he calleth mother and nurse: for *Plato* indeed teacheth matter, mother and nurse: but he saith likewise: That the cause of evil is the motive puillance resistant in the said matter, which is in bodies become divisible, to wit, a reasonlesse and disorderly motion; howbeit, for all that, not without soule, which plainly and expressly in his books of lawes, he teacheth a soule, contrary to and repugnant to that which is the cause of all good; for that the soule may well be the cause and principle of motion; but understanding is the cause of order and harmony in motion: for God made not the matter idle, but hath kept it from being any more disquieted & troubled with a foolish and rash cause: neither hath he given unto nature the beginnings and principles of mutations and passions, but being as it was entrapped and enfolded with all sorts of passions and inordinate mutations, hee cleared it of all enormities, disorders, and errors whatsoever, using as proper instruments to bring about all this, numbers, measures, and proportions; the effect whereof, is not to give unto things, by moving and mutation the passions and differences of the other and of diversitie, but rather to make them infallible, firme, and stable, yea, and like unto those things which are alwaies of one sort, and evermore resemble themselves.

This is in my judgement the minde and sentence of *Plato*, whereof my principall prooffe and argument is this: that by this interpretation is saved that contrariety which men say, and seemeth indeed to be in his writings: for a man would not attribute unto a drunken sophister, much lesse than unto *Plato*, so great unconstance and repugnance of words, as to asseme one and the same nature to be created, and uncreated; and namely in his booke entitled *Phaedrus*: Now as touching those words of his in the treatise *Phaedrus*, they are well neere in every mans mouth verie rife; whereby he prooveth that the soule can not perish, because it was never engendered: and seemingly he prooveth, that generation it had none, because it moveth it selfe. Againe, in the booke entitled *Timæus*, God (quoth he) hath not made the soule to be younger than the body, according as now in this place we purpose to say, that it cometh after it, for never would he have permitted that the elder being coupled and linked with the younger should be commanded by it. But we standing much (I wot not how) upon inconsiderate rashnesse and vanity, use to speake in some sort accordingly: for certaine it is, that God hath with the bodie joined the soule, as precedent both in creation and also in power and vertue, like as the dame or mistress with her subject, for to rule and command. Againe, when he had said that the soule being turned upon her selfe, began to live a wife and eternall life, The body of the heaven (quoth he) was made visible, but the soule invisible, participating the discourse of reason and of harmony, engendered by the best of things intellectuall and eternall, being likewise it selfe the best of things engendered and temporall. Where it is to be noted that in this place expressly calling God the best of all eternall things, and the soule the best of things created and temporall, by this most evident antithesis and contrariety, he taketh from the soule that eternitie which is without beginning and procreation.

And what other solution or reconciliation is there, of these contradictions, but that which himselfe giveth to those who are willing to receive it; for he pronounceth that soule to be ingenerable and not procreated, which moved all things rashly and disorderly before the constitution of the world: but contrariwise he calleth that, procreated and engendered, which God framed and composed of the first, and of a permanent, eternall, and perfect good substance, namely by creating it wife and well ordered, and by putting and conferring even from himselfe unto sense, understanding; and order unto motion: which when he had thus made, he ordained and appointed it to be the governor and regent of the whole world. And even after the same manner he pronounceth; that the body of the world is in one sort eternall, to wit, not created, nor engendered; and after a nother sort both created and engendered. For when he saith that whatsoever is visible, was never at rest, but moved rashly and without all order: and that God tooke the frame, disposed and ranged it in good order: as also when he saith that the foure generall elements, fire, water, earth, and aire, before the whole world was of them framed and ordered decently

cently made a woonderfull trouble & trembling as it were in the matter, and were mightily shaken by it, such was their deformity and inequality. It appeareth plainly that he maketh these bodies in some sort to have a being and subsistence before the creation of the world. Contrariwise when he saith that the body is younger than the soule, and that the world was made and created in as much as the same is visible and palpable, as having a body, and that all things appear so as they are, when they were once made and created, manifest it is, and every man may see, that he attributeth a kinde of nativity to the nature of the body; and yet for all that saith is he off, from being contradictory and repugnant to himselfe so notoriously, and that in the most maine points. For it is not the same body nor of the same sort, which he saith was created by God, and to have bene before it was; for that were directly the case of some mount-banke or juggling enchanter; but himselfe sheweth unto us, what we are to understand by this, generation or creation: For before time (quoth he) all that is in the world, was without order, measure and proportion: but after that the universall world began to be fashioned, and brought into some decent forme, whereas he found the fire first, the water, the earth and the aire pell-mell in the same places, and yet having some shew and token what they were; but confusedly huddled every where, (as a man may well thinke that every thing must needs be so, where God is absent) in this case as they were then, God I say finding them, first brought the same into frame and fashion; by the inequities of formes and numbers. Furthermore, having said before that it was the worke not of one only proportion, but of twaine, to joine and frame together the fabrick of the world, a solid masse as it was: and carrying a depth and thicknesse with it: and declared moreover, that God after he had bestowed water and aire, betweene fire and earth, conjoined withall and framed the heaven, together with them. Of these things (quoth he) such as they were, and lower in number, the body of the world was in engendered, agreeable in proportion and entertaining amity by that means: Inasmuch as being once thus united and compact, there is nothing that can make division or dissolution, but he alone who first limited and brought all together, reaching us hereby most plainly that God was the father and author, not of the body simply, nor of the frame, fabrick and matter onely of the world, but also of that proportion, measure, beauty and similitude which is in the body thereof: seemingly thus much we are to thinke of the soule, as if one were not created by God, nor the soule of the world, but a certaine power of motions, fantasticall, turbulent, subject unto opinion, stirring and moving of it selfe, and alwaies, but without any order, measure, or reason whatsoever. The other, when God had adorned it with numbers & proportions convenient, he ordained to be the regent & governess of the world created like as it selfe was also created. Now that this is the true sentence & meaning of *Plato*, and not by a fantasticall manner of speculation and inquisition, as touching the creation or generation, as well of the world as of the soule: this besides many others, may be an argument, that of the soule, he saith it was created and not created; of the world alwaies, that it was engendered and created, but never eternall and not created. To prove this, we need not for to cite testimonies out of the booke *Timæus*, considering that the said booke throughout, from the one end to the other, treateth of nothing else, but of the generation or creation of the world. And of other bookes, in his *Atlantick Timæus* making his praies, nameth him who beforetime was by his worke, and now by his word, God. And in his *Politique*, his *Parmenidian* guest saith, that the world being framed and made by God, became paraker of many good things: and in case there be any evil thing in it, the same is a remnant mingled within the first habitude and estate where in it was at first, before the constitution thereof, all irregular and disorderly. And in his bookes of Common-wealth, speaking of that number, which some call the Mariage, *Socrates* began to discourse and say thus: The God (quoth he) who is created and engendered, hath his period and conversation, which the perfect number doth compise. In which place, what can he call the God created and engendered, but the world. * * * *

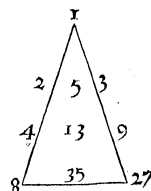
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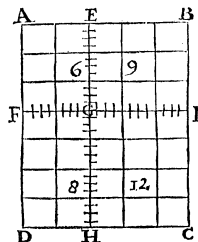
The first copulation is of one and two, the second of three and foure, the third of five and six; of which there is not one that maketh a quadrate number either by it selfe or by others: the fourth is of seven and eight, which being joined to the first, make in all the square quadrat number six and thirtie.

Sfff 2

But



But of those numbers which *Plato* hath set downe the quaternarie, hath a more perfect and absolute generation; namely, when even numbers are multiplied by even intervals, and uneven numbers likewise by odde intervals: for first it containeth unitie as the very common stocke of all numbers as well even as odde, and of those under it; two and three be the first flat and plaine numbers, and after them foure and nine are the first squares, then follow eight and seven and twentie, the first cubique numbers, putting the unitie out of this account. By which it appeareth that his will was not, that these numbers should be all set one above another directly in a right line; but apart, one after another alternatively, the even of the one side and the odde of the other, according to the description above made. Thus shall the files or conjugations also be of like with like, and make the notable numbers, aswel by composition or addition as by multiplication of one with another: by composition, thus, Two and three make five; foure & nine make thirteene; eight and seven and twentie arise to five and thirtie. For of these numbers the Pythagoreans call five, *penton*, as much to say, as a found, supposing that of the spaces and intervals of *Tone*, the fifth, was the first that spake or founded: thirteene they tearmed *tritekon*, that is to say, the Remanent or Defect like as *Plato* did; despairing to divide a *Tone* in two equal proportions: and five and thirtie they tearmed *Harmonie*, for that it is composed of the first numbers cubique, proceeding from even and od of the foure numbers, to wit, six, eight, nine and twelve, containing an Arithmetical and Harmonical proportion. But this will appear more evidently by this figure here described and represented to the eyes. Suppose then there be a figure set downe in forme of a tile, called *Parallelgrammen*, with right angles, A, B, C, D.



whereof the one side (to wit, the lesse) A, B, is of five; the other, and namely, the longer, A, D, is of seven parts: let the lesse side be divided into unequal sections, to wit, into three and three, unto E, and the greater into other two unequal sections, three and foure to F. Then draw lines from the sections, crossing directly one another, by E, G, H, and F, G, I. So A, E, G, F, shall be six, A, B, I, G, nine, G, H, D, F, eight, and G, I, C, H, twelve. This tile-forme figure called *Parallelgrammen*, being more long than broad, composed of five and thirtie parts, containeth in it all the proportions of the first accords and consonances of Musicke in the numbers of the spaces into which it is divided. For six and eight have the proportion Epitritus, to wit, the whole and one third part; wherein consisteth the symphonie Diatessaron, that is to say, a fourth. Six and nine carry the proportion Hemiolion, to wit, the whole and halfe; and therein consisteth

consisteth Diapente, that is to say, a fifth. Betweene six and twelve there is the double proportion, & therein consisteth Diapason, that is to say, an eighth. There is also the proportion of *Tone* & *sesquialtera*, in nine and eight, which is the reason that the number five and thirtie containing the proportions of tones, the consonances also and accords, they call *Harmonie*, which being multiplied by six, ariseth to two hundred and tenne, the very just number of daies wherein seven moneth children have their perfection in the wombe, and are ready to be borne. *Item*, goe to worke another way, and begin by multiplication in this wise: Twice three make six, and foure times nine come to six and thirtie, and seven and twentie multiplied by eight; ariseth to two hundred and sixteene. Now the perfect number is six, for that it standeth of equal parts; and in regard of the copulation of even and odde it is called the *Marriage*. Again, that which is more, it consisteth of the beginning and foundation of number, to wit, unitie or One, of the first even number which is two, and of the first and odde number that is three. Moreover, six and thirtie is the first number both foure-square and also triangular. Foure-square, if it arise from the basis, six, and triangular, from eight; for it ariseth by multiplication of two quadrate numbers, to wit, of four, multiplying nine; and by addition of three cubes, one, eight, and seven and twentie, which being put together, make up sixe and thirtie, the number before described. Furthermore, it may be drawn out in forme of a tile, more one way than another from the two sides, and ariseth by multiplying twelve by three, or nine by foure. Now if a man take the numbers of the sides in those figures before described, to wit, six of the foure-square, and eight of the triangle; nine of one of Parallelograms, and twelve of the other; he shall finde that they will make the proportions of all the symphonies or accords in Musicke. For twelve compared with nine, will be Diatessaron or the fourth, which is the proportion that Nete hath to Mese; but compared with eight, it is Diapente or a fifth, the proportion of Mese or the Meane to Hypate; with twelve, it will be Diapason or a just eighth, which is the proportion betweene Nete and Hypate. As for the number of two hundred and sixteene, it is a cubique, arising from six, as the basis, and is equal to the owne compasse or circuit. These numbers propofed, having such vertues and properties, yet the last seven and twentie hath this peculiar qualitie by it selfe, that it is equal unto all the other before it, being put together; namely, one, two, three, foure, eight, and nine. Moreover, it containeth the just number of the daies of the moones revolution.

The Pythagoreans also doe place the *Tone* of distances & intervals of sounds in this very number, which is the reason that they call it *τρίκιστος*, as one would say, the default, for that it wanteth one of being the halfe of twenty seven. Moreover, that these numbers containe the proportions of all the consonances & accords in musicke, it is easie to be understood; for there is the proportion double of two to one, & therein consisteth Diapason; the Hemiolion or one and halfe of three & two, wherein is Diapente; likewise Epitritus, of foure to three, and therein consisteth Diatessaron: also the triple of nine and three, wherein you shall finde Diapason and Diapente, to wit, a fifth above a duple. *Item*, the quadruple of eight and two wherein is Diatessaron. There is besides, the *sesquialtera*, of eight to nine, wherein is Tonizoon. If then a man count the unitie which is common unto the numbers as well even as odde unto foure, the whole yeeldeth ten: and the even numbers betweene it and ten, with the unity being put together make fiftene, a number triangular, arising from the basis five: as for the odde numbers, to wit, one, three, nine, and twenty seven, arise to forty, if they be summed together, and this number of forty is composed of thirteene and twenty seven, by which the mathematicians doe precisely measure the intervals of musicke and melody in song, calling the one Diesis, and the other Tonos: and the said number of forty ariseth by way of multiplication, by the vertue of quantity; for if you multiply foure times every one of the foure; first, whereas by themselves to wit, one, two, three, foure, there will arise foure, eight, twelve, and sixteene, which being all summed together, make forty; which number containeth besides, all the proportions of consonances and accords: for compare sixteene with twelve, you shall have the proportion Epitritus, that is to say, one and the third part, with eight duple, with foure quadruple: also twelve compared to eight, hath the proportion Hemiolion, that is to say, one and a halfe, to foure triple, which comprehend the proportions just of Diatessaron, Diapente, Diapason, and Disdiapason: Over and besides, the foresaid number of forty, is equal to the first two quadrats, and the two first cubique numbers taken together, for the two first squares or quadrats be one and foure, the cubicks eight and twenty seven, which if they be put together, amount to forty: So that the quaternity of *Plato* is in the disposition thereof more ample, of greater variety and perfection than that quaternity of *Pythagoras*.

But forasmuch as the numbers proposed, afford not places for the medieties which are inferred; necessary it was to extend the numbers to larger termes and boundes, retaining still the same proportions: in regard whereof, we must say somewhat what they be, and treat still of these medieties. The former rdn, is that which both surmounteth, & being also surmounted in equal number, is called in the old dates *Arithmetical*: the other which surmounteth, and is surmounted by the same part of their extremities, is named *Hypenanti*, that is to say, subcontrary; as for example: The two limits or extremities and the mids of the arithmetical, be six, nine and twelve: for nine which is in the middles, surmounteth fixe just as much in number as it is surmounted of twelve, that is to say, by three: but of the subcontrary, these be the extremities and the mids, six, eight, and twelve; for eight which is the mids, surmounteth six by two, and is surmounted of twelve by foure, which foure is the third part of twelve, like as two is the third part of sixe. Thus it falleth out in the medietie *Arithmetical*, the middes surmounteth the one of these extremities, and is surmounted of the other, equally by the same part of the owne, but in the subcontrary by the same part, not of the owne, but of the extremities out gone of the one, and outgoing the other: and heereupon it is called subcontrary, and the same they likewise call harmonically, because it affordeth to the extremities the first resonances, to wit, between the greatest and the least *Diapason*, that is to say, an eighth between the greatest and the mids, *Diapente*, that is to say, a fives & between the mids and the least; *Diatesseron*, that is to say, a fourth: for the greatest terme or extremity being set upon the note or string *Nete*; and the least upon *Hypate*, the middles will be found just upon *Mese*, that is to say, the meane, which maketh in regard of the greatest *Diapente*, and of the least *Diatesseron*: so that by this reason, eight shall be upon the meane, twelve upon *Nete*, and six upon *Hypate*: but how to knowe easily and readily these medieties aforesaid, *Endormus* hath shewed the manner plainly and simply: And first and foremost in the *Arithmetical*, consider thus much: for if you take the two extremities, and put them together, and then the moiety of the entire sum, the same will fall out to be the medietie *Arithmetical*: or take the moiety of each one of the extremities, & add them one to the other, that which ariseth thereof shall be medietie *arithmetical* in duplex & triples alike: but in the subcontrary, or harmonically, if the two extremities be one to the other in proportion double, take the halfe of the greater, and the third part of the lesse, and the number arising of those two shall be the medietie *Harmonical*: but in case the two extremities be in proportion triple, then contrariwise a man ought to take the moiety of the lesse, and the third part of the greater, for then the summe will be the medietie that he looketh for: as for example, let the lesse extremity be in triple proportion six, and the greater eightene, if you take the halfe of six which is three, and the third part of eightene which is six, you shall come to nine, for the medietie which doth surmount, and is surmounted by the same part of the two extremities, that is to say, the one halfe. Thus you see how the medieties are taken: now the same must be intersected and placed betwene, for to fill and make up the places or intervals double and triple; but of the number proposed, some have no place of the middle, others, not sufficient; and therefore the manner is to augment and set them out, in retaining alwaies still the same proportions, and so by that means make places and receptacles sufficient for to receive the 40 laid medieties or mediocrities: First therefore, for the lesse end or extremity, in stead of one they put six, because of all numbers it is the first that hath a halfe and a third part, and multiply all the numbers under by six, as it is written underneath, for to receive both the medieties in duple intervals:

12.	2.	1.	3.	18.
24.	4.		9.	54.
48.	8.		27.	162.

And for that *Plato* hath said, the intervals being made *sesquialterall*, *sesquitercia*, and *sesquioctaves*, out of these links in the precedent distances, he filled all the epitrites, with the interval of *sesquioctave*, leaving one part of each, and this distance of this part being left number 50 to number, having for the termes & extremities, two hundred fifty six, and two hundred forty three, &c. upon these words of the text, forced they were to reduce these numbers, and make them greater, for by order two ought to have *sesquioctave* proportion, seeing that six of it selfe could not have proportion *sesquioctave*, & if it were divided by cutting the units piece-meale, the intelligence and doctrine thereof would be very intricate and hard to be conceived, therefore he called this operation in some sort multiplication, like as in the harmonical mutation, where if you extend and augment the first number, necessarily the description of all the other

notes

notes must be stretched out and enlarged likewise. And therefore *Endormus* following herein *Crantor*, taketh for the first number three hundred foure-score and foure, which ariseth by multiplying three-score and foure, by six: and these were induced so to doe by the number three-score and foure, having for the *sesquioctave*; eight, which is the proportion between three-score and foure and three-score and twelve. But it agreeth better with the text, and the wordes of *Plato*, to suppose a moiety. For the default which they call *sesquias*, will have the *sesquioctave* proportion in the numbers which *Plato* hath set downe; two hundred six and fiftie; and two hundred threand fortie, having put for the first one hundred foure-score and twelve: and if the double of it be supposed for the first, the *sesquias* shall be of the same proportion, but in number double; 10 which five hundred and twelve hath to foure hundred eighty foure: for two hundred fiftie & six are in epitrite or *sesquitercia* proportion to one hundred foure-score and twelve, and five hundred and twelve to foure hundred foure-score and foure. And verily, the reduction to this number was not without reason and proportion, but yielded a probable reason to *Crantor*: for the number of three-score and foure is a cube, proceeding from the first quadrate, and a quadrate likewise, arising from the first cube, and being multiplied by three, the first odde number: the first triangular number, the first perfect number and *sesquialter*, make one hundred foure-score and twelve, which number also (as we will shew) hath his *sesquioctave*. But first of all you shall understand better what is *sesquias*, as also what is the meaning of *Plato*, if you call to minde a little, that which is usually taught and delivered in the *Pythagoreans schooles*: for *Diaffema*, that is to say, intervals or space in matter of song, is whatsoever is betwene two sounds different in Tenour or Tenison. Of these intervals, one is called *Tonus*, to wit, that whereof the harmonic *Diapente* surmounteth *Diatesseron*. Of this entire *Tone*, as Musicians do holde, cut in twaine, by the moiety are made two intervals, and both of them, the one as well as the other, goe under the name *Hemitonium*. But the *Pythagoreans* do not thinke that it can be equally divided: whereas therefore the two sections be unequal, they call the lesse *sesquias*, that is to say, the default, because it is somewhat lesse than the one halfe. And therefore some matters of Musick there be, who make the accord *Diatesseron*, of two *Tones* and a *Demi-tone* or *Hemitonium*: others againe of two *Tones* and a *sesquias*. So as it seemeth that the testimony of hearing accordeth with the harmonical Musicians; and of demonstration with the Mathematicians: and their proofe 30 of demonstration goeth in this manner. This is put downe by them for certaine, and approved by their instruments, that *Diapason* hath a double proportion, *Diapente* a *sesquialterall*, *Diatesseron* a *sesquitercia*, and a *Tone* a *sesquioctave*. And the truth hereof, a man may try presently by an experiment, namely, by hanging two weights double, unto two strings that be equal, or by making two concavities in pipes, the one twice as long as the other, otherwise equal: for the flawne or hauboies, which is the longer, will sound more base and loud, as *Hypate* in regard of *Nete*: and of the two strings, that which was stretched by the heavier weight will sound higher & smaller as *Nete* in comparison of *Hypate*: and this is the very consonance *Diapason*. Semblably, three compared unto twaine, be it in length or in weight, will make *Diapente*; and foure to three, *Diatesseron*: for the one hath the proportion epitrite, and the other 40 hemiolion. And if the unequalitie of the foresaid lengths or weights be in proportion hemioctave, that is to say, of seven to eight, it will make the interval *Tonion*, not altogether an harmonical accord, howbeit (as one would say) somewhat musically and melodious; for that these sounds, if one strike, touch or sound one after another, make a pleasant noise and delectable to the eares; but if altogether, the noise will be troublesome and offensive: whereas contrariwise, in consonances and accords, howsoever one touch them, either together, or one after another, the eare receiveth the consent and accord with great delight. And yet this may moreover be shewed by reason, for the harmonic *Diapason* is composed of *Diapente* and of *Diatesseron*, like as in number the double is composed of *Hemiolion* and *Epitritos*; for twelve is 1 proportion of *Epitritos* to nine, and *Hemiolion* to eight, and double to six: so that the double 50 proportion is compounded of the *sesquialterall* and the *sesquitercia*, like as *Diapason* of *Diapente* and *Diatesseron*: but as there *Diapente* is greater than *Diatesseron* by a *Tone*, so here in numbers, *Hemiolion* is greater than *Epitritos* by a *sesquioctave*. This being thus proved by demonstration, let us see now, whether our *sesquioctave* may be divided into two equal sections: for if it can not, no more then, can the *Tone*: and for that eight and nine make the first proportion *sesquioctave*, and have no interval betweene; both the one and the other being double, the number falling out betweene, maketh two intervals; so that it appeareth, that if the two intervals be equal, the *sesquioctave* may be equally divided in twaine. Now the double

of

of nine is eigheteene, and of eight, sixteene, which admit betwene them, seventeene. So it fall-
 leth out that one of the intervals is greater, and the other lesse; for the former is of eigheteene to
 seventeene, and the other of seventeene to sixteene. Then the sesquioctave proportion is di-
 vided into portions and sections unequal, and so consequently the tone also: and therefore this
 division being made, none of the sections is properly a Demytone, but one of them by good
 right hath beene teamed by the mathematicians *ἄκτιστος*: and this is it that *Plato* said: God when
 he filled the epiritres with sesquioctaves, left a portion of ech: whereof there is the same reason
 and proportion, that two hundred fiftie fix have unto two hundred forty three; for take a Dia-
 tessaron in two numbers, which have betwene them a proportion Epitritos; as two hundred
 fifty and fix, to one hundred nintie two; of which let, the lesse number, one hundred nintie two
 beset upon the base note of a tetracord, and the greater, to wit, two hundred fiftie and fix upon
 the highest note: It must be shewed, that if this be filled with two sesquioctaves, there remaineth
 an intervall as great as is betwene two hundred fiftie fix and two hundred forty three. For if
 the baser sound be stretched one tone; which is the proportion sesquioctave it maketh two
 hundred and sixteene: and againe if it be stretched another tone, it becommeth two hundred
 forty three, which firmounteth two hundred & sixteene, by twenty & seven, and two hundred
 and sixteene firmounteth one hundred fourecore & twelve by four and twenty, of which, the
 seven and twenty is the sesquioctave of two hundred and sixteene, and foure and twentie, of one
 hundred fourecore and twelve: and therefore of these three numbers, the greatest sesquioctave
 is of the middle, and the middle of the least; and the distance or intervall, from the least to the
 greatest, to wit, from one hundred fourecore and twelve unto two hundred fortie and three, two
 tones filled with two sesquioctaves: which intervall being taken away, there remaineth the inter-
 vall of the whole, which is betwene two hundred fortie and three, and two hundred fiftie and
 fix, and that is thirteene: and that is the reason why they called that number *ἄκτιστος*, that is to
 say, a default or residue.

For mine owne part, I thinke verily, that the sense of *Plato* is most cleerely expounded and
 declared in these numbers. Others having put downe the ends and teames of Diatessaron, for
 the treble two hundred eighty eight, and for the base, two hundred sixteene; goe through with
 the rest proportionably, save onely that they take the two defaults or remainns, betwene the
 two extremities: for the base being let up one tone or note, maketh two hundred fortie three;
 and the treble being let downe another note, becommeth two hundred fiftie six: for these be
 sesquioctaves, two hundred forty three, and two hundred sixteene; likewise two hundred
 eighty eight, and two hundred fiftie six; so that either of the intervals is Toniazon: and there
 remaineth that which is betwene two hundred forty three, and two hundred fiftie six, which is
 not a Demytone, but lesse: for two hundred eighty eight, is more than two hundred fiftie six,
 by thirty two; and two hundred forty three, more than two hundred sixteene, by twenty seven;
 and two hundred fiftie sixe more than two hundred forty three, by 13: and both these are lesse
 than the advantages or surplussages by halfe: and therefore Diatessaron is found to be of two
 tones and a *ῥήμις*, and not of two and a halfe. And thus you see the demonstration of this:
 and so it is no hard matter to understand by that which we have delivered: what is the reason
 why *Plato* having said, that intervals sesquialterall, sesquitercian and sesquioctaves are made by
 filling the sesquitercians with sesquioctaves; made no mention of the sesquialterons, but hath
 left them behind, namely, for that the sesquialter is filled, when one putteth a sesquioctave to
 a sesquialterall, or rather a sesquiterciance to a sesquioctave.

These things thus shewed in some sort by way of demonstration: now to fill the intervals,
 and to interject the Medieties if none before had shewed the meanes and manner how, I would
 leave you to do it for your exercise: but the same having beene done already by many worthy
 personages, and principally by *Cranter*, *Clearchus*, and *Theodorus*, all borne in the city *Soli*: It
 will not be impertinent to deliver somewhat as touching the difference betwene them; for
Theodorus maketh not two siles of numbers as the other doe, but rangeth them all in the same
 line directly one after another, to wit, the duple and the triple: and principally he groundeth
 and forsitheth himselfe by this position (which they so call) of the substance drawn out in
 length, making two branches as it were from one trunk, and not four of twaine: then he saith,
 that the interpositions of the Medieties ought to be to take place; for otherwise there would be a
 trouble and confusion: and anon passeth immediately from the first duple to the first triple,
 when they should be that which ought to fulfill the one and the other. On the other side, there
 maketh for *Cranter*, the position and situation of plaine numbers with plaine, squares with
 squares

squares, and cubes with cubes, which are set one against another in opposite files, not accord-
 ing to their range, but alternately,

Here is a
 great breach
 in the origi-
 nal.

which is of one sort as Idea or forme: but that which is divided by bodies, is the subject and the
 matter; and the mixture of them both in common, is that which is complet and perfect.

As touching then the substance indivisible, which is alwaies one and of the same sort; wee
 are not thus to thinke, that it admitteth no division for the smallness thereof, like to those lit-
 tle bodies called *Atomi*: but that of it which is simple, pure, and most subject to any passion
 or alteration whatsoever, alwaies like it selfe, and after one manner, is said to be indivisible, and
 to have no parts by which simplicity, when it cometh to touch in some sort, such things as be
 compounded, divisible, and caried to and fro, it causeth that diversitie to ceate, restraineth that
 multitude, and by meanes of similitude, reduceth them to one and the same habitude. And if
 a man be disposed to call that which is divisible by bodies, matter, as subject unto it, and parti-
 cipating the nature thereof, using a certaine homonymie or equivocation, it mattereth not
 much, neither skilleth it as touching the thing in question: but those who would have the
 corporall matter to be mixed with the indivisible substance, be in a great error: first, because
Plato hath not now used any names thereof, for that he hath evermore used to call it a receptacle
 to receive all, and a nurse, not divisible by bodies, but rather a body divided into individu-
 all particulars. Againe, what difference would there be, betwene the generation of the world,
 and of the soule, if the constitution of the one and the other, did consist of matter and things
 intelligible?

Certes, *Plato* himselfe as one who would in no wise admit the soule to be engendered of the
 body, saith: That God put all that which was corporall within her; and then, that without forth
 the same was enclosed round about with it: In fin, when he had framed and finished the soule
 according to proportion, he inferred and annexeth afterwards a treatise of matter, which be-
 fore when he handled the creation of the soule, he never required nor called for, because crea-
 ted it was without the helpe of matter.

The like to this may be said by way of confusion against *Possidonius* and his sectaries: for
 very farre they went not from matter; but imagining that the substance of teames and extre-
 mities, was that which he called divisible by bodies, and joining with the intelligible, they af-
 firmed and pronounced, that the soule is the Idea of that which is distant every way, and in all
 the dimensions, according to the number which containeth harmony, which is very errone-
 ous: For the Mathematicks (quoth he) are situate betwene the first intelligible and sensible
 things: but the soule having of intelligible things an eternall essence, and of sensible objects, a
 passible nature: therefore meet it is that it should have a middle substance between both. But he
 was not ware, that God after he had made and finished the soule, used the bounds & termes of
 the body, for to give a forme to the matter, determining the substance thereof dispersed, and
 not linked or contained within any limits, by environing it with superficies, composed of tri-
 angles, all joined together. And yet more absurd than that it is, to make the soule an Idea, for
 that the soule is alwaies in motion; but the Idea is immovable, neither can the Idea be mix-
 ed with that which is sensible, but the soule is alwaies linked fast with the body: besides, God
 did imitate Idea as one who followed his patterne; but he wrought the soule as his piece of
 worke: And that *Plato* held the soule not to be a number, but rather a thing ordeined by num-
 ber, we have already shewed and declared before.

But against both these opinions and their patrons, this may be opposed in common: That
 neither in numbers nor in teames and limits of bodies, is there any appearance or shew of that
 puissance, whereby the soule judgeth of that which is sensible; for the intelligence and facultie
 that it hath, was drawn from the participation and societie of the intelligible principle: But
 opinions, beliefs, assents, imaginations, also to be passive and sensitive of qualities inherent in
 bodies, there is no man will thinke that they can proceed from unities, pricks, lines, or super-
 ficies: and yet not onely the soules of mortall men have the power to judge of all the exterior
 qualities perceptible by the senses; but also the very soule of the world, as *Plato* saith, when
 it returneth circularly into her selfe, and toucheth any thing that hath a substance dissipa-
 ble and apt to be dispersed; as also when it meeteth with ought that is indivisible, by moving
 herselfe totally, the resteth in what respect any thing is the same, and in what regard divers and
 different; whereto principally ech thing is meet, either to doe or to suffer, where, when, and
 how it is affected, as well in such as are engendered, as in those that are alwaies the same. Moreover,
 making

making a certaine description with all of the ten predicaments, hee declareth the *soule* more cleerely afterwards: True reason (quoth he) when it meeteth with that which is sensible, and if therewith the circle of the other goeth directly to report the same, throughout the whole soule thereof, then there be engendered opinions and belietes that be firme and true: but when it is conversant about that which is intelligible and discounting by reason, and the circle likewise of the same, turning roundly with facility, doth shew the same, then of necessity there is bred perfect and accomplished science; and in whatsoever these two things be infused; if a man call it otherwise than soule, he saith any thing rather than the truth: whence cometh it then that the soule had this motion opinative, which comprehendeth that which is sensible, divers and different from the other intellectuall that endeth in science? Hard it were to shew this downe, unless a man firstly presuppose that in this place, and at this present, he composeth not the soule simply, but the soule of the world, with the parts above mentioned: of a better substance; which is indivisible; and of a woofe that he calleth divisible by bodies; which is nothing else; but an imaginative & opinionative motion, affected & accordant to that which is sensible, not engendered, but as the other of an eternall substance: for nature having the intellectuall vertue, had also the facultie opinionative; but the intellectuall power is unmoveable, impassible, founded & set upon that substance, which abideth alwaies in one sort: whereas the other is divisible and wandering, in as much as it toucheth a matter that is alwaies floting, carried to and fro and dissolvable. For the matter sensible had before time no order at all, but was without all forme, bound or limitation whatsoever, and the facultie therein had neither expresse opinions articulate and distinct, nor yet motions all certaine and composed in order: but for the most part resembling turbulent and vaine dreames, troubling that which was corporall, unless haply they fell upon any thing that was better. For betwene two it was, having a nature conformable, and accordant to the one and the other: challenging matter by that which is sensitive, and by the judicious part those things which are intelligible. And this declareth he himselfe in these proper termes: By my reckoning (quoth he) let this be the summe of the whole account that these three things had their being three waies before the heaven was, to wit, essence, space, and generation. As for space or place, he calleth matter by that name, as it were the seat, and otherwhies a receptacle: the essence, that which is intelligible; and the generation of the world as yet not made, can be no other thing but a substance subject to motions and alterations, situate betwene that which imprinted a forme and which is imprinted, dispensing and distributing the images from thence hither: which is the reason it was called divisible, for that of necessity both the sensitive must be divided and goe with the sensible, and also the imaginative with the imaginable. For the sensitive motion being proper unto the soule moveth toward the sensible without: but the intelligence & understanding was of it selfe, stable, firme and immovable: howbeit being infused once into the soule and become master and lord thereof, it rolleth and turneth upon it selfe, and accomplisheth a round & circular motion, about that which is alwaies permanent; and touching that principally which is, and hath being. And therefore hard was the mixture and association which mingled the divisible with the indivisible, that which is every way moveable, with that which never moveth, and forcing in one word the other to meet and joine with the same. So the other was not motion, no more than the same was station; but the beginning both of Diversity and also of Identity or The samenesse: for the one and the other descend from divers principles, to wit, the same from unity, and the other, from binary, and were at the first mingled confusely here in the soule; as tied by numbers, proportions and medieties harmonically: and the other being imprinted into the same, maketh difference: but the same infused into the other, causeth order; as it appeareth manifestly in the first powers of the soule, to wit, the faculties of moving and of judging. As for motion, it sheweth incontinently about the heaven, diversity in identity by the revolution of the planets, and identity in diversity by the settled order & situation of the fixed starrs: for in these, the same beareth sway and is more predominant; but contrariwise, the other, in those that be nearer to the earth. But judgement hath two principles, to wit, understanding, from the same, for judging of things universal; and sense, from the other, to judge of particulars. Now reason is mingled of them both, being intelligence in things generall and intelligible; but opinion onely in matters sensible, using for instruments, both the fancies and imaginations betwene, and also the memories; whereof the former make the other in the same; but the latter, the same in the other. For intelligence is the motion of the intelligent about that which is stable and permanent; but opinion is the mansion of the sentient about that which moveth. As for imagination or fancies, being a connexion of opinion to the sense, the same,

same, placeth it in memorie; and contrariwise, the other stirreth it in the difference and distinction of that which is past, and that which is present, touching both identity and diversitie together.

Now the better to understand the proportion wherewith he made the soule, we must take a patterne and example, from the constitution of the bodie of the world: for whereas the two extremes, to wit, pure fire and earth; were by nature hard to be tempered one with another; or, to say more truly, impossible to be mixed and incorporate together: he placed in the middes betwene, aire before fire, and water before earth: and so contempered first these two meane elements, and afterwards by their helpe, the other extremes also, which he fitted and framed together, both with the said meanes, and also with themselves one with another. And heere againe, the same and the other, being contrary puissances and extremities, fighting one against the other as meere enemies, he brought together, not immediately by themselves, but by putting betwene other substances, to wit, the indivisible, before the same, and the divisible before the other, according as in some sort the one had affinitie and congruency with the other: afterwards when these were mixed together; he contempered likewise the extremes, and so warped and wove, as one would say, the whole forme of the soule, making as farr as it was possible, of things unlike, semblable, and of many one. But some there bee who give out, that it was not well said of Plato: That the nature of the other, was hard to be mixed and tempered; considering (say they) that it is not altogether insusceptible of mutation, but a fixed to it, and rather the nature of the same, being firme and hard to be turned and removed, admitteth not easily any mixture, but stieeth and rejecteth it, to the end that it may remaine simple, pure, and without alteration: but they who reproove this, are ignorant that the same, is the Idea of such things as be alwaies of one sort, and the other, the Idea of those that change. Also that the effect of this, is evermore to divide, separate, and alter that which it toucheth; and in a word, to make many of one: but the effect of that is, to conjoine and unite by similitude, many things thereby into one forme and puissance. Thus you see what be the powers and faculties of the soule of this universality, which entring into the fraile, mortall, and passible instruments of bodies, how ever they be in themselves incorruptible, impatible and the same; yet in them now appeareth more the forme of an indeterminate duality: but that forme of the simple unitie, sheweth it selfe more obscurely, as deeply seled within: howbeit for all that, hardly shall one see and perceive in a man, either passion altogether void of reason, or motion without understanding, wherein there is no lust, no ambition, no joy or griefe: and therefore some philosophers there be, who would have the perturbations of the mind to be reasones; as if forsooth, all disire, sorrow, and anger, were judgements. Others also doe hold, that all vertues be passions: for in valour (say they) there is foure, intemperance, pleasure, injustice, lucre. Howbeit, the soule being both contemplative, and also active at once, as it doth contemplate universal thing; so it practiseth particulars, seeming to conceive the one by intelligence, and to perceive the other by sense: common reason meeting alwaies the same, in the other, and likewise, the other in the same, endeavourth verily to sever by divers bonds and partitions, one from many; and the indivisible from the divisible, but it can not bring it so about, as to be purely in the one or the other, for that the principles be so enterlaced one within another, and huddled pell-mell together.

In which regard, God hath appointed a certaine receptacle for the same, and the other, of a divisible, and indivisible substance, to the end, that in diversity there should be order; for this was as much as to be engendered. Seeing that without this, the same should have had no diversitie, and consequently no motion nor generation; neither should the other have had order, and so by consequence also, neither consistence nor generation: for if it should happen to the same, to be divers from the other, and againe, to the other, to be all one with the same; such a communion and participation, would bring forth of it selfe nothing generative, but require some third matter to receive them, and to be digested and disposed by them. And this is that which God ordained and composed first, in defining and limiting the infinity of nature, moving about bodies, by the firme steadinesse of things intellectuall. And like as there is one kinde of brutish voice, not articulate nor distinct, and therefore not significant; whereas speech consisteth in voice, that giveth to understand what is in the minde: and as harmony doeth consist of many founds and intervals; the found being simple and the same, but the intervall a difference and diversitie of founds, which when they be mixed and tempered together, make song and melody: Even so the passible part of the soule, was infinit, unstable, and disordinate; but afterwards became determinate, when tearmes and limits were set to it, and a certaine forme expelled to that

that diuifible and variable diuersity of motion. Thus having conceived and comprised *the same*, and *the other*, by the similitudes and dissimilitudes of numbers, making accord of difference: thereof the life of the universall world became wise and prudent, the harmony consonant, and reason drawing with her necessitie, tempered with grace and perswasion, which the common sort call fatal destiny; *Empedocles* named concord and discord together: *Heraclitus* the opposite tension and harmony of the world, as of a bow or harpe, wherein both ends bend one against another: *Parmenides*, light and darknesse: *Anaxagoras*, understanding and infinitie: *Zoroastes*, God, and the devill; rearming the one *Oromasdes*, and the other *Arimanius*: But *Euripides* did not well to use the disjunctive for the copulative, in this verse,

Jupiter, natures necessity,

Or humane minde, whether he be?

For in truth, that puissance which pierceth and reacheth through all things, is both necessitie, and also a minde. And this is it which the Aegyptians would covertly give us to understand, under the vail of their mysticall fables, that when *Horus* was condemned and dismembered, his spirit and blond was given and awarded to his father, but his flesh and greafe to his mother: But of the soule there is nothing that remaineth pure and sincere, nothing unmixt and apart from others; for as *Heraclitus* was wont to say: Hidden harmony, is better than the apparant: for that therein, God who tempered it, hath bestowed secretly and concealed, differences and diuersities: and yet there appeareth in the unreasonable part, turbulent perturbations, in the reasonable settled order: in senses necessitie and constraint; in the understanding full power and entier libertie: but the terminant and defining power, loveth the universall and indivisible, by reason of their conjunctions and confanguinity. Contrariwise, the dividing puissance, enclined and cleaveth to particulars by the diuifible. The totall universallitie joine in a settled order, by the means of the same, and againe, so farre forth as need is, in a mutation by the means of the other: but the difference of inclinations to honesty or dishonesty, to pleasure, or displeasure; the ravishments and transportations of the spirit in amorous persons; the combats in them, of honour against voluptuous wantonnesse; doe evidently shew, and nothing so much, the commixion of the nature divine and impassible with the mortall and passible part in bodily things; of which himselfe calleth the one the conspiscence of pleasure ingenerate and inbred in us, the other an opinion induced from without, desirous of the soveraigne good: for the soule of it selfe produceth and yeeldeth passibility; but the participation of understanding cometh to it without forth, infused by the best principle and cause, which is God: so the very nature of heaven is not exempt from this double societie and communion; but that a man may see how otherwhiles it doth encline and bend another way, by the revolution of the same which is more predominant, and so doth governe the world: and a portion of time will come, like as it hath beene often heretofore, when as the wisdom thereof shall be dulled and dazeld, yea and laid asleepe, being filled with the oblivion of that which is meet and decent for it: and that which from the beginnings is familiar and conformable to the body, shall draw, weigh downe, and turne backe the way and course of the whole universality on the right hand: but breake and undoe the forme thereof quite it shall not be able, but reduce it againe to the better, and have a regard unto the first pattern of God, who helpeth the endeavours thereof, and is ready to reforme and direct the same.

Thus it is shewed unto us in many places, that the soule is not altogether the worke of God; but having a portion of evill inbred in her, she hath bene brought into order and good disposed by him who hath limited infinitie by unity; to the end that it should become a substance bounded within the owne tearmes and hath set by the means of *the same* and *the other*, order, change, difference, and similitude: and hath contracted and wrought a societie, alliance and amity of all things one with another, as farre as possible it was, by the means of numbers and proportions. Of which point, albeit you have heard much speech, and read many books and writings; yet I shall not doe amiss, but greatly to the purpose, if briefly I discourse thereof. First setting

downe the words of *Plato*, God (quoth he) deducted first from the universall world, one part

and then double so much: afterwards a third portion, to wit, the one, and halfe of the second, and

the triple of the first: Soone after a fourth, to wit, the double of the second: & anon a fift, namely

the triple of the third: After that a sixt, to wit, the octuple of the first, and a seventh, which was

the first seven twenty fold. This done he filled the double and triple intervals; cutting from

them also certaine parcels from thence, which he interjected betwene these: in such fort as in

every intervall there were two medieties: the one surmounting, and surmounted by the same

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portion

portion of the extremities: the other, surmounting by equall number, one of the extremities and surmounted of another by the like. But seeing the intervals carry the proportions sesquialterally, sesquitercian and sesquioctave: of these ligaments in the first precedent distances, he filled up all the sesquiterces with the intervall of the sesquioctave, leaving of each of them one part: And this distance of the part or number being left of number to number, it had for the tearmes and bonds thereof in proportion to that which is betweene, two hundred fiftie six, and two hundred forty three. Here first and foremost a question is moved: as touching the quantity of these numbers: and secondly, concerning the order: and thirdly, of their power. For the quantity and sum: what they be which he taketh in the duple intervals: For the order, to wit, whether they ought to be set and disposed all in one range, as *Theodorus* did? or rather as *Cran-tor* in the figure of the letter *lambda*. Δ . setting upon the point or top thereof unity or the first, & then in one file apart, the duples, and the triples in another, for the use and power, namely what they conferre to the constitution and composition of the soule. As concerning the first, we will reject those who say, that it sufficeth in these proportions to consider of what nature be the intervals, and of what the midieties which fill them up, in what numbers soever a man may suppose that they have places capable betwene of the proportions aforesaid: for that the doctrine goeth after the same manner. And albeit that which they say, were true, yet the prooffe and demonstration thereof is but slender without examples, and hindreth another speculation, wherein there is contained a pleasant kinde of learning and philosophy. If then, beginning at unity, we put apart by them selves the numbers duple and the triples he himselfe teacheth us, there will be of the one side two, foure, and eight, on the other, three, nine, and twenty seven; which are in all seven, taking the unity as common, and proceeding forward in multiplication unto foure. For it is not in this place onely, but also in many others, where the consent and agreement is very evident, that is betwene the quaternary and the septenary. And as for that quaternity of the Pythagoreans so much voiced and so highly by them celebrated, it is of thirty fix, which hath this admirable matter in it above all others, that it is compounded of the fowre first even numbers, & of the fowre first odd numbers: and it is set by the fourth couple or conjugation of number, ranged in order one after the other.

For the first is of one and two: the second of one and three which be odd. For setting one in the first place, as indifferent and common to both; then taketh he eight, and twenty seven, shewing and as it were pointing with the finger, what place he giveth to the one and the other kinde.

But to treat hereof after a more exact and exquisite maner, appertaineth unto others: But that which remaineth is proper to the subject matter in hand. For it was not upon any ostentation of skill and sufficiencie in the Mathematicall arts that *Plato* hath inserted within a treatise of naturall philosophy, this Arithmetical and harmonical medieties, but as a discourse verie meet and fit to serve for the composition and constitution of the soule; howsoever there be some who seeke for these proportions in the swiftnesse more or lesse of the wandring spheres; others rather in their distances; some in the magnitudes of the starrs; and others againe, after a more curious maner, in the Diameters of the Epicycles, as if that creatour had in regard thereof, and for this cause applied and fitted the soule distributed into seven parts, unto the celestiall bodies. Many there be moreover who bring hither and accommodate to this matter the Pythagoreans inventions, tripling the distances of bodies from the midst: which they doe after this maner, setting upon fire unity; and upon the earth opposite unto ours, three; upon the earth nine; upon the Moone twenty seven; upon *Mercurie* fowre score and one; upon *Venus* two hundred forty three; and upon the Sun himselfe 729. for that it is both quadrat and cube: which is the reason that they call the sun also one while quadrat and another while cube: and after the same fort they reduce the other starrs by way of triplation. But these philosophers doe miscount greatly, and stray farre from reason and proportion indeed, if so be that Geometrical demonstrations do availe ought: yet in comparison of them, well fare they who goe to worke another way; and albeit they prove not their positions exactly, yet (I say) they come neerer to the marke, who give out, that the Diameter of the sunne, compared to the Diameter of the earth, is in the same proportion that twelve is to one: that the Diameter or Dimetient line of the earth is triple to that of the moone: and the least fixed starre that is to be seene, hath no lesse a Diameter, than the third part of the Diameter of the earth: also that the totall globe of the earth, compared with the sphere of the moone, carrieth the proportion of twelve

Tee

seven

seven to one: The Diameters of *Venus* and the earth, are in double proportion, but their globes or spheres beare octuple proportion, to wit, eight for one. Semblably, the interval of the ecliptic, and the shadow which causeth the eclipse, is triple to the Diameter of the moone. Also the latitude of the moones declination from the Zodiacke on either side, is one twelfth part: likewise that the habitudes and aspects of her to the sunne, in distances triquetter, or quadrangular, take the formes and figurations either of the halfe moone, at the first quarter, or else when the welletth and beareth out on both sides: but after the hath passed fixe signes of the Zodiacke, she maketh a full compasse, and resembleth a certaine harmonickall symphonie of Diapason in Hexatonos. And forasmuch as the sunne about the solstices or tropicks, as well of summer as winter mooveth least, & most slowly; but contrariwise, about the two equinoxes 10 in Spring and Autumne, most swiftly, and exceeding much: the proportion of that which he taketh from the day, and putteth to the night, or contrariwise, is after this manner in the first thirty daies; for in that space after the solstice in winter, hee addeth to the day the fixt part of that exuperance, whereby the longest night surmounteth the shortest day: and in another thirtie daies following after that, a third part, and so forward in the rest of the daies one halfe, until you come to the equinox, in sextuple and triple intervals, to make even the inequality of the times. But the Chaldeans say, that Spring in regard of Autumne carrieth proportion Diatessaron, in respect of winter Diapente, and in comparison of summer Diapason: But if *Enripides* hath well limited the foure quarters of the yeere when he said:

For summer hot, foure moones he ordeined be,

For winter colde likewise are other foure:

Shorter is rich Autumne by one moote,

And pleasant Spring whiles it remains in floure.

then the seasons doe change after the proportion Diapason. Some attribute to the earth, the place of the musickall note Proslambanomenos: unto the moone Hypate: unto *Mercurie* and *Lucifer* Diatonos and Lichanos: the sunne they set upon Mese (they say) containing Diapason in the middes, distant from the earth one fifth or Diapente, and from the sphere of the fixed starres a fourth, or Diatesseron. But neither the prety conceited imagination of these toucheth the truth any way, nor the reckoning and account of those other, cometh precisely to the point. Well, those who affirme that these degrees agree not to the minde of *Plato*, are yet of opinion, that those other agree very well to the propositions described in the Tableture of musicians, which consisteth of five tetrachords, to wit, the first Hypaton, as one would say, of base notes; the second, Melon, that is to say, of meanes; the third, Synemmenon that is to say, of conjuncts; the fourth, Diezeugmenon, that is to say, of disjuncts; & the fift, Hyperbolaeon, to wit, of the high and excellent notes: semblably, say they: The planets be set in five distances, whereof the one is from the moone unto the sunne, and those which have the fame revolution with him, as *Mercurie* and *Venus*; a second, from these three unto the fire planet *Mars*; the third, from thence to *Jupiter*; the fourth, from him to *Saturne*; and the fift reacheth unto the starry skie: so that the sounds and notes which determine the five tetrachords, answer to the proportion of the planets or wandering starres. Moreover, we know very well, that the ancient musicians, did set downe no more notes but two Hypates, three Netes, one Mese, and one Parame: so as their musickall notes were equal in number to the planets: but our moderne masters of musike, have added that which is called Proslambanomenos, namely, lower by one note than Hypate, and inclining to the base: and so the whole composition they made Diapason; not keeping and observing the order of the consonances according to nature, for Diapente is before Diatesseron, by adding one note or tone to Hypate toward the base; whereas it is certaine that *Plato* tooke one note to it toward the treble; for hee faith in his books of Common-wealth: That every one of the eight spheres hath a sirene sitting upon it, causing the same to tune about, and that ech one of them hath a severall and proper voice of their owne: but of altogether there is contempered a certaine harmonie: these sirenes being disposed to solace themselves, sing for their pleasure divine and heavenly tunes, dauncing withall a sacred daunce, under the melodious consent of eight strings: as also there were eight principall tearmes at first of proportions double and triple; counting for one of these tearmes or limits unite to either part: but the more ancient sort have given unto us nine mules, to wit, eight as *Plato* himselfe faith, about the celestiall bodies, and the ninth about the terrestrell, called fourth from the rest to dulce and set them in repose, in stead of errour, trouble, and inequality. Consider now I pray you, whether the soule being become most just and most wise, doth

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not manage the heaven and celestiall things by the accords and motions therein? And thus endued she is by proportions harmonickall; the images whereof are imprisred, upon the bodies and visible parts of the world which are scene: but the first and principall power is visibly interred in the soule which sheweth herselfe according & obedient to the better & more divine part, all the rest consenting likewise thereto. For the soveraigne creatour, finding a disorder and confusion in the motions of this disordinate and foolish soule, being evermore at discord with her selfe, divided and separated some; reconciled and reunited others; using thereto numbers and proportions; by meanes whereof, the most deafe bodies, as blocks and stones, woody barks of trees, and the very rennetts and mawes of beasts, their guts, their galles and sinewes, being framed, contempered, and mixed together in proportion, exhibite unto us the figures of statues wonderfull to see to, and drogues and medicines most effectually, yea and sounds of musickall instrumens right admirable. And therefore *Zeno* the Citician, called forth yong men to see and beholde minstrels playing upon flutes and hautboies: That they might heare (quoth he) and learne, what sweet sounds and melodious noises, homes, pieces of wood, canes and reeds do yeeld, yea and whatsoever matters els musickall instruments be made of, when they meet with proportions and accords. As for that which the Pythagoreans were wont to say and affirme, namely, that all things resembled number, it would aske a long discourse for to declare it. But that all the gods who were before at discord and debate, by reason of their dissimilitude, and whatsoever els jarred, grew to accord and consonance one with another, whereof the cause was the contemperature, moderation and order of number and harmonie, the very Poets were not ignorant of, who use to call such things as be friendly, amiable and pleasing, ἀφροδιτα; but adversaries and enemies they terme ἀνέμια, as if discord and enmitie were nothing els but disproportion: and verily that Poet whoever he was, that made a funerall dittie for *Pindarus*, when he said thus of him,

ἀφροδιτῶν ὡς ἐχέοντο δὲ πρὶν ἀνέμια ὁ δέος.

To strangers kinde he was and affable,

To citizens friendly and pliable.

shewed very well, that he held it for a singular vertue to be sociable, and to know how to fort and agree with others: like as the same *Pindarus* himselfe,

When God did call, he gave attendance,

And never bragd of all his valiance,

meaning and signifying *Cadmus*. The olde Theologians and Divines, who of all Philosophers are most ancient, have put into the hands of the images of the gods, musickall instruments, minding nothing lesse thereby, than to make this god or that a minstrell, either to play on lute or to found the flute, but because they thought there was no greater piece of worke than accord and harmonickall symphonie could befeeme the gods. Like as therefore, hee that would seeke for sesquitercian, sesquialterall or double proportions of Musicke, in the necke or bridge, in the belly or backe of a lute, or in the pegs and pinnes thereof, were a ridiculous foole (for howsoever these parts ought to have a symmetric and proportion one to another in regard of length and thicknesse; yet the harmonie whereof we speake, is to be considered in the sounds only.) Even so, probable it is, and standeth with great reason, that the bodies of the starres, the distances and intervals of spheres, the celestie allo of their courses and revolutions, should be proportionate one unto the other, yea and unto the whole world, as instruments of musike well set and tuned, albeit the iust quantitie of the measure be unknowne unto. But this we are to thinke, that the principall effect and efficacie of these numbers and proportions, which that great and soveraigne Creatour used, is the consonance, accord, and agreement of the soule in it selfe; with which the being endued, she hath replenished both the heaven it selfe, when she was sedled thereupon with an infinite number of good things; and also disposed and ordeined all things upon the earth, by seasons, by changes and mutations, tempered and measured most excellently well and with surpassing wisdom, as well for the production and generation

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of all things, as for the preservation and safety of them, when they were created and made.

AN EPITOME OR BREVIARIE of a Treatise as touching the creation of the Soule, according to *Plato* in *Timæus*.

His Treatise, entituled, *Of the creation of the soule*, as it is described in the booke of *Plato* named *Timæus*, declareth all that *Plato*, and the *Platoniques* have written of that argument; and interreth certeine proportions and similitudes Geometrical, which he supposeth pertinent to the speculation and intelligence of the nature of the soule: as also certeine Musickal and Arithmetickal Theoremes. His meaning and saying is, that the first matter was brought into forme and shape by the soule. Hee attributeth to the universall world a soule; and likewise to every living creature a soule of the owne by it selfe, which ruleth and governeth it. He bringeth in the said soule in some sort not engendered, and yet after a sort subject to generation. But hee affirmeth that eternall matter to have bene formed by God; that evil and vice is an issue springing from the said matter, To the end (quoth he) that it might never come into mans thought, That God was the author or cause of evil.

All the rest of this Breviarie, is word for word in the Treatise it selfe, therefore may be well spared in this place, and not rehearsed a second time.



OF FATALL NECESSITY.

This little Treatise is so pitiously torne, maimed, and dismembred thorowout, that a man may sooner divine and guesse thereat (as I have done) than translate it. I beseech the readers therefore, to holde me excused, in case I neither please my selfe, nor content them, in that which I have written.



Endeavour I will, and addresse my selfe to write unto you (most deere and loving friend *Piso*, as plainly and compendiously as possible I can) mine opinion as touching Fatall destinie, for to satisfie your request: albeit you know full well how wary and precise I am in my writing. First and foremost therefore, thus much you must understand, That this terme of Fatall destinie is spoken and understood two manner of waies: the one, as it is an action, and the other, as it is a substance. In the first place, *Plato* hath figuratively drawn it forth, & under a type described it as an action, both in his diologue entituled *Phædrus*, in these words: It is an *Adrastian* law or inevitable ordinance, which alwaies followeth and accompanieth God. And also in his treatise called *Timæus*, after this manner: The lawes which God hath pronounced and published to the immortal soules, in the procreation of the universall world. Likewise, in his booke of *Commonwealth*, he saith, That Fatall necessitie is the reason and speech of *Lachesis* the daughter of *Necessitie*. By which places he giveth us to understand, not tragically, but after a theologicall manner, what his minde and opinion is. Now if a man (taking the said places already cited & quoted) would expound the same more familiarly in other words, he may declare the former description

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in *Phædrus* after this sort, namely, that Fatall destinie is a divine reason or sentence intransgressible and inevitable, proceeding from a cause that cannot be diverted nor impeached. And according to that which he delivereth in *Timæus*, it is a law consequently ensuing upon the nature and creation of the world, by the rule whereof all things passe and are dispenced, that be done. For this is it that *Lachesis* worketh & effecteth, who is in trueth the daughter of *Necessitie*, as we have both already said, & also shall better understand by that which we are to deliver hereafter in this and other treatises at our leisure. Thus you see what Destinie is, as it goeth for an action; but being taken for a substance, it seemeth to be the universall soule of the whole world, and admitteth a tripartite division. The first Destinie is that which errecth not; the second seemeth to erre; and the third is under heaven & conversant about the earth: of which three, the highest is called *Clotho*; that next under it is named *Atropos*; and the lowest, *Lachesis*; and she receiveth the influences of her two celestiall sisters, transmitting and fastening the same upon terrestriall things, which are under her government. Thus have we shewed summarily, what is to be thought & said as touching Destinie, being taken as a substance; namely, What it is; what parts it hath; after what sort it is; how it is ordered; and in what manner it standeth, both in respect of it selfe, and also in regard of us: but as concerning the particularities of all these points, there is another fable in the *Politiques* of *Plato*, which covertly in some sort giveth us intelligence thereof; and the same have we assaied to expaine & unfold unto you, as well as possibly we can. But to returne unto our Destinie as it is an action, let us discourse thereof, forasmuch as many questions, naturall, morall and rationall depend thereupon. Now for that we have in some sort sufficiently defined already, what it is, we are to consider consequently in order, the qualitie and manner thereof; howsoever there be many that thinke it very strange and absurd to search thereinto. I say therefore, that Destinie is not infinite, but finite and determinate, however it comprehend as it were within a circle the infinitie of all things that are, and have bene time out of minde, yea and shall be worlds without end: for, neither law, nor reason, nor any divine thing whatsoever, can be infinite. And this shall you the better learne and understand, if you consider the total revolution and the universall time, when as the eight sphaeres, as *Timæus* saith, having performed their swift courses, shall returne to the same head and point againe, being measured by the circle of *the same*, which goeth alwaies after one manner: for in this definite and determinate reason, all things aswell in heaven as in earth, the which doe consist by the necessitie of that above, be reduced to the same situation, and brought againe to their first head and beginning. The onely habitude therefore of heaven, which standeth ordeined in all points, aswell in regard of it selfe, as of the earth, and all terrestriall matters, after certeine long revolutions, shall one day returne, yea and that which consequently followeth after, and those which are linked in a continuuity together, bring ech one by consequence that which it hath by necessitie. For to make this matter more plaine, let us suppose that all those things which are in and about us, be wrought and brought to passe by the course of the heavens and celestiall influences, all being the very efficient cause both of that which I write now, and also of that which you are doing at this present, yea and in that sort as you do the same: so that hereafter, when the same cause shall

40 turne about and come againe, we shall do the very same that now we do, yea and after the same manner; yea we shall become againe the very same men. And even so it shall be with all other men: and looke whatsoever shall follow in a course or traine, shall likewise happen by a consequent and dependant cause: and in one word, whatsoever shall befall in any of the universall revolutions, shall become the same againe. Thus apparent it is, as hath already bene said, That Destinie being in some sort infinite, is nevertheless determinate and not infinite; as also, that according as we have shewed before, it is evident that it is in manner of a circle: for like as the motion of a circle in a circle, and the time that measureth it is also a circle; even so the reason of those things which are done and happen in a circle, by good right may be esteemed and said to be a circle.

50 This therefore, if nought els there were, sheweth unto us, in a manner sufficiently, what is destiny in generality, but nor in particular, nor in each severall respect: What then is it? It is the generally, in the same kinde of reason, so as a man may compare it with civill law: For first and foremost, it commandeth the most part of things, if not all, at leastwise by way of supposition, and then it compriseth as much as is possible all matters appertaining to a city or publike state, generally: and that we may better understand both the one and the other, let us exemplifie and consider the same in speciality: The civill or politique law speaketh and ordeineth generally of a valiant man, as also of a run-away coward, and so consequently of others: howbeit, this is not

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to make a law of this or that particular person; but to provide ingenerall principally; and then of particulars by consequence, as comprised under the said generall; for we may very well say, that to remunerate and recompense this or that man for his valour is lawfull; as also to punish a particular person for his cowardise, and forsaking his colours; for that the law potentially and in effect, hath comprized as much, although not in expresse words: like as the law (if I may so say) of Physicians, and of masters of bodily exercises, comprehendeth speciall and particular points within the generall: and even so doth the law of nature, which first and principally doth determine generall matters; and then particulars secondarily & by consequence. Scemably, may particular and individuall things in some sort be said to be destined, for that they be so by consequence with the generals. But haply some one of those who search and enquire more curiously and exactly into these matters will hold the contrary, and say; that of particular & individuall things, proceed the composition of the generals, and that the generall is ordained and gathered for the particular. Now that for which another thing is, goeth alwaies before that which is for it; but this is not the proper place to speake of these quiddities; for wee are to referre them to some other: howbeit, that destiny doth not comprehend all things purely and expresse, but onely such as be universall and generall, is resolved upon for this present, and serveth for that which we have to say hereafter, yea, and agreeth also to that which hath beene delivered somewhat before; for that which is finite and determinate, properly agreeable to divine providence, is more seene in universall and generall things, than in particular; of this nature is the law of God, and such is likewise the civill law, whereas infinity consisteth in particular.

After this we are to declare, what meaneth this tearme, By supposition: for surely destiny is to be thought such a thing. We have then called, By supposition, that which is not set downe of it selfe, nor by it selfe, but supposed and joined after another; and this signifieth a sute and consequence: This is the law or ordinance of *Abraham*, that is to say, a decree inevitable; unto which, if any soule can associate it selfe, the same shall be able to see by consequence, all that will ensue, even unto another generall revolution, and be exempt from all evil, which if it may be able alwaies to doe, it shall neither susseine any damage nor doe harme. Thus you see what it is that we call, By supposition & in generall. Now that Fatall destiny is of this kind evidently appeareth, as well by the substance as the name thereof; for it is called in Greek *ἀναγκή*, 30 as if one would say *inevitable*, that is as much as dependant and linked, and a law it is and ordinance, for that things therein be ordained and disposed consequently, and in manner of those which are done civilly.

Hereunto is to be annexed a treatise of relation, that is to say, what reference and respect hath Fatall destiny unto divine providence, as also unto fortune: likewise, what is that which is in us; what is contingent; and such like things. Moreover, we are to decide, wherein and how it is false; wherein also, and how it is true; that all things happen and come to passe by Fatall destiny: for if it import and imply thus much, That all things are comprised and contained in Fatall destiny, we must grant this proposition to be true: and say one put thereto all things done among men, upon the earth, and in the very heaven, and place them within Fatall destiny, let 40 us grant as much for the present. But if we understand that this word Fatall (as it rather fitteth) doth import not all things, but that onely which followeth and is dependant, then we may not grant and say, that all things be comprehended in Fatall destiny; considering all that which the law doeth comprehend, and whereof it speaketh, is not lawfull, nor according to law: for why? it compriseth treason; it treateth of cowardise; of running away from ones colours and place in battell; of adultery and many things fensibable: of which we cannot say, any one is lawfull: forasmuch as, even to performe valorous service in the wars, to kill tyrants, or to exploit any virtuous deed, I would not tearme lawfull, because properly that is lawfull, which is commanded by the law; and if the law did command those things, how can they avoid to be rebellious and transgressors of the law, who have not done valiant exploits in armes, have not 50 killed tyrants, nor performed any other notable acts of vertue? and in case they be offenders of the law, why are they not punished accordingly? But if to punish such, be neither just nor reasonable, then confesse we must, that these matters be not legall, nor according to law; for legall and according to law is that, which is namely prescribed, set downe, and expressely commanded by the law, in any action whatsoever. Scemably, those things onely be Fatall and according to destiny, which are done by a divine disposition proceeding, so that Fatall destiny may well comprise all things: howbeit many of those which be comprised therein, and in manner all that were before,

before, to speake properly, cannot be pronounced Fatall; nor according to Fatall destiny, which being so, we ought to declare now in order consequently, how that which is in our owne power, to wit, free will, how fortune, possible, contingent, and other such like things, which be ranged and placed among the premises, may subsist fairly with fatall destiny; and how fatall destiny may stand with them: for fatall destiny comprehendeth all, as it seemeth: and yet these things happen not by any necessity, but every of them according to there owne nature. The nature of possible is to have a presubistence as the gender, and to goe before the contingent; and the contingent as the subject matter ought to be presupposed before the things which are in our power: for that which is in us, as a lord and master useth the contingent. And fortune is of this nature, 10 to intercurve betwene our free will and what is in us; by the property of contingency enclining to the one side and to the other, which you may more easily apprehend and understand, if you consider, how every thing that is produced forth, yea and the production it selfe and generation, is not without a certaine puissance: and no puissance or power there is without a substance: as for example the generation of man, and that which is produced and engendered, is not without a power, and the same is about the man, but man himselfe is the substance. Of the puissance or power being betwene, commeth the substance which is the puissant: but the production and that which is produced, be both things possible. There being therefore these three, puissance, puissant, and possible: before puissance can be, of necessity there must be presupposed a puissant, as the subject thereof: and even so it must needs be that puissance also subsist 20 before that which is possible. By this deduction then, in some sort is declared, what is that which we call possible; so as we may after a grosse maner define it to be, that which puissance is able to produce: and to speake more properly of the same, by adjoining thereto thus much, provided alwaies that nothing without forth doe impeach or hinder it. But among possible things, some there be that never can be hindered, as namely in heaven, the rising and setting of the stars, and such like: others may be impeached, as the most part of humane affaires, yea and many meteors in the aire. As for the former, as things happening by necessity, they be called necessarie; the other for that they fall out sometime contrariwise, we tearme contingent; and in this sort may they be described. Necessary is that possible thing, which is opposit to impossible: contingent is that possible, whereof possible also is the contrary. For that the sun should goe downe, is a 30 thing both necessary & possible, as being contrary unto this impossibility, namely, that the sun should not set at all: but that when the sun is set, there should come raine or not raine, are both of them possible and contingent. Again of things contingent, some there be which happen oftentimes and for the most part; others rare and seldom; some fall out indifferently, as well one waie as another, even as it happeneth. And plaine it is, that these be opposit and repugnant to themselves: as for those which happen usually and very often, contrary they be to such things as chance but seldom: and these indeed for the most part are subject to nature: but that which chanceth equally, one way as well as another, lieth in us and our will: for examples sake, that under the Dog starre it should be hot and colde; so the one commonly and for the most part, the other every seldom, are things both, submitted to nature: but to walke or not to walke and such 40 things whereof the one and the other be subject to the free will of man, are said to be in us and in our choice and election: but rather and more generally, they be said to be in us and in our choice and election. To be in us, it is to be understood two manner of waies, and thereof are two kinds; the one proceedeth from passion as namely from anger or concupiscence; the other from discourse of reason or judgement and understanding, which a man may properly say to be in our election. And some reason there is that this possible contingent which is named to be in us, and to proceed from our appetite and will, should be called fo, not in the same regard, but for divers; for in respect of future time it is called possible and contingent; but in regard of the present it is namely in us and in our free will: so as a man may thus define and distinguish of these things: Contingent is that which both it selfe and the contrary whereof is possible: that 50 which is in us, is the one part of contingent, to wit, that which presently is in doing according to our appetite. Thus have we in maner declared, that by nature possible goeth before contingent, and contingent subsisteth before that which in us; also, what each of them is, and whereupon they are so called, yea and what be the qualities adjoining thereto: it remaineth now, that we should treat of Fortune and casuall adventure, and of whatsoever besides, that requirith difficultie and consideration. First, this is certaine, that Fortune is a kinde of cause: but among causes, some are of themselves, others by accident: as for example, of an house or ship, the proper causes and of themselves, be the Mason, Carpenter or Shipwright; but by accident, the Musician

Musician and Geometrician, yea, and whatsoever incident to the mason, carpenter, or shipwright, either in regard of body or minde, or outward things: whereby it appeareth, that the efficient cause which is by it selfe, must needs be determinate, certaine in one; whereas the accidental causes are not alwaies one and the same, but infinit, and indeterminate; for many accidents in number infinit, and in nature different one from another, may be together in one and the same subject. This cause then by accident, when it is found not onely in such things which are done for some end, but also in those wherein our election and will taketh place, is called fortune; as namely, to find treasure when a man diggeth a hole or grave to planta tree in, or to do and suffer any extraordinary thing, in flying, pursuing, or otherwise going and marching, or onely in retiring: provided alwaies, that he doeth it not to that end which ensueth thereupon, but upon some other intention. And hereupon it is, that some of the ancient philosophers have defined fortune, to be a cause unknown, and not foreseene by mans reason: But according to the Platoniques, who come neerer unto it in reason, it is defined thus: Fortune is an accidentall cause in those things that are done for some end, and which are in our election; and afterwards they adjoine moreover, not foreseene not known by the discourse of humane reason; although that which is rare and strange, by the same meanes, appeareth also in this kinde of cause by accident. But what is this, if it appeere not manifestly by the oppositions and contradictory disputations, yet at leastwise it will be declared most evidently, by that which is writtē in a treatise of *Plato*, entituled *Phædon*, where these words are found, What? Have you not heard how & in what manner the judgement passed? Yes iwis: For one there was, who 20 came and told us of it: whereat we marvelled very much, that seeing the sentence of judgement was pronounced long before, he died a good while after. And what might be the cause thereof, *ô Phædon*? Surely, there hapned unto him, *ô Echerates*, a certaine fortune: For it chanced that the day before the judgement, the prow of the galley which the Athenians sent to ille *Delos* was crowned: In which words it is to be noted, that by this tearme; There hapned, you must not understand, There was; but rather, it so befell, upon a concourse and meeting of many causes together, one after another. For the priest adorned the ship with coronets for another end and intention, and not for the love of *Socrates*; yea, and the judges had condemned him also for some other cause: but the event it selfe was so strange & admirable, as if it had hapned by some providence, or by an humane creature, or rather indeed by some superior nature. And 30 thus much may suffice as touching fortune, and the definition thereof: as also, that necessarily it ought to subsist together with some one contingent thing of those which are meant to some end; whereupon it tooke the * name: yea, and there must be some subject before of such things which are in us and in our election.

But casuall adventure reacheth and extendeth farther than fortune: for it compriseth both it, and also many other things which may chance aswell one way as another: and according as the very etimologie and derivation of the word *adventure*, sheweth it is that which hapneth for and in stead of another, namely, when that which was ordinary fell not out, but another thing in lieu thereof: as namely, when it chanced to be colde weather in the Dog-dates; for sometimes it falleth out to be then colde: and not without cause. In summe, like as that which is in us and 40 arbitrary, is part of contingent; even so is fortune a part of casuall or accidental adventure: and both these events are conjunct and dependant one of another; to wit, casuall adventure hangeth upon contingent, and fortune upon that which is in us and arbitrarie: and yet not simply and in general, but of that onely which is in our election, according as hath bene before said. And hereupon it is, that this casuall adventure is common aswell to things which have no life, as to those which are animate; whereas fortune is proper to man onely, who is able to performe voluntary actions. An argument whereof is this, that to be fortunate, happie and blessed, are thought to be all one; for blessed happinesse is a kinde of well doing; and to doe well, properly belongeth to a man and him that is perfect. Thus you see what things are comprised within fatall destiny, namely, contingent, possible, election, that which is within us, fortune, casuall accident or chance & adventure, together with their circumstant adjuncts, signified by these words, haply, peradventure or perchance: howbeit, we are not to inferre, that because they be contained within destiny, therefore they be fatall.

It remaineth now to discourse of divine providence, considering that it selfe comprehendeth fatall destiny. This supreme and first providence therefore, is the intelligence and will of the soveraigne god, doing good unto all that is in the world; whereby all divine things universally and thorowout, have bene most excellently and wisely ordered and disposed. The second pro-
vidence

vidence, is the intelligence and will of the second gods who have their course thorow the heavens; by which, temporall and mortall things are ingendered regularly and in order; as also whatsoever pertaineth to the preservation and continuance of every kinde of thing. The third, by all probabilite and likelihood may well be called the providence and prospicience of the *Dæmons* or angels, as many as be placed and ordeined about the earth as superintendents, for to observe, marke and governe mens actions. Now albeit there be seene this threecolde providence, yet properly and principally that first and supreme is named Providence: for as we may be bolde, and never doubt to say, howsoever herein we seeme to contradict some Philosophers, That all things are done by fatall destiny, and by providence, but not likewise by nature: howbeit, some by providence; and that after divers fashions, these by one, and those by another: yea and some also by fatall destiny. As for fatall destiny, it is altogether by providence; but providence in no wise by fatall destiny: where, by the way, this is to be noted, that in this present place I understand the principall and soveraigne providence. Now whatsoever is done by another (be it what it will) is evermore after that which causeth or maketh it; even as that which is erected by law is after the law; like as what is done by nature, must needs succeed and come after nature. Semblably, what is done by fatall destiny, is after fatall destiny, & of necessity must be more new & moderne: and therefore the supreme providence is the ancientest of all, excepting him alone, whose intelligence it is or wil, or both twaine together, to wit, the soveraigne author, creator, maker and father of all things.

And for what cause is it, saith *Timæus*, that he hath made & framed this fabricke of the world? for that he is all good, and in him being all good, there can not be imprinted or engendered any evil; by which he is altogether void and free from it; his will was, that as much as possibly might be, all things should resemble himselfe. He then who shall receive and admit this for the most principall and proper originall of the generation and creation of the world, such as wisemen have delivered unto us by writing, is in the right way, and doeth very well. For God willing that all things should be good, and nothing at all (to his power) evill, tooke all that was visible, relesse as it was, and moving still rashly, confusedly, irregularly and without order, which he brought out of confusion, and ranged into order, judging this to be every way farre better than the other: for neither it was, nor is convenient and meet, for him who is himselfe right good, to make any thing that should not be most excellent and beautifull. Thus therefore we are to esteeme that providence (I meane that which is principall and soveraigne) hath constituted and ordeined these things first, and then in order such as ensue and depend thereof, even as farre as to the soules of men. Afterwards having thus created the universal world, hee ordeined eight spheres, answering in number to so many principall starres; and distributed to every one of them a severall soule; all which he set, each one (as it were) within a chariot over the nature of the whole, shewing unto them the lawes and ordinances of Fatall destiny. What is he then who will not beleeve, that by these words he plainly sheweth and declareth Fatall destiny, and the same to be (as one would say) a tribunall, yea, & a politike constitution of civil lawes, meet and agreeable to the soules of men? whereof afterwards he rendereth a reason. And as touching the second providence, he doeth after a sort expressly signifie the same in these words, saying: Having therefore prescribed all these lawes unto them, to the end that if afterwards there should be any default, he might be exempted from all cause of evill: he spread and sowed some upon the earth, others about the moone, and some againe upon other organs and instruments of time: after which distribution, he gave commandement and charge to the young gods for to frame and create mortall bodies, as also to make up and finish that which remained and was wanting in mans soule; and when they had made perfect all that was adherent and consequent thereto, then to rule and governe after the best and wisest manner possible, this mortall creature, to the end that it selfe should not be the cause of the owne evils and miseries: for in these words where it is said: That he might be exempt, and not the cause of any evil ensuing afterwards, he sheweth cleerely and evidently to every one the cause of Fatall destiny. The order also and office of these petie-gods declareth unto us the second providence, yea, and it seemeth that in some sort it toucheth by the way, the third providence, in case it be so, that for this purpose these lawes and ordinances were established, because he might not be blamed or accused as the author of any evil in any one afterwards: for God himselfe being cleere & exempt from all evil, neither hath need of lawes, nor requirerh any Fatall destiny: but each one of these petie-gods, led and haled by the providence of him who hath engendered them, doth their owne devoir and office, belonging unto them. That this is true, and the very minde and
opinion

opinion of *Plato*, appeereth manifestly in my conceit, by the testimonie of those words which are reported by the law-giver in his books of lawes in this maner: If there were any man (quoth he) so by nature sufficient, or by divine fortune so happily borne, that he could be able to comprehend this, he should require no lawes to command him: for no law there is, nor ordinance of more woorth and puissance, than is knowledge and science: neither can he possibly be a servile slave or subiect to any, who is truly and indeed free by nature, but he ought to command all. For mine owne part thus I understand and interpret the sentence of *Plato*: For whereas there is a triple providence: the first, as that which hath engendered Fatall destiny, in some sort comprehendeth it: the second being engendered with it, is likewise wholly comprised in it: the third engendered after Fatall destiny, is comprised under it, in that maner, as, That which is in us, 10 and fortune, as we have already said: for those whom the assistance of the power of our *Dæmon* doth aid (according as *Socrates* saith) expounding unto *Theages* what is the inevitable ordinance of *Adrasti*, these (I say) are those whom you understand well enough; for they grow and come forward quickly with speed, so as, where it is said, that a *Dæmon* or angell doth favour any, it must be referred to the third providence; but that suddenly they grow and come to proove, it is by the power of Fatall destiny: And to be short, it is very plaine and evident, that even this also is a kinde of destiny. And peradventure it may seeme much more probable, that even the second providence is comprehended under destiny; yea, and in summe, all things whatsoever be made or done, considering that destiny according to the substance thereof, hath bene rightly divided by us into three parts. And verily that speech as touching the chaine and concatenation, comprehendeth the revolutions of the heavens, in the number and raunge of those things 20 which happen by supposition: but verily of these points I will not debate much, to wit, whether we are to call them, Hapning by supposition, or rather conjunct unto destiny; considering that the precedent cause and commander of destiny it selfe, is also fatall. And thus to speake summarily, and by way of abridgement, is our opinion: but the contrary sentence unto this, ordeineth all things to be not onely under destiny, but also according to destiny, and by it. Now all things accord unto *the other*, and that which accordeth to another, the same must be granted to be *the other*: according then to this opinion, contingent is said to be the first; that which is in us the second; fortune the third; accident or casual chance and adventure the fourth, together with all that dependeth thereupon, to wit, praise, blame; and those of the same kinde; the fifth and last of all, may bee said to be the prayers unto the gods, together with their services 30 and ceremonies. Moreover, as touching those which are called idle, and harvest arguments, as also that which is named beside or against destiny, they are no better than cavils and sophistries according to this opinion; but according to the contrary sentence, the first and principall conclusion is, that nothing is done without cause, but all thing depend upon precedent causes: the second, that the world is governed by nature, which conspireth and is compatible with it selfe; the third may seeme rather to be testimonies unto these; whereof the first is divination, approved by all nations, as being really and truly in God; the second the equanimitie and patience of wise men, taking and bearing well all accidents and occurrences whatsoever, as comming by divine ordinance; the third, which is so common a speech, and divulged in every mans mouth, namely, that every proposition is either true or false. Thus have we drawn this discourse into a small number of short articles, to the end that we might reneumber and comprise in few words, the whole matter and argument of Destinie. All which points, both of the one and the other opinion, are to be discussed and examined with more diligent inquisition, whereof particularly we will treat afterwards.

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A COMPENDIOUS REVIEW AND DISCOURSE, THAT THE STOICKS DELIVER MORE STRANGE OPINIONS, THAN DO THE POETS.

The Summarie.

A Petie declaration this is against the sect of the Stoicks, which briefly and in a word it maketh odious; growing out in plaine termes, that such persons be the loudest liars in the world; and that their opinion as touching the change and alteration of that party who rangeth himselfe unto them, is so monstrous and ridiculous, that the discovery only thereof is a sufficient refutation.

A COMPENDIOUS REVIEW and discourse, That the Stoicks deliver more strange opinions, than do the Poets.

Pindarus was reprov'd, for that after a strange maner, and without all sense and probabilitye hee fained *Caneus* one of the *Lapithes* to have had a bodie so hard, as it could not be pierced by any weapon of iron and Steele, but that he remained unhurt, and so afterwards 40
Went under cirth without wound,
When with stiffe foot he clef the ground.
But this *Lapith* of the Stoicks, to wit, their imagined wife man, being forged by them of ittpassibilitie, as of a metall harder than the diamond, is not such an one as is not otherwhiles wofided, diseased and assailed with paine: howbeit, as they say, he abideth still feare-
lesse and without sorrow and heavinesse; he continueth invincible, he susteineth no force nor violence, howsoever he be wounded, what paine soever he suffereth, be he put to all tortures, or see his native country sacked and destroyed before his face, or what calamities els beside be presented to his eies. And verily, that *Caneus* whom *Pindarus* describeth, notwithstanding he were smitten, and bare many strokes, yet was unwounded for all that: but the wife man whom the Stoicks imagine, although he be kept enclosed in prison, yet is not restrained of libertie; say he be pitched downe from the top of a rocke, yet susteineth no violence; is he put to the strapado, to the racke or wheele, yet for all that is he not tormented; and albeit he fric in the fire, yet he hath no harm; nay, if in wrestling he be foiled and take a fall, yet he persisteth unconquered; when he is environed within a wall, yet is he not besieged; and being solde in port sale by the e-
50 nemies, yet is he no captive, but remaineth impregnable; resembling most properly for all the world, those ships which have these goodly inscriptions in their pous, *Happie voyage, Luckie navigation, Saving providence, and Remedie against all dangers*: and yet the same neverthelesse be tossed in the seas, split upon the rocks, cast away and drowned. *Iolus*, as the Poet *Euripides* hath fained, by a certaine praiser that he made unto the gods, of a feeble and decrepit olde man, became all of a sudden a yong and lustie gallant, ready for to fight a battell: but the Stoicks wife man, who longer agoe than yesterday, was most hatefull, wretched and wicked, all at once to day

is changed into a good and vertuous person; he is of a rivelled, pale, leane and poore fillie aged man, and as the Poet *Aeschylus* saith,

*Who suffereth pangs in flanke, in reines and backe,
With painfull cramps, stretcht as upon a racke.*

become, a lovely, faire, beautifull, and personable youth, pleasant both to God and man. *Minerva* in *Homer* rid *Ulysses* from his wrinkles, his baldnesse, and ill favoured deformity, that he might appeare full of favour and amiable: but this wife man of there making, albeit withered old age leave not his body, but contrariwise increase still and grow more and more with all the discommodities that follow it, continuing still for example fake bunch backt, if he were to before, one eyed, and toothlesse, yet forsooth is not for all this, foule, deformed and ill favoured, For like as by report the bettles fly from good and sweet odors, seeking after stinking fents, even so the Stoicks love (conversing with the most foule illfavoured and deformed, after that by their sapience and wildome they be turned into all beauty and favor) departeth and goeth from them. With these Stoicks he who in the morning haply was most wicked, will prove in the evening a right honest man: & who went to bed foolish, ignorant, injurious, outrageous, intemperate, yea a very slave, a poore & needy begger, will rise the morrow morning, a king, rich, happie, chaste, just, firme and constant, nothing at all subject to variety of opinions: not for that he hath all on a suddaine put forth a beard, or become under grownen, as in a young and tender body: but rather engendred in a weak, soft, effeminate and inconstant foule, a perfect minde, perfect understanding, soveraine prudence, a divine disposition, comparable to the gods, a settled and assured science, not wandering in opinions and an immutable and stedfast habitude: neither went that leawd wickednesse of his away by little & little, but all at once (I may well need say) he was transmuted from a most vile beast into a demy god, a demon, or a very god indeed. For so soone once as a man hath learned vertue in the Stoicks schoole, he may say thus unto himselfe:

*Wish what thou wilt, and what thou list to crave,
All shall be done & doe thou but aske and have.*

This vertue brings riches, this carich with itroioly, this giveth good fortune, this makes men happie, standing in need of nothing, contented in themselves, although they have not in all the world so much as a single drachme of silver, or one grey goate. Yet are the fables of Poets devised with more probability and likelihood of reason: for never doe they leave *Hercules* altogether destitute of necessaries: but it seemeth that he hath with him alwaies one living source or other, out of which there runneth evermore foison and plenty for himselfe and the company about him. But he who hath once gotten the goat *Amalthea* by the head, and that plentifull horne of abundance which the Stoicks talke of, he is rich incontinently, and yet beggeth his bread and victuals of others; he is a king, although for a peece of mony he teacheth how to resolve syllogismes: he onely possesseth all things, albeit he pay rent for his house, buieth his meale and meat with the silver that many times he taketh up of the usurer, or else craveth at their hands who have just nothing of their owne to give. True it is indeed, that *Ulysses* the king of *Ithaca* begged almes, but it was because he would not be knownen; counterfeitaint all that he could

*To make himselfe a begger poore,
Like one that went from doore to doore,*

whereas he that is come out of the Stoicks schoole, crying aloud with open mouth, I onely am a king, I am rich and none but I, is seene oftentimes at other mens doores standing with this note,

*Give Hipponax a cloke, his naked corps to folde,
For that I quake and shiver much for colde.*



THE CONTRADICTIONS OF STOICKE PHILOSOPHERS.

The Summarie.

Lutarch being of the Academie sect, directly contrary to the Stoicks, examineth in this treatise the opinions of those his adversaries, and sheweth by proper testimonies out of their owne writings, and namely of Chrysippus their principall doctor, that there is nothing firme and certaine in all their doctrine: perusing and sifting so this end the chiefe points of all the parts of philosophie, not binding himselfe precisely to any speciall order, but proposing matters according as they come into his remembrance, or were presented to his eyes. Moreover, in the recitall of their repugnancies and contradictions, he intermingleth certaine expositions, to aggravate the absurdity of this sect of his adversaries, and so withdraw the reader from them: which is a very proper and singular manner of declaiming and disputing against inveterate errors, and such as have a great name in the world: for in shewing that those who are reputed most able and sufficient to teach and maintaine them, know not what they say, and do confound themselves, as much as to reproch every man who doth adhere unto them with this imputation, that his is deprived of common sense, in receiving that for a certene verity, wherein their very master are not well resolved, or admitting that which they practise, otherwise than they say.

THE CONTRADICTIONS of Stoicke philosophers.

If above all things, I would have to be seene a conformitie and accord betwene the opinions of men and their lives: for it is not so necessary, that the orator, according as *Lysias* saith, and the law, should found the same note, as require that the life of a philosopher should be conformable and consonant to his words and doctrine: for the speech of a philosopher is a voluntary and particular law which hee imposeth upon himselfe, if it be so as men esteeme, that philosophie is (as no doubt it is) the profession of that which is serious, grave, and of weighty importance, and not a gamefome sport, or vaine and toyish prading, devised onely for to gaine glory. Now we see, that *Zeno* himselfe hath written much by way of disputation and discourse; *Cleanthes* likewise, and *Chrysippus* most of all, concerning the politique government of common-wealth, touching rule and obedience, of judgement also and pleading at the barre: and yet looke into all their lives throughout, you shall not finde that ever any of them were captains and commanders, neither law-givers, nor senators, & counsellors of State, ne yet orators or advocates pleading judiciously in court before the judges; nay, they were not so much as employed in any ware, bearing armes, and performing martiall service for the defence of their countries: you shal not find (I say) that any of them was ever sent in embassage, or bestowed any publicke largesse or donative to the people; but remained all the time of their life (and that was not short, but very long) in a strange and forren cuntry, feeding upon rest and repose, as if they had tasted of the herbe Lotus in *Homer*, and forgotten their native soile, where they spent their time in writing books, in holding discourses, and in walking up and downe. Heereby it manifestly

manifestly appeareth, that they lived rather according to the sayings and writings of other, than answerable to that which themselves judge and confesse to be their duty, having passed the whole course of their life in that quiet repose, which *Epicurus* and *Hieronymus* too highly praise and commend. And verily to prove this to be a truth, *Chrysippus* himselfe in his fourth booke entituled, Of Lives, is of opinion, and so hath put downe in writing, that a scholasticall life, to wit, that of idle students, differeth not from the life of voluptuous persons. And to this purpose I thinke it not amisse to alledge the mayns speech word for word: They (quoth he) who thinke that this scholasticall idle life of students even from the first beginning, is most of all becoming and agreeable to philosophers, in my conceit, seeme much deceived weening as they do, that they are to philosophize for their pastime or recreation, and so to draw out in length the whole course of their life at their booke in their studies, which is as much to say in plaine termes, as to live at ease and in pleasure. Neither is this opinion of theirs to be hidden and dissembled; for many of them give out as much openly, howsoever others, and those not a few deliver the same more obscurely; and yet whereis he who grew old and aged more in this idle scholasticall life, than *Chrysippus*, *Cleantes*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno* and *Antipater*? who forsooke and abandoned even their native countries, having no cause or occasion in the world to complaine of or to be discontent; onely to this end, that they might lead their lives more sweetly at their pleasure, studying and disputing with ease, and letting out their girdle slacke as they list themselves. To approve this that I say, *Antistreon* the discipule of *Chrysippus*, and one of his familiar friends, having caused a statue of brasse to be erected for him, set over it these elegant 20 verses in manner of an epigram:

*This image, Antistreon
erected fresh and new
For Chrysip, Academicke knots
who like an ax did hew*

Lo, what manner of person was *Chrysippus*, an aged man, a philosopher, one who praised the life of kings, and of those who are convertant in weale publique, and he who thought there was no difference between the idle scholasticall life, and the voluptuous. And yet others among them as many I meane as deale in state affaires, are found to be more repugnant and contradictory to the resolutions of their owne sect: for they beare rule as chiefe magistrates, they are judges, 30 they be Senators and set in counsell, they ordaine and publish lawes, they punish malefactors, they honour and reward those that doe well; as if they were cities indeed wherein they governe and manage the state; as if those were senators, counsellors and judges, who yeerely alwaies are by lot created or otherwise to such places; captaines and commanders who are elected by the suffrages and voices of citizens; and as if those were to be held good lawes which *Clisthenes*, *Lycorgus* & *Solon* made: and yet the same men they avow and maintaine to have bene witlesse fooles, and leawd persons. Thus you see how albeit they administer the common weale, yet they be repugnant to their owne doctrine.

In like maner *Antipater*, in his booke of the dissention, betweene *Cleantes*, and *Chrysippus* reporteth, that *Zeno* and *Cleantes* would never be made citizens of *Athens*, for feare forsooth left they might be thought to offer injurie to their owne country. Now if they hercin did well, let *Chrysippus* goe, and say wee nothing of him that he did amisse, in causing himselfe to be enrolled and immatriculated in the number of Athenian citizens; for I will not stand much upon this point: onely this I holde, that there is a strange and woonderfull repugnance in their deeds and actions, who reserve still the bare names of their native countries, and yet beaue the same of their very persons and their lives, converting so farte off in forraigne lands: much like as if a man who hath cast off and put a way his lawfull wedded wife, should dwell, live and lie ordinarie with another as his concubine, yea and beget children of her body, and yet will in no wise espouse her and contract marriage with her, left forsooth he might seeme to doe wrong and injurie to the former. Furthermore *Chrysippus* in his treatise that he made of Rhetoricke writing thus, that a wife man will in such sort plead, make orations to the people, and deale in state matters, as if riches reputation and health were simply good things, testifieth hereby and confesseth that his precepts and resolutions induce men not to goe forth of doores not to intermeddle in politicke and civill affaires, and so by consequence that their doctrines and precepts cannot fort well with practise, nor be agreeable unto the actions of this life.

Moreover, this is one of *Zenos* quodlibets or positions: that we ought not to build temples to the honour of the gods: for that a temple is no such holy thing, nor so highly to be esteem-

med considering it is the workmanship of masons, carpenters and other artificers: neither can any worke of such artificers be prized at any worth. And yet even they who avow and approve this as a wise speech of his, are themselves professed in the religious mysteries of those churches; they mount up to the castle and frequent there the sacred temple of *Minerva*; they adore the shrines and images of the gods; they adorne the temples with chaplets and garlands, notwithstanding they be the workes of masons, carpenters and such like mechanickall persons. And will these men seeme indeed to reprove the Epicureans as contrary to themselves, who denying that the gods be occupied or employed in the government of the world, yet offer sacrifice unto them, when as they checke and refuse themselves much more in sacrificing unto the gods 10 within their temples and upon their altars, which they maintaine that they ought not to stand at all, nor once to have bene built?

Zeno putteth downe & admitteih many vertues according to their severall differences, like as *Plato* doth, to wit, prudence, fortitude, temperance & justice; saying that they be all in very deed and in nature inseparable nor distinct a funder: howbeit in reason divers and different one from another. And againe when he would seeme to define them severally one after another, he saith That fortitude is prudence in the execution of matters: justice is prudence in the distribution of things, &c. as if there were no more but one sole vertue, which according to divers relations, unto affaires and actions, seemeth to differ and admit distinction. So you see, that not *Zeno* alone seemeth to be repugnant unto himselfe in these matters, but *Chrysippus* also, who 20 reprooveth *Ariston* for saying, that all vertues are nothing else but the divers habitudes and relations of one and the same, and yet defendeth *Zeno* when he defineth each vertue in this wise by itselfe.

As for *Cleantes* in his commentaries of nature, having set this downe, that the vigour and firmitude of things, is the illisio and smiting of fire, which if it be in the soule so sufficient, that it is able to performe the duties presented unto it, is called strength and power, he annexeth afterward these words: And this very power and strength (quoth he) when as it is employed in such objects wherein a man is to persist, and which he ought to containe, is called Continency; if in things to be endured and supported, then it is named Fortitude; if in estimation of worthinesse and desert, beareth the denomination of Justice; if in choises or refusals, it carrieth 30 the name of Temperance. Against him who was the authour of this sentence,

*Forbeare thy sentence for to passe,
and judgement see thou list,
untill such time as thou hast heard
what parties both can say.*

Zeno alleged such a reason as this on the contrary side. Whether the plaintive who spake in the first place hath plainly proved his cause or no, there is no need at all to heare the second, for the matter is at an end already, and the question determined: or whether he hath not proved it, all is one; for it is even the same case, whether he that is cited be so stubborne as not to appeare for to be heard, or if he appeare, doe nothing els but cavill and wrangle: so that proove he or 40 proove he not his cause, needlesse it is to heare the second plead. And yet even he who made this Dilemma, and wrote against the books of Policie and common wealth that *Plato* composed, taught his scholars how to affoile and avoid such Sophisticall arguments, yea and exhorted them to learne Logicke with all diligence, as being the art which sheweth them how to performe the same. Howbeit a man might come upon him by way of objection in this maner: *Certes*, *Plato* hath either proved or els not proved those points which he handled in his Politicks: but whether he did or no, there was no necessitie at all to write against him as you did; for it was altogether vaine, needlesse and superfluous. And even the same may be said of Sophisticall arguments and cavillations.

Chrysippus is of opinion, that yong scholars and students should first learne those arts which 50 concerne speech, as Grammar, Logicke and Rhetoricke; in the second place, morall sciences; in the third, naturall philosophic; and after all these, in the last place, to heare the doctrine as touching religion and the gods: which being delivered by him in many passages of his writings, it shall be sufficient to alledge that onely which he hath written thus word for word in the third booke of his Lives. First and formost (quoth he) it seemeth unto mee, according to the doctrine of our ancients, that of Philosophicall speculations there be three kinds; Logically, as touching speech; Ethicall, concerning maners; and Physicall, belonging to the nature of things: of which, that which is respective unto speech ought to precede and be ranged first; secondly,

condly, that which treateth of maners; thirdly, that which handleth naturall causes. Now of these Physicks and naturall arguments, the last is that which treateth of God: and this is the reason that the precepts and traditions of divine matters and of religion, they called *παιδεία*, as one would say, the very last and conning in the end. Howbeit, this treatise of the gods, which by his saying ought to be set last, himselfe in the very same booke, rangeth above maners, and setteth before all other morall questions. For neither seemeth he to speake of the ends, nor of justice, nor of good and evill things, nor of marriage, nor of the nouriture and education of children, ne yet of law nor of the government of the Common-wealth in any sort; but as they who propoſe and publiſh decrees unto cities and States, make some preamble before of good lucke or happie fortunes; so he useth the preface of *Jupiter*, of Fatal destinie, of Divine providence: also, that there being but one world, the same doth consist and is maintained by one mightie power. Which points, no man doth firmly beleieve nor can be resolutely perswaded in, unless he wade deeply into the profoundest secrets and discourses of naturall Philosophie. But hearken I beseech you, a little, to that which he saith of these matters, in his third booke of the gods: It is not possible (quoth he) to finde out any other fountaine and original beginning of justice, than from *Jupiter* and common nature: for from hence it must needs be, that every fith thing is derived, if that we meane to discourse of good things and evill. Again, in his Treatise of naturall positions, there is no other way, or at leastwise not a better, of proceeding to the discourse of good things and bad, nor of of vertues, nor of of sovereign felicity, than from common nature, and the administration of the world. Moreover, as he goeth forward in another place, *VVe* are to annex and adjoine hereto (quoth he) a treatise of good and evill things, considering there is not a better beginning thereof, nor yet a reference and relation more proper: neither is the speculation and science of nature in any other respect requisite or necessarie to be learned, but only for to know the difference of good and evill. And therefore according to *Chrysippus*, this naturall science both goeth before and also followeth after morall things; or to say a truth at once in more expresse termes, it were a strange and difficult inversion of order, to holde, that it is to be placed after them, considering that without it it were impossible to comprehend any of the other: and a very manifest repugnance it were to affirme, that science naturall is the beginning of morall, which treateth of good and evill, and yet ordeine nevertheless, that it should be taught not before, but after it. Now if any man say unto me, that *Chrysippus* in his booke entitled, *The use of speech*, hath written, that he who first learneth Logicke, I meane the knowledge and philosophie concerning words, ought not altogether for to fore-bear the learning of other parts, but that he ought to take a taste of them, according as he hath meane thereto, will may he speake a truth, but withall, confirme he shall my accusation still of his fault: for he fighteth with himselfe, in ordering one while that a man should learne in the last place and after all, the science that treateth of God, as if that were the reason why it was called *πρώτη*, which is as much as *πρώτη*, that is to say, Final; and another while teaching cleane contrarie, that the same is to be learned even with the very first, and at the beginning: for then followeth all order for ever, and welcome confusion, if we must learne all things huddled together at all times. But yet this is not the worst, for having set this downe for a resolution: That the doctrine as touching good things and evill, ought to begin and proceed from the knowledge of God; yet, he will not have them who settle themselves and enter into the studie of morall philosophie, to take their beginning there: but that in learning this, to catch somewhat of that by the way, even as much as they have cause meane to come by; and afterwards to repaſſe from morall philosophy unto Theologie, without which (he saith) there can bee neither entrance nor progresse in the knowledge of maners.

Moreover (he saith) that, To dispute of one and the same question, *pro & contra*, to and fro, he disalloweth not simply and in generality: but his advice is, to use the same so warily and with such discretion, as otherwhiles orators doe in pleading, when they alledge the reasons of their adversaries, not to uphold and maintaine the same, but only for to refute and disprove that likelihood and probability which they pretend: For otherwise (quoth he) thus to doe, is the manner of those Scepticks, who be alwaies doubtful, and withhold their consent in every thing: a meere shift that serveth their turne, for whatsoever they hold: but as for those who would worke and establish in mens hearts, a certaine science, according to which they might undoubtedly guide and conduct themselves, they ought to found and search the contrary, and from point to point by stepmeale, to direct their novices newly entred, even from the beginning to the very end: wherein there falleth out otherwhiles fit opportunity to make mention

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of contrary sentences and opinions, for to refute and resolve that which might seeme to have apparence of truth; as the manner is in pleading before judges: for these be the very words and proper termes that he useth. Now what an absurd and impertinent a thing it is, that philosophers should thinke they were to put downe the contrary opinions of other philosophers, and not withall, their reasons and arguments, but only as advocates pleading at the barre to disabill and weaken their proofes, and so to weary their adversaries; as if disputation were only to win the honour of victory, and not to finde out a truth: we have elsewhere discoursed against him sufficiently. But that himselfe not heere and there in his disputations, but oftentimes and in many places hath confirmed with might and maine, yea, and with so great asseveration and contention, contrary resolutions, unto his owne opinions, that it were a right hard matter for any man to discern, which of them he approoveth most, they themselves in some sort doe say, who admire the subtilty of the man, and the vivacity of his spirit, who also both thinke and sticke not to affirme, that *Carnedes* spake nothing of his owne invention, but by the helpe and meane of which arguments *Chrysippus* used to prove his owne assertions, hee returned the same contrariwise upon himselfe to confute his precepts, in somuch as estoones in disputation he would, alluding to a verse in *Homer*, cry out aloud in this manner:

Unhappy man, thus for to doe,

Thine owne pure strength will worke thy woe.

as if he lay open and ministred great advantages and meane against himselfe, to those who went about for to infringe and calunniate his opinions. But as touching those treatises and discourses which he hath put forth and set out against ordinary custome, his followers do gloriously boast and joy, that they give out, if all the books of the Academies that ever lived, were laid together, they deserved not to be compared with that which *Chrysippus* wrote in calumination of the senses: an evident signe either of their ignorance who say so, or els of their owne blinde selfe-love. Howbeit, certaine it is, that afterwards being desirous to defend custome and the senses, he was found much inferior to himselfe, and the latter treatise came farre short of the former, and was nothing at all so pithy; in such sort as he is contradictorie and repugnant to himselfe: whiles he alwaies prescribeth and willesh to conferre and oppose contrary sentences, not as one patronizing any, but making an ostentation that they be false: and afterwards sheweth himselfe to be a more vehement accuser, than a defender of his owne proper sentences; and counselling othersto take heed of repugnant and contrary disputations, as those which distract and impeach their perception, himselfe is more studious and diligent to addresse such proofes as overthrow perception, than those which are to establish and confirme the same: and yet that he feared no lesse, hee declareth plainly in the fourth booke of his lives, where he writeth thus: *We* are not rashly nor without good respect and adviſement to admit and allow repugnant disputations and contrary opinions to be proposed, nor to answer those probable arguments which are brought against true sentences: but herein we must warily goe to worke, and cary our selves so, as fearing alwaies lest the hearers being thereby distracted and diverted, let goe this apprehension and conception, and be not of sufficient capacity to comprehend their solutions, but after such a feeble sort, as that their comprehensions be ready to falter and shake, considering that even they who customably comprehend sensible objects and other things which depend of senses, quickly forgo the same, being distracted as well by Megarian interrogatories, as by others more forcible, and in greater number. Now would I gladly demand of these Stoicks whether they thinke these Megarian interrogatories more puissant than those which *Chrysippus* hath written in fixe bookes; or rather *Chrysippus* himselfe would be asked the question. For marke I pray you, what he hath written of the Megarian disputation in his booke entitled; *The use of speech*, wherein this manner: Such a thing as befall in the disputation betweene *Stilpo* and *Menedemus*, both renowned personages for their learning and wisdom; and yet the whole manner of their arguing is now turned to their reproch and plain mockery, as if their arguments were either very grosse, or else too captious & topichall: and yet good fit these arguments which it pleaseſt them to come and tearme the reproach of those who make such interrogatories, as containing in them notorious leawdnesse, you feare lest they should divert any from perception: And even your owne selfe writing so many bookes as you doe against custome whereunto you have adjoined whatsoever you could devise and invent, labouring to surmount and surpasse *Arcesilau*; did you never expect and looke to scare and terrifie any of the readers that should light upon them? For *Chrysippus* verily useth not onely slender and naked arguments in disputing against custome, but as if he were an advocate

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pleading

pleading at the barre, mooveth affections being passionate and affectionate himselfe, breaking out effusions into these tearmes of giving the foole, and imputing vanity and foolishnesse; and to the end that he might leave no place for contradiction at all, but that he delivereth repugnances and speaketh contraries, thus hath he written in his Positions naturall. A man may very well, when he hath once perfectly comprised a thing, argue a little on the contrary side, and apply that defence which the matter it selfe doth afford: yea and otherwhiles, when he doth comprehend neither the one nor the other, discouffe of either of them *pro & contra*, as much as the cause will yeeld. Also in that treatise of his concerning the use of speech, after he had said, we ought not to use the power and faculty of disputation, no more than armes or weapons, in things that tend to no purpose, and when the case requireth it not, he addeth soone after these words: For we ought to imploy the gift of reason and speech to the finding out of truth, and such things as resemble it: and not contrariwise; howsoever many there be that are wont so to doe. And peradventer by these Many, he meaneth those Academics, who ever doubt and give no assent to any thing: and they verily, for that they comprehend neither the one nor the other, doe argue on both parts to and fro, that it is perceptible: as if by this onely or especiall meanes the truth yeelded a certaine comprehension of it selfe, if there were nothing in the world comprehensible. But you who accuse and blame them, writing the contrary to that which you conceive as touching custome, and exhorting others to doe the same, and that with an affectionate defence, doe plainly confesse, that you use the force of speech and eloquence, in things not onely unprofitable, but also hurtfull, upon a vaine ambitious humor of shewing your ready wit, like to some young scholar.

These Stoicks affirme, that a good deed, is the commandement of the law, and sin the prohibition of the law: and therefore it is that the law forbiddeth fooles and leawd folke to doe many things, but prescribeth them nothing; for that indeed they are not able to doe ought well. And who seeth not that impossible it is for him who can doe no vertuous act, to keepe himselfe from sin and transgression? Therefore they make the law repugnant to it selfe, if it command that which to performe is impossible, and forbid that which men are not able to avoid, for he that is not able to live honestly, cannot chuse but beare himselfe dishonestly, and whosoever he be, that cannot be wife, must of necessity become a foole: and even then selves doe holde that those lawes which are prohibitive, say the same thing, when they forbid one, and command like-wise another. For that which faith thou shalt not steale, faith verily the same, to wit, Steale not, but it forbiddeth withall to steale; and therefore the law forbiddeth fooles and leawd persons nothing, for otherwise it should command them somewhat. And thus they say that the Physician biddeth his apprentice or Chyrurgian to cut or to canterize, without adding thereto these words, handfomly, moderately, and in good time. The Musician likewise commandeth his scholar to sing or play upon the harpe a lesson, without putting thereto, in tune, accord and good measure. Howbeit they punish and chastise those that doe amisse and contrary to the rules of art, for that they were willed and enjoined to doe the thing well, but they did it ill. And even so a wife man commanding his servant to say or doe a thing, if he punish him for doing it untowardly, out of season, and not as he ought, certaine it is that he commandeth him to performe a good duty, and not a meane and indifferent action. Now if wife men command fooles and leawd persons to doe things indifferent, what should hinder them but that the commandements of the lawes may be femblable?

Moreover, that instinct or naturall motion which is called *symples*, according to him, is nothing els but the reason of man, inciting him to do a thing, as himself hath written in his treatise of the law, *ergo*, that diversion, contrariwise called *Aequies*, can be nothing els but reason withdrawing a man from the doing of a thing: and therefore that inclination is a reasonable inclination: and this wary caution, is as much as the reason of a wife man, forbidding him to doe a thing: for to beware, and to take heed, is the part and property of wife men and not of fooles. If then the reason of a wife man be one thing, and the law another, wife men have this wary caution repugnant unto the law: but in case law, and the reason of a wife man be both one, it will be found that the law forbiddeth wife men to doe those things, which they doubt and be afraid of. To foolish and wicked persons (quoth *Chrysippus*) there is nothing profitable, neither hath such an one, use or need of ought. Having delivered this sentence in his first booke of perfect duties or offices, he commeth after wardes and faith, that utility or commodiousnesse and grace pertaine and reach unto meane and indifferent things, whereof according to the Stoicks doctrine there is not one profitable: and more than that, he faith there is nothing proper, nothing meet and convenient for

for a foolish leawd man: and so by consequence it followeth upon these words; there is nothing strange, nothing unfitting for a wife and honest man, like as nothing fit and familiar for a leawd foole: for as goodnesse is proper to the one, so is leawdnesse to the other. How cometh it then to passe that he maketh our heads to ache againe, with telling us so often in all his bookes as well of naturall philosophy as morall, that presently from our nativity and birth, we be affectionate to our selves, to our proper members, and to the issue descending from us? and in the first booke of Justice he faith, that even wilde beasts are propense and affected unto their young according as their need and necessity requires, all save fishes: for their young fry are nourished by themselves. But there is no sense, where is no sensible object, nor appropriation, where no thing is proper and familiar: for surely this appropriation seemeth to be the sense and perception of that which is familiar. And this opinion is conformable to their principles.

Moreover, *Chrysippus*, albeit in divers places he write many things contrarily, yet he accordeth to this sentence manifestly, that there is no vice greater, nor sinne more grievous than another; as also reciprocally, there is not one vertue more excellent, nor one vertuous deed (which they call perfect duties) better than another, considering that he hath this in the first booke of Nature: that like as it becometh *Jupiter* well, to magnifie and glorifie himselfe and his life, as also if we may so say, to beare his head aloft, highly to esteeme his owne greatness, and to speake big, considering he leadeth a life worthy of grandeloquence and hautie speech: even so it becometh and becometh all honest men to do the like, considering that in no respect they be inferior to *Jupiter*. And yet himselfe againe in the third booke of Justice faith, that those who ascribe Pleasure to be the end and soveraigne good of man, overthrow Justice; but whosoever say it is simply good, do not destroy Justice. And the very words which he useth, be these: Peradventure (quoth he) it may be, that if we leave unto Pleasure this attribute, To be simply and onely good, although it be not the end of all good things, and that honesty and vertue is of the kinde of those things which be eligible for themselves: haply, by this meanes we may save Justice, in esteeming Honesty and Justice to be a more perfect and absolute good thing than is Pleasure: but in case it be so, that the thing onely which is honest is good, he erreth much who affirmeth that pleasure is good; howbeit, lesse than he who should say that it is the end of all good things; for that as the one doth abolish and destroy utterly all Justice, the other doth so preserve and maintaine it: for according to the latter of the twaine, all humane societie perisheth, whereas the former reserveth yet some place for bountie and civill humanitie. I let passe to relate what he faith in the booke entituled, Of *Jupiter*, namely, that vertues grow, that they also passe, because I would not be thought to lie at vanage; and to catch at words; howsoever *Chrysippus* himselfe in this kind of reprehension dealeth bitterly with *Plato* and other Philosophers, for taking holde of words: but whereas he forbiddeth to praise all that is done vertuously, he giveth us to understand, that there is some difference in duties and offices. Now this is the verie text in his treatise of *Jupiter*. For albeit vertuous acts be commendable, yet we are not to infer thereupon and say, that we ought to commend all that seemeth to proceed from vertue, as namely, to praise for a valiant act, the stiffe stretching out of the finger; or for temperance and continencie, the abstinence from an old trot, who hath one foot already in her grave; or for prudence, to understand aright and without error, that three will not make foure: for he that went in hand to praise and commend a man for such things as these, should then himselfe be very bold and absurd even in the highest degree. And as much as this in a maner writeth he in the third booke of the gods: For I thinke verily (quoth he) that the praises of such matters be impertinent and absurd, although they seeme to depend of vertue, as namely, to forbear an old trot now at the pits brinke; or to abide a fle-biting. What other accuser should he looke for then of his opinions, but himselfe: for if it be so, that hee is absurd who commendeth these things, then must he be thought much more absurd, who supposeth each one of these vertuous deeds to be not onely great, but also most magnificent. For if it be a valiant act to endure the biting of a fle; and likewise the part of a chaste and continent person, to abstaine from carnall dealing with an olde woman ready to drop into her grave; then it makes no matter, but it is all one, to praise an honest man as well for one thing as another. Moreover, in his second booke of Friendship, when as he giveth a precept, that we ought not to dissolve amities for every fault or defect, he useth these very tearmes: For there be faults (quoth he) which we must overpasse quite, and make no stay at them; others there be againe, whereat we should a little stand, and take offence; and others besides, which require more chastisement; but some there are, which we must thinke sufficient to breake friendship for ever. And more than all this, in the same

booke he saith, that we ought to converse and be acquainted with some more, and with others lesse, according as they be our friends more or lesse: which difference and diversitie extendeth very far, in so much as some are worthy of such an amitie, others of a greater; some deserve thus much trust and confidence, others more than it: and so it is in other matters semblable. And what other is his drift in all these places, but to put a great difference between those things, for which friendships are engendered? And yet in his booke of Honestie, to shew that there is nothing good but that which is honest, he delivereth these words: A good thing is eligible and to be desired: that which is eligible and desirable, is also acceptable: that which is acceptable, is likewise commendable: and that which is commendable, is honest withall. Again, a good thing is joious and acceptable: joious is venerable, and venerable is honest. But these speeches are repugnant to himselfe: for be it, that all that is good were laudable (and then chafly to forbear for to touch an olde riveled woman, were a commendable thing) or say that every good thing were neither venerable nor joious and acceptable; yet his reason falleth to the ground: for how can it be that others should be thought frivolous and absurd in praising any for such things, and himselfe not worthy to be mocked and laughed at, for taking joy and pleasing himselfe in such ridiculous toies as these?

Thus you see how he sheweth himselfe in most part of his writings; and yet in his disputations which he holdeth against others, he is much more careless to be contrary and repugnant to himselfe: for in his treatise which he made as touching exhortation, reproving *Plato* for saying, that it was not expedient for him to live at all, who is not taught, nor knoweth not how to live, he writeth in these very termes: This speech of his (quoth he) is both contradictory & repugnant to it selfe, and besides, hath no force nor efficacy at all to exhort: for first and foremost in shewing us that it were expedient for us, not to live at all, and giving us at it were counsell to die, he exhorteth us to any thing rather than to the practise or studie of philosophie, because it is not possible for a man to philosophize, unless he live: neither can he become wise, survive he never so long, if he lead an evil and ignorant life. And a little after hee saith farther: That it is as meet and convenient also even for leawd and wicked persons to remaine alive. But I care not much to set downe his very words: First of all, like as vertue barely in it selfe considered, hath nothing in it, for which we should desire to live: even so vice hath as little, for which we ought to leave this life. What need we now turne over other books of *Chrysippus*, and drip leafe by leafe, to prove how contrary and repugnant he is to himselfe: for even in these which now we cite and alledge, he commeth out otherwhiles with this saying of *Aristophanes*, for which he commendeth him, namely, that a man is to be provided either of wit to understand, or else of a wit to understand himselfe: as also this other verse of *Tyrtæus*:

*The bounds of vertue first come me,
Or else make choyse before to die.*

And what other meaning is there of these words but this, that it is more expedient for foolish and lewd persons to be out of the world, than to live: and in one passage, seeming to correct *Theognis*: He should not (quoth he) have said *ἄνθρωπος ἐλπίσιν* &c.

*A man from poverty to flee,
(O Cynus) ought himselfe to cast
Headlong, from rocks most steep, and hie,
Or into sea as deepe and swift.*

But rather thus, *ἄνθρωπος ἐλπίσιν*, &c.

A man from sinne and vice to flee, &c.

What other things else seemeth he to doe, than to condemne and scrape out of other mens writings, the same things, propositions and sentences, which himselfe hath inserted in his own books? For he reprooveth *Plato* when he proveth and sheweth, that it is better not to live at all, than to lead a life in wickednesse or ignorance: and in one breath hee giveth counsell to *Theognis* to set downe in his poeie; That a man ought to fling himselfe downe headlong into the deepe sea, or to breake his necke from some high rocke for to avoid sinne and wickednesse. And praising as hee did *Aristophanes* for sending fooles and witlesse folke, to an halter wherewith to hang themselves; he blamed him nevertheless who said, that vice was not a sufficient cause, wherefore we should shorten our lives. Moreover, in those books against *Plato* himselfe, concerning justice, he leapeth directly at the very first into a discourse as touching the gods, and saith: That *Cephalus* did not divert men well from evill dooing, by the feare of the gods: affirming moreover, that the discourse which he made as touching divine vengeance, might

might easily be infringed and refused, for that of it selfe it minisheth many arguments and probable reasons on the contrary side; as if the same resembled for all the world the fabulous tales of *Acco* and *Alphio*, wherewith women are wont to scare their little children, and to keepe them from doing shrewd turnes. Thus deriding, traducing, and backbiting *Plato*, hee praileth elsewhere, and in many places else alledgeth these verses out of *Enripides*:

*Well, well, though some this doctrine doe deride,
Be sure, in heaven with other gods be sild,
Sits Jupiter, the deas of men who see,
And will in time revenged surely bee.*

10 Semblably, in the first booke of justice, when he had alledged these verses: heere out of *Hesiodus*,

*Then Saturnes sonne, god Jupiter,
great plagues from heaven did send,
Even dearth and death, both which, of all
the people made an end.*

he saith, that the gods proceed in this wise, to the end that when the wicked be thus punished, others also adverted and taught by their example, might beware how they commit the like, or at leastwise sinne lesse.

What should I say moreover, how in this treatise of justice, having affirmed, that those who hold pleasure to be good, but not the soveraigne end of good, may in some sort withall preserve & maintaine justice, for so much he hath put downe in these very termes: For haply, admitting pleasure to be good although not the supreme good or the end: and honestly to be of the kind of those things, which are eligible and to be desired for their owne sake, we may by that meanes save justice, while we permit and allow that which is honest and just to be a greater good than pleasure. Having (I say) delivered the same also in his books of pleasure: yet in his treatise against *Plato*, reprooving him for raunging health in the number of good things, he affirmeth, that not onely justice, but also magnanimity, temperance, and all other vertues are abolished and perisht, in case we hold that either pleasure, or health, or any other thing whatsoever, can be numbered and reputed among good things, unless the same be honest. Now as touching the 30 apologie or answer that may be made in defence of *Plato*, I have elsewhere written against *Chrysippus*: but even in this very place there is manifestly to be seene a repugnancy and contradiction against himselfe: considering that one while hee saith, that justice may stand well enough, if a man suppose pleasure joined with honesty to be good; and another while contrariwise, he findeth fault with all those, who repute any thing else to be good, but onely that which is honest; as if thereby they abolished and overthrew all vertues. And because he would leave no meanes at all to save and save his contradictions, writing of justice against *Aristotle*, he challengeth him for untrueth, in that hee affirmeth, that if pleasure were granted to be the soveraigne good, both justice were overthrowen, and therewith also every vertue besides: For this is certaine (quoth he) that those who are of this opinion, doe indeed abolish justice; 40 howbeit I see no let why other vertues may not stand, if not those which be of them selves expetible, yet such at leastwise as be good and vertuous really. And thereupon he proceedeth presently to name them every one severally. But it were not a misse to recite his ownel words as he delivered them: For suppose (quoth he) that by this discourse and reason, pleasure seeme the very end of all good things, yet we are not to inferre hereupon, that all is comprised under it: and therefore we must say, that neither any vertue is to be desired, nor vice to be eluded for it selfe, but all these things are to be referred unto a scope and make propofed: and yet in the meane time what should hinder, but that fortune, prudence, continence, patience, and other such vertues, may be good and expetible, like as their contraries bad and to be avoided. What man therefore was there ever in his speeches and disputations more rash and audacious than he? 50 considering that he charged the two princes of Philosophie with imputations: the one for abolishing all vertue, in that he confessed not that onely to be good which is honest: and the other, in that if pleasure were supposed and set downe to be the end of good things, he thought not that all vertues except onely justice might subsist and be maintained: what a wofull liberry, and monstrous licentiousnesse rather is this, in discoursing of one and the same subject matter, to tax and reprove that in *Aristotle*, which he setteth downe himselfe: and afterwards in accusing *Plato*, to subvert and undo the very same? And yet in his demonstrations, as touching justice, he affirmeth expressly that every perfect duety, is a lawfull deed and a just action.

Now,

Now, whatsoever is performed by continence, by patience, by prudence, or by fortitude is a perfect duty, *ergo*, it followeth, that it is likewise a lawfull action. How chanceth it then that he leaveth not justice for them, in whom he admitteth prudence, continence, and valour, considering that all the acts which they perform according to these virtues, be perfect duties, and by consequence just and lawfull operations?

Whereas *Plato*, in a certaine place hath written, that injustice being a certaine intestine sedition and corruption of the soule, never casteth off and loseth her power even in those who have it within them: for she causeth a wicked man to fight with himselfe, she troubleth, vexeth, and tormenteth him. *Chrysippus* reproving this assertion of his, saith, that it was fallacy and absurdly spoken, that any one could doe wrong or injurie to himselfe: For (quoth he) all injurie and outrage must needs be to another: but afterwards forgetting himselfe and what he had said, in that treatise of his entitled, The demonstrations of justice, he affirmeth, that whosoever doth injustice, wrongeth himselfe, and in offering injurie to another, doth himselfe wrong, in that he is the very cause why himselfe transgresseth the lawes: wherein unworthily he hurtheth and woundeth his owne person. To what he said against *Plato*, discoursing that injustice could not be against a mans selfe, but against another: For to be particularly and privately unjust, there must (quoth he) be many such as speake contrary one unto another: and otherwise this word injustice is taken as if it were amongst many that are in such sort injuriously affected one to another: whereas no such matter can properly and fitly agree to one alone, but in as much as he is disposed and affected to another. But contrary to all this, in his demonstrations he argueth and reasoneth thus, to prove that the unjust man doth wrong and injurie to himselfe: The law (quoth he) followeth expressely, to be the author or cause of transgression; but to commit injustice is a transgression: he therefore who causeth himselfe to doe injurie, transgresseth the law of himselfe. Now he that trespasseth against any one, doth him wrong and injurie: he therefore who wrongeth any other whomsoever, doth injurie to himselfe. Again, sinne is of the kinde of hurts and damages that are done; but every man that sinneth, offendeth and sinneth against himselfe: and therefore, whosoever sinneth, hurtheth also and endamageth himselfe unworthily; and if he doe so, then by consequence he must needs wrong himselfe. Furthermore, thus also hee reasoneth: Hee that suffereth hurt and damage by another, woundeth and offendeth himselfe withall unworthily: and what is that else but to doe wrong and injurie? he therefore that receiveth injurie of any other whatsoever, wrongeth his owne selfe. That the doctrine of good things and evil (which himselfe bringeth in and approoveth) he saith, is most accordant unto mans life, yea and connexed as much as any thing else with those prenotions and anticipations which by nature are inbred and ingenerate in us: for, so much hath he delivered in his third booke of Exhortations: but in the first booke he affirmeth quite contrary, that this doctrine doth divert and withdraw a man from all things else, as if they were of no moment nor helpfull and effectfull any jot to the attaining of happinesse & soveraign felicity. See how he accordeth herein with himselfe, when he affirmeth that doctrine of his which plucketh us away from life, from health, from indolence and integrity of senses; and teacheth besides that whatsoever we crave in our priets at gods hands, concerne us not at all nor appertaine unto us, to be most accordant unto humane life, and the common prenotions & inbred anticipations of knowledge above said. But to the end that no man might denie that he is repugnant and contrary to himselfe, loe what he saith in his third booke of justice. This is it (quoth he) that by reason of the surpassing grandure & beauty of our sentences, those matters which we deliver, seeme feined tales and deviled fables exceeding mans power and farre beyond humane nature. How can it be that any man should more plainly confesse, that he is at war with himselfe, than he doth who saith that his propositions and opinions, are so extravagant and transcendent, that they resemble counterfeit tales, and for their excellency surmount the condition and nature of man: and yet forsooth for all this, that they accord and agree passing well with humane life, yea and come necerly unto the said inbred prenotions and anticipations that are in us.

Hee affirmeth that the very essence and substance of infelicities, is vice; writing and firmly mainteining in all his bookes of morall and naturall philosophy, that to live in vice, is as much as to live in misery and wretchednesse: but in the third booke of Nature, having said before that it were better and more expedient to live a senselesse foole, yea though there were no hope that ever he should become wise, than not to live at all, he addeth afterwards thus much: For there be such good things in men, that in some sort the very evil things goe before, and are better than the indifferent in the middles betwene. As for this, how he hath written elsewhere, that there is

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nothing expedient and profitable in fooles, and yet in this place setteth downe in plaine termes, that it is expedient to live foolish and senselesse, I am content to overpasse; but seeing hee saith now that evil things goe before, and one better than the indifferent or meane (which with them of his sect are neither good nor ill) surely it is as much as if hee affirmed that evil things are better than things not evil: and all are, as to say that to be wretched is more expedient than not to be wretched: and so by that means, he is of opinion, that not to be miserable is more unprofitable than to be miserable; and if it be more unprofitable, than also it must be more hurtfull and dammageable. But being desirous in some sort to mollifie this absurdity; and to save this fore, he subnexeth as touching evil things; these words: My meaning is not (quoth he) that they should go before and be preferred; but reason is the thing wherewith it is better to live, although a man should ever be a foole, than not to live at all. First and formost then, hee calleth vice an evil thing, as also whatsoever doth participate of vice and nothing els: now is vice reasonable, or rather to speake more properly; reason delinquent: so that to live with reason, if we be fooles, and void of wisdom, what is it els, but to live with vice? now to live as fooles, is all one as to live wretched. Wherein is it then, and how cometh it about, that this should go before meane and indifferent things? for it was not admitted that happy life should go before misery: neither was it ever any part (say they) of *Chrysippus* his meaning to range and count among good things, To remaine alive; no more than among bad, To depart this life: but he thought that these things were of themselves indifferent and of a middle nature; in which regard otherwhiles it is meet for happy men to leave this life, and for wretches to continue alive. And what greater contrariety can there be, as touching things eligible or refuseable, than to say that for them who are happy in the highest degree, it is fit and beleeving to forgoe and forsake the good things that be present, for want of some one thing that is indifferent? And yet *Chrysippus* is of this minde, that no indifferent thing is of the owne nature to be desired or rejected; but that we ought to chuse that one which is good; and to thum that alone which is bad: so as according to their opinion, it comes to passe, that they never divert their designments or actions to the pursue after things desirable, nor the avoidance of things refuseable; but another marke it is that they shoot & aime at, namely, at those things which they neither elchue nor chuse, & according thereto, they live & die. *Chrysippus* avoweth & confesseth that there is as greata difference betweene good things & bad, as possibly may be; as needs there must, in case it be true, that as the one sort of them cause those in whom they are, to be exceeding happy, so the other, extreme wretched & miserable. Now in the first booke of the end of good things, he saith that aswell good things as bad, be sensible; for these be his very words: That good and evil things be perceptible by sense, we must of necessity acknowledge upon these arguments: for not onely the very passions indeed of the minde, together with their parts and severall kinds, to wit, sadness, feare and such like be sensible; but also a man may have a sense of theft, adultery, and semblable finnes; yea and of follie, of cowardise, and in one word; of all other vices, which are in number not a few: and not onely joy, beneficence, and other dependances of virtuous offices, but also prudence, valour and the rest of the virtues, are object to the sense. But to let passe all other absurdities conteneid in these words, who will not confesse, but that there is a meere contradiction in that which they delivered, as touching one that becomes a wife man, and knows not thereof: for, considering that the present good is sensible, and much different from that which is evil, that one possibly should of a wicked person prove to be virtuous, and not know thereof, & not have sense of vertue being present, but to thinke that vice is still within him; how can this otherwise be, but most absurd? For either no man can be ignorant and out of doubt, whether he hath all virtues together; or els he must confesse, that there is small difference and the same hard to be discerned, betwene vice and vertue, felicity and infelicity, a right honest life, and a most dishonest, in case a man should passe from the one to the other, and possesse one for the other, without ever knowing it.

One worke he wrote, entitled, *Of lives*, and the same divided into foure books: in the fourth whereof, he saith, That a wife man medleth not with great affaires, but is occupied in his owne businesse onely, without being curious to looke into other mens occasions: his very words to this purpose, be these: For mine owne part, of this opinion I am, that a prudent man gladly avoideth a stirring life, intermedleth little, and in his owne matters onely: for to deale simply in a mans owne affaires, and to enter into little businesse in the world, be both alike commodable parts, and the properties of civill and laudable persons. And in maner the same speeches or ve-

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ry like thereto, he hath delivered in the third booke of such things as be expetible and to be chosen for themselves, in these termes: For in truth (quoth he) it seemeth, that the quiet life should be without danger, and in perfect security, which few or none of the vulgar sort are able to comprehend and understand. Wherein first and foremost, it is evident, that he commeth very neere to the error of *Epicurus*, who in the government of the world disavoweth divine providence: for that he would have God to rest in repose, idle, and not employed in any thing. And yet *Chrysippus* himselfe, in his first booke of Lives saith: That a wise man willingly will take a kingdom upon him; yea, and thinke to make his gaine, and profit thereby: and if he be not able to reigne himselfe, yet he will at leastwise govern and live with a king, yea, goe forth with him to warre, like as *Hydanthyrus* the Scythian did; and *Leucon* of *Pontus*. But I will set downe his owne words, that we may see whether, like as of the treble and base strings, there ariseth a consonance of an eight; so there be an accord in the life of a man, who hath chosen to live quietly without doing ought, or at leastwise to intermeddle in few affaires, yea, and yet afterwards accompanieth the Scythians riding on horsebacke, and manageth the affaires of the kings of *Bosphorus* upon any occasion of need that may be preferred? For as touching this point (quoth he) that a wise man will go into warlike expeditions with princes, live, and converse with them, we will consider againe thereof hereafter; being as it is, a thing that as some upon the like arguments imagine not, so we for the sensible reasons admit and allow. And a little after: Not onely with those who have proceeded well in the knowledge of vertue, and beene sufficiently instructed and trained up in good manners, as were *Hydanthyrus* and *Leucon* above said. Some there 20 be who blame *Calisthenes* for that he passed over the seas to king *Alexander* into his campe, in hope to rectifie the city *Olynthus*, as *Aristotle* caused the city *Stagira* to be repaired, who highly commend *Epichorus*, *Xenocrates* and *Menedemus*, who rejected *Alexander*: But *Chrysippus* driveth his wife man by the head forward, for his gaine and profit, as farre as to the city *Panticapeum*, and the deserts of *Scythia*. And that this is (I say) for his gaine & profit he shewed before, by setting downe three principall meanes, becoming a wife man for to practise and seeke his gaine by: the first by a kingdom, and the beneficence of kings; the second by his friends; and the third besides these, by teaching literature: and yet in many places he wearieth us with citing this verse of *Euripides*:

For what need mortall men take paine?
Onely for things in number & twaine.

* See a little after.

But in his books of Nature he saith: That a wife man if he have lost the greatest riches that may be, esteemeth the losse no more than if it were but a single denier of silver, or one grey goat. Howbeit, him whom he hath there so highly extolled and puffed up with glory, heere hee taketh downe and abaseth as much, even to make him a meere mercenary pedante, and one that is faine to teach a schoole: for he would have him to demand and exact his salary sometime before hand of his scholar, when he enters into his schoole; and otherwhile after a certaine prefixed time of his schooling is come and gone: And this (quoth hee) is the honeste and more civill way of the twaine; but the other is the surer, namely, to make him pay his money aforehand; for that delay and giving attendance is subject to receive wrong and susteine losse: and thus much he uttereth in these very termes: Those teachers that be of the wiser sort, call for their schoollage and minerval of their scholars, not all after one manner, but diversly: a number of them, according as the present occasion requireth, who promise not to make them wife men, and that within a yeere; but undertake to doe what lies in them, within a set time agreed upon betweene them. And soone after, speaking of his wife man: He will (quoth he) know the best time, when to demand his pension, to wit, whether incontinently upon the entrance of his scholar, as the most part do; or to give day, and set downe a certaine time; which manner of dealing is more subject to receive injurie, howsoever it may seeme more honest and civill. And how can a wife man, tell me now, be a despiser of money, in case hee make a contract and bargain at a price to receive money, for delivering vertue; or if he doe not deliver it, yet require his salary nevertheless, as if he had performed his part fully? Either how can he be greater than to susteine a losse and damage, if it be so that he stand so strictly upon this point, and be so warie, that he receive no wrong by the payment of his wages? For surely no man is said to be injured, who is not hurt nor endamaged: and therefore how ever otherwise he hath flatly denied, that a wife man could receive warning; yet in this booke he saith, that this manner of dealing, is exposed to losse and damage.

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In his booke of Common-wealth, he affirmeth, that his citizens will never doe any thing for pleasure, nor nor adrestie and prepare themselves therefore, praising highly *Euripides* for these verses:

What need men, but for two things, onely swinke?
Bread for to eat, and water shere to drinke.

And soone after, he proceedeth forward, and praisth *Diogenes*, for abusing himselfe, by forcing his nature to passe from him in the open street, and saying withall to those that stood by: Oh, that I could chafe hunger as well from my belly. What reason then is there, in the selfesame bookes to commend him for rejecting pleasure, and withall for defiling his owne body as hee did, so beauly in the sight of the whole world, and that for a little filthy pleasure? In his books 10 of Nature, having written that nature had produced and brought forth many living creatures for beauty onely, as delighting and taking pleasure in such lovely varietie, and therewith having adjoined moreover a most strange and absurd speech, namely, that the peacocke was made for his tailes sake, and in regard of the beauty thereof: cleane contrary to himselfe, in his books of Common-wealth, he reprooveth very sharply those who keepe peacocks and nightingals, as if he would make lawes quite contrary to that soveraigne law-giver of the world, deriding nature for taking delight, and employing as it were her study in bringing forth such creatures; unto which a wife man will give no place in his city and common-wealth. For how can it other- 20 wise be but monstrous and absurd for to finde fault with those who nourish such creatures, as if it were wantonnesse so to doe, in case he praise the divine providence for creating them? In his first booke of Nature, after he had shewed that wallice or punaifes serve in good stead to awaken us out of sleepe, as also that mice advertise us to beware and take heed where we lay up and bestow every thing; and that it is probable that nature taketh pleasure in producing faire creatures, and joyneth in diversitie, he commeth out with this sentence word for word: This appeereth most evidently in the peacocks taile: for heere he signifieth that this bird was made for the tailes sake, and not contrariwise; and so when the cocke was once created, the hen followed after.

In his booke of common-wealth when he had said, that we are come almost to the painting of 30 dungs-hills, a little after: There be some (quoth he) who adorne & embelish their corn-fields, with vines climbing and growing upon trees, ranged directly in order, as also with myrtle rowes; who nourish also peacocks and doves, yea and partridges, for to heare them cal and record unto them, as also nightingales for their pleasant song. But I would gladly know of him, what hee thinketh, and what his conceit is of bees and of hony; for it would by good consequence follow, that he who had said, that punaifes and wallice were profitably created; should also inferre that bees were made for no profit. Now if he allowed these a place in his Common-wealth, how is it that he forbiddeth his citizens to entertaine those things which delight the eare. To be brieve, like as he were very absurd who should find fault with those guests at a feast, who fell to eat comfits, and sweet banquetting conceits, to drinke wine also, and to feed of delicate viands; and in the meane while commend the man who invited them to such dainties, 40 and provided the same for them: even so, he who praising the divine providence for creating delicate fishes, deinty birds, sweet hony, and pleasant wine, should reproove those who reject not these gifts, nor be content to eat bare bread, and drinke shere water, things that be ever at hand; and which are sufficient for our food, were as farre out of reason, and makes no reckoning at all how he doth contradict himselfe, and what contrary opinions he holdeth.

Moreover, having in his treatise of Exhortations said, that it was no reason, that folke should be defamed or blamed, for having to doe carnally with their owne mothers, daughters, or sisters; for eating any kinde of meats whatsoever, for going directly out of the bed from a woman, or from a dead body and mortuarie, unto a temple or sacrifice: And here in (quoth he) we ought to have a regard and eie unto brute beasts, and taking example by them, to collect 50 and conclude, that in all this, there is no absurdity at all, nor any thing against nature; for sily and to the purpose very well a man may alledge this, and compare the usage of other creatures, to shew that they neither being coupled together nor engendering, nor nor dying in temples, do pollute and defile the divinitie. Contrary to all this, in the first booke of nature he saith: That the poet *Hesiodus* did very well to admonish and forbid us, not to pisse into fontaines, nor running riviers; yea; and much rather to forbear to make water against an altar, or any image and statue of the gods: neither mattereth, or skilleth it all, if dogs, asses, and yong children, doe so; seeing they have no discretion nor consideration in such things: and therefore it is

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very absurd to say in one place: That it is meet to confider the savage example of wilde beasts, and in another, as absurd to alledge the same.

Some philosophers there be, who imagine a certaine accessary motion from without in the principall part of our soule; for that a man seemeth to give the head and liberty unto divers inclinations, when he is forced to a thing by outward causes: which motion appeareth principally in doubtfull and variable things; for when of two objects equall in power, and every way feasible, we are of necessity to chuse one, and there is no cause at all to incline us more to the one than to the other, this forefaid accessary and adventitious puissance, coming in otherwise, and feazing upon the inclination of the soule, decideth all the doubt. Against these philosophers, *Chrysippus* disputing, as if they did violence to nature by the contrary, and by devising an effect without a cause; among sundry other examples, alledgeth the cockall bone, the balance, and many such like things which cannot fall, incline and bend now on one side, and then on another, without some cause & difference which is entirely in them, or else cometh from without forth: for this is generally held; that whatsoever is without cause can have no subsistence, no more than meer hazard and chance: but in these adventitious and accessary motions which they suppose, there be certaine hidden inreputious causes, which secretly move and induce our appetite and inclination, even without our knowledge to one part or other: and this is that which he often repeated in the most notable works that he hath put forth; but that which himselfe afterward delivereth cleane contrary, because it is not exposed so openly to the view of the whole world, I will alledge *verbatim* as he hath delivered it: For in his treatise concerning the office of a Judge, supposing for example sake, that two carriers who ranne a course, were come both together unto the goale, he demandeth what the Judge should doe in this case; namely, whether it were lawfull for him, to give unto whether of them hee pleased, the victorious branch of the date tree: this being supposed withall, that they were both so inward & familiar with him, that he should rather graunt them both, even out of his owne in some sort, than seeme to defraud either of them of the victorious garland, which seemeth to be common to them both: Whether (I say) it be lawfull for him to encline unto one or to the other, and so award the victory as if they had drawn lots therefore: To encline (I say) casually & without any reason; like as when two groates are presented unto us, every way feasible one to the other, we incline rather to that which we take. And in the sixth booke of Duties, having said, 39 that there be certaine things that require no great adoo, nor intensive consideration, hee is of opinion, that in such cases we are to yeeld the choise into the casuall propension of the minde, even as to the adventurous hazard of a lot: as for example; if the question be to make triall of the said two groates, one saith, this is the better, and another that: but for that we are to take one of the twaine, without more adoo and farther triall of their bettemesse, we take that which comes first; and in another place he saith: in putting this to the adventure of a lot, it falleth out otherwhiles, that wee hit upon the worse: in these places the casuall inclination of the minde, to the first object, and the putting of the matter to the hazard of a lot, is nothing else but to bring in a choise of things indifferent without any cause.

In the third booke of Logique, having premised thus much, that *Plato*, *Aristotle* and their 40 successours and disciples even as farre as to *Polemon* and *Siraton*, had bestowed great study and travelled much therein; but above all others, *Socrates*, with this addition, that a man would wish with so many and such noble personages to erre for company: he cometh in afterwards with these words: If they had (quoth he) treated and discoursed hereof cursorily or by the way, a man haply might laugh at this place well enough: but since that they have so seriously and exactly disputed of Logique, as if it were one of the greatest faculties and most necessarie sciences, it is not like that they were so grossly deceived, being men throughout all the parts of philosophy, so singular as we repute them to be. How is it then, may a man reply and say, that you never cease baying and barking at these unworthy and excellent personages, and convincing them as you suppose to have erred? For there is no likelihood that they writing so diligently and exactly as 50 they have done of Logique, should of the principles and elements, of the end of good things, of justice and the gods, write carelessly and after a loose manner, howsoever you are disposed to rearme their treatises and discourses, blinde, repugnant to themselves, and stuffed with an infinite sort of faults and errors. In one place he denieth that the vice *empepragias*, that is to say, a joynt fee evill happen unto another, hath any being or reall subsistence: For that (quoth he) no good man was ever known to rejoyce at the harme of another: but in his second booke as touching Good, having declared what Envie is, namely a griefe for another mans well fare: because

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men are desirous to detract and debafe their neighbours, to the end they might be superiours themselves: he addeth afterwards, the joy for another mans harme, and that in these words: Annexed thereunto (quoth he) is the joy for another mans harme, because men are desirous that their neighbours about them, should be brought low for the like causes: but when they decline and turne to other naturall affections, there is engendered Pity and Mercie: In which words it appeareth that he ordaineth *empepragias* to be a thing really subsistent as well as envie and pittie, which notwithstanding elsewhere he said had no being at all in the world no more than the hatred of wickednesse or the desire of filthy lucre.

Having in many places affirmed, that men are never a whit more happie, for long continuance of felicity, but that they be still as happy who enjoy felicity but one minute of an houre: in as many other places againe he avoucheth the contrary, saying that a man should not so much as put forth his finger for a transitory and momentary prudence, which endureth but a while, & passeth away like unto the flash and leame of a lightening. But it shall suffice to relate the very words, which he hath written in his sixth booke of morall questions as touching this matter: for when he had premised thus much, that every good thing doth not cause equall joy, nor all virtuous duties like vanity, he cometh after with these words: For if a man is to have prudence one moment of time, or the last daie onely of his life, he should not so much as hold up or stretch out his finger for a prudence that lasteth so small a while: although no man is said to be the more blessed for long continuance of happinesse, neither is eternall beatitude more expetible or desirable, than that which passeth away within a minute of an houre. Now if he had thought that prudence were a good thing bringing forth blessednesse, as *Epicurus* did, a man could have found fault with nothing else but the absurdity onely of so strange an opinion and paradox. But seeing that prudence is no other thing than beatitude, of it selfe, and even very felicity, how can it be avoided that herein there should not be a contradiction and repugnancy of speech, namely, to say that transitory happinesse is as eligible and as much to be desired, as that which is perpetuall: and to hold, that the felicity of one moment is worth naught.

He affirmeth that vertues doe follow and accompany one another not onely in this respect, that he who hath one, hath likewise all the rest, but also in this that he who worketh by one, worketh with all according to the other: neither (saith he) is any man perfect, unless he be possessed of all vertues. Howbeit in the sixth booke of morall questions, *Chrysippus* saith that neither a good and honest man doth alwaies beate himselfe valiantly, nor a naughty man behave himselfe cowardly, for that as certaine objects be presented into mens fantasies, it behooveth one man to perlevere and persist in his judgements, and another to forsake and relinquish the same: for probable he saith it is that even the wicked man is not alwaies lascivious. Now in case it be so, that to be a valiant man, is as much as to slewe valour, and to be a coward, the same that to use cowardise, they speake contraries who affirme, that a naughty person practising one vice, worketh by all together: and that a vallant man useth not alwaies valour, nor a daftard cowardise.

He denieth Rhetorique to be an art, as touching the ornament, dispose and order of an oration pronounced: and besides in the first booke he hath thus written: And in mine opinion re- 40 quirit it is to have not onely a regard of an honest, decent & simple adorning of words, but also a care of proper gestures, actions, pauses and staies of the voice, as also a meet conformation of the countenance and the hands. Being as you see thus exquisit and curious in this passage: yet in the same booke cleare contrary, having spoken of the collision of vowels, and hitting one of them upon another: We are not only (quoth he) to neglect this, and to thinke of that which is of greater moment and importance but also to let passe certaine obscurities and defects, solecismes also and incongruities, of which many others would be ashamed. Now one while to permit and allow such exquisit curiosity in the orderly dispose of a manstongue, even as far as to the decent setting of the countenance and gesture of the hands: and another while not to 50 bath at the committing of grosse incongruities, defects and obscurities, is the property of a man who cares not what he saith, but speaks whatsoever comes in his head.

Over and besides in his naturall positions, treating of those things which require the view of the eie and experience, after he had given warning that we should go warily to worke, and not rashly yeeld our assent thereto, he saith; Let us not therefore be of *Platoes* opinion, to thinke that our liquid food; to wit, our drinke, passeth directly to the lungs, and our dry nourishment, that is, our meat, into the stomacke; neither let us fall into such like errors as these. For mine owne part, thus I thinke, That for a man to reprehend others, and afterwards to incur the same faults and errors which he reproved, is the greatest repugnancy and contrariety that may

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be, and the foulest and most shamefull fault of all others. And verily himselfe faith, that the connexions which are made by the ten principall Axiomes, that is to say, Propositions, exceed in number ten hundred thousand; when as neither he had by himselfe diligently enough enquired and searched into the thing, nor by other men well exercised in that art of Arithmetike, attained to the truth. And yet *Plato* had to testifie on his side, the most renowned Physicians that were, namely, *Hippocrates*, *Philistion* and *Dioxippus* the disciple of *Hippocrates*: also of Poets, *Euripides*, *Alcæus*, *Eupolis* and *Erastosthenes*, who all with one voice affirme, that the drinke passeth by the lungs. And as for all the Arithmeticians well practised in the knowledge of numbers, they reprove *Chrysippus*: and *Hipparchus* among the rest, proving and shewing that in the foresaid speech of his, he erred most grossly in his computation, if it be true that the affirmative maketh of the said ten Axiomes to the number of 103049 connexions, and the negative 952, over and above three hundred and ten thousands. Some of the ancients said of *Zeno* that it befall unto him as unto one who had foure wine of his owne, which he could not sell and make away either for vinegar or wine: for, that precedent of his which they call *œconomia*, hee could not put off neither for a thing that is good, nor so much as indifferent. But *Chrysippus* hath made the matter farre more intricate and different: for in some passages of his, he faith, that they are fatterke mad, who make no account of riches, health, voidnesse of paine and integrity of the body, nor care how to attaine thereto; and having alledged this verse out of *Hesiodus*,

*O Perles, borne of nobler race,
Thy businesse please, and worke as please.*

he addeth thereto and faith, it were more madeasie to advise the contrarie, and say,

*O Perles, borne of noble race,
Please not thy worke in any case.*

And in his treatise of Lives he writeth, that a wife man will court it with kings and princes, if he may raise his commoditie and gaine thereby; yea, he will keepe a schoole and teach for moneie, taking of some scholars his minurals aforehand, and bargaining with others for a certeine time. Also in the seventh booke of his offices, he faith, that he will not stick to tumble downe upon his head, and that three times, so he may be sure to have a talent for his labour. In his first booke of Good things, he permitteth and granteth unto whosoever will, to call those *œconomia* or precedents afore said, Good, and the contrary thereto, Bad, in these very termes: If a man list (quoth he) according to such premutations as these, he may call one thing good unto himselfe, and another thing ill; so as he have an eie and regard unto the things, and wander not inconsiderately, nor faile in the understanding of things signified, but otherwise accommodate himselfe to the use and custome of the denomination. Having thus in this place for his Precedent to utter and linked it with Good; in other passages he faith cleane contrary, that none of all this concerneth us at all, but reason doth divert and plucke us quite away from all such things: for, so much hath he set downe in his first booke of Exhortations. But in the third booke of Nature, he faith, that some kings and rich persons are reputed blessed and happie; which is as much as if they were to be accounted happy, who made water in golden chamber pots, or swept the floure with the golden traines of their costly robes. But a good man, if he lose his whole patrimonie and all his estate, weigheth it no more than the losse of a grote or single denier, and maketh no greater matter of sicknesse, than of stumbling or tripping alittle with his foot. And therefore, filled he hath with such contrarieties, not verue onely, but also providence. For verue will appeare exceeding base, mechanical and foolish, if it be employed in things so vile and contemptible, commanding a man to saile for them as farre as to *Esopus*, yea and to throw himselfe upon his head. And *Jupiter* is very ridiculous, delighting to be called either *Ctesius*, that is to say, The enricher and donor of possessions; or *Epicarpus*, that is to say, The giver of fruits, or *Charidotus*, that is to say, The gratifier and author of favours: for that unto leaue and wicked persons he affordeth golden chamber pots, and robes garded and bordered round about the skirts with golde; but vouchsafeth unto good men, traff hardly woorth a grote, when they are become rich through the providence of *Jupiter*. And yet *Apollo* is much more ridiculous, if it be so, that he fits giving answers and oracles as touching golden chamber pots, gards and fringes of gold, yea and the tripping and stumbling of the foot. This repugnance and contrarietie they make more evident and apparent still by their demonstration: For that (quoth they) which may be well or ill used, is neither good nor bad. Now, certeine it is, that all evill and foolish persons use riches, health and strength of the body, amisse; and therefore none of these may be called Good. If then, God give not verue unto men, but honestly cometh off

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selfe, and yet bestoweth riches and health without verue, surely it is upon them who will not use the same well but ill, that is to say, unprofitably, shamefully and mischievously. And verily if the gods can give verue, they are not good if they do not: and againe, if they can not make good men, neither are they able to helpe them any way, considering, that without it there is nothing good nor profitable. For, to say that the gods judge those to be good by verue and by strength, who are otherwise good than by them, is to no purpose, but a vaine conceit: for even so good men do judge the evill by verue and by strength: so that by this reckoning, they profit men no more, than they be profited by men. And verily *Chrysippus* judgeth neither himselfe to be a good man, nor any either of his scholars or teachers. What is their opinion then, think 10 you, of others, if it be not that which themselves say, namely, that they are mad and senselesse fooles, that they be miscreants and infidels, lawlesse, and in one word, come to the very height and pitch of all infelicitie and miserie? And yet forsooth they hold, that men so wretched and unhappie as they be, are notwithstanding governed and ruled by divine providence. Now, if the gods, changing their minde, should determine to hurt, afflict, plague, destroy and crush us quite, they could not bring us to a woofte state and condition, than wherein we are already; according as *Chrysippus* faith, That mans life can not be brought to a lower ebbe, nor be in woofte plight and case than now it is, inso much as if it had a tongue and voice to speake, it would pronounce these words of *Hercules*:

Of miseries (to say I dare be bold)

So full I am, that more I can not hold.

20 And what assertions or sentences may a man possibly finde more contrary and repugnant one against another, than those of *Chrysippus*, as touching both gods and men, when he faith, That the gods are most provident over men, and carefull for their best; and men notwithstanding are in as woofte state as they may be?

Certeine Pythagoreans there are, who blame him much, for that in his booke of Justice he hath written of dunghill cocks, that they were made and created profitable for mans use: For (quoth he) they awaken us out of our sleepe, and raise us to our worke; they hunt, kill and devour scorpions; with their fighting they animate us to battell, imprinting in our hearts an ardent desire to shew valour: and yet eat them we must, for feare that there grow upon us more 30 pullaine, than we know what otherwise to do withall. And so farre forth mocketh he and scorneth those who finde fault with him for delivering such sentences, that he writeth thus in his third booke of the Gods, as touching *Jupiter* the Saviour, Creatour and Father of justice, law, equity and peace: And like as cities (quoth he) and great townes, when they be over full of people, deduct and send from thence certeine colonies, and begin to make warre upon some other nations; even so God sendeth the causes that breed plague and mortallitie: to which purpose he citeth the testimony of *Euripides* and other authours, who write that the Trojan warre was raised by the gods, for to discharge and disburden the world of so great a multitude of men wherewith it was replenished. As for all other evident absurdities delivered in these speeches, I let passe, for my purpose is not to search into all that which they have said or written amisse, but 40 onely into their contradictions and contrarieties to themselves. But consider, I pray you, how *Chrysippus* hath alwaies attributed unto the gods the goodliest names and most plausible termes that can be devised; but contrariwise, most savage, cruell, inhumane, barbarous and Galatian deeds. For such generall mortalities and carnages of men, as the Trojan warre first brought, and afterwards the Median and Peloponnesiacke warres, are nothing like unto colonies that cities send forth to people and inhabit other places; unlesse haply one would say, That such multitudes of men that die by warre and pestilence, know of some cities founded for them in hell and under the ground to be inhabited. But *Chrysippus* maketh God like unto *Deiavrus* the king of *Galatia*, who having many sonnes, and minding to leave his realme and rillt estate unto one of them and no more, made away & killed all the rest besides him, to the end that he being left 50 alone, might be great and mightie: like as if one should prune and cut away all the branches of a vine, that the maine stocke might thrive and prosper the better: and yet the cutter of the vine disbrancheth it when the shoots be young, small and tender: and we also take away from a bitch many of her whelps when they be so young as that they can not yet fee, for to spare the damme: whereas *Jupiter* who hath not onely suffered and permitted men to grow unto their perfect age, but also given them himselfe their nativite and growth, punisheth them and plagues them afterwards, devising sundry meanes, and preparing many occasions of their death and destruction, when as indeed he should rather have not given unto them the causes and prin-

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ciples of their generation and birth. Howbeit, this is but a small matter in comparison; and more grievous is that which I will now say: for there are no warres bred among men, but by occasion of some notable vice; seeing the cause of one is fleshly pleasure; of another, avarice; and of a third, ambition and desire of rule. And therefore, if God be the author of warres, he is by consequence, the cause of wickednesse, and doth provoke, excite and pervert men: and yet himselfe in his treatise of judgement, yea and his second booke of the Gods, writeth that it stands to no sense and reason that God should be the cause of any wicked and dishonest things. For like as the lawes are never the cause of breaking and violating the lawes, no more are gods of impietie: so that there is no likelihood at all that they should move and cause men to commit any foule and dishonest fact. Now what can there be more dishonest, than to procure and raise some to worke the ruine and perdition of others, and yet *Chrysippus* saith, that God ministrereth the occasions and beginnings thereof. Yea, but he contrariwise (will one say) commendeth *Epipides*, for saying thus:

*If Gods do ought that lewd and filthy is,
They are no more accounted Gods, iviñ.*

And againe,

*Soone said that is: Mens faults t' excuse,
Nothing more ready than Gods t' accuse.*

as if forsooth we did any thing els now, but compare his words and sentences together that be opposit and meere contrary one unto another. And yet this sentence which now is here commended, to wit,

Soone said that is, &c.

we may alledge against *Chrysippus*, not once, nor twice nor thrice, but ten thousand times. For first, in his treatise of Nature, having likened the eternitie: & motion to a drench or portion made confusedly of many herbs and spices, troubling and turning all things that be engendered, some after one sort and some after another, thus he saith, Seeing it is so, that the government and administration of the universall world proceedeth in this sort, necessary it is that according to it we be disposed in that manner as we are; whether it be that we are diseased against our owne nature, maimed or dismembred, Grammatians or Musicians. And againe, soone after, according to this reason, we may say the like of our vertue or vice, and generally of the knowledge or ignorance of arts, as I have already said. Also within a little after, cutting off all doubt and ambiguity: There is no particular thing, not the very least that is, which can otherwise happen than according to common nature, and the reason thereof: now that common nature, and the reason of it is fatall destinie, divine providence and *Jupiter*, there is not one, search even as farre as to the *Antipodes*, but he knoweth: for this sentence is very risin in their mouths: And as for this verse of *Homer*,

*And as each thing thm came to passe,
T he will of Jove fulfilled was.*

he saith that well and rightly he referred all to destiny, and the universall nature of the world, whereby all things are governed. How is it possible then, that these two positions should subsist together, namely, that God is in no wise the cause of any dishonest thing: and, that there is nothing in the world be it never so little that is done, but by common nature, and according to the reason thereof? For surely, among all those things that are done, necessarily there must be things dishonest: and yet *Epipides* turneth and winketh himselfe on every side, imagining and devising all the subtilt shits that he can to unloose, set free, and deliver our voluntary free will from this motion eternall, because he would not leave vice excusable & without just reprehension; whereas in the meane while he openeth a wide window unto it, and giveth it libertie to plead: That committed it is not onely by the necessitie of destiny, but also by the reason of God, and according to the best nature that is. And thus much also moreover is to be scene written word for word: For considering that common nature reacheth unto all causes; it cannot otherwise be, but all that is done, howsoever, and in what part soever of the world, must be according to this common nature, and the reason thereof, by a certaine stint of consequence without impeachment; for that there is nothing without, that can impeach the administration thereof, neither mooved any part, or is disposed in habitude otherwise, than according to that common nature. But what habitudes and motions of the parts are these? Certaine it is that the habitudes be the vices and maladies of the minds, as covetousnesse, lecherie, ambition, cowardise, and injustice: as for the motions, they be the acts proceeding from thence, as adulteries,

teries, thefts, treasons, manlaughters, murders, and parricides, *Chrysippus* now is of opinion, That none of all these, be they little or great, is done without the reason of *Jupiter*, or against law, justice, and providence: in so much as to breake law, is not against law; to wrong another, is not against justice; nor to commit sinne against providence. And yet he affirmeth, that God punisheth vice, and doth many things for the punishment of the wicked. As for example, in the second booke of the gods: Otherwhiles there happen (quoth he) unto good men grievous calamities, not by way of punishment, as to the wicked, but by another kinde of economy and disposition, like as it falleth out usually unto cities. Again, in these words: First, we are to understand, evill things and calamities as we have said heretofore; then to thinke, that distributed they are according to the reason and dispose of *Jupiter*, either by way of punishment, or else by some other reeconomy of the whole world. Now surely, this is a doctrine hard to be digested, namely, that vice being wrought by the disposition and reason of God; is also punished thereby: howbeit, this contradiction he doeth still aggravate and extend in the second booke of Nature, writing thus: But vice in regard of grievous accidents, hath a certaine peculiar reason by it selfe: for after a sort it is committed by the common reason of nature, and as I may so say, not unprofitably in respect of the universall world: for otherwise than so, there were no good things at all: and then proceeding to reprove those who dispute *pro & contra*, and discourse indifferently on both parts, he (I meane) who upon an ardent desire to brooch alwaies and in every matter some novelties & exquisite singularities above all other, saith, It is not unprofitable, to cut purses, to play the lycophants, or commit loose, dissolute, and mad parts: no more than it is incommodious, that there should be unprofitable members, hurtfull and wretched persons: which if it be so, what manner of god is *Jupiter*, I meane him, of whom *Chrysippus* speaketh, in case (I say) he punish a thing, which neither cometh of it selfe, nor unprofitably: for vice according to the reason of *Chrysippus* were altogether irreprehensible, and *Jupiter* to be blamed, if either he caused vice, as a thing unprofitable, or punished it when he had made it not unprofitably. Moreover, in the first booke of justice, speaking of the gods, that they oppose themselves against the iniquities of some: But wholly (quoth he) to cut off all vice, is neither possible nor expedient, is it if were possible, to take away all injustice, all transgression of lawes, and all folly. But how true this is, it pertaineth not to this present treatise for to enquire and discourse. But himselfe taking away and rooting up all vice as much as lay in him, by the means of philosophy, which to extirpe, was neither good nor expedient, doeth herein that which is repugnant both to reason and also to God. Furthermore, in saying that there be certaine sinnes and iniquities, against which the gods doe oppose themselves, he giveth covertly to understand, that there is some oddes and inequality in sinnes. Over and besides, having written in many places, that there is nothing in the world to be blamed, nor that can be complained of, for that all things are made and finished by a most singular and excellent nature: there be contrariwise, sundry places, wherein he leaveth and alloweth unto us certaine negligences reproveable, and those not in small and trifling matters. That this is true, it may appeare in his third booke of Substance; where having made mention, that such like negligences might befall unto good & honest men: Cometh this to passe (quoth he) because there be some things whereof there is no reckoning made, like as in great houses, there must needs be scattered and lost by the way some bran, yea and some few graines of wheat, although in generality the whole besides, is well enough ruled and governed? or is it because there be some evil and malignant spirits, as superintendents over such things, wherein certainly such negligences are committed, & the same reprehensible? and he saith moreover, that there is much necessitie intermingled among. But I meane not hereupon to stand, nor to discourse at large, but to let passe what vanity there was in him, to compare the accidents which befall to some good and vertuous persons, as for example, the condemnation of *Socrates*, the burning of *Pythagoras* quick by the Cylonians, the dolorous torments that *Zeno* endured under the tyrant *Demylus*, or those which *Antiphen* suffered at the hands of *Dionysius*, when they were by them put to death, unto the brans that be spilt and lost in great mens houses. But that there should be such wicked spirits deputed by the divine providence, to have the charge of such things, must needs redound to the great reproach of God, as if he were some unwise king who committed the government of his provinces unto evill captaines and rash headed lieutenants, suffering them to abuse and wrong his best affected subjects, and winking at their reckless negligence, having no care or regard at all of them. Again, if it be so, that there is much necessity and constraint mingled among the affaires of this world, then is not God the soveraigne lord and omnipotent master

master of all, neither be all things absolutely governed and ruled by his reason and counsell.

Moreover he mightily opposeth himselfe against *Epicurus* and those who take from the ad-ministration of the world divine providence, confuting them, principally by the common notions and conceptions inbred in us as touching the gods, by which perswaded we are that they be gracious benefactors unto men. And for that this is so vulgar and common a thing with them, needlesse it is to cite any expresse places to proove the same: And yet by his leave, all nations doe not believe that the gods be bountifull and good unto us. For doe but consider what opinion the Jewes and Syrians have of the gods: looke into the writings of Poets, with how many superstitious they be stuffed. There is no man in manner to speake of who imagineth or conceiveth in his minde, that god is either mortall and corruptable, or hath bene begotten: And *Antipater* of *Tarsis* (to passe others over in silence) in his booke of Gods, hath written thus much word for word. But to the end (quoth he) that this discourse may be more perspicuous and cleare, we will reduce into few words the opinion which we have of God. We understand therefore by God a living nature or substance happie, incorruptible, and a benefactor unto men: and afterwards in expounding each of these tearmes and attributes, thus he saith: And verily all men doe acknowledge the gods to be immortall. It must needs be then, that by *Antipater* saying, *Chrysippus* of all those, is none. For he doth not thinke any of all the gods to be incorruptible save *Jupiter* onely: but supposeth that they were all engendered a like, and that one day they shall all likewise perish. This generally throughout all his bookes doth he deliver: howbeit one expresse passage will I alledge out of his third booke of the gods. After a divers sort (quoth he) for some of them are engendered and mortall: others not engendered at all. But the proove and demonstration hereof, if it should be fetched from the head indeed, appertaineth more properly unto the science of Naturall Philosophy. For the Sunne and Moone and other gods of like nature, were begotten: but *Jupiter* is sempiternall. And againe somewhat after: The like shall be said of *Jupiter* and other gods, as touching their corruption and generation: for some of them do perish: but as for his parts they are incorruptible. With this I would have you to compare, a little of that which *Antipater* hath written: Those (quoth he) who deprive the gods of beneficence and well doing, touch but in some part the prenotion and anticipation in the knowledge of them: and by the same reason they also who thinke they participate of generation and corruption. If then he be as much deceived and as absurd, who thinketh that the gods be mortall and corruptible, as he who is of opinion that they beare no bountifull and loving affection toward men, *Chrysippus* is as farre from the truth as *Epicurus*, for that as the one bereaveth God of immortality and incorruption, so the other taketh from him bountie and liberality.

Moreover *Chrysippus* in his third booke of the gods speaking of this point, and namely how other gods are nourished, saith thus: Other gods (quoth he) use a certaine nourishment, where-by they are maintained equally: but *Jupiter* and the world after a nother sort, than those who are engendered, and be consumed by the fire. In which place, he holdeth, that all other gods be nourished, except *Jupiter* and the world. And in the first booke of Providence, he saith that *Jupiter* groweth continually untill such a time, as all things be consumed in him. For death being the separation of the body and soule, seeing that the soule of the world never departeth at all but augmenteth continually, untill it have consumed all the matter within it, we cannot say that the world dieth. Who could speake more contrary to himselfe, than he who saith that one and the same god is nourished and not nourished? And this we need not inferre and conclude by necessary consequence, considering that himselfe in the same place hath written it plainly. The world onely (quoth he) is said to be of it selfe sufficient: because it alone hath all in it selfe whereof it standeth in no need, of it selfe it is nourished and augmented, whereas other parts are transfused and converted one into another. Not onely then is he contradictorie and repugnant to himselfe in that he saith, other gods be nourished, all except the world and *Jupiter*, but also here in much more, when he saith that the world groweth by nourishing it selfe: whereas so contrariwise there had bene more reason to say, the world onely is not augmented, having for foode the destruction thereof: but on the contrary side, other gods doe grow and increase, in as much as they have their nourishment from without: and rather should the world be consumed into them, if it be true that the world taketh always from it selfe, and other gods from it. The second point contained in that common notion and opinion imprinted in us as touching the gods, is that they be blessed, happie and perfect. And therefore men highly praise *Euripides* for saying thus,

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If God be God indeed and really,
He needs none of this poets verily,
His praise in hymnes and verses for to write:
Such ditties wretched are which they endite.

Howbeit our *Chrysippus* here, in those places by me alledged faith, that the world alone is of it selfe sufficient, as comprehending within it all that it hath need of. What then ariseth upon this proposition, that the world is selfe-sufficient in it selfe, but this, that neither the Sun nor the Moone, nor any other of the gods whatsoever is sufficient of it selfe, and being thus insufficient, they cannot be blessed and happie.

10 *Chrysippus* is of opinion, that the infant in the mothers wombe, is nourished naturally, no otherwise than a plant within the earth; but when it is borne, and by the aire cooled and hardened (as it were) like Steele, it moveth the spirit, and becommeth an animal or living creature; and therefore it is not without good reason; that the soule was called *ψυχή*, in regard of *ψύξις*, that is to say, refrigeration. But not forgetting to be contrary unto himselfe, he supposeth that the soule is the more subtle, rare, and fine spirit of nature: For how is it possible that a subtle thing should be made of that which is grosse, and that a spirit should be rarefied by refrigeration and attrition or condensation? Nay, that which more is, how commeth it about, that affirming as he doth the soule of an infant to be engendered by the means of refrigeration, he should thinke the sun to become animat, being as it is of a fiery nature, & engendered of an exhalation transfused into fire? For thus he saith in his third booke of Nature: The mutation (quoth he) of fire is in this manner; by the aire it is turned into water, and out of water having earth under it, there exhaleth aire, which aire coming to be subtilized, the fire is produced and environeth it round about; & as for the stars, they are set on fire out of these, together with the sunne; what is more contrary, than to be set on fire and to be cooled? what more opposite to subtilization and rarefaction, than inspissation and condensation? the one maketh water and earth, of fire and aire; the other turneth that which is moist and terrestriall, into fire and aire. And yet in one place he maketh kindling of fire, and in another refrigeration, to bee the cause of quickning and giving soule unto a thing: for when the said firing and inflammation comes generally throughout, then it liveth and is become an animal creature; but after it cometh to be quenched and thickned, it turneth into water and earth, and so into a corporall substance.

30 In the first booke of Providence, he writeth thus: For the world being throughout on fire, presently it is with all, the soule and governour of it selfe; but when it is turned into moisture and the soule left within it, and is after a sort converted into a soule and body, so as it seemeth compounded of them both, then the case is altered: In which text he affirmeth plainly, that the very inanimat parts of the world by exultion and inflammation; turne and change into the soule thereof; and contrariwise by extinction, the soule is relaxed and moistned againe, and so returneth into a corporall nature. Heereupon I inforre that he is very absurd, one while to make of senselesse things, animat and living, by way of refrigeration; and another while to transfuse the most part of the soule of the world into insensible and inanimat things.

40 But over and above all this, the discourse which he maketh as touching the generation of the soule, containeth a proove & demonstration contrary to his owne opinion; for he saith: That the soule is engendered after that the infant is gone out of the mothers wombe; for that the spirit then is transformed by refrigeration; even as the temper is gotten of Steele. Now to prove that the soule is engendered, and that after the birth of the infant, hee bringeth this for a principall argument; Because children become like unto their parents in behaviour and naturall inclination; wherein the contrariety that he delivereth is so evident, as that a man may see it by the very eyes, for it is impossible that the soule, which is engendered after birth, should be framed to the manners and disposition of the parents before nativity; or else we must say (and should out it will) that the soule before it was in *esse*, was already like unto a soule; which is all one; as that it was by similitude and resemblance, and yet was not, because as yet it had not a real substance: Now if any one doe say, that it ariseth from the temperature and complexion of the bodies, that this similitude is imprinted in them, howbeit when the soules are once engendered, they become changed, he shall overthrowe this argument and proove; whereby it is shewed that the soule was engendered; for heereupon it will follow, that the soule although it were ingenerable, when it entrench from without into the body, is changed by the temperature of the like.

50 *Chrysippus* sometime saith, that the aire is light, that it moveth upward on high; and otherwhiles

whiles for it againe: that it is neither heavy nor light. To prove this, see what he saith in his second booke of Motion, namely, that fire having in it no ponderosity at all, ascendeth aloft: fensibly the aire; and as the water is more conformable to the earth, so the aire doth rather resemble the fire. But in his booke entituled Naturall arts, he bendeth to the contrary opinion, to wit, that the aire hath neither ponderosity nor lightnesse of it selfe: He affirmeth that the aire by nature is darke, and for that cause by consequence it is also the primitive cold; and that tenebrosity or darknesse is directly opposite unto light and cleerenesse, and the coldnesse thereof to the heat of fire. Mooving this discourse in the first booke of his Naturall questions, contrary to all this in his treatise of Habitudes, he saith: That these habitudes be nothing else but aires: For that bodies (quoth he) be contained by them, and the cause why every body contained by any habitude is such as it is, is the continent aire; which in iron is called hardnesse, in stone, spissitude or thicknesse; in silver whitenesse; in which words there is great contrariety, and as much false absurditie: for if this aire remaine the same still as it is in the owne nature, how cometh blacke in that which is not white, to be called whitenesse; softnesse in that which is not hard, to be named hardnesse; or rare in that which is not solide and massive, to be called soliditie? But in case it be said, that by mixture therein it is altered, and so becometh fensible, how then can it be an habitude, a faculty, power, or cause of these effects, whereby it selfe is brought under and subdued? for that were to suffer rather than to doe; and this alteration is not of a nature containing, but of a languishing impotencie, whereby it loseth all the properties and qualities of the owne: and yet in every place they hold, that matter of it selfe idle and without motion, is subject and exposed to the receipt of qualities, which qualities are spirits, and those powers of the aire, which into what parts soever of the matter they get and insinuate themselves, doe give a forme and imprint a figure unto them. But how can they maintaine this, supposing as they do, the aire to be such as they say it is; for if it be an habitude and power, it will conforme and shape unto it selfe, every body, so as it will make the same both blacke and soft: but if by being mixed and tempered with them, it take formes contrary unto those which it hath by nature, it followeth then, that it is the matter of matter, and neither the habitude, cause, nor power thereof.

Chrysippus hath written often times, that without the world there is an infinit voidnesse; and that this infinitie hath neither beginning, middle, nor end. And this is the principall reason whereby they refuse that motion downward of the *Atomi* by themselves, which *Epicurus* hath brought in: for in that which is infinit, there are no local differences, whereby a man may understand or specify either high or low. But in the fourth booke of Things possible, he supposeth a certaine middle space and meane place betweene: wherein he saith the world is founded. The very text where he affirmeth this, runneth in these words. And therefore we must say of the world that it is corruptible: and although it be very hard to prove it, yet me thinks rather it should be so, than otherwise. Nevertheless, this maketh much to the inducing of us to beleve that it hath a certaine incorruptibility, if I may so say, namely the occupation or taking up of the middle place, wherein it standeth, because it is in the mids: for if it were thought otherwise to be founded, it were altogether necessarie that some corruption should take holde of it. And againe, a little after: for even so in some fort hath that essence bene ordered from all eternity, to occupie the middle region, being presently at the very first such as if not by another maner, yet by attaining this place, it is eternall and subject to no corruption. These words containe one manifest repugnance and visible contrariety, considering that in them he admitteth and alloweth in that which is infinit a middle place. But there is a second also, which as it is more darke and obscure, so it implieth also a more monstrous absurditie than the other: for supposing that the world can not continue incorruptible, if it were seated and founded in any other place of the infinitie, than in the mids; it appeareth manifestly that he feared, if the parts of the substance did not moove and tend toward the mids, there would ensue a dissolution & corruption of the world. But this would he never have feared, if he had not thought that bodies naturally from all sides tend to the mids not of the substance but of the place that containeth the substance; whereof he had spoken in many places, that it was a thing impossible and against nature, for that within voidnesse there is no difference, by which bodies can be said to move more one way than another: and that the construction of the world is cause of the motion to the center, as also that all things from every side do bend to the mids. But to see this more plainly, it may suffice to alledge the very text in his second booke of Motion: for when he had delivered thus much, That the world is a perfect body; and the parts of the world not perfect, because they are

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relative to the whole, and not of themselves. Having also discoursed as touching the motion thereof: for that it was apt and fitt by nature to moove it selfe in all parts, for to containe and preserve, and not to breake, dissolve and burne it selfe, he saith afterwards, But the universall world tending and mooving to the same point, and the parts thereof having the same motion from the nature of the body; like it is, that this first motion is naturally proper to all bodies, namely, to incline toward the mids of the world, considering that the world mooveth so in regard of it selfe; and the parts likewise, in that they be the parts of the whole. How now my good friend, may some one say, what accident is befallen unto you, that you should forget to pronounce these words withall, That the world, in case it had not fortune to get to settle in the mids, must needs have bene subject to corruption and dissolution? For if it be proper and naturall to the world to tend alwaies to the same middle, as also to adresse the parts thereof from all sides thereto, into what place soever of the voidnesse it be carried, and transported, certes thus containing and embracing (as it were) it selfe, it must needs continue incorruptible, immortall, and past all danger of fracture or dissolution: for to such things as be broken, bruised, dissipated and dissolved, this is incident, by the division and dissolution of their parts, when each one runneth and retireth into their proper and naturall place; out of that which is against their owne nature. But you sir, supposing that if the world were seated in any other place of voidnesse but in the mids, there would follow a totall ruine and corruption thereof; giving out also as much, and therefore imagining a middle in that where naturally there can be none, to wit, in that which is infinit, have verily quite cleane and fled from these tensions, coherences and inclinations, as having in them no assured meanes for to maintaine and hold the world together, and attributed all the cause of the eternall maintenance and preservation thereof, unto the occupation of a place. And yet, as if you tooke pleasure to argue and convince your selfe, you adjoine to the premises, thus much: In what fort every severall part moveth, as it is coherent to the rest of the body, it stands with good reason, that after the same manner it should moove by it selfe alone; yea, if for disputation sake we imagine and suppose it to be in some void part of this world: and like as being kept in and enclosed on every side, it would move toward the mids, so it would continue in this same motion, although by way of disputation we should admit, that all on a sudden there should appeare some vacuity and void place round about it. And is it indeed, that every part what ever it be, compassed about with voidnesse, forgoeth not her naturall inclination to move & tend to the mids; and should the world it selfe, unless some fortune & blind chance had not prepared for it a place in the mids, have lost that vigor & power which containeth and holdeth all together, & so some parts of the substance of it moove one way, and some another? Now surely heerein there be many other maine contrarieties repugnant even to natural reason; but this particularly among the rest, encountreth the doctrine of God & divine providence, to wit, that in attributing unto them the least and smallest causes that be, he taketh from them the most principall and greatest of all other. For what greater power can there be, than the maintenance and preservation of this universall world, or to cause the substance united together in all parts to cohere unto it selfe? But this according to the opinion of *Chrysippus*, hapneth by mere hazzard and chance: for if the occupation of a place, is the cause of worlds incorruption and eternity, and the same chanced by fortune, we must inferre thereupon, that the safety of all things dependeth upon hazzard and adventure, and not upon fatal destiny and divine providence. As for his doctrine & disputation *de fati destino*, that is to say of things possible, which *Chrysippus* hath delivered directly against that of fatal destiny, how can it chuse but be repugnant to it selfe: for if that be not possible, according to the opinion of *Diodorus*, which either is or shall be true, but whatsoever is susceptible naturally of a power to be, although the same never come into act or esse, is to be counted possible; there will be a number of things possible which never shall have being, by destiny invincible, inexpressible, & summing all things: And therefore either this doctrine overthroweth all the force and puissance of destiny: or if it be admitted as *Chrysippus* would have it, that which potentially may be, will fall out oftentimes to be impossible; & whatsoever is true shall be also necessary, as being comprised & contained by the greatest and most powerfull necessity of all others; and whatsoever is false, impossible, as having the greatest and most puissance cause withstanding and impeaching it ever for being true. For looke whose destiny it is to die in the sea, how can it possible be, that he should be susceptible of death upon the land? And how is it possible, that he who is at *Megara* should come to *Athens*, being hindered and prohibited by fatal destiny?

Moreover his resolutions as touching fantasies and imaginations repugne mainly against fatal

fatall destiny: For intending to proove that fantasie is not an entire and absolute cause of assent he saith, that Sages and wise men will prejudice and hurt us much, by imprinting in our mindes false imaginations, if it be so that such fantasies doe absolutely cause assent. For many times wise men use that which is false, unto leaue and wicked persons, representing unto them a fantasie that is but onely probable, and yet the same is not the cause of assent: for so also should it be the cause of false opinion and of deception. If then a man would transerre this reason and argument from the said wise men unto fatall destiny, saying that destiny is not the cause of assents (for so he should confesse that by destiny were occasioned false assents, opinions and deceptions, yea and men should be endangered by destiny) certes the same doctrine and reason which exempteth a wise man from doing hurt at any time, sheweth withall that destiny is not the cause of all things. For if they neither opine nor receive detriment by destiny: certainly they doe no good, they are not wise, they be not firme and constant in opinion, neither receive they any good and profit by destiny: so that this conclusion which they hold for most assured, falleth to the ground and commeth to nothing, namely, that fatall destiny is the cause of all things. Now if peradventure one say unto me, that *Chrysippus* doth not make destiny the entire and absolute cause of all things, but only a procatastical and antecedent occasion, here againe will he discover how he is contradictorie to himselfe, whereas he praifesth *Homer* excessively for saying thus of *Jupiter*:

*Take well in worsh therefore what he
to each of you shall send;
And whether good or bad it be,
doe not with him contend.*

As also where he highly extolth *Euripides* for these verses:

*O Jupiter what cause haue I to say,
That mortall wretches we should prudent be?
Depend we doe of thee, and nothing may
Bring to effect, but that which pleaseth thee.*

Himselfe also writeth many sentences accordant hereunto, and finally concludeth, that nothing doth rest and stay, nothing sitre and mooue, be it never so little, otherwise than by the counsell and minde of *Jupiter*, whome he saith to be all one with fatall destiny. Moreover the antecedent cause is more feeble and weaker than that which is perfit and absolute, neither attaineth it to any effect, as being subdued & kept down, by others mightier than it selfe, rising up & making head against it. And as for fatall destiny *Chrysippus* himselfe pronouncing it to be a cause invincible, inflexible, and that which cannot be impeached, calleth it *Atropos* & *Adrastra*, as one would say, a cause that cannot be averted, avoided or undone. Likewise necessity and Peponeme, which is as much to say as setting downe *meu*, that is to say, an end and limit unto all things. How then? whether doe we not say, that neither assents, vertues, vices, nor well or ill doing, lie in our free will and power: if we asseme fatall destiny is to be maintained or imperfect and *meu*, that is to say, a fatality determining all things, to be *meu*, that is to say, without power to finish and effect ought: and so the motions and habitudes of *Jupiters* will to remaine imperfect and unaccomplished? for of these conclusions the one will follow, if we say that destiny is an absolute and perfect cause: and the other, in case we hold that it is onely a procatastical or antecedent occasion. For being an absolute and all sufficient cause, it overthroweth that which is in us, to wit, our free will: and againe, if we admit it to be onely antecedent it is marred for being effectually and without the danger of impeachment. For not in one or two places onely but every where in manner throughout all his commentaries of naturall philosophy he hath written, that in particular natures and motions there be many obstacles and impediments, but in the motion of the universall world there is none at all. And how is it possible that the motion of the universall world should not be hindered and disturbed, reaching as it doth unto particulars, in case it be so, that they likewise be stopped and impeached. For surely the nature in generall of the whole man is not at liberty and without impediment, if neither that of the foot nor of the hand, be void of obstacles: no more can the motion or course of a ship be void of let and hinderance, if there be some stay about the sailes, & oares, or their works. Over & besides all this, if the fantasies and imaginations, are not imprinted in us by fatall destiny, how be they the cause of assents? Or if because it imprinteth fantasies that lead unto assent, thereupon all assents are said to be by fatall destiny, how is it possible that destiny should not be repugnant to it selfe? considering that in matters of greatest importance, it ministreth many times different fantasies; and those which

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distract the minde into contrary opinions? whereas they asseme that those who settle unto one of the said fantasies, and hold not of their assent and approbation doe erre and sinne: For if they yeeld (say they) unto uncertaine fantasies they stumble and fall: if unto false, they are deceived: if to such as commonly are not conceived and understood, they opine. For of necessity it must be one of these three: either that every fantasie is not the worke nor effect of destiny; or that every receipt & assention of fantasie is not void of error; or else that destiny it selfe is not irreprehensible. Neither can I see how it should be blamelesse, objecting such fantasies & imaginations as it doth: which to withstand and resist, were not blameable, but rather to give place and follow them: and verily in the disputations of the Stoicks against the Academicks, the maine point about which both *Chrysippus* himselfe, and *Antipater* also contended and stood upon, was this: That we doe nothing at all, nor be inclined to any action, without a precedent consent: but that these be but vaine fictions and devised fables, and suppositions, that when any proper fantasie is presented, incontinently we are disposed, yea, and incited thereto, without yeelding or giving consent. Again, *Chrysippus* saith: That both God and the wise man doe imprint false imaginations, not because they would haue us to yeeld or give our consent unto them, but that we should doe the thing onely, and incite our selves to that which appeareth: As for us, if we be evill by reason of our infirmity, we condescend to such fantasies and imaginations. Now the repugnance and contrariety in these words is easily seene; for hee who would not haue us to consent unto the fantasies which he presenteth unto us, but onely to worke and doe them, be he God or wise man, knoweth well enough that such fantasies are sufficient to cause us to fall to operation, and that those assents are altogether superfluous; and so if he knowing that the fantasie imprinteth no instict into operation without consent, ministreth unto us false or probable fantasies: willfull and voluntary is the cause that we stumble, erre, and offend, in giving our assent to such things as are not perfectly understood and comprehended.



OF COMMON CONCEPTIONS AGAINST THE STOICKS.

The Summarie.

Having shewed in my former discourse, that the Stoicks are contradictory to themselves in all the principall articles of their doctrine, and so consequently that he needed no more but their owne words to condemne them: In this dialogue he joiness more closely to them, disputing against their rules and precepts, which he examineth and refuteth; whereas before he was content to oppagne them by their owne selves. For to make an entrance into this dialogue, he bringeth in *Lamprias*, requesting *Diadumenus* to rid him of those scruples that certaine Stoicks had put into his head: Whereunto the other accordeth, and so they enter into the matter. The summe of whose whole discourse throughout is this: That the Stoicks would by their principles abolish mans senses; and the common conceptions proceeding from thence, thereby more easily to establish their owne paradoxes: whom he refuteth, dividing his dialogue into three principall parts: in the first whereof is considered the morall, in the second, the naturall, in the third, the metaphysicall or supernaturall philosophy of the Stoicks: Howbeit, he observeth no exact order nor method, in the disposition of his matters, but enerveth out of one discourse into another, according as things were presented unto him, and came first into his minde, yet in such sort, as there is sufficient to content the reader, who is desirous to know what was the sect and doctrine of the Stoicks, and the manner of the ancient Academicks in their disputations: which being referred to the true

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marke and scope indeed of all that which we may learne in the world, teacheth every man to humble himselfe before the maiestie of him who is onely wise, and out of whose sacred word we ought to fetch the resolution of the questions debated here in this dialogue, but of those above the rest, which treat of maners, religion, and divinity.

OF COMMON CONCEPTIONS against the Stoicks.

LAMPRIAS.



I should seeme verily that you *Diadumenus* passe not much what any man either thinks or saies of you & other Academics, such as your selfe, in that you do philosophize cleane contrary to the common notions and conceptions, confessing as you doe, that you make no great account of the five naturall senses, from whence proceeded the most part of the said common conceptions, having for their foundation and feat, the beliefe and assurance of the imaginations which appeere unto us. But I pray you for to assay and goe in hand to cure me, either by some words, or charmes and enchantments, or by what other meanes and kinds of physicke that you

know, comming as I doe unto you, full in mine owne conceit of great trouble and strong perturbation, so exceedingly troubled I have bene, and held in perplexed suspense, I may tell you, by certaine Stoicks; men otherwise the best in the world, and I may say to you, my inward and familiar friends: howbeit, over bitterly bent, and in hostile maner set against the Academic, who for very small matters uttered by me, modestly and in good sort, with all respect and reverence, have (I will notlie unto you) reprooved, checked, and taken me up very unkindly, with some hard words, and breaking forth in heat of choler, called our ancient Philosophers, Sophists, corrupters, and perverters of good sentences in Philosophy, yea, and seducers of those who otherwise walked in the true path and traine of doctrine surely established; with many other more strange termes, both speaking and thinking of them very basely; untill in the end as if they had bene driven with a tempest; they fell upon the Common conceptions, reproaching those of the Academic, as if they brought in some great confusion and perturbation in the said notions: and one among them there was, who stucke not to say; That it was not by fortune, but by some divine providence that *Chrysippus* was borne and came into the world, after *Arcesilaeus*, and before *Carnades*: of which twaine, the one was the great authour and promoter of the injury and outrage done unto custome; and the other flourished in name and renowne above all other Academics. Now *Chrysippus* comming as he did betwene them, by his writings contrary to the doctrine of *Arcesilaeus*, stopped the way also against the powerful eloquence of *Carnades*, and as he left unto the senses many aides and succours, as it were to hold out a long siege; so he remooved out of the way, and fully cleared all the trouble and confusion about anticipations and common conceptions, correcting each one, and reducing them into their proper place; in so much, as whosoever afterwards would seeme to make new troubles, and violently disquiet matters by him settled, should not prevaile nor gaine ought, but incur the obloquie of the world, and be convicted for malicious persons, and deceitfull sophisters. Having thus (I say) by these words bene chafed and set on fire this morning among them, I had need of some meanes to quench the heat as it were of an inflammation, and to rid me of these doubts, which are risen in my minde.

DIADUMENUS.

It fareth haply with you, as with many of the vulgar sort; but if you beleeve the poets who so give out, that the ancient citie *Sipylus* in *Magresia*, was in old time destroyed and overthrowen by the providence of the gods, when they chastised and punished *Tamalus*; you may as well be perswaded by our old friends the Stoicks to beleeve, that nature hath brought forth into the world, not by chance and fortune, but by some speciall divine providence, *Chrysippus*, when she was minded to pervert and overturne the life of man and course of the world, turning all things up side downe, and contrariwise downe side up: for never was there man better made

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and framed for such a matter than he. And as *Cato* said of that *Julius Caesar* Dictator, that before him there was never known any to come sober and considerate to manage affaires of state with a purpose to worke the ruin of the common weale; even so this man in mine opinion, with most diligence, greatest eloquence, & highest conceit of spirit seemeth as much as lieth in him to destroy and abolish custome. And there wincesse against him no lesse even they who magnifie the man otherwise: namely, when they dispute against him as touching that sophisme or syllogisme which is called *Pseudomenos*, for to say my good friend, that the augmentation coposed of contrary positions is not notoriously false, and againe to affirme, that syllogismes having their premisses true, yea and true inductions, may yet have the contrary to their conclusions true, what conception of demonstrations, or what anticipation of beleefe is there, which it is not able to overthrow?

It is reported of the Pourcuttle or Pollyw fish, that in winter time he gnaweth his owne cleies and pendant hairy feet, but the Logicke of *Chrysippus*, which taketh away and cutteth off the principall parts of it, what other conception leaveth it behind but that which well may be suspected? For how can that be imagined steady and sure which is built upon foundations that abide not firme, but wherein there be so many doubts and troubles? But like as they who have either dust or dirt upon their bodies, if they touch another therewith or rub against him, doe not so much trouble and molest him, as they doe begripe and beray themselves so much the more and seeme to exasperate that ordure which pricketh and is offensive unto them; even so, some there be who blame and accuse the Academics, thinking to charge upon them those imputations, wherewith themselves are found to be more burdened. For who be they that pervert the common conceptions of the senses more, than do these Stoicks? But if you thinke so good, leaving off to accuse them, let us answer to those calumniation and slanders which they would seeme to fasten upon us.

LAMPRIAS.

Me thinks *Diadumenus* that I am this day much changed, and become full of variety mine thinks I am a man greatly altered from that I was ere while: for even now I came hither much dismaied and abashed, as being depressed, beaten downe and amazed; as one having need of some advocate or other to speake for me and in my behalfe: whereas now I am cleane turned to an humor of accusation, and disposed to enjoy the pleasure of revenge, to see all the packe of them detected and convinced, in that they argue and dispute themselves against common conceptions and anticipations, in defence whereof they seeme principally to magnifie their owne sects, * * saying that it alone doth agree and accord with nature.

DIADUMENUS.

Begin we then first, with their most renowned propositions, which they themselves call paradoxes, that is to say, strange and admirable opinions: avowing as it were by that name & gently admitting such exorbitant absurdities; as for example that such Sages as themselves are onely kings, onely rich and faire, onely citizens, and onely judges: or pleateth it you that we send all this stuffe to the market of olde and stale marchandise, and goe in hand with the examination of those matters which consist most in action and practise, whereof also they dispute most seriously?

LAMPRIAS.

For mine owne part I take this to be the better. For as touching the reputation of those paradoxes, who is not full thereof, and hath not heard it a thousand times?

DIADUMENUS.

Consider then in the first place this, whether according to common notions, they can possibly accord with nature, who thinke naturall things to be indifferent: and that neither health, nor good plight and habitude of body nor beawty, nor cleane strength be either expetible, profitable, expedient, or serving in any stead to the accomplishment of that perfection which is according to nature: nor that the contraries hereunto are to be avoided, as hurtfull, to wit, maimes and mutilations of members, deformities of body, paines, shamefull disgraces and diseases. Of which things rehearsed, they themselves acknowledge that nature estrangeth us from some, and acquainteth us with other. The which verily is quite contrary to common intelligence, that nature should acquaint us with those things which be neither expedient nor good, & alienate us from such as be not hurtfull nor ill: and that which more is, that she should either traine us to them or withdraw us from them so farre forth, as if men misse in obtaining

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the one, or fall into the other, they should with good reason abandon this life, and for just cause depart out of the world. I suppose that this also, is by the affirmed against common sense, namely, that nature her selfe is a thing indifferent: and that to accord and consent with nature hath in it some part of the soveraigne good. For neither to follow the rule of the law nor to obey reason is good and honest, unless both law and reason be good and honest. But this verily is one of the least of their errors. For if *Chrysippus* in his first booke of exhortations hath written thus: A blessed and happy life consisteth only in living according to vertue: and as for all other necessities (quoth hee) they neither touch nor concerne us at all, neither make they any whit to beattitude: he cannot avoid but he must avow, that not onely nature is indifferent, but also which is more, senselesse and foolish, to afficiate and draw us into a league with that which in no respect concerneth us, and we our selves likewise are no better than fooles, to thinke that the soveraigne felicity, is to consent and accord with nature which leadeth and conducteth us to that which serveth nothing at all to happinesse. And yet what agreeth and forteth sooner to common sense, than this, that as things eligible are to be chozen and desired for the profit and helpe of this life; so naturall things serve for to live answerable to nature? But these men say otherwise: for although this be their supposition that to live according to nature is the utmost end of mans good, yet they hold, that things according to nature be of themselves indifferent. Neither is this also lesse repugnant to common sense and conception, that a well affected, sensible and prudent man, is not equally enclined and affectionate to good things that be equal and alike: but as some of them he waigetheth not, nor maketh any account of, so for others againe he is prest to abide and endure all things, although I say the same be not greater or lesse, one than another. For these things they hold to be equal, namely, for a man to fight valiantly in the defence of his country, and chastly to turne away from an olde trot, when for very age she is at the point of death: for both the one and the other doe that alike which their duty requirith. And yet for the one, as being a worthie and glorious thing, they would be prest and ready to lose their lives, whereas to boast and vaunt of the other were a shamefull and ridiculous part. And even *Chrysippus* himselfe, in the treatise which he composed of *Jupiter*, and in the third booke of the Gods, saith that it were a poore, absurd and foolish thing to praise such acts, as proceeding from vertue, namely to beare valiantly the biting of a flie, or sting of a waspe, and chastly to abstaine from a crooked old woman, stooping forward & ready to tumble into her grave. Do not these Philosophers then reach and preach even against common sense and notion, when those actions which they are ashamed to commend, they avow and confesse to be excellent, and nothing in the world better? For where is that expectable, or how can that be approvable, which deserveth not that a man should praise and admire it, but is such as whosoever doe commend and admire the same, they are reputed no better than fols and absurd fooles? And yet I suppose you will thinke it more against common sense and reason, that a wife and prudent man should not care nor regard a jot whether he enjoy or enjoy not the greatest goods in the world, but carry himselfe after one and the same maner in things indifferent, as he would in the management and administration of those good things which are so singular. For we all,

*As many as on fruits do feed,
Which for our use the earth doth breed.*

are of this judgement, that the thing which being present bringeth us helpe and profit, and if it be away, we desire to have, and find a misse of it, is good, expectable and profitable: but that which a man passeth not for, neither in earnest nor in game, and whereof he maketh no account either for his sport, pastime or commodity and ease, the same is indifferent: for by no other mark do we distinguish a diligent, painfull and industrious man in deed, from a vaine busie body, and a curious medler in many matters, than by this. That as the one travelleth and troubleth himselfe in unprofitable trifles or things indifferent, so the other labourereth for such as be commodious and expedient. But these Philosophers do quite contrary: for according to their doctrine, a wife and prudent man, although he meet with many conceptions and the memories of the said comprehensions, yea and remember divers things whereof he hath a certaine and perfect knowledge, thinketh some few of them to concerne him; and as for the rest, making no reckoning of them, he supposeth that he neither loseth nor winneth, by remembering that hee had the other day the comprehension, that is to say, the certaine knowledge either of *Dion* fleeing or *Theon* playing at tennis. And yet every comprehension in a wife man, and all memory that is firme and surely settled, is presently science, yea and a great good thing, nay the greatest that

that is. How then? for I would gladly know, whether a wife man were secure and carelesse alike, when his health faileth, when some one of his senses decayeth or is amiss, and when he loseth his goods, thinking none of all this to touch him; or whether when he seeth himselfe sicke, giveth unto Physicians their fees when they come unto him; and for to gaines riches, faileth to *Leucon* a great prince and potentate about *Bosphorus*, or travelleth as farre as to *Indatrysus* the Scythian king, as *Chrysippus* saith; and of his senses, if he lose some, he will not endure to live any longer? How is it then, that these men do not acknowledge and confesse that they deliver doctrine even against common notions, who about things indifferent, ease, state and travell its much; and yet take the matter indifferently, and reake not much whether they enjoy or be without our great good things?

Moreover, this also is an opinion of theirs, even against common conceptions; That he who is a man, feeleth no joy when out of the greatest evils and most grievous calamities he entrench into a world of good things and a most blessed and happy state. And yet thus doth their wife man: for passing from extreme vice, unto exceeding great vertue; escaping also out of a most miserable life, and attaining unto the happiest condition that is, he sheweth no signe or token at all of joy: neither doth so great a change lift up his heart, or once move him, seeing himselfe how he is delivered out of the greatest miserie and wickednesse that may be, and arrived now to a most firme assured accomplishment of all felicitie and goodnesse. Again, contrary it is to common sense, That this should be the greatest good of a man, namely, a constant judgement and immutable resolution; and yet that he who is mounted up to the height and pitch of all, hath no need hereof, neither careth for it when it is come; in so much as many times he will not once put forth his finger for this assurance and stability, notwithstanding they esteeme it to be the soveraigne and perfect good. Neither do these Stoicks stay here, but still brooch more paradoxes & strange opinions, namely, that continuance of time be it never so long, augmenteth not any good thing: but if a man chance to be wife and prudent but the minute onely of an houre, he is nothing inferior in felicity to him, who all his time hath lived in vertue, and led his whole life blessedly therein. Howbeit, as bravely and as stoutly as they deliver these positions, yet on the other side, they sticke not to say, that transitory vertue which continueth but a while, is worth nothing: for what would it avale or benefit him who incontinently is to suffer shipwracke and to perish in the sea, or otherwise to be thrown headlong downe from some steepe rocke, if he were possessed of wisdom a while before? And what would it have booted *Lycaeus* being slung by *Hercules* as it were out of a sling into the mids of the sea, if suddenly he had bene changed from vertue to vice? These positions therefore favour of these men, who not onely philosophize against sense and common notions, of the whole world, but also confusedly huddle their owne conceits, making a mish-mash of them and contradicting themselves, if it be so that they thinke, that the holding and possessing of vertue a short time, wateh nothing of soveraigne felicity, & withall, make no account of so short a vertue, as if in deed it were nothing worth. And yet this is not it that a man would wonder most at in their strange doctrine, but this rather, that they estoones give out and say: That when this soveraigne vertue & felicity is present, he that is possessed of it, hath no sense nor feeling thereof, neither perceiveth he how being erewhile most miserable and foolish; he is now all at once become both wife & happy: for not onely it were a pretie jest, and ridiculous conceit to say; That a wife and prudent man is ignorant even of this one point, that he is wife; and knoweth not that he is now past ignorance, and want of knowledge: but also to speake all in a word; they make goodnesse to be of no moment, nor to carry any weight and poise with it, they make it I say very obscure, enervat and feeble, in case when it cometh, a man is not able to feele and perceive it: for according to them, it is not by nature imperceptible; and even *Chrysippus* himselfe hath expressly written in his bookes entitled, *Of the end*, That good is perceptible by sense; and as hee thinketh, so hee maketh proofe and demonstration thereof. It remaineth therefore that it is long either of weaknesse or finallnesse that it is not perceived, when they who have it present, feele it not; nor have any knowledge thereof. Moreover, it were very absurd to say, that the eye sight should perceive and discern things that be but whitish a little, or middle colours betwene, and not be able to see those that be exceeding white in the highest degree; or that the sense of feeling should apprehend that which is meanly hot or warme, and yet have no sense at all of such things, as be exceeding hot. But there is more absurdity in this, that a man should comprehend that which meanly and commonly is according to nature, to wit, health, or the good plight of the body; and

be ignorant againe of vertue, when it is present, considering withall, that they hold it to be principally and in highest degree accordant to nature; for how can it otherwife be, but against common sense, to conceive well enough the difference between health and sickness, and to be ignorant of that distinction which is between wisdom and folly; but to thinke the one to be present when it is gone, and when a man hath the other; not to know how, that he hath it? Now forasmuch as after that one advanced and proceeded forward as farre as may be, he is changed into felicity and vertue, one of these two must of necessity follow; that either this estate of progresse and profit, is neither vice nor infelicity; or else that there is no great difference and distance between vice and vertue; but that the diversitie of good things and evil is very small and unperceptible by the sense, for otherwife men could not be ignorant when they had the one or the other, or thinke they had the one for the other: so long then as they depart not from any contrariety of sentences, but will allow, assume, and put downe all things whatsoever, to wit, That they who profit and proceed are still fooles and wicked; that they who are become wise and good, know not so much themselves, but are ignorant thereof; that there is a great difference between wisdom and folly: Thinke you, that they shew a wonderfull constance and uniformity in the maintenance of their sentences and doctrines?

Well, if in their doctrine they goe against common sense, and are repugnant to themselves; certes, in their life, in their negotiations and affaires, they doe much more: for pronouncing flatly, that those who be not wise, are all indifferently and alike, wicked, unjust, disloyal, faithlesse, and foolish; and yet forthwith, some of them they abhorre and will not abide, but be ready to spit at them; others, they will not vouchsafe so much as to salute if they meet with them upon the way; and some againe they will credit with their monies, nominate and elect by their voices to be magistrates, yea and bestow their daughters upon them in marriage. Now in case they hold such strange and extravagant positions in sport and game, let them plucke downe their browes, and not make so many furrowes as they doe in their forehead: but if in earnest, and as grave Philosophers, surely, I must needs tell them, that it is against common notions, to reprove, blame, and raile upon all men alike in words, and yet to use some of them in deeds as honest persons, & others hardly to intreat as most wicked; and for example, to admire *Chrysippus* in the highest degree, & make a god of him; but to mocke and scorne *Aleximus*, although they thinke the men to be fooles alike, and not one more or lesse foolish than the other. True it is say they; and needs it must be so. But like as he who is but a cubit under the top of the water, is no lesse strangled and drowned than he who lies five hundred fathome deepe in the bottom of the sea: even so they that be come within a litle of vertue, are no lesse in vice still than those who are a great way off: and as blinde folke be blinde still, although haply they shall recover their eye-sight shortly after; even so they that have well proceeded and gone forward, continue fooles still and sinfull, untill such time as they have fully attained to vertue; but contrary to all this, that they who profit in the schoole of vertue, resemble not those who are starke blinde, but such rather as see not clearly; nor are like unto those who be drowned, but unto them that swimme, yea and approach nere unto the haven; they themselves do beare witness by their deeds, and in the whole practice of their life; for otherwife they would not have used them for their counsellors, captaines, and lawgivers, as blinde men doe guides for to lead them by the hands, neither would they have praised and imitated their deeds, acts, sayings and lives of some as they did, if they had seene them all drowned alike and suffocated with folly and wickednesse.

But letting that goe by, consider these Stoicks, that you may wonder the more at them in this behalfe, that by their owne examples they are not taught to quit and abandon these wise men who are ignorant of themselves, and who neither know nor perceive, that they cease to be strangled any longer, and begin to see the light, and being risen aloft, and gotten above vice and sinne, take their winde and breath againe. Also it is against common sense, that for a man furnished with all good things, and who wanteth nothing of perfect blisse and happiness, it should be meet and besitting, to make himselfe away and depart voluntarily out of this life; yea, and more than so; that he who neither presently hath, nor ever shall have any good thing; but contrariwise, is continually haunted and persecuted with all horrible calamities, miseries, and mishaps that can be, should not thinke it fit and convenient for himselfe to leave and forsake this life, unless some of those things which they hold be indifferent, be presented, and doe befall unto him. Well these be the goodly rules and trim lawes in the Stoicks schoole; and verily many of their wise men they cause indeed to go out of this life, bearing them in hand, that they

they shall be more blessed and happie; although by their saying a wife man is rich, fortunate, blessed, happy every way, sure, and secured from all danger: contrariwise, a foole and lewd man is able to say of himselfe,

Of wicked parts (so say I dare be hold)

So full I am, that unwith I can hold.

And yet forthwith, they thinke it meet and seemly for such as these to remaine alive, but for those to forgo this life. And good cause why, quoth *Chrysippus*, for we are not to measure our life by good things or evil, but by such as are according to nature. See how these Philosophers maintaine ordinary custome, and teach according to common notions. Say you so (good sir) I ought not he who maketh profession of looking into the estate of life and death, to search also and consider

What rule is home in house, what worke there is;

How things do stand; what goes well, what amiss.

Should not he (I say) ponder and examine as it were by the ballance, what things incline and bend more to felicity and what to infelicity, and thereby to chuse that which is profitable? but to lay his ground and make his reckoning to live happily or no by things indifferent, which neither do good nor hurt? According to such presuppositions and principles as these, were it not convenient for him who wanteth nothing of all that is to be avoided, to chuse for to live; & contrariwise, for him to leave this life, who enioieth all that is to be wished for and desired? And albeit (my good friend *Lamprias*) it be a senselesse absurdity, to say that those who taste of no evil, should forsake this life: yet is it more absurd and beside all reason, that for the not having of some indifferent thing, a man should cast away and abandon that which is simply good; like as these men doe, leaving felicity and vertue, which they presently enjoy, for default of riches and health, which they have not. And to this purpose we may well and fitly alledge these verses out of *Homer*:

And then from Glaucus, Jupiter

all wit and sense did take,

When he with Diomedes would

a foolish bargain make;

For brazen armour to exchange

his owne of golde most fine,

An hundred oxen richly worth,*

for that which went for nine.

And yet those armes made of brasle, were of no lesse use in battell, than the other of golde: whereas the decent feature of the bodie and health, according to the Stoicks, yeeld no profit at all, nor make one jot for felicity. Howbeit, these men for all that, are content to exchange wisdom for health, inasmuch as they holde that it would have become *Heraclitus* well enough and *Pherecydes*, to have cast off their wisdom and vertue, had it beene in their power so to do, in case thereby they might have bene rid of their maladies, the one of the lowlie disease, and the other of the dropie. And if *Circe* had filled two caps with severall medicines and potions, the one making fooles of wise men, and the other, wise men of fooles, *Ulysses* ought to have drinke that of folly, rather than to change his humane shape into the forme of a beast, having in it wisdom withall, and by consequence felicity also. And they say, that even wisdom and prudence it selfe teacheth as much and commandeth in this wise: Let me alone, and suffer me to perih, in case I must be caried to and fro in the forme and shape of an asse. But this wisdom and prudence will some man say, which prescribeth such things, is the wisdom of an asse; if to be wise and happy is of it selfe good, and to beare the face of an asse indifferent. There is (they say) a nation of the *Aethiopians* where a dogge is their king; he is saluted by the title and name of a king, and hath all honours done unto him, and temples dedicated, as are done unto kings. But men they be that beare rule and performe those functions and offices which appertaine unto governours of cities and magistrates. Is not this the very case of the Stoicks? for vertue with them hath the name, and carrieth the shew and apparence of good, it alone they say, is expetible, profitable, and expedient; but they frame all their actions, they philosophize, they live and die, according to the will, precept, & commandement as it were of things indifferent. And yet there is not an *Aethiopian* so hardy as to kill that dog their king; but he sitteth upon a throne under a cloth of estate, and is adored of them in all reverence: but these Stoicks destroy this vertue of theirs, and

* Or pieces of
coine having
the forme of
an ox stamped
upon
them.

and cause is to perish whiles they are wholly possessed of health and riches. But the corollaria which *Chryppus* himselfe, hath for a finall set unto these their doctrines, catch me of farther paines, that I need not to stand more upon this point: For whereas (quoth he) there be in nature things good, things bad, and things meane or indifferent: there is no man but wee would chuse rather to have that which is good, than the indifferent; or that which is bad: and to proove the truth hereof, let us take witnesse of the very gods, when as we doe crave of them in our prayers and orisons, principally the possession and fruition of good things; if not, yet at leastwise the power and grace to avoid evils; but that which is neither good nor evil, we never desire for to have in stead of good; many we can be content and wish to enjoy it, in lieu of evil. But this *Chryppus* here inverting and perverting cleane the order of nature, transposeth and transferreth out of the middle place betwene, the meane and indifferent into the last, and reducing the last bringeth it backe into the mids; giving as tyrants doe to wicked persons, the pre-eminence of superiour place, with authority and credit unto cvill things; enjoining us by order of law, first to seeke for that which is good; secondly, for that which is evil; & last of all to repute that worst, which is neither good nor evil: as if a man should next unto heaven set hell, and reject the earth and all the elements about it into the pit of *Tartarus* beneath:

*Right farre remote, where under ground
The gulfes that lies, no man can found.*

Having then said in his third booke of Nature: That it is better for a man to live in the state of a foole, yea though he never should become wise, than not to live at all; he addeth thus much more over word for word: For such are the good things of men, that even the evil things after a sort are preferred before those which are meane and in the mids betwene; not that these go before, but reason, with which jointly to live, availeth more although we should continue fooles all the daies of our life: yea and to be plaine, albeit we should be wicked, unjust, breakers of the lawes, enemies to the gods, and in one word, wretched and unhappie; for all these concur in those that live fooles. Is it better then to be unhappie, than not unhappie; to suffer harme, rather than not to suffer harme; to commit injustice, than not to commit injustice; to transgresse the lawes, than not to transgresse the lawes: which is as much to say, as is it fit and expedient to do those things which are not fit and expedient; and becometh it to live otherwise than it becometh? Yea forthwith: For worse it is to bee without reason and senselesse, than to be foolish. What aile they then, and what takes them in the head, that they will not avow and confesse that to be evil, which is worse than evil? And why do they affirme that we are to avoid folly alone, if it be meere to flee no lesse, nay rather much more, that disposition which is not capable nor susceptible of folly? But wherefore should any man be offended and scandalized hereat, if hee call to mind that which this philosopher wrote in his second booke of Nature, where he avoucheth: That vice was not made without some good use and profit, for the whole world? But it will be better to recite this doctrine, even in his owne words, to the end that you may know in what place they range vice, and what speech they make thereof, who accuse *Xenocrates* and *Speusippus*, for that they reputed not health to be an indifferent thing, nor riches unprofitable. As for vice (quoth he) it is limited in regard of other accidents beside: for it is also in some sort according to nature; and if I may so say, it is not altogether unprofitable in respect of the whole, for otherwise there would not be any good; and therefore it may be inferred, that there is no good among the gods, in as much as they can have none evil: neither when at any time *Jupiter* having resolved the whole matter into himselfe, shall become one, & shall take away all other differences, will there be any more good, considering there will be no evil to be found. But true it is, that in a dance or quier, there will be an accord & measure, although there be none in it that singeth out of tune & maketh a discord: as also health in mans body, albeit no part thereof were pained or diseased: but vertue without vice can have no generation. And like as in some medicinable confections there is required the poyson of a viper or such like serpent, and the gall of the beast *Hyæna*; even so there is another kind of necessarie convenience betweene the wickednesse of *Melitus*, and the justice of *Socrates*; betweene the dissolute demeanor of *Cleon*, and the honest carriage of *Pericles*. And what meanes could *Jupiter* have made, to bring forth *Hercules* and *Lycurgus* into the world, if he had not withall made *Sardanapalus* and *Phalaris* for us? And it is a great marvel if they say not also, that the Phthisicke or ulcer of the lungs, was sent among men for their good plight of bodie, and the gout for swift footman ship: and *Achilles* had not wome long haire, unless *Thersites* had beene bald. For what difference is there betwene those that

that alledge these doting fooleries or rave so absurdly; and such as say that loosenesse of life and whoredome were not unprofitable for continence, and injustice for justice? So that we had need to pray unto the gods that there might be alwaies sinne and wickednes,

*False leasing, smooth and glosing tongues,
Deceitfull raiues and fraud among.*

in case when these be gone, vertue depart and perish withal. But will you see now and behold the most elegant devise and pleasantest invention of his? For like as Comedies (quoth he) carrie otherwhiles ridiculous Epigrams or inscriptions, which considered by themselves, are nothing worth, howbeit they give a certaine grace to the whole Poeme: even so a man may well blame and detest vice in it selfe, but in regard of others it is not unprofitable. And first to say that vice was made by the divine providence, even as a lewd Epigram composed by the expresse will of the Poet, surpasseth all imagination of absurditie: for if this were true, how can the gods be the givers of good things, rather than of evil? or how can wickednes any more be enemy to the gods, or hated by them? or what shall we have to say and answer to such blasphemous sentences of the Poets, founding lo ill in religious cares, as these:

*God once dispos'd some house to overthrow,
Twixt men some cause and seeds of strife doth sow.*

Againc:

*Which of the gods twixt them did kinde fire,
Thus to contest in termes of wrath and ire.*

Moreover, a foolish and lewd epigram doth embellish and adorne the Comedie, serving to that end for which it was composed by the Poet, namely, to please the Spectatours, and to make them laugh. But *Jupiter* whom we surname Paternal, Fatherly, Supreme, Sovereigne, Just, Righteous, and according to *Pindarus*, *εὐσεβής*, that is to say, the best and most perfect artizan, making this world as he hath done, not like unto some great Comedie or Enterlude, full of varietie, skill, and wittie devices, but in manner of a city common to gods and men, sorts in habit together with justice and vertue in one accord and happily, what need had he, to this most holy and venerable end, of thieves, robbers, murderers, homicides, parricides and tyrans? for surely vice and wickednesse was not the entry of some morisque dance or ridiculous cate-sport, carrying a delectable grace with it and pleasing to God; neither was it set unto the affaires of men for recreation and pastime, to make them sport, or to move laughter, being a thing that carrieth not so much as a shadow, nor representeth the dreame, of that concord and convenience with nature, which is so highly celebrated and commended. Furthermore, the said lewd epigram, is but a small part of the Poeme, and occupieth a very little roome in a Comedie: neither do such ridiculous compositions abound overmuch in a play, nor corrupt and marre the pleasant grace of such matters as seeme to have bene well and pretily devised: whereas all humane affaires are full thoroughout of vice: and mans life even from the very first beginning and entrie as it were of the prologue unto the finall conclusion of all and epilogue, yea and to the very plaudite, being disordinate, degenerate, full of perturbation and confusion, and having no one part thereof pure and unblamable, as these men say, is the most filthy unpleasant and odious enterlude of all others, that can be exhibited. And therefore gladly would I demand and learne of them, in what respect was vice made profitable to this universall world: for I suppose he will not say it was for divine and celestiall things: because it were a mere recitulous mockery to affirme that unlesse there were bred and remained among men vice, malice, avarice, and lesing, or unlesse we robbed, pillied and spoiled, unlesse we slandered and murdered one another, the sun would not run his ordinary course, nor the heaven keepe the set seasons and usual revolutions of time, ne yet the earth seated in the midst and center of the world, yeeld the causes of winde and raine. It remaineth then, that vice & sin was profitably engendered for us and for our affaires: and happily it is it which they themselves would seeme to say. And are we indeed the better in health for being finfull? or have we thereby more plenty and abundance of things necessary? availeth our wickednesse ought to make us more beautifull and better favoured, or serveth it us in any stead to make us more strong and able of body? They answer No. But is this a silent name only, and a certaine blinde opinion and weening of these night-walking Sophisters, and not like indeed unto vice which is conspicuous enough & exposed to the view of the whole world, in such sort as it is not possible that it should bring any detriment or ought that is unprofitable, and least of all, of good god, of vertue, for which we were borne. And what absurdity were it to

say, that the commodious instruments of the husband man, the mariner or the carter, should serve their turns for to attune unto their purpose and intended end: but that which hath bene created by God for vertue, should corrupt, mar, and destroy vertue? But peradventure it is more than time now, to passe unto some other point, and to let this goe.

LAMPRIAS

Nay I beseech you good sir of all loves and for my sake doe not so: For I desire to know and understand how these men bring in evil things before the good, and vice before vertue.

DIADUMENUS.

You say well, and certes my friend this is a point worthy the knowledge: much vaine jangling and prittle prattle verily doe these men make, but in the end they come to this conclusion, that prudence is the science of good things & evil together: for that otherwise it could not stand but must needs altogether fall to the ground: For like as if we admit that there be truth, it cannot otherwise be but that falsity and untruth should be likewise hard by: so it is meet and stands to good reason, that if there be good things, the evil also must have their being.

LAMPRIAS

To grant the one of these not to be amiss said, yet me thinks I see of my selfe, that the other is cleane contrary. For I discern very well the difference: because that which is not truth, must immediately be false: but that which is not evil, is not by and by good: For betwene true and false there is no meane: but betwixt good and evil there is: to wit, indifferent. Neither followeth it necessarily, that both good and evil things should have their subsistence together, and that if the one be, the other likewise should ensue. For it may be that nature had good, and required not the evil, so that it might have that which was neither good nor evil. But as touching the former reason, if your Academicks say ought of it. I would gladly heare from your mouth.

DIADUMENUS.

Yes mary (quoth he) much there is alledged by them, but for this present relate I will, that which is most necessarie. First and foremost, a mere folly it is to thinke that good things and evil have their subsistence for prudence sake. For contrariwise, when good and evil was before, then prudence followed after: like as physicke ensued upon things holme and breeding diseases, which are supposed to have bene before. For surely the good and the evil came not up nor were brought forth, to the end that there should be prudence: but that faculty or power whereby we judge and discern betwene evil and good is called prudence: like as the sight is a sense which serveth to distinguish blacke from white, which colours had not their being first, to the end that we should have our seeing, but contrariwise need we had of our seeing for to discern the said colours. Secondly when the world in that generall conflagration, which they hold and talke of, shall be all on a light fire and burnt, there will remaine behind nothing that evil is, but all shall then be wise and prudent: And therefore confesse they must, will they nill they, that there is prudence although there be no evil, neither is it necessary, that if wisdom be, evil also should have a being. But say it were absolutely so, that prudence were the science of evil and good, what harme or absurdity would follow, if upon the abolishing & annulling of evil things there were no prudence any more, but some other vertue in lieu thereof, which were not the science of evil and good together, but onely of good? Like as among colours, if the blacke were quite perished and gone for ever, who will force us to confesse that the sense of seeing is likewise lost? And who would impeach or debarre us for saying that sight is not the sense of discerning blacke and white? Surely if any man would force upon us the contrary, what inconvenience and absurdity were there to answer him thus, Sir if we have not that sense that you speake of, yet we have another sense and naturall power instead of it, whereby we apprehend colours that be white and not white. And verily for mine owne part I doe not thinke that if there were no bitter things in the world, our taste should be therefore utterly lost, or the sense of feeling in case all dolour and paine were gone: no more am I perswaded that prudence should be abolished, if all evil were rid out of the way. But like as those senses would remaine to apprehend sweet favours and pleasant objects of feeling, so this prudence also would continue to be the sciences of things good and not good. As for those who are of another opinion, let them take the name to themselves, so they leave us the thing indeed. But over and besides all this, what should hinder us to say, that the evil is in cogitation and intelligence; but good in reality and essence? like as, I suppose the gods enjoy the reall presence of health, where as they have the intelligence of the fever and pleurisie: considering that we also, albeit we were pestered with

all the evils in the world, and had no affluence at all of good things as these men say, yet we want not the understanding what is prudence, what is good and what is felicity.

And this is a wonderfull thing, if there being no vertue present, yet some there are who teach what vertue is, and enforme us in the comprehension thereof; whereas if there were no such thing, it is impossible to have the intelligence of it; for doe but consider what they would perswade us to, who reason philosophically against common conceptions; namely, That by foolishness and ignorance, wee comprehend wisdom and prudence; but prudence without follie and ignorance, cannot conceive so much as ignorance it selfe. And if nature had necessarily need of the generation of evil, certes, one example or two at the most of evil were sufficient; or if you will have it so, requisite it was that there should be brought forth ten wicked persons, or a thousand, or ten thousand, and not such an infinit multitude of vices, as the fands of the sea, the dust, or the feathers of divers plumed birds, could not afford so great a number: but of vertue not so much as a bare dreame or vaine vision. They that were the wardens and masters at *Lacedemon*, of those publike halles or dining places called *phiditia*, were wont to bring forth and shew openly unto their youth, two or three of their slaves called *Helot*, full of wine, and starke drunke, that they might know thereby, what a shamefull and foule thing it was to be drunken, and to take heed of that vice, and learne to be sober. But in this life there be many such examples of vice in our actions; for there is not so much as one sober unto vertue, but all trip and stumble, nay we wander as if our braines turned round about, living shamefully in misery; and so farre forth are we intoxicate with our owne reason and selfe conceit, filled with so great perturbation and folly, that wee may be well and fitly likened to those dogs which as *Aesop* tels the tale, seeing certaine skinnies floating above the water, gaped so greedily for to have them, that they would needs drinke up all the sea before them, for to be sure of the said skinnies; but ere they could come by them, they drunke so much as they burst againe: and even we hoping by reason to acquire glory and reputation, and thereby to attaine unto vertue, are spoiled, marred, and destroyed therewith, before we can reach thereunto, being before-hand laden with a mighty deale of meere, heady, and bitter vice, if it be so, as these men give it out, that even they who have made good progresse and proceeded to the end, feele for all that no ease, no alteration, no remission or breathing time at all from folly and infelicity. But marke I pray againe, how he who saith, that vice was not produced and brought forth into the world unprofitably, depaينتeth it unto you what manner of thing he describeth it to be, and what an heritage it is for him who hath it? For in his treatise of Duties or Offices he saith: That the vicious and finfull person, hath no want nor need of anything; that nothing is profitable, nothing meet and convenient for him. How then is vice commodious, wherewith neither health it selfe is expedient, nor store of money, ne yet advancement and promotion? And hath a man no need of those things, whereof some are precedent, preeminent, and to be preferred, yea, and beleeve me, very profitable and commodious; others according to nature, as they themselves terme them? And of all these doeth no man finde need, unlesse he become wife? And so by this reckoning, hath the leawd and foolish man no need to become wife; neither be men thirsty or hungry, before they are made wife? So that if they be dry, have they no need of water, nor if hungry, bread?

*Resembling right those gentle guests,
who nought else did require,
But under sense so brew'd their heads,
and warme themselves at fire.*

And so belike he had no need of covert nor of mantell, who said:

*Give Hipponax a cloke his corps to fold,
For why, I shake and shiver hard for cold?*

But will you pronounce a paradox indeed, such an one as is extravagant and singular by it selfe? Say hardly then; That a wife man wanteth nought, and hath need of nothing; he is rich, he is full and fortunate, he is of himselfe sufficient, blessed, happy, & every way absolute. But what a dizziness & giddiness of the braine is this to say; That he who is indigent of nothing, yet hath need of the good things which he hath; and that the lewd and vicious person is indigent of many things, and yet needeth nothing? for this is the very assertion which *Chrysippus* holdeth: That wicked persons have no need, and yet are indigent, tuding, shifting, and transposing the common notions, like unto cockall bones or chesse-men upon the board. For all men deeme thus, that so have need, goeth before indigence, supposing him that standeth in need of things which

which are not ready at hand, nor easie to be gotten, is indigent. To make this more plaine, no man is said to be indigent of homes or of wings, for that he hath no need of them; but we say truly and properly, that some have need of amour, of monie, and of apparell, when in the penury and want of these things, they neither have them nor can come by them, to supply their necessity. But these Stoicks are so desirous to be thought alwaies for to brooch somewhat against common sense and conception, that many times they forget themselves and slip out of their owne proper opinions, so much affected they are and given to new conceits; like as in this place, if you please to cast your eye into *Chrysippus*, and looke somewhat behinde, calling to minde what hath heerebefore beene delivered.

This is one of his positions, affirmed even against common sense, and vulgar opinion, that no evill and foolish man can finde good and profit by any things; and yet many of them by institution and teaching, proceed forward and profit; many who were slaves, become enfranchised, besieged, are delivered; drunken, are guided and lead by the hand; sicke and diseased, are cured of their maladies: but for all this forsooth, they are never the better whatsoever is done unto them; no benefits they receive, no benefactors they have, no neglect those who deserve well of them: and so vicious persons are not unthankfull, no more than are good and wise men. And thus ingratitude is not at all, nor hath any being; for that the good never intervert, nor misrecognize the favour and benefit which they have received; and the wicked are capable of none at all. But see (I pray you) what shift they make to save & answer all this: They say (forsooth) that grace, favour, or benefit is ranged in the number of meane things: and that to helpe or be helped, appertaineth only to the wife. True it is say they, that wicked receive also a grace or benefit. What is that? Those who have part in a benefit, have not they also a part of use and commoditie? and whereto a grace or benefit reacheth, doth nothing that is commodious and convenient, extend thither? And is there ought else that maketh a demerit or pleasure done to be a grace, than that the party who doth the pleasure should in some respect be commodious unto the needy receiver?

LAMPRIAS.

But let these matters passe, and tell us what is that *ἀρίστη*, that is to say, utility, which they prize so highly, and wherof they make too great account?

DADAMENUS.

This is a thing (I may tell you) which they reserve and keepe as a great matter and a singularity for their Sages onely, and yet leave them not so much as the name of it. If one wife man, say they, do but put forth his finger prudently, whereforever it be, all the wife men that are in the whole continent and habitable world find this *ἀρίστη* and utility by it. This is the onely gift and worke of the amity that is among them, and in this doe determine and end the virtues of wife men, namely, the intercourse of common profit and utility, passing to and fro betwene them. As for *Aristotle*, he doted, *Xenocrates* also doted, who taught and affirmed that men had helpe from the gods, helpe from their parents, and helpe by their teachers and schoolmasters: but never understood they this wonderful helpe and commoditie, which these wife men receive one from another, when they be moved to vertue, although they be not together, no nor so much as know one another. And verily all men do thinke, that to gather, to lay up, to keepe, to dispende, and bestow, is conducing and profitable, when there is received profit and commoditie by such things. And a good substantiall householder buyes himselfe locks and keies, he keepeth his cellars, his closets and coffers,

*Taking great joy his chamber doore
with hand for to unlocke,
Where lies of golde and silver both,
his treasure and his Locke.*

But to gather and lay up, to keepe with great care, diligence and paine, those things which are for nothing profitable, is neither honourable, nor yet seemly and honest. If then *Ulysses* being taught by *Chiree* to make that fast knot, had with it tied sure and sealed up as it were, not the gifts and presents which *Akimine* gave him, to wit, treasures, pots, plate clothes, apparell and gold; but some trass, as sticks, stones and other pelfe raked together, thinking it a great felicity for him to possesse and keepe charity such risse raffe and trumperie: who would have praised and commended him for it, or imitated this foolish forecast, wilefesse, providence, and vaine diligence? And yet this is the goodly and beautifull honesty of the Stoicks profession in generall, this is their honourable gravity, this is their beatitude; and nothing els is it, but an heaping up, a keeping and

and preserving of things unprofitable and indifferent. For such be those which they say are according to nature; and much more those outward matters: so farre as sometime they compare the greatest riches with fringes and chamber-pots of golde; yea and (I assure you) otherwhiles as it falleth out, with oile cruets. And afterwards, like as those who thinke they have most insolently and proudly abused with blasphemous words and polluted the temples, the sacred ceremonies and religious services of some gods or divine powers, presently change their note, and become penitent persons, and falling downe prostrate, or sitting humbly below upon the ground, blefse and magnifie the heavenly power of the Godhead; even so they, as incurring the vengeance and plague of God for their presumptuous follies, arrogant and vaine speeches, are found puddering and raking againe in these indifferent things, nothing indeed pertinent unto them; setting out a throat and crying as loud as they can, what a gay matter, what a goodly and honourable thing it is, to gather and lay up such commodities, and especially the communion and fellowship of enjoying and using them: also that whosoever want the fame, and can not come by them, have no reason to live any longer; but either to lay violent hands on themselves, or by long fasting and abstinence from all viands, to shorten their lives, bidding vertue farewell for ever. And these men verily, howsoever they repute *Theognis* to be a man altogether of a base and abject minde, for saying thus in verse,

*A man from poverty to flee,
O Cymis, ought himselfe to cast
steadlong from rocks most steepe and hie,
Or into sea as deepe and wast.*

themselves meane while in prose give these exhortations, and say, that to avoid a grievous malady, and escape exceeding paine, a man ought (if he had not a sword or dagger neere at hand, nor a poisoned cup of hemlocke) to cast himselfe into the sea, or els fall headlong and breake his necke from some steepe rocke: yet affirme they, that neither the one nor the other is hurtfull, evill or unprofitable; nor maketh those miserable, who fall into such accidents. Whence then shall I begin (quoth he) what groundworke and foundation of duty shall I lay, or what shall I make the subject and matter of vertue, leaving nature, and abandoning that which is according to nature? And whereto (I pray you, good sir) begin *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*? what principles take *Xenocrates* and *Polemon*? And even *Zeno* himselfe, hath he not followed them, in supposing Nature and that which is according to Nature, for to be the elements of felicity? But these great clerks verily, rested here in these things, as eligible, expetible, good and profitable; adjoining moreover unto them, vertue, which employeth the fame, and worketh by ech of them according to their proper use; thinking in so doing, to accomplish a perfect and entire life, and to consummate that concord and agreement which is in truth fortible and consonant unto Nature. For they made no confused mish-mash, nor were contrary to themselves, as those who leape and mount on high from the ground, and immediately fall downe upon it againe, and in naming the same things, meet to be chosen, and yet not expetible; proper and convenient, and withall not good; unprofitable, and yet fit for good uses; nothing at all pertinent unto us, and yet forsooth, the very principles of duties and offices. But looke what was the speech of these noble and famous personages, the same also was their life; their deeds (I say) were answerable and conformable to their words. Contrariwise, the sect of these Stoicks, doth according to that craftie woman whom *Archilochus* describeth, to cary water in the one hand, and fire in the other: for in some of their doctrines and assertions they receive and admit nature, in another they reject her: or to speake more plainly; in their acts and deeds they adhere and cleave unto those things which are according to nature, as being eligible and simply good; but in their disputations and discourses they refuse and condemne the same as things indifferent and nothing available to vertue for the acquiring of felicity: say, that which worke is, they give her hard and reprochfull tearmes. And so farre much as all men generally are perswaded in their minds, that the soveraigne good is a thing ious, expetible, happie, most honourable, and of greatest dignity, sufficient of it selfe, and wanting nothing. See now this soveraigne good of theirs, and examine it according to this common opinion: To put forth ones finger like a sage and wise Philosopher, doth this make that ious good? or what expetible thing I pray you, is a prudent torture? who casteth himselfe downe headlong from an high rocke, so he do it with a colour of reason and honesty, is he happy and fortunate? is that most honourable and of greatest price and dignity, which reason many times chuseth to reject, for another thing that of it selfe is not good? is that all-sufficient in it selfe, accomplished and perfect, which whosoever doth presently

presently enjoy, if haply they can not obtaine withall, some one of these indifferent things, they will not deigne to live any longer? was there ever known any discourse or disputation wherein use and ordinary custome suffered more outrage and abuse, which stealing and plucking from it the true and naturall conceptions, as legitimate children of her owne, putteth in the place, bastards, changelings, of a monstrous and savage kinde, and contraineeth it to love, cherish and keepe them in lieu of the other? And thus have they done in treating of good things and evil, expetible and to be avoided, proper and strange; which ought to have bene more cleerely and plainly distinguished, than hot from colde, or white colours from blacke. For the apprehensions and conceits of these qualities, are from without forth brought in by the senses naturall; but the other are within vs, taking their originall from those good things that we have within us. Now these men entering into the question and common place of soveraigne felicity, with their Logicke subtilties, as if they were to handle the lying sophisme called *Pseudomenos*; or that masterfull manner of reasoning named *Kyrtion*, have not solved one of the doubts and questions which there were, but mooved and raised an infinite number of others that were not there before.

Moreover, there is no man who knoweth not that there being two sorts of good things; the one which is the very utmost end, and the other, the meanes to attaine thereto: the one is more excellent and perfect of the twaine. And *Chrysippus* himselfe knoweth well enough this difference, as it may appear by that which he hath written in his third booke of Good things: for he disagreeeth with those who are of opinion, that the end or soveraigne good, is science; and putteth this downe in his treatise of justice: If there be any who suppose that pleasure is the end of good things, hee thinketh not that justice can be false; if not the finall end, but simply good and no more, he is of another minde. I do not thinke that you would heare me at this present to rehearse his owne words, for his third booke as touching justice, is extant and to be had every where. When as they say therefore (my friend) elsewhere, that no good thing is greater or lesse than another, but that the finall end is equall with that which is not the end, and no better than it, it is evident that they be contrary and repugnant not onely to the common notions, but also to their owne very words. And againe, if of two evils, the one maketh us woofe than we were when it came unto us; and the other hurteth us indeed, but maketh vs not woofe: that evil in mine opinion is the greater which maketh us woofe: neither doth that more hurt, which causeth us not to be the woofe. And *Chrysippus* verily confesseth, that there be cerreine feares, sorowes and deceitfull illusions, which well may hurt and offend us, but not make us woofe. But reade over and peruse the first of those books which are written against *Plato*, as concerning justice: for in respect of other causes, it were very well done and worth your labour, to note the frivolous babbling in that place of this man, where he makes no spare to deliver all matters and doctrines whatsoever indifferently, even those aswell of his owne sect as of other strangers, flat opposit to common sense: as for example, That it is lawfull to propose two ends and two scopes of our life, and not to referre all that ever we do unto one end. And yet more than that, is this also a common notion, That the end verily is one, but every thing that is done, ought to have a relation to another; and yet of necessitie, they must abide the one or the other. For if the first things according to nature be not expetible for themselves and the last end; but rather the reasonable election and choise of them; and if every man doth what lies in him, to have and obtaine those things which are first according to nature, and all actions and operations have their reference thither, namely, to acquire and enjoy the principall things according to nature: if (I say) they thinke so, it must needs be that without aspiring and aiming for to get and attaine those things, they have another end to which they must referre the election and choise of the said things, and not the things themselves: for thus will be the end, even to know how to chuse them well and to take them wisely; but the things themselves and the enjoying of them, will be of small moment, being as a matter and subject which hath the dignity and estimation: for thus I suppose they use and put downe in writing this very word to shew the difference.

LAMPRIAS.

Certes you have passing well and worthily reported unto us, both what they say, and how they deliver it.

DIADUMENUS.

But marke I beseech you, how they fare like unto those who will needs streine themselves to leape over and beyond their owne shadow; for they leave not behinde, but carie evermore with them some absurdity in their speech, and the same farre remote alwaies from common sense

sense: for as if one should say, That an archer doeth all that lieth in him, to hit the marke, but to doe all that ever he can; he might be justly taken for a man, who spake anigmatically & by darke riddles, and uttered strange and prodigious words: even so doe these old doting fooles, who with all their power endeavour to maintaine, that to obtaine the things according to nature, is not the end of aiming and aspiring to things according to nature; but forthwith to take and chuse them; and that the desire of health and seeking after it in any man, endeth not in health of each one, but contrariwise, that health is referred to the appetite and seeking after it: saying moreover, that to walke, to read, or speake aloud, to endure sections or incisions, yea and to take purging medicines, so all be done by reason, are the ends of health, and not it, the end of those meanes. Certes, these men dote, rave, & speake idly, as well as they who should say; let me goe to supper, that we may sacrifice, bath, or sweat in the stoupe. Nay (that which more is) that which these men say, perverteth order and custome, and containeth a confusion, thrusting & turning upside downe of all our affaires whatsoever: We study not say they, to walke in due time; for to concoct & digest our meats well; but we concoct and digest our meat, because we might walke in due season. Why? Hath nature given us health for Ellebore, or rather brought forth Ellebor for health sake? For what could be uttered more strange and absurd, than such propositions as these? and what difference is there betwene him who faith, that health was made for medicinable drogues, and not drogues medicinable for health? and another who holdeth, that the gathering, the choise, the composition and use of such medicines, is to be preferred before health it selfe? or rather he thinks that health is not in any respect expetible: but hee setteth downe the very end in the penning and handling of those medicines, affirming forsooth that appetite is the end of fruition, and not fruition of appetite: And why not (quoth he) all while there be added thereto these termes; considerately and with reason. True will we say againe, if a man have regard unto the obtaining and enjoying of the thing which he pursueth; for otherwise that considerate reason is to no purpose, in case all be done for to obtaine that; the fruition whereof is neither honorable nor happy.

LAMPRIAS.

And since we are fallen upon this discourse, a man may say, that any thing else whatsoever, is according to common sense rather, than to hold, that without having notice or conception of good, a man may desire and pursue after it; for you see how *Chrysippus* himselfe driveth *Ariston* into these streights, as to imagine and dreame of a cerreine indifferenc in things tending to that which is neither good nor ill, before that the said good and ill is sufficiently known and understood; for so it might seeme that this indifferenc must needs subsist before it be so, that a man cannot conceive the intelligence of it, unless the good were first understood, which is nothing else but the onely and soveraigne good indeed.

DIADUMENUS.

But consider I pray you, and marke now this indifferenc * taken out of the Stoicks schoole, and which they call *επαρησιν*, after what manner, and whereby it hath given us the meane to imagine and conceive in our minde that good? for if without the said good, it is not possible to conceive and imagine the indifferenc respective to that which is not good; much lesse the intelligence of good things yeeldeth any cogitation unto them, who had not before some prenotion of the good. But like as there is no cogitation, of the art of things which be holstone or breeding sicknesse in them who had not a pre-cogitation before of those things: even so it is impossible for them to conceive the science of good and evil things; who had no fore-conceit what were good and what were evil? What then is good? nothing but prudence; and what is prudence, nothing but science: and so according to that old common proverb * *Δις Κεκοβησεν*, * A by-word which north the paralogism or fault in arguing, called *Præsuppositio*, like as doth the turning also of the pestill round within the mortar.

They hold that the very substance of good, is the reasonable and considerate election of that which is according to nature; now this election is not considerate which is directed to some

Zzzz a end,

end, as is before said : And what is this ? Nothing else say they, but to discourse with reason in the elections of those things which be according to nature. First and formost then, the conception of the foveraign good, is perished and cleane gone ; for this considerate discoursing in elections, is an operation depending of the habitude of good discourse ; and therefore being compelled to conceive this habitude from the end, and the end not without it, we come short of the intelligence of the both. And againe, that which yet is more, by all the reason in the world, it must needs be that the said reasonable and considerate election, was the election of things good, profitable, and cooperant to the attaining of the end. For to chuse such things, which be neither expedient, nor honourable, nor yet any way eligible ; how can it stand with reason : for suppose it were as they say ; that the end were a reasonable election of things which have some dignity and worthinesse, making unto felicitie. See I beseech you how their discourse and disputation ariseth unto a tttion point and goodly conclusion in the end : For the end (say they) is the good discourse, in making choise of those things which have dignity, making unto happinesse. Now when you heare these words, thinke you not my good friend, that this is a very strange and extravagant opinion ?

LAMPRIAS.

Yes verily ; but I would willingly know, how this hapneth ?

DIADUMENUS.

Then must you lay your care close, and harken with great attention, for it is not for every one to conceive this enigmatical riddle : But heare you sir, and make me answer : Is not the 20 end by their saying, the good discourse in elections according to nature ?

DIADUMENUS.

That is their saying.

LAMPRIAS.

And these things which be according to nature, they chuse (doe they not) as good, or having some dignities and preferences inducing to the end, or to some other thing else.

DIADUMENUS.

I thinke not so : but surely, to the end.

LAMPRIAS.

Having discovered thus much already, see now to what point they are come, namely, that 30 their end is to discourse well of felicity.

DIADUMENUS.

They say directly, that they neither have nor conceive any other thing of felicity, but this precious rectitude of discourse touching the elections of things that are of worth. Howbeit some there be who say that all this refutation is directed against *Antipater* alone, and not the whole sect of the Stoicks, who perceiving himselfe to be urged & hardly pressed by *Carnaeas*, fell into these vanities and foolish shifts for his evasion.

Moreover, as touching that which is discoursed and taught in the Stoicks schoole, Of Love, ven against common notions, it concerneth all the Suppotts in generall of that sect, who have every one of them their hand in the absurdity thereof : for they avouch that yong youths, are 40 foule and deformed, if they be vicious and foolish : but the wife onely are beautifull ; and yet of these that are thus faire and beautifull, there was never any one yet either beloved, or lovely and amiable. And yet this is not so absurd ; but they say moreover, that such as are in love with those who be foule, cease to love them when they are become faire. And who hath ever sene or knowne such a kinde of love which should kinde and shew it selfe presently upon the discovery of the bodys deformity and the foules vice : and incontinently, be quenched and vanish away after the knowledge of passing beauty, together with justice and temperance ? And verily such I suppose doe properly resemble these gnats, which love to settle upon vinegar, soure wine or the some thereof : but the good and pleasant potable wine they care not for, but flee from it. As for that emphaticall apparence of beauty (for that is the terme they give it) which they say is the al- 50 luring & attractive bait of love : first and formost it carrieth no probability with it nor likelihood of reason. For in those who are most foule and wicked in the highest degreethere can be no such emphaticall apparence of that beauty : in case it be so as they say that the leawdnesse of maners heweth in the face and infecteth the visage : for there be some of them who expound this strange position as strangely, saying that a foule person is worthy to be loved, because there is some hope and expectance that one day he will become faire : many when he hath gotten this beauty once, and is withall become good and honest, then he is beloved of no man. For love 51

say they, is a certaine hunting as it were after a yong body, as yet rude and imperfect, howbeit framed by nature unto vertue.

LAMPRIAS.

And what other thing do we now, my good friend, but refute the errors of their sect, who do this force, pervert and destroy all our common conceptions with their actions which be senselesse, and their words and termes as unuisall and strange ? For there was no person to hinder this love of wife men toward yong folke if affection were away : although all men and women to, both thinke and imagin love to be such a passion, as the woers of *Penelope* in *Homer* seeme to acknowledge,

Whose heat of love was such that in their hart

They wisht in bed to lie with her apart.

Like as *Jupiter* also said to *Juno* in another place of the said poet :

Come let us now to bed both goe, and there with sweet delight

Solace our selves : for never erst before remember I

That any love to women sure no nor to Goddesse bright

Thus tam'd my hart, or priz'd me so, with them to company.

DIADUMENUS.

Thus you see how they expell and drive morall philosophy into such matters as these,

So irritate and tortuous,

So winding quite throughout

That nothing found is therein found,

But all turns round about.

And yet they deprave vilipend, disgrace and flout all others, as if they were the men alone who restored nature and custome into their integrity as it ought to be, infutited their speech accordingly : But nature of it selfe doth divert and induce, by appetitions, pursuits inclinations and impulsions, ech thing to that which is proper and fit for it. And as for the custome of Logicke being so wrangling and contentious as it is, it receiveth no good at all nor profit : like as the eare diseased by vaine sounds is filled with thickenesse and hardnesse of hearing. Of which if you thinke so good we will begin anew and discourse else were another time : but now for this 30 present let us take in hand to run over their naturall philosophy, which no lesse troubleth and confoundeth common anticipations and conceptions in the maine principles and most important points, than their morall doctrine as touching the ends of all things. First and formost this is apparently absurd and against all common sense, to say, that a thing is, & yet hath no being nor essence : and the things which are not, yet have a being : which though it be most absurd, they affirme even of the universall world : for putting downe this supposition that there is round about the said world a certaine infinit voidnesse, they affirme that the universall world is neither body nor bodilessse : whereupon ensueth that the world is, and yet hath no existence. For they call bodies onely, existent : for as much as it is the property of a thing existent, to doe and suffer somewhat : And seeing this universall nature hath no existence ; therefore it shall nei- 40 ther doe nor suffer ought : neither shall it be in any place, for that which occupieth place is a bodie, but that universall thing is not a body. Moreover that which occupieth one and the same place is said to remaine and rest : and therefore the said universall nature doth not remaine, for that it occupieth no place : and that which more is, it mooveth not at all, first because that which mooveth ought to be in a place and roome certaine : Again, because whatsoever mooveth, either mooveth it selfe, or else is mooved by another : now that which mooveth it selfe, hath certaine inclinations either of lightnesse or ponderosity : which ponderosity and lightnesse, be either certaine habitudes, or faculties & powers, or else differences of ech body : but that universality, is no body : whereupon it must of necessity follow that the same is neither light nor heavy, and so by good consequence hath in it no principle or beginning of motion ; neither shall it 50 be mooved of another, for without & beyond it there is nothing : so that they must be forced to say, as they doe indeed, that the said universall nature doth neither rest nor move. In sum, for that according to their opinion, we must not say in any case that it is a body, and yet the heaven, the earth, the living creatures, plants, men and stones be bodies : that which is no body it selfe shall by these reckonings have parts thereof, which are bodies and that which is not ponderous, shall have parts weightie, and that which is not light, shall have parts light : which is as much against common sense and conceptions, as dreames are not more ; considering that there is nothing so evident and agreeable to common sense than this distinction, If any thing be not a-

Zzzz 3

nimate,

minate, the same is inanimate : and againe, if a thing be not inanimate, the same is animate. And yet this manifest evidence they subvert and overthrow, affirming thus as they do, that this universall frame is neither animate nor inanimate. Over and besides, no man thinketh or imagineth that the same is imperfect, considering that there is no part thereof wanting : and yet they holde it to be imperfect : For (say they) that which is perfect, is infinite and determinate ; but the whole and universall world, for the infiniteness thereof is indefinite. So by their saying, some thing there is, that is neither perfect nor imperfect. Moreover, neither is the said universall frame a part, because there is nothing greater than it ; nor yet the whole : for that which is whole, must be affirmed likewise to be digested and in order ; whereas being as it is, infinite, it is indeterminate and out of order. Furthermore, *The other*, is not the cause of the universall world, for that there is no other beside it ; neither is it the cause of *The other*, nor of it selfe, for that it is not made to do any thing : and we take a cause to be that which worketh an effect. Now for ease we should demand of all the men in the world, what they imagine *Nothing* to be, and what conceit they have of it, would they not say (think you) that it is that which is neither a cause it selfe, nor hath any cause of it ; which is neither a part, nor yet the whole ; neither perfect nor imperfect ; neither having a soule, nor yet without a soule ; neither moving nor still & quiet, nor subsisting ; and neither body nor without body ? For what is all this, but *Nothing* ? yet, what all others do ascribe and verifie of *Nothing*, the same doe they alone of the universall world : so that it seemeth they make *All* and *Nothing*, both one. Thus they must be driven to say, that Time is nothing, neither Pradicable, nor Proposition, nor Connexion, nor Composition, which be termes of Logicke, that they use, no Philosophers so much ; and yet they say, that they have no existence nor being. But (that which more is) they holde that Truth, although it be, yet it hath no being nor subsistence, but is comprehended onely by intelligence, is perceptible and beleaved, although it have no iote of essence. How can this be fald and faved, but that it must surpass the most monstrous absurdity that is ? But because it may not be thought that all this smelleth overmuch of the quirks and difficulties in Logicke, let us treat of those which are more proper unto Naturall philosophie. Forasmuch therefore, as

Jupiter is the first, the midst, the last, even all in all,

By him all things begin, proceed, and have their finishall.

they themselves give out, they of all men especially ought to have reformed, rectified redressed and reduced to the best order, the common conceptions of men as touching the Gods, if haply there had crept into them any error and perplexed doubt ; or if not so, yet at leastwise, to have let every man alone, and left them to the opinion which the lawes and customes of the countreys wherein they were borne, prescribed unto them as touching religion and divinitie.

For neither now nor yesterday

These deepe conceits of God began,

Time out of minde, they have beene ay,

But no man knows, where, how, nor when.

But these Stoicks having begunne even from the domestick goddesse *Prosa* (as the proverbe saith) to alter and change the opinion established and received in every countrey, touching religion and the belief of God, they have not left so much as one conceit or cogitation that way sound, sincere and incorrupted. For where is or ever was the man, besides themselves, who doth not conceive in his minde, that God is immortall and eternall ? what is more generally acknowledged in our common conceptions as touching the Gods, or what is pronounced with more assent and accord than such sentences as these ?

And there the Gods do alwayes joy

In heavenly blisse, wit how amey.

Allo,

In heaven the Gods immortall ever be :

On earth below, poore mortall men walke we.

Again,

Exempt from all disease and crasse age,

The Gods do live in joy, and paine feele none :

They feare no death, nor dread the darke passage

Over the Frith of roaring Acheron.

There may peradventure be found some barbarous and savage nations, who thinke of no God at all ; but never was there man having a conception and imagination of God, who esteemed him

him not withall to be immortall and everlasting. For even these vile wretches called *Atheists*, thinke is to say, *Atheists*, such as *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, and *Hippas*, godlesse though they were, would never findo in their hearts to say and pronounce, That God was corruptible : Onely, they could not beleave and be persuaded in their minde, that there was any thing in the world not subject to corruption. Thus howsoever they admitted not a subsistence of immortality & incorruptibility, yet retained they the common anticipation of the Gods : but *Chrysippus* & *Cleanthes*, having made the heaven, the earth, the aire and sea to ring againe, as a man would say, with their words, and filled the whole world with their writings of the Gods, yet of so many Gods ; they make not one immortall, but *Jupiter* onely ; and in him they spend and consume all the rest : so that this propertie in him, to resolve and kill others, is never a jote better, than to be resolved and destroyed himselfe. For as it is a kinde of infirmittie, by being changed into another for to die ; so it is no lesse imbecillitie to be maintained and nourished by the resolution of others into it selfe. And this is not like to many other absurdities collected and gathered by consequence out of their fundamentall suppositions, or inferred upon other assertions of theirs ; but even they themselves crie out with open mouth exprelly in all their writings, of the gods, of providence, of destiny and nature, that all the gods had a beginning of their essence, and shall perish and have an end by fire, melted and resolved, as if they were made of waxe or tinne. So that to say that a man is immortall, and that God is mortall, is all one, and the one as absurd and against common sense as the other : nay rather I cannot fee what difference there will be betweene a man and God, in case God be defined, a reasonable animal, and corruptible : for if they oppose and come in with this their fine and subtile distinction, that man indeed is mortall, but God not mortall, yet subject to corruption ; make what an inconvenience doth follow and depend thereupon : for of necessity they must say, either that God is immortall and corruptible withall ; or else neither mortall nor immortall : then which a man can not (if he would of purpose study for it) devise a more strange and monstrous absurdity. I speake this by other ; for that these men must be allowed to say any thing, neither have there escaped their tongues and pens, the most extravagant opinions in the world.

Moreover *Cleanthes* minding still to fortifie and confirme that burning and conflagration of his, saith : That the sunne will make like unto himselfe, the moone with all other starres, and turne them into him. But that which of all others is most monstrous, the moone and other starres, being forsooth gods, worke together with the sunne, unto their owne destruction ; and conferre somewhat to their owne inflammation. Now surely this were a very mockerie ; and ridiculous thing for us to powre out our praies and oracions unto them for our owne safety ; and to repute them the favours of men, if it be kinde and naturall for them to make haste unto their owne corruption and dissolution. And yet these men cease not by all the meanes they can to insult over *Epicurus*, crying, Fie, fie for shame, & redoubling, Our upon him ; for that by denying the divine providence, he troubled & confounded the general pronoition alid conception in our minds of the gods ; for that they are held and reputed by all men, not onely immortall and happy, but also humane and benigne, having a carefull eie, and due regard to the good and welfare of men, as in truth they have. Now if they who take away the providence of God, doe withall abolish the common pronoition of men as touching God ; what doe they then, who avouch that the gods indeed have care of us ; but yet are helpfull to us in nothing, neither give they us any good things, but such onely as be indifferent ; not ending us with vertue, but bestowing upon us riches, health, procreation of children, and such like, of which there is not one profitable, expedient, eligible or available. Is it not certaine that these owe throw the common conceptions that are of the gods ? neither rest they heere, but fall to flouting, frumping, and scoffing, whilst they give out that there is one god, surnamed *Enkaimenos*, that is to say, the superintendent over the fruits of the earth ; another *Joventos*, that is to say, the patron of generation ; another *Terminus*, that is to say, the protector of plants ; another *Mercurius*, that is to say, the president of physicke and divination ; meane while neither is health simply good, nor generation, neyther fertilitye of the ground and abundance of fruits, but indifferent, yea and unprofitable to those who have them.

The third point of the common conception of the gods is, that they differ in nothing so much from men, as in felicity and vertue : but according to *Chrysippus*, they are in this respect nothing superior to men : for he holdeth, that for vertue *Jupiter* is no better than *Dion* ; also that *Jupiter* & *Dion* being both of them wise, doe equally and reciprocally helpe one another : for this is the good that the gods doe unto men, and men likewise unto the gods, namely, when they proove

wise

wife and prudent, and not otherwise. So that if a man be no lesse vertuous, he is not lesse happy; inasmuch as he is equall unto *Jupiter* the faviour in felicitie, though otherwise unfortunate, and who for grievous maladies and dolorous dismembing of his body, is forced to make himselfe away, and leave his life, provided alwaies that he be a wise man. Howbeit, such an one there neither is nor ever hath bene living upon the earth: whereas contrariwise infinit thousands and millions there are and have bene of miserable men and extreme unfortunate under the rule and dominion of *Jupiter*, the government & administration whereof is most excellent. And what can there be more against common sense, than to say, that *Jupiter* governing and dispensing all things passing well, yet we should be exceeding miserable? If therefore (which unlawfull is once to speake) *Jupiter* would no longer be a faviour, nor a deliverer, nor a protectour, and furnished thereupon *Soter*, *Elysium*, and *Alexandros*, but cleane contrary unto these goodly and beautiful denominations, there can not possibly be added any more goodnesse to things that be, either in number or magnitude as they say; whereas all men live in the extremitie of miserie and wickednesse, considering that neither vice can admit no augmentation, nor misery addition: and yet this is not the worst nor greatest absurdity: but mightily angry and offended they are with *Menander* for speaking as he did thus bravely in open theater:

I hold, good things exceeding meane degree,

The greatest cause of humane miserie.

For this (say they) is against the common conception of men; meane while themselves make God, who is good and goodnesse it selfe, to be the author of evils: for matter could not verily 20 produce any evil of it selfe, being as it is without all qualities; and all those differences and varieties which it hath, it received of that which moved and formed it, to wit, reason within, which giveth it a forme and shape, for that it is not made to move and shape it selfe. And therefore it cannot otherwise be, but that evil if it come by nothing, should proceed and have being from that which is not; or if it come by some moving cause, the same must be God. For if they thinke that *Jupiter* hath no power of his owne parts, not useth ech one according to his owne proper reason; they speake against common sense, and doe imagine a certaine animal, whereof many parts are not obedient to his will; but use their owne private actions and operations, whereunto the whole, never gave incitation, nor began in them any motion. For among those creatures which have life and soule, there is none foill framed and composed, as that against the 30 will thereof, either the feet should goe forward, or the tongue speake, or the horne push and strike, or the teeth bite; whereof God of necessity must endure & abide the most part, if against his will, evil men being parts of himselfe doe lie, doe circumvent and beguile others, commit burglary, breake open houses, to rob their neighbors, or kill one another. And if according as *Chrysippus* saith, it is not possible that the least part should behave it selfe otherwise than it pleaseth *Jupiter*, and that every living thing doeth rest, stay, and move, according as he leadeth, manageth, turneth, staith and disposeth it:

*Now well I wot, this voice of his,
Sounds worse and more mischeivous is.*

For more tolerable it were by a great deale to say, that ten thousand parts, through the impotence and feebleness of *Jupiter*, committed many absurdities perforce even against his nature and will, than to avouch that there is no intemperance, no deceit and wickednesse, whereof *Jupiter* is not the cause

Moreover seeing that the world by their saying is a city, and the Sarres citizens: if it be so, there must be also tribes and magistracies: yea and plaine it is, that the Sunne must be a Senator, yea & the evening starre, some provost, major or governor of the city. And I wot not well whether he who taketh in hand to confute such things, can brooch and set abroad other greater absurdities in naturall matters than those doe, who deliver and pronounce these doctrines. Is not this a position against common sense to asseme, that the seed should be greater and more than that which is engendered of it? For we see verily that nature in all living creatures, and 50 plants even those that be of a wilde and savage kinde, taketh very small and slender matters, such as hardly can be seene, for the beginning & the generation of most great and huge bodies. For not onely of a graine or come of wheat it produceth a stalk with an eare, and of a little grape stone it bringeth forth a vine tree, but also of a pepin, kernill, akorne or berry escaped and fallen by chance from a bird, as if of some sparkle it kindled and set on fire generation, it sendeth forth the stocke of some bush or thorne or else a tall and mighty body of an oake, a date or pine tree. And hereupon it is that generall seed is called *Stygium*, in Greeke, as one would say

origen,

origen, that is to say, the enfolding and wrapping together of a great masse into a small quantity: also nature taketh the name of *Stygium*, as it were *quoniam*, that is to say, the inflation and deflation of proportions and numbers, which are opened & loosened under it. And againe, the fire which they say is the seed of the world, after that general conflagration, shall change into the owne seed, the world, which from a smaller body and little masse is extended into a great inflation and deflation, yea and moreover occupieth an infinite space of voidnesse which it filleth by his augmentation: but as it is engendered, that huge greatnesse retireth and setleth anon, by reason that the matter is contracted and gathered into it selfe upon the generation. We may heare them dispute, and reade many of their books, and discourses, wherein they argue and crie out aloud against the Academicks, for confounding all things with their *Apokalaksis*, that is to say, indistinguishable identities striving and forcing to make in two natures, one endued with the like quality. And yet what man living is it which he conceiveth and knoweth not as much? or supposeth not the contrary, namely, that it were a mervellous strange thing & a very absurdity, if neither stocke-dove to stocke-dove, bee to bee, wheat-corne to wheat-corne, and as the common proverbe goeth, one figge unto another hath bene at all times like and fensible.

But this in very deed and truth is cleane contrary to all common sense, that these men holde and asseme: how in one substance, there be properly and particularly two qualified, and how the same substance having particularly one qualified, when there cometh another to it, receiveth and keepeth them both, the one as well as the other. For if we admit two, I avouch it may 20 as well have three, fowre, five and as many as one will name, in one and the same substance, I say not in divers parts, but all equally and indifferently, though they were infinit, even in the whole. Now *Chrysippus* saith, that *Jupiter*, as also the world, resembleth a man, and providence the soule: when as then that conflagration of the world shall be, *Jupiter*, who onely of all the gods is immortal, shall retire unto providence, and both twaine shall remaine together in the substance of the skie. But leave we now the gods for this present, and pray we unto them that they would vouchsafe to give unto the Stoicks, a common sense and understanding according to other men, and let us see now what they say as touching the elements. This first and formost standeth not with the received conceit and opinion of the world, that a bodie should be the place of a body, and that one body should enter and pierce through another bodie, considering that nei- 30 ther the one nor the other containeth vacuity: but that which is full entereth into that which is full, and that which hath no distance receiveth into it selfe that which is mingled with it, and that which is full and solid, hath no void distance in it selfe by reason of continuity. And these men verily not thrusting one into one, nor two nor three, nor ten together, but cast all parts of the world cut peece-meale, into one, which they first meet with, even the least that is by sense perceptible: saying moreover that it will containe the greatest that shall come unto it. Thus in a braverie after their old maner in many other things, make of that which convinceth and refelleth them, one of their sentences and resolutions, as they who take for suppositions, those things which be repugnant to common sense. And thus upon this supposall, there must needs ensue many monstrous and prodigious positions when they once confusedly mingle whole bodies with whole: and among those absurd paradoxes this also may goe for one, I that three be 40 fowre. For even that which others bring in & alledge for an example of that which cannot fall into mans imagination, they holde for an undoubted truth: saying, that when one cyath of wine is mingled with two of water, it wanteth not but be equall in the whole, and thus confounding them together, they bring it fo about, that one is made twaine, by the equall mixture of one with two: for that one remaineth, and is spread as much as twaine, making that which is equall to a duple. Now if by the mixture with two, it taketh the measure of two in the defusion, this must needs be the measure together, both of three and of fowre: of three because one is mingled with twaine: and of fowre, for that being mingled with twaine, it hath as much in quantity, as those wherewith it is mingled. This fine device hapneth unto them, because they put bodies within a body, and for that it cannot be imagined how they cause one to containe another. 50 For, of necessity it must be that bodies making a penetration one within another by mixture, that the one should not containe and the other be contained, nor the one receive and the other be received within. For so this should not be a commixion but a contiguity and touching of superficies one close to another, whiles one entrench within forth, and the other encloseth without, when the other parts remaine pure and entire without mixture, and so shall be one of many divers and differing asunder. But it cannot otherwise be as they would have it, that when there is a mixture, the things mingled, should not be mixed one within another: and that one selfe same

same thing being within should not withall be contained : and likewise in receiving, containe another : and possible it is not, that either the one or the other should be : but fall out it will, that the two which be mingled, should pierce one within the other ; neither can so much as one part of the one or the other remaine by it selfe apart, but necessarily they be all full one of another. And hence ariseth that legge of *Aeschylus*, so much talked of in the schooles, which insileth and daunceth upon their monstrous absurdities with much laughter ; for if these mixtions be through the whole, what should hinder, but that if a legge bee cut off, putrified, cast into the sea, and in proceesse of time all diffused ; not onely the fleet of *Antigona* might faile in and thorow it, as said *Aeschylus*, but also the 200. faile of *Xerxes*, yea and the three hundred galleies of the Greeks might give a navall battell within the said legge ? for faile it never will to be extended and spread more and more, nor the lesse cease within the greater, ne yet will that mixture ever come to an end, nor no, the extremitie of it touch where it will end, and so pierce not thorow the whole, but will give over to be mingled : or if it be not mixed thorowout the whole, surely the said legge will not afford roome so much as for the Greekes to give a navall battell in it, but even the same must needs putrifie and be changed. But if a cyath of wine, or no more but one drop, falling into the Aegean or Candior-sea, passe directly into the Ocean, or maine Atlantique-sea, it shall not touch onely the superficiall part of the water lost, but spred throughout, in breadth, depth & length. And verily *Chrysippus* admitteth so much in the very beginning of his first booke as touching Naturall questions, saying that one drop of wine will not faile but be mingled throughout the whole sea. And that we should not marvel so much hereat, he saith moreover, that the said drop by the meanes of mixture, will extend throughout the whole world : which is so absurd and without all appearance of reason, as I cannot devise any thing more. And is not this also against common sense, that in the nature of bodies, there is no supreme, nor first or last, to conclude & determine the magnitude of the body ? but that which is proposed as the subject, runneth on still infinitely without end, so as whatsoever is added, yet somewhat more seemeth may be put thereto ? for we cannot conceive or comprehend one magnitude greater or lesse than another, if it be incident to both parts thus to proceed in infinitum, which is as much as to take away the whole nature of inequality. For of two magnitudes that be understood unequal, the one cometh first thort of the last parts, and the other goeth beyond and surpasseth ; but if there be no inequality of length in them, it followeth that there will be no unevennesse in the upper superficies nor asperitie : for this unevennesse is nothing else, but the inequality of the superficies with it selfe ; but asperitie is an inequality of the superficies with hardnesse. Of which qualities they allow none, who determine no bodie in an extreme or utmost part, but draw out all fill by a multitude of parts infinitely : and yet who knoweth not evidently, that man is compounded of a greater number of parts, than is his finger, and the world more than a man ? for all men know and thinke as much, unlesse they become Stoicks : but proove they once to be Stoicks, they both say and opine the contrarie ; namely, that man is not composed of more parts than is his finger, nor the world of more than is man : for section reduceth bodies into infinitum ; and in things infinite there is neither more nor lesse ; neither is there any multitude that surpasseth ; neither shall the parts of that which is left, cease to be alwaies subdivided still, yea and to furnish out a multitude of themselves. How then do they wind out of these difficulties and untie these knots ? certes, with great flight, verie subtilly and valiantly : for *Chrysippus* saith, that when we be demanded, if we have any parts, and how many there be ? also whether they be compounded of other, and of how many ? we are to sle into this distinction ; supposing and setting downe, that the whole entire bodie, consisteth of head, breast and legges, as if this were all that was demanded and doubted of. But if they should proceed in their interrogatories to the extreme parts : then saith he, no such answer is to be made, but we are to say, neither that they consist of any certaine parts, nor likewise of how many ? neither of infinite nor determinate. But I thinke it were better if I alledged his verie owne words, to the end you may see how he keepeth and observeth the common conceptions, forbidding us as he doth, to thinke, imagine or say, of what parts, and how many each bodie is compounded, and that it consisteth neither of finite or infinite. For if there were a meane betweene finite and infinite, like as there is betweene good and bad, to wit, indifferents, he should pronounce what the same was, and so save the difficultie. But if as that which is not equal, incontinently becometh unequal ; and that which is not corruptible, presently is incorruptible ; so that which is not finite, is immediately infinit, I suppose, that to say, A bodie is composed of parts neither finite or infinite, is all one as to say, that an argument is composed neither

neither of true nor of false propositions, and a number neither of even nor odde. But after all this, vaunting himselfe youthfully, he leteeth not to say, that whereas a pyramis consisteth of triangles, the sides inclining to the commiffure or joint, are unequal, and yet exceed one another, in that they be bigger. Thus you see how trimly he kept and observed common conceptions ; for if there be any thing greater, and yet surpasseth not, there must be also somewhat lesse, and yet the same faileth not, and so there shall be also something unequal, that neither exceedeth nor wanteth, which is as much to say, as it shall be equal and yet unequal, not greater but yet greater, not lesse and yet lesse. See moreover I pray you a little, how he answereth unto *Democritus* disputing and doubting physically and earnestly, if a cone or round pyramis be cut at the base thereof by the plumb or level, what we ought to conceive and judge as touching the superficies of the sections whether they be equal or unequal : for if they be unequal, they will make the said cone or pyramis uneven ; and admitting many deepe rabbotted incisions, and rough asperities in manner of steps and grees : and if they be equal, then the sections also must be equal, and so it will be found that the round pyramis or cone shall have the same befall unto it that a cylindrer hath, namely, to consist of circles equal and not unequal, which were very absurd. Herein, making *Democritus* to be an ignorant person and one who knew not what he said, he cometh in with this, and saith, that the superficies be neither equal nor unequal, but that the bodies be unequal, in that the superficies be neither equal nor unequal. Now to set downe by way of ordinance and to affirme, that allowing the superficies to be unequal, it may fall out, that bodies should not be unequal, were the part of a man who permitte himselfe to have a woonderfull libertie to write and speake whatsoever comes into his head. For both reason and manifest evidence, giveth us to understand quite contrary, namely, that of unequal bodies the superficies also be unequal, and the bigger that a body is, the greater is the superficies, unlesse the excess whereby it surpasseth the smaller, be altogether devoid of a superficies : for if the superficies of greater bodies exceed not those of the lesser, but rather faile before they come to an end, then we must of necessity say, that a part of that bodie which hath an end, is without end, and not determinate : for if hee alledge and say that hee is driven perforce thereunto, lest the inequality of superficies might seeme to make unequal incisions, there is no such cause why hee should feare : for those rabbotted incisions which hee suspecteth in a cone or round Pyramis, it is the inequality of the bodies, and not of the superficies that causeth them. So that it were a ridiculous follie, by taking away the superficies, for to be convinced to leave an inequality and unevennesse of the bodies. But to persist still in this matter, what can there be more contrary to common conception, than to saie and devise such stuffe ? for if we admit that one superficies is neither equal nor unequal to another, wee may consequently affirme, that neither magnitude is equal or unequal, nor number either even or odde ; considering that we can not set downe nor conceive in our minde, any meane betweene unequal and unequal, which is neuter. Moreover, if there were any superficies neither equal nor unequal, what should let but that we may imagine circles also neither equal nor unequal ? for verily these superficies of the sections of cones or round Pyramides, be circles : and if we allow thus much in circles, then we may as well admit so much of the Diameters of circles, namely, that they be neither equal nor unequal. And if this goe for good, of angles likewise and triangles, of Parallelograms, and of superficies parallel or equally distant. For if longitudes be neither equal nor unequal one to another, then shall not weight, nor percussion, nor bodies be equal or unequal. Furthermore, how dare they reprove those who bring in vacuities, and certaine indivisible bodies mainteining combat one against another, supposing that they neither stirre nor stand still ; when as they themselves maintaine that such propositions as these be false ? If any things be not equal one to the other, the same be unequal one to the other : and these things here be not equal one to the other ; neither are they unequal one to the other. But forasmuch as he saith, that there is something greater, which notwithstanding surpasseth not ; it were good reason therefore to doubt and demand, whether the same be agreeable and fitting one to the other ? and if they agree, how then can either of them be the bigger ? Now if it be not sortable, how is it possible that the one should not exceed, and the other come short ? for these things can not hang together, to say, that neither the one nor the other surpasseth : and it agreeth not with the greater : or it agreeth, and yet the one is greater than the other. For of necessity it must follow, that those who receive not nor observe common conceptions, be troubled with such perplexities.

Over and besides, it is against all common sense, to say that no one thing toucheth another :

as also, that bodies touch one another, and yet do in no part touch. Now it must needs be, that they admit this, who allow not the least parts of a body, and so they suppose alwaies something before that which seemeth to touch, and never cease to passe on farther still: which is the thing that they principally object against those, who defend & maintain the indivisible parcels called Atoms; namely, that there is no totall touching, but that it is a mixture, considering that such indivisible bodies have no parts. How is it then, that they themselves fall not into the like inconvenience, seeing they admit no part to be either first or last? for that they say, bodies doe touch one another mutually in the whole by a certaine terme or extremity, and not by a part, and the said terme or point is no body. Then a body shall touch a body, by a thing which is no body: and contrariwise, shall not touch, the incorporall being betweene. And if it touch, it shall do likewise and suffer somewhat, being it selfe a body, by that which is incorporall and no body. For the propertie of bodies, is to do and suffer somewhat mutually, yea, and to touch one another: and if the body have a touching in part by the means of that which is incorporall, it shall likewise have a generall and totall connexion, even a mixtion and incorporation. Again, in these connexions and mixtures, necessarie it is that termes or extremities of bodies, either continue or not continue, but perish: but both the one and the other is against common sense. For even they themselves allow no corruptions and generations of things incorporall: and impossible it is, that there should be a mixtion or totall touching of bodies retaining still their proper termes and extremities. For it is this terme or extremity that determineth and constituteth the nature of a body: and as for mixtions (if there were no approaching nor application of 20 parts to parts) they confound all things wholly which are mixed. And as these men say, we must admit the corruption of extremities in mixtures; and likewise againe, their generations, in the distractions & separations of them. But no man there is able to comprehend this easily: for in regard that bodies touch one another, they also are pressed, thrust and crushed one by the other. And impossible it is, that a thing incorporall should suffer or do thus; neither can we imagine so much: yet would they constrain us to thinke no lesse. For if a sphere or boule touch a flat or plane bodie only by a point, certaine it is; that it may be trained and rolled along the said plane or flat body, by a point. And if the foresaid bodie be painted in the superficies thereof with vermilion, it shall imprint a red line only upon the same plane body; and being yellow, or of a fusc colour, it shall likewise give the same tincture to the superficies of the flat bodie. 30 Now that a thing incorporall should either give or take a colour, is against all common sense. And if we imagine a boule of earth, of Crystall or glasse, to fall from on high upon a smooth bodie of stone, it were against all reason to thinke that it would not breake the same into pieces, namely, when as it shall light upon that which is solide, hard, and able to make resistance: but more unreasonable it were to say, that it were broken by a terme or point that is incorporall: in such manner, as in every sort, their anticipations & common conceptions as touching things incorporall and bodies, must needs be troubled and confounded, or rather utterly abolished, in supposing thus many things impossible.

Against common sense it is to say, that there is a future time, and a time past, but none at all present; as also, that the time which was ere while and not long since, hath a subsistence, whereas 40 that which now is hath no being at all. And yet this is an usual and ordinary matter with these Stoicke philosophers, who admit not the least time that is betweene, and will not allow the present to be indivisible; but of all that which a man doeth thinke and imagine as present, they affirme the one part to be of that which is already past, and the other of the future; in so much as there remaineth and is left in the mids no piece at all of the time present; in case of that which is said to be the very instant, part is attributed unto things past, and part to things to come; whereupon of necessitie one of these twaine must follow, that either in admitting the sense, It was; or It shalbe; the sense It is, must wholly be abolished, or in admitting the present time, It is, one part thereof is past, and the other to come: as also to say, that of that which is, part is yet future, and part already past: likewise of that which now is present, one parcel is before, and 50 another behinde; in such sort as present, is that which yet is not present, and not present any more; for that is not present any longer, which is already past; nor present at all, which is yet to come: And thus in dividing the present, they must also needs say, that of the yeere and of the light, part was of the yeere past, and part of the yeere to come; likewise of that which is together and at once, there is some before, and some after: For no lesse troubled are they, in huddling and confounding after a strange manner these termes, Not yet, Already, No more, Now & not now, as if they were all one; whereas other men doe conceive and thinke, that these termes, Ere while,

while, or not long since, & a while after or anon, are different parts from the present time, setting the one before, & the other after the said present. And among these, *Archidamus* who affirmeth that the present Now, is a certaine beginning, joint or commixture of that which is already past and neere at hand to come, seeth now how in so saying, he utterly abolisheth all time; for were it true that Now is no time, but only a terme of extremity of time & that every part of time is as it were Now, it would seem then, that this present Now, hath no part at all, but is resolved wholly into ends & extremities, joints, commixtures, & beginnings. As for *Chrysippus* willing to shew himselfe witty & artificial in his divisions, in that treatise which he composed as touching voidnesse, and in other places affirmeth, that the Past and the Future of time subsisteth not, but hath 10 subsisted and that the present only hath being: But in the third, fourth, & fift books of Parts, he avoucheth, that of the instant or present, part is Future, & part Past in such sort as by this means he divideth the substance of time, into those parts of subsistent, which are not subsistent; or to speake more truly, he leaveth no part at all subsistent, if the instant & present hath no part at all, which is not either past or to come: and therefore the conceit that these men have of time, resembleth properly the holding of water in a mans hand, which runneth and sheddeth the more, by how much harder it is pressed together. Come now unto actions and motions, all light and evidence is by them darkned, troubled, and confounded; for necessarily it ensueth, that if the Instant or present is divided into that which is past, and to come, a part of that which now moveth at this instant, should partly be moved already, and in part to remove afterwards; and 20 withall, that the beginning and end of motion should be abolished: also that of no worke there should be any thing first or last, all actions being distributed and dispersed together with time: for like as they say, that of the present, some is past, and some to come: even so of every action in doing, some part is already done, and other resteth to be done. When had then beginning, or when shal have end, To dine, to write, & to go, if every man who dineth, hath dined already, and shall dine; and whosoever goeth, hath gone and shall go? and that which is (as they say) of all absurdities most monstrous, if it be granted, that he who now liveth, hath lived already, & shal live; life had neither beginning, nor ever shal have end; but every one of us as it should seeme by this reckoning, was borne without beginning of life, & shal die without giving over to live: for if there be no extreme part, but ever as one that now liveth shal have somewhat of the pre- 30 sent remaining for the future, it will never be utterly said, *Socrates* shal live, so long as it shal be truly said, *Socrates* liveth; so that as often as it is true, *Socrates* liveth, so often it is false, *Socrates* is dead. And therefore if it be truly said in infinit parts of time, *Socrates* shal live; in no part of time shal it ever be truly said, *Socrates* is dead. And verily what end shal there be of any worke, & where shal any action stay & cease, in case as often as it shal be truly said; a thing is now doing, so often likewise it shal be truly said, It shal be done: for lie he shal who saith, This is the end of *Plato* writing or disputing; for that one day *Plato* shal cease to write or dispute: if at no time it be a lie to say, of him that disputeth, He shal dispute; or of him who writeth, He shal write. Moreover, of that which is done, there is no part, which either is not finished already, or shal be finished, and either is past or to come. Besides, of that which is already done, or of that which 40 shal be done, of that which is past or future, there is no sense. And so in one word, and to speake simply, there is no sense of any thing in the world; for we neither see nor heare that which is past or to come; ne yet have we any sense of things which have bene or which shal be; no not although a thing should be present, is it perceptible & subject to sense, in case that which is present, be partly to come, and in part past already; if I say one part thereof hath bene, and another shal be: and yet they themselves cry out upon *Epicurus*, as if he committed some great indignitie, and did violence to common conceptions, in moving as he doeth all bodies with equall celerity, and admitteth no one thing swifter than another: But farre more intolerable it is, and farther remot from common sense to hold, that no one thing can reach or overtake another:

50 *No nor although Adrastus horse
So swift, a Tortoise slow should course.*

according as we say in our common proverb: which must of necessity fall out, if things move according to Before and Behind; and in case the intervals which they passe through, be divisible into infinit parts, as these men would have them: for if the tortoise be but one furlong before the horse, they who divide the said interval or space betweene into infinit parts, and move both the one and the other according to *Primum* and *Posteriorum*, shal never bring the swiftest close unto the slowest, for that the slower alwaies winneth some space or interval, before that which is

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divisible, into other infinit intervals. And to say, that water which is powred forth out of a cup or boll, shall never be powred all cleane out; how can this chuse but be against common sense? & doeth not this consequently follow upon those things that these men avouch? for never shall a man comprehend or conceive that the motion of things infinitely divisible, according to before, hath fully performed the whole interval, but leaving alwaies some space divisible, it will evermore make all the effusion, all the running forth or shedding of the liquor, all the motion of a solid body; or the fall of a weighty poise, to be imperfect. I let passe many absurdities delivered in their doctrine; and touch those onely, which are directly against common sense.

As for the question touching augmentation, it is very ancient: For according as *Chrysippus* saith; it was by *Epicharmus* put forth. And for that the Academicks thought it to be not very easie and ready all of a sudden to be cleared; these men come with open mouth against them, accusing them for overthrowing all anticipations, whereas they themselves keepe not at all the common conceptions: and that which more is, pervert the very senses. For whereas the question is plaine and simple; these men grant and allow such suppositions as these, that all particular substances flow and runne, partly by yielding and sending forth somewhat out of themselves, and in part by receiving other things from without; and that by reason of the number and multitude of that which comes in, or goes out, things continue not one and the same, but become altered and divers by the foresaid additions and detraction, so as their substance receiveth a change. Also that contrary to all right and reason, custome hath so farre prevailed, that such mutations be called augmentations and diminutions: whereas rather they ought to be termed generations, and corruptions, for that they force an alteration of one present state and being, into another; but to grow and diminish are passions and accidents of a body, and subject that is permanent. Which reasons and assertions being after a sort thus delivered in their schooles, what is it that these defenders of Perspicuity and Evidence, these canonical reformers (I say) of common notions would have? namely, that every one of us should be double like twines, or of a two-fold nature: not as the poets feigned the Molionides, to be in some parts conjunct and united, and in other severed and disjoined, but two bodies, having the same colour, the same shape, the same weight and place: a thing that no man ever saw before: may these Philosophers onely have perceived this duplicity, this composition and ambiguity; whereby every one of us are two subjects, the one being substance, the other the one of them runneth and floweth continually, and yet without augmentation and diminution, or remaining in the same state such as it is; the other continueth still, and yet groweth and decreaseth, and yet suffreth all things quite contrary to the other, wherewith it is incorporate, united, and knit, leaving to the exterior sense no shew of distinct difference. And yet verily it is said of that *Lyncæus*, how in old time hee had so quicke and piercing an eyesight, that he was able to see through stocks and stones. And one there was by report, who sitting in *Sicily*, could from a watch-tower sensibly discern the shippes sailing out of the haven of *Carthage*, which was distant a day & a nights sailing with a good forewind. And as for *Calliotes* and *Myrmeides*, they have the name to have made chaviors so final, as that the wings of a fly might cover them: yea & in a millet graine or fefam seed to have engraven *Homers* verses. But surely this perpetuall fluxion & diversity in us, there was never any yet that could divide & distinguish: neither could we our selves ever find that we were double, & that partly we ranne out continually, and in part againe remained alwaies one and the same, even from our nativity to our end. But I am about to deale with them more simply and plainly; for whereas they devise in every one of us four subjects, or to speake more directly, make ech of us to be foure, it shall suffice to take but two, for to shew their absurditie. When we doe heare *Pemheus* in a tragedy saying, that he seeth two Sunnes, and two cities of *Thebes*, we deeme of him, that he seeth not two, but that his eyes doe dazzell and looke amiss, having his discourse troubled, and understanding cleane transported. And even these persons, who suppose and set downe, not one city alone, but all men, all beasts, all trees, plants, tooles, vessels, utensils, and garments, to be double, and composed of two natures; reject wee not and bid farewell, as men who would force us not to understand any thing aright, but to take every thing wrong? Howbeit, happily hereein they might be pardoned and winked at, for feining and devising other natures of subjects, because they have no meanes else, for all the paines they take, to maintaine and preserve their augmentations: But in the foule, what they should aile, what their meaning might be, and upon what grounds and suppositions, they devised to frame other different sorts and formes of bodies, and those in maner innumerable, who is able to say? or what may be the cause, unlesse they

they ment to displace, or rather to abolish and destroy altogether the common and familiar conceptions, inbred in us, for to bring in and set up new fangles, and other strange and foren novelties? For this is woonderfull extravagant and absurd, for to make bodies of vertues and vices, and besides of sciences, arts, memories, fancies, apprehensions, passions, inclinations and assents: and to affirme that these neither lie, nor have any place subsisting in any subject, but to leave them one little hole like a pricke within the heart, wherein they range and draw in, the principall part of the foule, and the discourse of reason, being choked up as it were with such a number of bodies; that even they are not able to count a great fort of them, who seeme to know best how to distinguish and discern one from another. But to make these not onely bodies, but also living creatures, and those endued with reason, to make (I say) a swarme of them, & the same not gentle, mild, & tame, but a turbulent fort & rable by their malicious shrewdnesse, opposit & repugnant to al evidence, & usual custome, what waneeth this of absurdity in the highest degree: And these men verily do hold that not onely vertues & vices be animall and living creatures, nor passions alone, as anger, wrath, envy, grieffe, sorrow & malice, nor apprehensions onely, fantasies, imaginations, and ignorances, nor arts and mysteries, as the shoemakers & smiths craft: but also over and besides al these things, they make the very operations and actions themselves to be bodies, yea and living creatures: they would have walking to be an animall dancing likewise, (singing, saluting; and reprochfull railing: and so consequently they make laughing & weeping to be animall: And in granting these, they admit also, coughing, sneezing and groaning, yea and withall, spitting, reaching, smiting and snuffing of the nose and such like actions, which are as evident as the rest. And let them not thinke much and take it grievously, if they be driven to this point by way of particular reasoning, calling to minde *Chrysippus*, who in his third booke of Naturall questions saith thus: What say you of the night, is it not a body: evening, morning, midnight, are they not bodies? Is not the day a body? The new moone is it not a body? the tenth, the fifteenth, the thirtieth day of the moone, the moneth it selfe, Summer, Autumne, and the whole yeere, be they not bodies? Certes all these things by me named they hold with tooth and naile, even against common prenotions: But as for these hereafter, they maintaine contrary to their owne proper conceptions, when as they would produce the hottest thing that is by refrigeration, and that which is most subtil by inspissation. For the foule is a substance most hot and consisting of most subtil parts: which they would make by the refrigeration and condensation of the body, which as it were by a certaine perfusion and tincture hardeneth & altereth the spirit, from being vegetative to be animate. They say also that the Sun is become animate, by reason of the moisture turned into an intellectuall and spirituall fire. See how they imagin the Sun to be engendered and produced by refrigeration? *Xenophanes*, when one came upon a time and tolde him that he had seene *Eeles* to live in hot scalding water, Why doe we not seee them then (quoth he) in colde water? If therefore they will cause heat by refrigeration, and lightnesse by attriction and condensation: it followeth on the other side againe, by good consequence, that by keeping a certaine proportion and correspondencie in absurdity, they make heat by colde, thickning by dissolving, and weighty things by rarefaction. As for the very substance and generation of common conception and sense, doe they not determine it even against common sense it selfe? For conception is a certaine phantasie or apprehension: and this apprehension is an impression in the foule. The nature of the foule is an exhalation, which by reason of the raritie thereof can hardly receive an impression: and say that it did receive any, yet impossible it were to keepe and retaine it. For the nutriment and generation of it consisting of moist things, holdeth a continuall course of successeion and consumption. The commerce also and mixture of respiration with the aire, engendreth continually some new exhalation turning and changing by the flux of aire coming in and going forth reciprocally. For a man may imagin rather that a river of running water keepeth the formes, figures & images imprinted therein, than a spirit caried in vapours & humors, to be mingled with another spirit or breath from without continually, as if it were idle and strange unto it. But so much forget they or misunderstand themselves, that having defined comon conceptions to be certaine intelligences laid up apart: memories to be firme permanent, & habituall impressions having fixed sciences likewise, every way fast and sure, yet within a while after they set under al this a foundation and base, of a certaine slippery substance, easie to be dissipated, caried continually, and ever going and coming to and fro. Moreover this notion and conception of an element and principle, all men have imprinted in their minde, that it is pure, simple, not mingled nor com-

posed: for, that which is mixed, cannot be an element nor a principle, but rather that, whereof it is mixed and composed.

Howbeit these men devising God the principle of all things to be a spirituall bodie, and a minde or intelligence seated in matter, make him neither pure nor simple, nor uncompound, but affirme that he is composed of another and by another. As for matter, being of it selfe without reason and void of all quality, it carrieth with it simplicity, and the very naturall proprietie of a principle: and God, if it be true, that he is not without body and matter, doth participate of a principle: and God, if it be true, that he is not without body and matter, doth God consist well to define matter for to be reasonlesse: but if they be things different, then doth God consist of both twaine, and not of a simple essence, but compounded, as having taken to his intellectuall substance a bodily nature out of matter. Furthermore, considering they call these fower primitive bodies, to wit, earth, water, aire and fire, the first elements, I can not see how they should make some of them simple, and others mixed or compound: for they hold, that the earth and water cannot containe either themselves or any other, and that it is the participation of spirit and fellowship of fire, whereupon dependeth the preservation of their unity: as for the aire and fire by their owne power they fortifie themselves, which being wedded with the other two, give them their force vigor and finitude of substance. How is it then, that either earth is an element or the water, seeing neither of them both is simple, first, or sufficient to keep and preserve it selfe, but having need of another without to containe them alwaies in their being and to save them? for they have not left so much as any thought that they be a substance. But surely this reason of theirs as touching the earth, that it consisteth of it selfe, containeth much confusion and great uncertainty, for if the earth be of it selfe, how cometh it to passe that it hath need of the aire, to binde and containe it? for it is no more earth of it selfe, nor waters but the aire hath by thickning & hardning matter, made thereof the earth: and contrariwise by dissolving and mollifying it, hath created the water: and therefore we may inferre thus much, that neither of these is an element, seeing that some other thing hath given them their essence and generation. Over and besides, they affirme, that substance and matter are subject to qualities, and so in manner doe yeeld their limit and definition: and then on the other side, they make the said qualities to be bodies; wherein there is a great confusion: for if qualities have a certaine proper substance, whereby they are termed and be really bodies indeed, they require no other substance, for that they have one of their owne: but if they have this onely under them which is common, and which they call essence or matter, certaine it is, that they doe but participate of the bodie; for bodies they are not. For that which is in the nature of the subject and doeth receive, must of necessitie differ from those things which it receiveth, and whereof it is the subject. But these men see by the halfe; for they terme the matter *divisor*, that is to say, void of matter. And yet how is it possible, but they will not name the qualities *divisor*, that is to say, void of matter. And yet how is it possible to make a body without quality, but wee must imagine a quality without a bodie? for that reason, which completh a body with all manner of qualities, permitte not the thought to comprehend any body without some qualitie. Either therefore he that fighteth against a bodiless qualitie, seemeth to resist likewise a matter void of qualitie; or if he separate the one from the other, hee parteth and divideth them both asunder. And as for that reason which some of them seeme to pretend, as touching a substance which they name *divisor*, not because it is void of all qualitie, but because it is capable forsooth of every qualitie; it is contrary to common notion, and nothing so much. For no man taketh or imagineth that to be *divisor*, that is to say, unqualified, which is participant of all qualities and suffer every passion; nor immovable, that which is apt to receive and suffer every passion; nor immovable, that which is moovable every way. And as for this doubt, it is not solved, that howsoever we alwaies understand matter with some quality, yet we conceive withall, that matter and qualitie be different one from the other.

AGAINST

AGAINST COLOTES, THE EPICUREAN.

The Summarie.

WE have in many places before, but principally in two severall Treatises of the former tome, perceived how Plutarch is quite contrary unto the Epicureans, and namely, in one of those Treatises he dealeth with a certaine booke (which he now expressly refuteth) where Colotes endeavoured to prove, that a man can not possibly live well, according to the opinions of other Philosophers, Plutarch sheweth on the contrary side, that impossible it is to lead a joyfull life after the doctrine of Epicurus, and that it is accompanied with overweening, impudency and slanderous calumny. And not contenting himselfe thus to have confuted them of purpose once or twice, he setteth upon them in this discourse, and particularly he copeth with Colotes, whose slouch, slishness and impietie he here describeth. The summe of all which declamation, is this, That these Epicureans are not any way worthy the name of Philosophers: who contrariwise tread and trample under foot all the parts of true Philosophie, discovering in their writings as well as thoroughout all their lives, meere beastly brutallitie. But all that is delivered in this Treatise may be reduced well to two principall points: The one containeth a defence or excuse of the doctrine taught by Democritus, Empedocles, Parmenides, Socrates, and other ancient Philosophers, slandered by Colotes, who extolleth farre above them, the traditions and precepts of his master. The other discovereth divers absurdities and strange opinions of the Epicureans, even by their owne testimonies: whom Plutarch refelleth soundly, handling in this disputation many articles of Philosophie, Natural, Morall and Supernatural: and particularly of the Senses, of Nature, of the Atomes, of the Univerfall world, of the Knowledge of man, of the Opinion of the Academicks, of the Apprehensions, faculties, passions and affections of the soule: of the certaintie of things sensible, of the falsitie and truth of imaginations, of the use of Lawes, of the profit of Philosophie, of the soveraigne good, of religion, and of other such matters, the principles whereof the Epicureans abolished, bringing in paradoxes wondrously strange, for to shuffle things confusedly, and make all uncerteine. All which I marke particularly in the frame and course of the authors owne words, and therefore needlesse it is to specifye thereof any more, because I would avoid tautologies & unnecessary repetitions. True it is, that in certaine refusations Plutarch is not so firme as were to be desired: but that may be imputed to his ignorance of the true God. As for the rest, it may suffice & serve, to know the misery & wretchednes of the Epicureans; and that other Philosophers had many good parts, and delivered many beautifull speeches, whereof all vertuous persons may reape and gather great fruit in applying and referring the same to their right use. And for to close up all, he maketh a comparison betwene true Philosophers and the Epicureans, proving in very many places, that Colotes and his fellows like him selfe, are people not onely unprofitable, but also most pernicious, and so by consequence unworthy to live in the world.

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AGAINST

AGAINST COLOTES THE Epicurean.



Colotes, whom *Epicurus* was wont (*de Saturnium*) to call by way of flattering diminution, *Colataras* and *Colatarius*, composed and put forth a little booke, which he entituled, That there could be no life at all according to the opinions of other Philosophers: and dedicated the said booke unto king *Ptolemæus*. Now what came into my minde to speake against this *Colotes*, I suppose you would take pleasure to reade the same in writing; being as you are, a man who loveth elegancie and all honest things, especially such as concerne the knowledge of antiquity; & besides, esteemeth it the most prince like exercise and roiall study, to beare in minde and have alwaies in

hand, as much as possibly may be the discourses of ancient Sages. Whereas therefore of late this booke was in reading, one of our familiar friends, one whom you know well enough; *Aristodemus* by name, an Aegian borne, a man exceeding passionate, and of all the *Academicks* a most frantick sectary of *Plato*, although hee carie not the *ferula* like unto the madde supposits of *Plato*, I wot not how contrary to his usuall manner, was very patient and silent zo all the while, giving care most civilly even to the very end. But so soone as the lecture was done: Goe to now my masters (quoth he) whom were we best to cause for to arise and fight with this fellow in the quarrell and defence of Philosophers? For I am not of *Academy* minde, neither doe I greatly praise him, for that when there was to be chosen the most valiant warrior of those nine hardy knights who were presented, to enter into combat with *Hector* hand to hand, committed the election unto fortune, and put all to the lot: But you see also (quoth I) that even he referred himselfe to be ordered by the lot, to the end that the choise might passe according to the dispose and ordinance of the wisest man:

*The lot out of the helmet then did fall,
Of Ajax, whom themselves might most of all.
And yet if you command me to make election,
How can I ever put out of mind,
Divine Iulyses, a prince so kind?*

Consider therefore and be well advised how you may be able to refell this man. Then *Aristodemus*: But you know full well (quoth he) what *Plato* sometime did, who being offended with his boy that waited upon him, would not himselfe twindge him, but caused *Speusippus* to doe so much for him, saying withall, That he was in a fit of choler. And even so, I say as much to you, Take the man to you I pray, and entreat him at your pleasure; for my selfe am very angry with him. Now when all the rest of the company were instant with me, and praised me to take this charge in hand: Well I see (quoth I) that I must speake, seeing you will needs have it so: but I am afraid lest I may seeme my selfe to be more earnestly bent against this booke than I deserve, in the defence and maintenance of *Socrates*, against the incivility, rudenesse, curiulity, and insolence of this man, who presenteth (as one would say) unto him say, as if he were a beaſt, and demandeth how he may put meat into his mouth, and not into his care: whereas haply the best way were to laugh onely at him for such railing, especially considering the mildnesse and gentle grace of *Socrates* in such cases. Howbeit in regard of the whole host beside of other Greeke Philosophers, namely, *Democritus*, *Plato*, *Empedocles*, *Parmenides*, and *Melissus*, who by him are foully reviled, it were not onely a shame to be tongue-tied and keepe silence, but also meere sacrilege and impiety, to reninitany joy, or forbear to speake freely to the utmost in their behalfe, being such as have advanced philosophy to that honour and reputation which it hath. And verily our parents together with the gods have given us our life: but to live well, we suppose and that truly, that it cometh from the philosophers, by the meanes of that doctrine which we have received from them, as cooperative with law and justice, and the very bridle that doth chastise and reſtrain our luſts. Now to live well, is to live ſociably, friendly, temperately, and juſtly: of which good qualities and conditions, they leave us not ſo much as one, who cry out with open mouth, that the ſoveraigne good of man lieth in his belly, and that all the vertues in the world if they were put together, they would prize no better woorth than one crackt

crackt braſen piece of coine, without pleasure, and in case all manner of delights were quite removed from them: Also the annex heere to their discourses, as touching the ſoule & the gods, wherein they hold that the ſoule perſiſteth, when it is once ſeparate from the body: and that the gods meddle not with our affaires: Moreover the Epicureans reproch other Philoſophers, for that by their wiſdome and ſapience, they undoe mans life: and they againe object unto them, that they teach men to live looſely, baſely, and beaſtly. And verily ſuch matters as theſe be mingled in all the writings of *Epicurus*, and ſpread throughout his whole philoſophy. But this *Colotes* ſeemeth having made an extract of certaine words or voices void of matter and ſubſtance, and drawn ſome pictures and broke fragments without reaſons and arguments for to prove and conſirme his doctrynes, or to give light for their underſtanding and credit, hath made his booke in manner of a ſhop full of all ſort of wares; or of a table or ſtall repreſenting ſtrange ſhewes and monſters: wherby you (I ſay) know beſt of all others; for that you have continually in your hands and doe reade the worke of ancient writers. So he ſeemeth unto me that like to the *Hydallan*, he openeth not one gate and no more upon him, but enwrapeth *Epicurus* in very many doubts & difficulties, and theſe of all other, the greateſt: for he begins with *Democritus* who no doubt received at his hands a goodly ſalary and reward for his apprenticeship, being a thing certeinly knowne: that for a long time *Epicurus* called himſelfe a Democritian, like as others alſo doe ſay, and namely *Leontius*, one of the ſcholars and diſciples of *Epicurus*, in the hiſtory ſo farre: who in a letter which he wrote unto *Eutrophus*, ſaith, that *Epicurus* honored *Democritus*, for that he attained before him to the true and found underſtanding of the truth: and that in general the whole treatiſe of naturall things, was called Democritian, becauſe hee light ſtill upon the principles, and met with the primitive fountaines and foundations of nature. And *Metrodorus* ſaid directly and openly of Philoſophy, That if *Democritus* had not led the way, *Epicurus* had never arrived to wiſdome and learning. Now if it be true as this *Colotes* ſaith, That to live according to *Democritus* and other philoſophers opinions, is no life at all, *Epicurus* was a very fool for following *Democritus* as hee did, leading him to that doctrine wherby a man could not live. And firſt hee reprooveth him, for that in ſaying that every thing is no more ſuch than ſuch, he made a conſuſion of mans life. But ſo farre off was *Democritus* from holding the ſaid opinion, namely, that nothing is rather ſuch than ſuch: that hee oppugned *Protagoras* the Sophiſter for ſaying ſo, againſt whom hee wrote many elegant commentaries, full of good arguments concluding the contrary: which our *Colotes* never ſeeing, nor ſo much as dreaming of, was much deceived in the right underſtanding of the mans words, and namely in one place where hee diſtely ſaith and determineth that *to be* is no more than *than to be*: in which place he nameth a body *to be*, and voidneſſe *than to be*: meaning thereby and giving us to underſtand, that voidneſſe had a proper nature and ſubſiſtence of the owne, as well as a body. But he who is of opinion, that nothing is more ſuch than ſuch, followeth one of the decrees & ſentences of *Epicurus*, wherein he delivered, that all apprehenſions and imaginations that come by ſenſe, are true. For if when two men give out and ſay, the one, that the wine is hard: the other, that it is ſweet and pleaſant, neither of them is deceived in his ſenſe but ſpeaketh true, why ſhould the wine be rather harſh than ſweet. And yet it is ſeene oftentimes that one and the ſame bath, ſome find to be hot, & others cold: for that, as theſe command cold water, ſo theſe bid hot water to be powered in. It is ſaid that a certaine dame or good-wife of *Lacedæmon* went upon a time to viſit *Berronice* the wife of king *Dionarius*, but when they approached neer together, they turned away immediately one from the other: the one, as it ſhould ſeeme abhorring the ſnell of ranke butter, and the other offended with the perſume of a ſweet ointment or pomander. If then the ſenſe of one be not more true than the ſenſe of another, probable it is and very like that both water is not more cold than hot, and that the ointment and the butter no more ſenting pleaſantly than ſtinking ſtrongly. For if a man ſay, that it ſeemeth thus to one, and ſo to another, hee affirmeth before hee is aware, that they be both the one and the other. And as for theſe ſymmetries, proportions and accord of the pores or paſſages in the organs of the ſenſes, wherof they ſake ſo much: as alſo the divers mixtures of ſeeds, which they ſay being diffeminate and diſperſed throughout all flavors, odors and colours, do move the ſenſe: doe they not directly drive them to this point, that things are no more one than another? For ſuch as thinke that the ſenſe is deceived, for that they ſee contrary events and paſſions doe proceed from the ſame objects, they pacifie againe and ſolve this objection, by teaching that whereas all things be mingled and confounded together, yet nevertheleſſe this is more comfortable and fitting to one and that to another: wherby there is not the contraction and apprehenſion of one and the ſame quality, neither doth

doth the object move all indifferently at once and alike in all parts, but every one meeting with those qualities onely, whereunto they have all sense proportionate, they do not well to stand so fitly upon this, that a thing is coloured or not coloured, white or not white; thinking to fortifie and establish their owne senses by destroying those of others. Whereas it behoveth us rather to oppugne the senses, for they all touch and reach one quality or other (each one drawing as out of a lively and large fountaine, from this confused mixture, that which is fit and suitable) nor accuse and blame the whole, in touching onely the parts; ne yet thinke that all ought to suffer the same thing, considering that one suffereth by one qualitie and power of it, and another by another. So that now we are to consider and search, what men they be, who bring in this opinion, as touching things that be not such rather than others, rather than these who hold, that whatso-
 10 ever is sensible is a confused mixture of all qualities together, like unto a wind-instrument composed for all kinds of melodious musike? But they confesse that all their rules are lost, and their judgement quite gone, if they admit any object in some sort pure and sincere; and allow not each one thing to be many.

See moreover in this place, what discourse and disputation *Polyanius* held with *Epicurus* in his banquet as touching the heat of wine. For when he demanded in this manner, How now *Epicurus*, say you not that wine doth heat? one made answer, That he affirmed not universally, that wine did cause heat: and a little after; For it seemeth that wine is not universally a heater, but rather, that such a quantitie of wine may befall to enchain and set such an one in heat. And then adjoining the cause, he alledgeth the concurrences, compressions and dispersions of the
 20 Atomes; the commixtions and conjunctions of others, when the wine commeth to be mingled with the body: and then he addeth this conclusion; And therefore generally we are not to say that wine doth heat; but so much wine may well heat such a nature, and so disposed: whereas another nature it cooleth in such and such a quantity. For in such a masse, there be those natures and complexions, of which, cold if need were, may be composed, and being joined with others as occasion serveth, may cause a vertue refrigerative. And herupon it is, that some are deceived, saying that wine universally is hot, and others againe, affirming it to be universally colde. He then who saith that the multitude and most part of men do erre, in holding that to be simple hot, which doth heat, and that likewise to be colde, which doth coole, is deceived himselfe, if he thinketh not, that it followeth by good consequence upon that which hee hath said, that one
 30 thing is more such than such. And afterwards he inferreth this speech; that many times wine entering into the body, bringeth with it neither a calefactive nor a refrigerative vertue; but that when the masse of the body is moved and stirred, so as there is a transposition made of the parts, then the Atomes which are effective of heat, concur together one while into one place, and through their multitude, set the body into an heat and inflammation; but another while by dispersing and severing themselves asunder, inferre colde.

Moreover he dissembleth not but that he is proceeded thus farre, as to say, that whereas wee take things to be, and doe call them bitter, sweet, purgative, soporiferous, and lightsome, none of them all have any entier quality or perfect property to produce such effects, nor to be active more than passive, all while they be in the body, but that they be susceptible of sundry tempera-
 40 tures and differences. For even *Epicurus* himselfe, in his second booke against *Theophrastus*, in saying that colours are not natural unto bodies, but are engendered according to certaine situations and positions, respective to the eye-sight of man, saith by this reason, that a bodie is no more destitute of colour, than coloured. And a little before, word for word he writeth thus: But over and beside all this, I know not how a man may say, that these bodies which be in the darke, have any colour at all; and yet oftentimes when the aire a like darke is spread round about, some there be who can distinguish the diversity of colours, others perceive nothing at all, by reason of their feeble & dim-sight. Againe when we goe into a darke house, we see not at our first entrance, any colours, but after we have bene there a pretie while, we perceive them well enough: And therefore we are to say, that each body is not rather coloured than not coloured. If then colour be a relative, and hath being in regard of some other things, white also is a relative, and blew
 50 likewise: if these, then sweet and bitter sensibly: so that a man may truly affirme of every quality, that it is more such, than not such. For to those who are so disposed, a thing shall be such, and to them that are not so affected, not such. So that *Colotes* doeth all to dash and betray both himselfe and his master also, with the same mire and dirt, wherein he saith those doe sticke who hold that things are not more such than such. VVhat then? doth this egregious clerke herein onely shew himselfe, according to the old proverb:

*Aleech professing others for to cure,
 Whilst he himselfe is full of fores impure?*

No verily: but much more yet in his second reprehension, he chafeth ere he is aware *Epicurus* together with *Democritus* out of this life: for he giveth out that *Democritus* said, The atomes are unto the senses by a certaine law and ordinance colour, by the said law secret, and by the same law bitter: Also that he who useth this reason, and holdeth this opinion, knoweth not himselfe, if he be a man? nor whether he be dead or alive? To contradict these speeches I wot not well how: but thus much I say, that this is as much inseparable from the sentences and doctrine of *Epicurus*, as figure and weight by their saying from the Atomes: for what saith *Democritus*? That there be substances in number infinite, which are called Atomes, because they cannot be divided: howbeit different, without qualitie and impassible; which doe moove and are caried, dispersed to and fro in the infinit voidnesse, which when they approach one another, or concur and meet together, or else be entercast and enfolded one about another, then appeareth of these thus heaped and huddled together, one thing water, another fire, another a plant, and another a man: That all these be Atomes still, termed by him *idea*, and nothing else. For there can be no generation of that which is not more than that which once was can become nothing, by reason that these Atomes are so firme and solid, that they can neither change nor
 10 alow, nor suffer. And therefore neither can there be colour made of those things which have no colour, nor nature or soule of such as be without qualitie and are impassible. Whereupon *Democritus* is to be blamed in that he confesseth not those things that be accident unto principles, but supposeth those to be principles, whereto these happen: For he should not have put downe principles immutable: or at leastwise, when he had supposed them to be such, not to see withall, that therewith the generation and breeding of all qualities perisheth. And to denie an absurdity when one seeth it, is impudence in the highest degree. As for *Epicurus*, he saith verily, that he supposeth the same principles that *Democritus* doth, but he saith not, that colour sweet, white, and other qualities are by law and ordinance. Now if he confesse not that the faith, which nevertheless he said, it is no other but an old custome of his, & that which he is wont to doe. For much like it is to this, that he will seeme to take away divine providence, and yet hee saith, that he alloweth piety and religious devotion toward God: And albeit he giveth out that
 30 for pleasure, he maketh choise of amity and friendship, yet for his friends sake he willingly endureth most grievous paines: also for all he supposeth the universall world to be infinite, yet hee taketh not away, above and beneath. But this is not like unto the manner of drinking one unto another at a table, where a man may take the cup in hand and drinke what he will, and so give backe the rest. But in this disputation especially, it behooved to remember well the notable Apophthegme or saying of the wise man. Of what things the beginnings are not necessarie, the ends and consequences fall out to be necessary. Necessary it was not therefore to suppose, or (to speake more truly) to wring from *Democritus* thus much, That Atomes be the principles of the whole and universall world: or when he had supposed and set downe this doctrine, and withall made a glorious shew of the first probabilities and faire appearances thereof, he should
 40 likewise have swallowed that which was trouble some therein, or showed how those bodies which have no quality, could give unto others all sorts of qualities, onely by meeting and joining together. As for example, to speake of that which is next to hand, this that we call fire, whence came it, and how groweth it to these indivisible bodies called *Atomi*? if they neither had heat when they came, nor became hot after they met together? For the former presupposeth that they had some quality, and the latter, that they were fit to receive the same, and to suffer: But neither of them twaine ye say, fitteth well with the Atomes, in that they be incorruptible. How then? did not *Plato*, *Aristotle* and *Xenocrates* produce golde, of that which was not golde; and stone of that which is not stone; yea, and many other things out of the four simple bodies called elements? Yes I wis: but together with the said bodies there concur immediately at the
 50 first, the principles also, to the generation of every thing, bringing with them great contributions, to wit, the first qualities which be in them: afterwards, when there came to meet in one and joine together, dry with moist, cold with heat, solid and firme with that which is gentle and soft, that is to say, active bodies with such as be apt to suffer, and to receive all change and alteration, then ensueth generation, which is the passage from one temperature to another: whereas this Atome or indivisible bodie being of it selfe naked and alone, is destitute of all qualitie and generative facultie; but when it hapneth to run upon others, it can make a sound and noise onely by reason of the hardnesse and solidity thereof; but no other accident els: for strike they doe, and

are stricken againe continually : and so farre be they off from composing and making by this means a living creature, a soule, or a nature, that they are not able so much as to raise a round masse or heape of themselves together : for that as they jurre and beat one upon another, so they rebound and flie backe againe asunder. But *Colotes* verily, as if hee dealt with something that was ignorant and unlettered, falleth againe upon *Empedocles*, breathing out these verses :

One thing will I say more to thee :

there is no true nature

Of mortall wights : of grisly death,
no seed nor geniture.

A mixture onely first there is
of things, then after all,

The same grow to disunion :
and this men Nature call.

For mine owne part, I doe not see how this is repugnant and contrary unto life, among them especially who are of opinion that there is no generation of that which is not at all, nor corruption of that which is and hath being : but the meeting and union of such things as be, is called Generation ; the dissolution likewise and disunion of the same, is termed Death and corruption. For that he taketh Nature for Generation, and that he meaneth so, himselfe hath declared, when he set Nature opposite unto Death. And if those live not nor can live, who put generation in union, and death in disunion ; what thing els doe these Epicureans ? And yet *Empedocles*, 20
sodering as it were and conjoining the elements by heats, softnesse and humidities, giveth them in some fort a mixture and composition unitive : but they who drive together the Atomes which they say to be immutable, sturdy and impassible, compose nothing that proceedeth from them, but rather make many and those continuall percussions of them. For their interlacing which impeacheth dissolution, doth stil augment their collision : in such fort, as this is no mixture nor conglutination, but a certaine troublesome striving and combat, which according to them is called Generation. And these Atomes or indivisible bodies which meet together but a moment, if one while they recule and start backe for the resistance of the shooke which they have given, and another while retorne againe and recharge after the blow past, they are more 30
than twice so long apart one from another without touching or approaching, so as nothing can be made of them, nor so much as the very body without a soule. But sense, soule, understanding and prudence, there is no man able to thinke and imagine, would he never so faine, how they can be formed of voidnesse and of these Atomes : which neither of themselves apart have any qualitie, nor yet passion or alteration whatsoever, when they are met together, considering that this meeting is no incorporation nor such a coition as might make a mutuall mixture and conglutination, but rather jurts and reciprocall concussions : in such manner, as according to the doctrine of these folke, supposing as they doe, such void, impassible, invifible, undivine and unhelpful principles, yea & such as will not receive any mixture or incorporation whatsoever, To live and to be a creature animall, falleth to the ground and comes to nothing. How cometh it then, that they admit or allow Nature, Soule and Living creature ? Forsooth, even as they do 40
an oth, a vow, praier, sacrifice and adoration of the gods, to wit, in word and mouth onely ; pronouncing and naming in semblance and outward appearance, that which by their principles and doctrines they quite abolish and annul. And even so, that which is borne, they terme Nature, and that which is engendered, Generation : like as they who ordinarily call the frame of wood and timber, Wood it selfe, and those voices or instruments that accord together, Symphonie. And what should he meane to object such speech against *Empedocles* ? Why trouble we and weary our selves (quoth he) in being so busie about our owne selves, in desiring certaine things as we doe, and avoiding others ? for neither are we our selves, neither live we by using others. But be of good cheere (may one haply say) my loving and sweet *Colotarian* : have no feare man : no man hindreth you, but that you may regard your selfe, teaching that the nature 50
of *Colotes*, is *Colotes* himselfe and nothing els : neither that you need or desire to use certaine things. As for these things among you, they be pleasures : shewing withall, that it is not the nature of tarts, cakes and marchpanes, nor of odors, nor of love sports that you desire, but tarts and marchpanes themselves, sweet perfumes and women they be that you would have. For the Grammarian who faith, the force and strength of *Hercules* is *Hercules*, denieth not thereby that *Hercules* is : nor those who say that symphonies, accords or opinations are bare prolations or pronunciations, affirme not therewithall, that there be no sounds, nor voices, nor opinions : forasmuch

forasmuch as there be some, who abolishing the soule and prudence, seeme not to take away either to live or to be prudent. And when *Epicurus* faith, The nature of things that have being, are the bodies and the void place of them, doe we take his words, as if he meant that nature were somewhat els than the things that befor that things being, do shew their nature and nothing els ; even as for examples sake, the nature of voidnesse, he is wont to call voidnesse it selfe : yea ; and I assure you, the universall world it selfe, the nature of all. Now if a man should demand of him : How now *Epicurus*, say you indeed that this is voidnesse, & that is the nature of voidnesse ? Yes verily, will he answer againe, but this communication of names the one for another, is taken up and in use. And in truth, that the law and custome warranteth this manner of speech, I also avouch.

And what other thing I pray you hath *Empedocles* done than taught that nature is nought else but that which is bred and engendered, nor death any thing but that which dieth ? But like as Poets otherwhiles by a trope or figurative speech representing as it were the image of things say thus :

Debate tumult, upore and stomacke fell,

With deadly fude and malice here did dwell.

Even so the common sort of men doe tie the termes of generation and corruption in things that are contracted together and dissolved. And so farre was he from stirring or remooving those things that be, or opposing himselfe against things of evident apperance, that he would 20
not so much as cast one word out of the accustomed use : but so far forth as any figurative fraud might hurt or enclamage things, he rejected and tooke the same away, rendring againe the usuall and ordinary signification to words, as in these verses :

And when the light is mixed thus

with aire in heavenly sky,

Some man is made or wilde beasts kinde,

or birds aloft that flie :

Or esse the shrubs : and this rightly

is clep'd their geniture.

But death, when as dissolved is

the foresaid fast joincture.

And yet I say my selfe, that *Colotes* having alledged thus much, knew not that *Empedocles* did not abolish men, beasts shrubs or birds in as much as he faith that all these are composed and finished of the elements mixed together : But teaching and shewing them how they were deceived, who finde fault with naming this composition a certaine nature or life : and the dissolution unhappy fortune and death to be avoided, he annulled not the ordinary and usuall use of words in that behalfe. For mine owne part I thinke verily that *Empedocles* doth not alter in these places the common manner of pronouncing and using the said words : but as before it was related, did really as of a different minde as touching the generation of things that had no being, which some call nature. Which he especially declareth in these verses.

Fooles as they be of small conceit,

for farre they cannot see,

Who hope that things which never were,

may once engendered be,

Or feare that those which are shall die,

and perish utterly.

For these verses are thundered out and do sound aloud in their hearing who have any eares at all, that he doth not abolish generation absolutely, but that alone which is of nothing : nor yet corruption simply, but that which is a totall destruction, that is to say, a reduction to nothing. For unto a man who were not willing, after such a savage, rude and brutish manner but more gently 30
to caviell, the verses following after might give a collourable occasion to charge *Empedocles* with the contrary, when he faith thus :

No man of sense and judgement sound,

would once conceive in minde

That whiles we living here on earth,

both good and bad doe finde,

So long onely we being have :

(yet this men life doe call)

And

participate: which distinction and diversity they who came after, have reduced onely unto a different ranage, of kinds, formes, and of certaine common and proper qualities or accidents, but higher than so they mounted not, falling downe upon some doubts and difficulties more reasonable: for the same reason and proportion there is betwene the thing participated and participating, as is betwene the cause and the matter, the originall and the image, the power and the passion. Wherein principally differeth that which is by it selfe, and ever the same, from that which is by another, and never keepeth one state: for that the one never shall be, nor ever was not existent: and for this cause, it is truly and altogether subsistent; whereas the other hath not so much as that being constant, which it hapneth to participate from another, but doth degenerate and grow out of kinde, through imbecillitie; in that the matter doth glide and slide about the forme, receiving many passions and mutations beading toward the image of substance, in such sort, as continually it mooveth and shaketh to and fro. Like as therefore he who saith, that *Plato* is not the image of *Plato*, taketh not away the sense and substance of an image, but sheweth the difference betwene that which is of it selfe, and the other which is in regard of it: even so they abolish not the nature, the use nor sense of men, who say, that every one of us by participating the *Idea* of a certaine common substance, is become the image of that which giveth similitude and affinity unto our generation. For neither he who saith, that iron red hot is not fire, or the Moone, the Sunne, but (to use the very words of *Parmenides*)

A flame that beares a borrowed light,

Wandering about the earth by night.

doth take away the use of a burning gleed, or the nature of the moone: but if he should affirme, that it were no bodie nor illuminate, then he went against the senses, as one who admitted neither: body nor living animal, nor generation nor sense. But he that by opinion imagineth these things to have no subsistence but by participation, and withall, how farre they are short and distant from that which hath alwaies being, and which gave them the power to be, considereth not anisse the sensible, but is dim-sighted in the intelligible: neither doth he annihilate and overthrow the passions which arise and appear in us, but sheweth unto them that are docile and follow him, that there be other more firme and stable things than these, as touching essence, for that they neither are engendered nor perish, nor yet suffer ought: but teacheth more cleerely & purely, noting and touching the difference by the very termes and names, calling the one fort existent, & the other breeding or ingendred. The same usually befalleth also to our late modern writers, who deprive many great and weighty things of this denomination of subsistence, as namely, Voidnesse, Time, Place, and generally, the whole kinde of those speeches wherein are comprised all things true. For these things being, they say are not; and yet they say some are; yea and use the same aswel in their life as their doctrine and philosophy, as having subsistence & being. But I would gladly demand of this accuser of ours himselfe, whether he and his fellows in their affaires perceive not this difference, whereby some things be permanent and immutable in their substances, like as they affirme of their *Atomes*, that they be at all times and continually after one and the same sort, by reason of their impassibility and (tittle) soliditie? whereas all things compounded and compact of them, be flexible, pliable, mutable, breeding and perishing: for that an infinite number of images doe passe and flow from them evermore, yea and an innumerable fort of other things, by all likelihood, from out of the ambient aire do tellow and have recourse unto them, for to supply and fill up the heape still, which masse is become much altered, diversified and transvased as it were by this permutation, in that the *Atomes* which are in the bottome of the said masse can never cease nor give over stirring, but reciprocally beat one upon another, as they themselves affirme. So there is in things such a difference of substance as this: and yet *Epicurus* is more wise and learned than *Plato*, in that he teacheth all things equally subsisting. Voidnesse impassible, the Body solid and resisting, the Principles, things compounded: and for that hee thinketh that the eternall doeth not so much as participate in the common substance with that which is ingendred; the immortal with that which doth perish; the natures impassible, perdurable, immutable, which never can fall or be deprived from their being, with those which have their essence in suffering and changing, and never can continue in one and the same state. Now were it so, that *Plato* had most justly of all men in the world deserved to be condemned for his error herein, yet my good friend, there should no imputation be charged upon him by these our great masters here, who speake purer and finer Greeke and more exquisitely than he, but onely for confounding some words and speaking improperly; nor

to be blamed for abolishing the matters themselves, or taking us out of this life, because he termed them ingendred, and not existent, as these men do.

But seeing we have passed over *Socrates* after *Parmenides*, wee must now take his defence in hand. *Colotes* then began directly at the first (as we say in the common proverbe) to remove him from the sacred line or tribe: and having related how *Chareson* had brought an answer from the Oracle at *Delphos*, as touching *Socrates*, which we all know to be so, saith thus: As for this discourse and narration (quoth he) of *Chareson*, for that it is altogether odious, captious, sophistical, and full of untruth, we will overpasse. Then is *Plato* likewise (to say nothing of others) odious and absurd, who hath put the said answer downe in writing. Then are the Lacedaemonians more odious and intolerable, who keepe that Oracle delivered, as touching *Lycurgus*, among their most ancient writings and authentical records. Scemably, the discourse and narration of *Themistocles* was a sophistical and counterfeite device, whereby he perswaded the Athenians to abandon their citie, and so in a navall battell defeated the barbarous Prince *Xerxes*. And even so all the noble lawgivers and founders of *Greece* are to be counted odious and intolerable, who established the most part of their temples, their sacrifices and solemne feasts, by the answer from the Oracle of *Apello*. But if it be so, that the Oracle brought from *Delphi* as touching *Socrates*, a man ravished with a divine and heavenly zeale to vertue, whereby he was declared and pronounced wise, were odious, fained and foppical: by what name shall we truly and justly call your cries, your shouts, your hideous noises, your applauses and clapping of hands, your adorations and canonizations wherewith you exalt and celebrate him, who incited and exhorted you to continuall pleasures one after another, who in one of his letters (sent unto *Anaxarchus*) hath written thus: As for me, I invite and call you to continuall pleasures, and not to these vaine and unprofitable vertues, such as have nothing but turbulent hopes of uncertaine fruits. And yet *Metrodorus* writing unto *Timarchus*, saith thus unto him, Come on (quoth he) let us do some goodly and honest thing for those who are faire and beautifull, so that we be not plunged in these fembable and reciprocall affections, but retiring anon out of this base and terrestrial life, let us advance our selves to these true, holy and divine ceremonies and mysteries of *Epicurus*. And even *Colotes* himselfe hearing *Epicurus* one day discoursing of Naturall things, fell downe at his feet immediately, and tooke holde of his knees, as if hee had bene a god. And *Epicurus* likewise taking no small pride and glorie herein, writeth thus unto him againe: For as if you adored that which then was delivered by mee, there came upon you suddenly a desire and zeale proceeding from no cause in nature, to come toward mee, to prostrate your selfe upon the ground, to clip and clasp me your knees, and to use those gestures unto me, which ordinarily they doe, who worship the gods and pray unto them: So that you have (quoth he) made mee also reciprocally to desire and adore you. Certes I could finde in my heart to pardon them, who say they would not spare for any cost, but give they cared not what for a table or picture, wherein they might see lively represented to the eye this story depainted; namely, how the one lieth prostrate at the others feet, and embraceth his knees: who mutually againe adoreth him, and maketh his devout prayers thnto him. And yet this devotion and service of *Colotes*, how wellsoever it was by him ordered and precisely observed, reaped not the condigne fruit thereof: for he was not by him declared A wise man: onely this blessing he had from him againe, Goe thy waies and walke immortall, and repute us also fembly immortall. These men knowing full well in their owne consciences that they use such foolish words, ridiculous jestures, and fond passions, yet forsooth they are so bold as to call other men odious. And *Colotes* verily having given us a taste of his goodly first fruits, & wife positions as touching Naturall senses, namely, That we doe eate our viands and cates, nor hay or forage, and that when the rivers be high, wee ferry over them in botes, but when they be low and passable, we wade easily on foot through the fowrd, exclameth and crieth out afterwards: You use *Socrates* vaine speeches, you interteine those who come and speake unto you with one thing in word, and do practise others cleane contrary in deed. And say you *Colotes*? First I would gladly know wherein the words of *Socrates* were vaine & arrogant, considering that he was wont ordinarily to say, that he knew nothing at all; but was a learner continually, and went to search and finde out the truth? But if haply you should light upon such speeches from *Socrates* his mouth, as those were which *Epicurus* wrote unto *Idomeneus*, tend us then the first fruits, for the furniture of our sacred body, for us (I say) & our children: For thus it comes upon me to speake, what more insolent and fottish words could you devise to speake? And yet, that *Socrates* never said otherwise than he did, he hath given us marvellous proofes in the battell of

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Delium, and in that of *Potides*: That which he did during the time of the thirty tyrants against *Archelaus* and against the people of *Athens* his poverty; his death; his carriage and demeanour in all these times and occasions, be they not answerable every way to the sayings and doctrines of *Socrates*? This had been a true proof indeed, to have shewed that he lived and did otherwise than he spake and taught, in case he had proposed the end of man to be a joyfull and pleasant life, and then lived as he did. Thus much as touching the reprochfull termes that hee hath given *Socrates*. Moreover, he perceiveth not how himselfe is attaine even in those points which he reprooveth and objected as touching things * evident and apparent. For one of the positions and decrees of *Epicurus* is this, That no person ought irrevocably to believe or be persuaded to a thing, but only the wife man. Now seeing that *Colotes* became one of the 10 Sages, for all that adoration & worship which he performed unto *Epicurus*, let him demand first and foremost these questions, How it is, that he falleth to cates, and not to hay, when he hath need of victuals? and why he casteth a robe about his owne body, and not upon a pillar? considering that he is not assuredly persuaded, that cates be cates, or that a robe is a robe: But if he doe so, namely, feed upon viands, and wear a robe: if he venture not to wade through rivers when they be risen and high; if he flee from serpents and wooves, being not in a sure belief that any thing is such as it seemeth, but doing every thing according as it appeareth unto him; the opinion as touching senses, would not hinder *Socrates* at all, but that he might likewise use that which seemeth not him. For bread seemed not bread unto *Colotes*, nor hay to be hay, because he had read those holy canons and sacred rules of *Epicurus* which fell from heaven 20 out of *Jupiters* lap: and *Socrates* upon a vaine arrogance of his owne, conceived an imagination of bread that it was hay, and of hay that it was bread. For these wife men heere, have better opinions and rules to goe by than we. But to have sense, and to receive an impression in the imagination of things evident, is common as well to ignorant persons as to Sages, for that it proceedeth from causes that need no discourse of reason. But that position, that our naturall senses are not certaine nor sufficient enough to prove a thing, and cause believe, is no hindrance, but that every thing may appeere unto us: but when we use the senses in our actions, according to that which appeareth, it permitteth us not to trust the, as if they were every way true and without error: for that sufficient in them, which is necessary and commodious for use, because there is nothing better. As for Science, knowledge, and perfection, which the soule 30 of a Philosopher desireth to have of every thing, the senses have just none. But of these matters which *Colotes* hath charged upon many others, he will give us occasion else where to discourse thereof.

Furthermore, that wherein he doth vilipend and mocke *Socrates* most, in that he demandeth the question, What is man? and in a youthfull bravery, and childishly as he saith, affirmeth that he knoweth not, it is evident that even hee who derideth him, never came himselfe where it was, nor attained thereto: whereas *Heraclitus* contrariwise, as one who had done a great and worthy matter, said thus, I have bene seeking out my selfe. And of all those sentences which are written over the gates of *Apollons* temple at *Delphos*, this was thought to be most heavenly and divine, Know thy selfe: which gave unto *Socrates* occasion first to doubt and enquire thereof; according as *Aristotle* hath set downe in his Platonique questions. But this forth seemeth unto *Colotes* to be a foolish and ridiculous thing. I marvel then why he mocketh not his master likewise for doing so, as often as he writeth and discourseth as touching the substance of the soule, and the beginning of that confused masse: for if that which is compounded of both, as they themselves doe reach, to wit, of such a body & soule, be man, he who searcheth the nature of the soule, searcheth consequently the nature of man, even from his principall & chiefe principle. Now that the same is hardly by reason to be comprehended, but by the outward sense altogether incomprehensible, let us learne not of *Socrates*, a vaine glorious man & sophisticall disputer, but rather of these wife men here, who doe forge & frame the substance of the soule so farre onely as to the faculties extending to the flesh, whereby the giveth heat, 50 so sense & strength to the bodie, of I wot not what heat and aircous spirit, never wading so far as to that which is the principall, but faint & give over in the way. For that faculty whereby the judgeth, whereby he remembereth, whereby he loveth or hateth, and in one word, that reason which wisely foreseeeth & discourseth, he saith, is made of a certaine quality which is namelesse. Now that this names thing is a mere confession of shameful ignorance, in them that say they cannot name that, which indeed they are not able to comprehend and understand, we know well enough. But this also may well deserve pardon, as they are wont to say. For it seemeth that this

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is no small and light matter neither a thing that every one can finde out and reach unto, being deeply settled in the bottom of some by place far remote and in some obscure and hidden corner, seeing that among so many words and termes which be in use, there is not one significant enough and sufficient to declare and explaine the same. And therefore *Socrates* was no fooler nor lober, for seeking and searching what himselfe was, but they rather be doers who go about enquiring after any other thing before this, the knowledge whereof is so necessary and hard to be found. For hardly may he hope to attaine unto the knowledge of any other thing, who is not able to understand the principall part of himselfe. But say we should graunt and yield thus much unto him, as to confesse that there is nothing so vaine, so unprofitable and so odious, as 10 for a man to seeke himselfe, we will be so bolde as to demand, what confusion of mans life this should be, or how it is that a man cannot continue in life, when he comes to discourse & reason thus with himselfe, Who and what might I be? Am I after the maner of some composition, confected and mingled of soule and body? or rather a soule making use of the body, as the horseman doth of his horse? and not a subject composd of horse and man? or whether the principall part of the soule whereby we understand, we discourse, we reason and doe every action, is every each one of us? and all the parts besides both of soule and body, be nothing but the organs and instruments serving to this puillance and faculty? Or to conclude, whether there be no substance of the soule apart, but only a temperature and complexion of the body, so disposed, that it hath power to understand and to live. But *Socrates* herein saith he doth not over- 20 throw the life of man, considering that all naturall philosophers doe handle this argument. Many they be those monstrous questions that trouble the common wealth, and turne all upside downe, which are in the Dialogue *Phaedrus*, wherein he thinketh that he ought to examine and consider himselfe, namely whether he be a beast more savage, more subtil, cautelous and furious than ever was that *Typhon*: or rather some animal more tame and gentle by nature, and endued with a portion more divine, and a condition nothing proud and insolent. But yet by these discourses and reasonings he overturneth not the life of man, but he chafeth out of presumption & arrogance, proud and puffed up opinions and vaine overweenings of a mans selfe: For this is that fell *Typhon*, which your good master and teacher hath made to be so great in your warring as he doth both against the gods and all good and godly men.

30 After he hath done with *Socrates* and *Plato*, he falleth in hand with the Philosopher *Stipo*. As for the true doctrines and good discourses of the man, whereby he ordered and governed himselfe, his native country, his friends, & those kings and princes who affected him and made good account of him, he hath not written a word: neither what gravity and magnanimity was in his heart and the same accompanied with mildnesse, moderation, and modesty: but of those little sentences or propositions which *Stipo* was wont to use & cast forth in argument against the Sophisters, when he was disposed to laugh and play with them, he made mention of one: and without alledging any reason against it or solving the subtilty thereof, he made a tragedie, and kept a soule stre with him about it, saying that by him the life of man and the whole course of this world was subverted: because he said, that one thing could not be affirmed and ve- 40 rified of another. For how should we live (quoth *Colotes*) if we may not say a good man, or a man is a captain, but we must pronounce apart, man is man, good is good, and captain is a captain: neither ten thousand horsemen, nor a fenced city, but horsemen be horsemen, ten thousand be ten thousand, and so of the rest? But tell me I pray you, what man ever lived the worse for saying thus? And who is he who having heard these words and this manner of arguing, did not conceive and understand straight waies that it was the speech of a man disposed to make some game and dispute leamedly, or to propose unto others this Logickall quillet for exercise sake? It is not *Colotes*, such a greivous scandal and hainous matter as you would make it, to say man is not good or horsemen be not ten thousand: marry to affirme that god is not god as you and the rest doe, who will not confesse that there is a *Jupiter* president over generation, or a *Ceres* 50 that giveth lawes, or a *Neptune* superintendent over plants, is a dangerous point. This is the separation of names and words that is pernicious, this filtheth our life with contemptuous impiety, Atheisme & dissolute audaciousnesse: For when you plucke from the gods these attributes & appellations that essentially be linked & tied to them, you abolish therewithall holy sacrifices, divine mysteries, sacred processions and solemn feasts: for unto whom shall we performe the nuptiall sacrifices called *Protelesis*, unto whom shall we offer the oblations for health named *Soteria*? How shall we accomplish the rites of *Phosphoia*, the Bacchanals, and the ceremonies going before marriage, if we leave not any priests of *Bacchus*, if we admitte not *Phosphori Proceffis*, and

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and the faving gods *Soterest*? For I tel you, this toucheth the maine & principal points, this breedeth error in the things themselves & not about certaine bare voices in the *Syntaxes* and construction of words or use of termes. Now if these be matters that trouble and subvert this life of ours, who be they that offend and be delinquent more in their phrase & language than you? who making prepositions to be the only substance of speech, abolish altogether all simple voices, & admitting such as come next hand, you abolish in the meane while the things by them signified; whereby all discipline, doctines, erudition, anticipations, intelligences, inclinations and affents are performed, and holde generally that all these be just nothing. But as for *Stilpo* thus the case standeth: If we affirme of an horse, to runne: he doth not say that the thing affirmed which the Logicians call *Predicatum*, is all one with the *Subiectum*, of which it is affirmed; but that the essentiall definition of a man is one, and that of good is another; as also, to be an horse is different from to be running: For if we asked the definition of the one and the other, we will not give the same for both, and in that regard, they doe amisse who affirme the one of the other. For if a man and Good were all one: likewise, an horse, and to runne were both one: how cometh it to passe that the terme Good is affirmed of some meate, dregue, or medicine, and to run likewise, of a lion and a dog? But if the *Predicatum* or thing affirmed be different, then we doe not well, to say, Good man, or the horse runneth. Now if *Stilpo* in these matters doe exorbitate and be foolishly deceived, admitting no copulation at all nor connexion of such things as are said to be in or about the subject, together with the said subject it selfe: but every one of them if it be not absolutely the very same with that unto which it happeneth, hee thinketh not that the same ought to be said and affirmed thereof as an accident: and if therein he be offended with some termes, and go against the ordinary custome of speech, he doth not therefore freightwaies subvert and overthrow mans life, nor humane affaires, as all the world may see well enough.

Colotes now having done with the ancient Philosophers, turneth himselfe to those of his owne time, and yet he nameth not one. Howbeit, he should have done better to have argued as well against these moderne as those ancients, by name, or not at all to have named those of old time. But he who so often hath pricked *Socrates*, *Plato* & *Parmenides* with his pen, sheweth plainly, that it was for meere cowardise that he durst not be seene to deale with the living; and not upon any modesty or reverence that he spared their names, considering that he used them, who were farre more excellent than they, in no good fort and respect. His meaning was as I suspect and guesse, to assaile the Cyrenaiques first, and then in a second place the Academicks, sectaries of *Arcesflaus*: for as these were the Philosophers who doubted of all things and yeelded their assent in nothing at all; so the other reposing passions and imaginations in themselves, thought that the belief proceeding from thence, was not sufficient to assure & confirme things, but faring like unto those who are besieged within a citie, abandoning and forsaking all without, they keepe themselves shut within their passions, using this word ordinarily, It seemeth: and of things without, affirming and pronouncing, It is. And therefore (quoth *Colotes*) they cannot live nor have the use of things. And then, playing his part as it were in a Comedie: These men (saith he) denie that a man, a horse and a wall are; but they say, that they become walles, horses and men; abusing first and formeoft cauteously and wickedly these termes, like 40 slanderous and foule mouthed fycophants: for surely this is an ordinary cast and usuall with these men. But it behooved to declare the thing it selfe, according as they teach: for they affirme, that things become sweet, wax bitter, prove lightsome, or grow darke; when each of these hath the proper efficacy of these passions in it selfe naturally inbred, and such as can not be distracted from it. But if honie be said sweet, an olive branch bitter, haile colde, meere wine hot, the aire of the night darke; there be many beasts, many things, and many men, that will testifie the contrary: whiles some are offended with honie and abhorre it, others are delighted with the taste of the olive branch; some are burnt and singed by haile, others cooled with wine; some can not abide the light of the Sun but their sight therewith is dazled and dimmed, others againe see well enough by night. And therefore opinion persisting still and abiding in the passions, 50 keepeeth it selfe from offence and error: but going forth once, and busily judging or pronouncing of things exterior, it troubleth many times it selfe, and repugneth with others, who of the same objects receive contrary passions, and different imaginations. And as for *Colotes*, he resembleth for all the world young children who newly begin to learne their A. B. C. for being used to pronounce and name the letters which they see engraven in their owne battledores, when they finde them written elsewhere, they flicke at them, and are much troubled: and even so the very words and sayings which he approoveth, praiseth and embraceth in the writings of *Epicur*

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curus, hee will not understand nor acknowledge, when they are uttered by others. For when there is presented unto us one image round and another broken, they who say that the sense verily is truly informed and hath a true impression, but will not suffer us to pronounce that the tower is round, but the oare broken, surely they confirme thereby that their passions be their owne fancies and imaginations, but they will not avow and confesse that the things without are so affected. But as they before are to say, that they be not horse or wall, but become horse and wall, even so of necessitie we must say, that the sight is imprinted with a round figure or triangular with three unequal sides, but not that a tower is necessarily either triangular in that sort or round: for that the image wherewith the sight is affected may well be broken; but the oare 10 from whence proceedeth the image is not broken. Seeing then there is a difference betwene the passion and the subject without, either we must say that the belief abideth in the passion, or els that the being which is affirmed by the appearance is convinced of untruth, and not found to be so. And whereas they cry out and be offended and angry about the sense, they doe not say that the thing without is hot, but that the passion in the sense is so: is it not all one with that which is spoken as touching the taste, as if one should say, that the thing without is not sweet, but that it is some passion and motion about the sense; that is become such? And he who saith, that hee apprehendeth the imagination of a mans forme, but perceiveth not that it is a man, whereupon hath he taken occasion to say so? Came it not from them who say that they receive an imagination and apprehension of a bowing forme and figure, but the sight 20 doth not affirme that it is bowing and bending, neither that it is round, but some imagination and impression about the sense is become round? True it is will some one say: but as I approach neere unto a tower, or els touch an oare, I will pronounce and affirme, that the one is streight, and the other hath many angles and many faces: But he when he shall come neere, will confesse and say that it seemeth so and that it appeareth such unto him, but no more. O yes good sir, and more than so, when hee seeth and observeth the consequence hereupon, namely, that every fantasie and imagination is sensibly of it selfe sufficient to procure beleefe, and none at all, in regard of another, but be all of equal condition. But this your opinion is come just to nothing, namely, that fantasies be all true, and none false and incredible, in case you thinke that these ought to pronounce affirmatively of that 30 which is without, and beleve not the other a farre off no farther than in that which they suffer: for if they be of equal condition and beleved alike, when they are neere, and when they be far off, meet it is and just, that either all indifferently or els not these, should have the affirmative judgement following upon them, to pronounce, that a thing is. But if there be a difference of passion in things that be nere, & those which are farther off, then is it false that neither imagination nor sense is one more expresse and evident than another: like unto those which they call attestations which are nothing to the sense, but unto the opinion: so that in following the, they would have their followers to affirme and pronounce of exterior things, attributing to opinion the judgement, that a thing is, and to sense, the passion that appeareth: whereby they transport the judgement from that which is alwaies true, unto that which falleth oftentimes to be so. 40 But what need is there at this time to shew, the confusion and contradiction that is herein? But it seemeth that the reputation of *Arcesflaus*, who of all Philosophers in his time was best beloved and most esteemed, was no small thorne in *Epicurus* his sides, but troubled him beyond all measure: For he giveth out of him, that delivering as he did nothing of his owne invention he imprinted in the minds of ignorant and unlettered men a certaine opinion and conceit of him, that he was a deepe clerke and very well seene in all kinde of literature. But so far was *Arcesflaus*, from affecting any glorie & reputation in the world by broching novelities or strange opinions and derogating from the ancients or ascribing any thing of theirs to himselfe, that the Sophists in his daies reprooved and charged him for fathering upon *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Parmenides* and *Heraclitus* the opinions as touching the retention of assent and the incomprehensibility of things 50 who indeed never sought nor desired so much at his hands, onely because he would referre the same unto such famous personages, the better to be confirmed by the authority of their name. Howbeit for this, thanks be to *Colotes* and every one who saith that the Academicke doctrine was more ancient than *Arcesflaus*, and was derived from others before his time unto him. But as for the retention of assent, & the doubting of all things, not so much as they verily who have greatly travelled in the matter and have strived to that purpose for to write many great bookes and large treatises, could ever remove or overthrow: but bringing in at the last out of the very schoole and doctrine of the Stoicks, the cessation from all actions, as it were the fiend

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Gorgon to feare folke withall, were weary and gave over in the plaine field, after they saw once, that what attempt foever they made, & which way foever they turned themselves their infinct and appetition was never so obseant as to become a content and approbation, neither received sense for the beginning of propension and inclination, but seemed to present it selfe to actions, as having no need to be joined with others. For surely with these men the combate is lawfull and the conflict just.

*For looke what words thou dost to others give,
The like thou maist be sure to heare, believe.*

And verily to speake unto Colotes, as touching infinct and appetition, is all one as to found the harpe before an affe. But this point of learning would be delivered unto those who can give care and conceive, that there be in our soule three kinds of motions, Imaginative Appetitive and Assenting. As for the Imaginative, we cannot take it away, would we never so faine; for as things approach and objects be presented, we cannot chuse but be informed and receive as it were an impression and suffer by them. The Appetitive being stirred up by the imaginative, moveth a man effectually to those things which are proper and convenient for him, as if in the principall and reasonable part thereof there were some propension and inclination. And verily this motion do not they overthrow and annul who hold off, and keepe in their assent, doubting of every thing, but make use of this appetition or infinct, conducting naturally every man to that which is proper and meet for him. What is the only thing then that the Academicks flie and avoid? even that wherein alone there is engendered leasing, deceit and falsehood, to opine, to apply the assent, which is a yielding through imbecillity to that which appeareth, and hath no true profit. For our action requireth two things, to wit, the apprehension or imagination of that which is convenient and familiar: and the infinct or appetition driving unto the same: whereof neither the one nor the other is repugnant to the colhibition of assent. For the discourse of reason withdraweth us from opinion, and not from appetition or imagination. When as therefore that which is pleasant and delectable seemeth unto us to be proper for us and familiar, there is no need at all of opinion for to move and carry us to it, but appetition immediately presenteth it selfe, which is nothing else but amotion and incitation of the minde. Now for that there must be a sense as it were of these things, and the same consisting of flesh and blood, the same pleasure and delight likewise will appear good. And therefore it will seeme good unto him who holdeth off his assent, for surely he hath senses, and is made of flesh, blood and bone, and so soone as he hath apprehended the imagination of good, he hath an appetite and desire thereto, doing all that ever he can, not to misse it nor leese the fruition thereof: but as much as is possible to cleave and adhere continually to that which is proper unto him, as being driven and drawn thereto, by Naturall and not Geometrical constraints. For these goodly, pleasant, gentle and tickling motions of the flesh, be of themselves without any other teacher attractive enough, as they themselves forget not to say, and are able to draw and traine him whofoever he be, that will not confesse nor be knownen, but stoutly denieth that he is made soft and pliable by them. But peradventure you will aske me how it comes to passe that one of these that are so retentive and deinty of their assent, climeth not up some hill, but to the baine or hot house: or when hee thirsteth and purposeth to goe into the market place, why hee runneth not his head against a post or the wall, but taketh his way directly to the dore? And aske you me this question indeed, you that holde all senses to be infallible, the apprehensions also and imaginations to be certaine and true? Forsooth it is because the baine seemeth unto him a baine and not a mountaine, the dore also appeareth to be a dore, and not the wall: And so is it to be said likewise of such other things everie one: For the doctrine delivered as touching this colhibition of assent, doth not pervert the sense, nor worke in it by strange passions and motions any such change and alteration as may trouble the imaginative faculty. Onely it taketh away and subverteth opinions, but useth all other things, according to their nature. But impossible it is not to yeeld consent unto apparent evidences. For to denie those things which we are verily perswaded of and doe beleve, is more absurd, than neither to deny nor affirme anything at all. Who be they then that deny such things as they beleve, and goe against things evident? even they who overthrow divination, and denie that there is any government by divine providence: they who say that neither the sun is animal nor the moone, which all men honour and adore, to which they make their praiers and offer sacrifice. As for you, doe yee not annul that which is appaerant to the whole world, to wit, that naturally infants & yong ones, are contained within their mothers and dams: and that be-

tweene

tweene paine and pleasure there is no meane, even against the sense and experience of all men: saying that not to be in paine, is to have pleasure; and not to do, is to suffer; as also, not to joy, is to be sorrowfull? But to let passe all the rest, what is more evident, and so fully believed generally, than this, that those who have their braines troubled, and their wits distracted, or otherwise sicke of melancholicke diseases, weene they see and heare those things which they neither heare nor see? namely, when their understanding comes to be in such sort affected and transported, as to breake out into these speeches?

*These women here in habit blacke
yclad, hold in their hands,
To dart at me and burne mine eies,
torches and fiery brands.*

Also:

*Loe how she in her armes doth beare
My mother deare, who did me reare.*

These verily, and a number besides of other illusions more strange and tragicall than these, resembling the prodigious monsters that *Empedocles* describeth like anticks, which they make sport and laugh at,

Enkhele, "Kermyze, & Bosphus, And Enoponeus.

That is to say,

*With crooked shanks and winding feet,
resembling rammes in pace,
In bodie made like ox or cow,
like man before, in face.*

And all other sorts of monstrous shapes and strange natures, mixed together all in one, fetched from troublesome dreames and alienations of the minde. But these men say, that none of all this is any deception or error of the sight, or vaine apparition, but be all true imaginations of bodies and figures, which passe to and fro out of the inconstant aire about them. Tell me now, what thing is so impossible in nature, that we need to doubt, if it be possible to beleve these? For such things as never any conceived make-maker or deviser of vifards, any inventive potter, glasse-maker, or curious painter and drawer of wonderfull shapes, durst joine together, either to deceive the beholders, or to make them sport for their pastime: these men supposing verily and in good earnest that they be really subsistent; and that which more is, affirming all firme and constant beliefe, all certitude of judgement and of truth, to be quite gone for ever, if such things have not their subsistence, these men I say be they, which involve all in obscuritie and darknesse, who overthrow all apparence, and bring into our judgement feare and terror, into our actions doubtfull suspition; in case our ordinary and usuall actions, and such affaires of ours which are daily ready at hand, be caried in the same imagination, beleefe and perswasion, that these enormous, absurd, and extravagant fancies: for the equalitie which they suppose in all, plucketh away more credit from things ordinary, than it addeth unto such as be uncouth and unuual: which is the cause that we know Philosophers not a few, more willing to avouch, that no imagination is true, than that all be true without exception; and who distrust all men whom they had not conversed withall, all things which they had not tried, generally all speeches which they had not heard, rather than beleve so much as one of these imaginations and illusions which madde and frantick folke, fanatical persons possessed with a furious spirit, or dreamers in their sleeps doe apprehend. Seeing then, some imaginations we may utterly abolish, and others not, lawfull it is to retaine our assent and doubt of things whether they be or no, if there were no other cause els but this discordant, which is sufficient to worke in us suspition of things, as having nothing assured and certaine, but all incertitude and perturbation. As for the diffensions and differences about the infinite number of worlds, the nature of the Atomes, being indivisible bodies, and their declinations to a side, although they trouble and disquiet many men, yet this comfort there is and consolation, that in all this there is nothing nere at hand to touch us, but rather every one of these questions be farre remote, and beyond our senses; whereas this distrust and diffidence, this perturbation and ignorance about sensible things and imaginations, presented to our eies, our eares and our hands, this doubt, I say, whether they be true or false, what opinion is it that they doe not shake and make to waver, what judgement and assent do not they turne up-side downe? For if men, being not drunke nor intoxicated, nor otherwise troubled in their braines, but sober, well in their wits and found of judgement, professing

also

* Ocralliti
Kerogon.

also to write of the truth, and of the canons and rules to judge by, in the most evident passions and motions of the sense, set downe that for true which can not possibly subside, and for false that which subsisteth, it is not to be marvelled nor thought incredible, if they give no judgement of such things which evidently appeare, but rather be of contrary judgements. For a man may lesse wonder at one for affirming neither the one nor the other, and keeping himselfe in a meane betwene two opposits, than for putting downe things repugnant and meere contrary. For he that neither affirmeth nor denieth, but holds himselfe quiet, is lesse repugnant both unto him who putteth downe his opinion, than he who denieth it; and also to him that denieth it, than he who puts it downe. And if it be possible to make doubt and stickle at these things, it is not impossible then to doe so of others; at leastwise according to you who are of opinion, that there is no difference at all betwene sense and sense, betwene imagination and imagination: and therefore this doctrine as touching the retention of belief and assent, is not as *Colotes* saith, a vaine fable, nor a captious toy of rash and light-headed yong men, that love to jangle and prate, but a settled resolution and habitual disposition of staied men, who be wary and take heed that they mistake not any thing, and fall into inconvenience, or abandon at adventure their judgement to the senses, so conjecturall and doubtfull, and not suffering them to be deceived and carried away with those, who hold that things uncerteine, if they seeme and appeare, ought to be beleaved as well as if they were certeine, notwithstanding they see so great obsecuritie and incertitude in imaginations and apparent things: But rather the infinity that you put downe, and the images which you dreame of be fables. And as for heady rashnesse and a vaine humour of much babble, hee engendred in yong students who writeth of *Pythoetes* being not fully eightene yeeres of age, that there was not in all *Greece* a better or more towardsly nature; as being one who with admiration was able most excellently to expresse the conceptions of his minde; and that his case was much like to the incomparable beauty of women, wishing and praying therefore that all those surpassing gifts and most rare parts might not worke the yonging man hatred and envie.

But busie Sophisters they be, and vaine fellows, who against so great and excellent performances, dare write so impudently and proudly: And yet I confesse, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, and *Democritus* gainesaid and contradicted those who wrote before them: Howbeit there was never man known but himselfe so bold, as to make a booke against all indifferently, and with such a proud inscription as he did: And than afterwards forsooth, like unto those who have offended and displeased the gods: in the end of the said booke, as one confessing his faults, he saith: That they who have established lawes and ordinances, who have erected roiall governments and politicke rule of cities and states, have set the life of man in great quiet, safety, and security, yea and delivered it from dangerous troubles: which if they were abrogated and put downe, we should lead a savage life like wilde beasts; one would eat another as they met together, for these be the very words that he useth, though unjustly and untruly: For say a man did abolish lawes, and yet withall leave behind unrepealed and uncondemned the doctrines and books of *Parmenides*, *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, and *Plato*, we should be farre for all that from devouring one another, or living a savage life; for we should feare and forbear dishonest things, we should even for vertue and honesty, honour justice, beleve that the gods, good magistrates, and the angels or spirits have the guarding, keeping, and superintendence of mans life, thinking all the good that is both above and under the ground, not able to counterpeize vertue, and doing willingly by reason and learning as *Xenocrates* was wont to say, that which now we doe perforce for feare of the lawes. But when shall our life become beastly, savage, and insociable? Mary when, the lawes being taken away, there shall be left remaining, books and discourses, inciting and soliciting men unto pleasure: when it shall be thought and beleaved, that the world is not ruled and governed by Gods providence, when they shall be deemed Sages and wise men, who spit against honesty and vertue, unless it be joined with pleasure, and when they shall decide and mocke such sentences as these,

In Justice is an eye,
Which all things doth espie.

And
Godneere doth stand,
And sees all at hand.

As also this old said sawe; God having in his power the beginning, mids, and end of the whole world, passeth directly throughout all nature, and goeth round about, attended upon by justice,

to punish those who transgresse the law divine. For they that despise and contemne these instructions as idle fables, and suppose that the soveraigne good consisteth in the belly and other parts, whereby we enjoy pleasure, be those who had need of the law, they ought to feare the whip, and stand in awe of some king, prince, and magistrate, who hath the sword of justice in his hand, to the end that they might not devour their neighbour by insatiable gluttony, which upon Atheisme and impiety, would grow to excessive outrage: For verily such is the life of brute beasts, for that they know nothing better than pleasure, they have no sense of Gods justice, they neither honour nor regard the beauty of vertue: But if nature hath endued them with any hardnesse, craft, and industrious activity, they employ the same, to satisfie their fleshly pleasures, and accomplish their lusts. And therefore *Metrodorus* is reputed a great wise man, for saying, that all the fine, subtill, witty, and exquisite inventions of the soule, have beene devised for to please and delight the flesh, or else for the hope to obtaine and enjoy the same; and looke what art soever tendeth not thereto, is vaine & to no purpose. By such discourses and Philosophicall reasonings as these, downe goe holmes lawes, and in place thereof enter in lions pawes, woollves teeth, oxes paunches, and camels necks and throates: and for want of writings and speech, the very beasts doe preach and teach such doctrines and opinions as these, with their bleating, bellowing, neighing, and braying: For all the voice that they have, is nothing but belly chere, and the pleasure of the flesh, which they either embrace presently, or joy in the expectation thereof; unless haply there be some kind of them that delighteth naturally in gabling, cackling, and garrulity. So that no man is able to praise those sufficiently, and to their full desert, who to repress such furious and beastly affections, have set downe law, established policie and government of State, instituted magistrates, and ordained holmes decrees and edicts. But who bee they that confound, yea, and utterly abolish all this? Are they not those, who give out that all the great empires and dominions in the worlde are nothing comparable to the crowne and garland of ^{as these men} senselesse tranquillity and repose: Are they not those, who say, that to be a king and to reigne is to sinne, to erre and wander out of the true way leading to felicity: yea and to this purpose write diversly in these termes, we are to them, how to maintaine in best fort and to keepe the end of nature: and how a man may avoid at the very first not to enter willingly and of his owne accord into offices of state and government of the multitude. Over and besides, these speeches also be theirs, there is no need at all henceforth for a man to labour and take paines for the preservation of the Greeks, nor in regard of wilddome and learning to seeke for to obtaine a crowne at their hands, but to eate and drinke, & *Timocrates*, without hurt doing to the body, or rather withall contentment of the flesh. And yet the first and most important article of the digests and ordinance of lawes and policie which *Colotes* so highly commendeth, is the beleefe and firme perswasion of the gods: whereby *Lycurgus* in times past sanctified the Lacedemonians, *Numa* the Romans, that ancient *Ion* the Athenians, and whereby *Democritus* brought all the Greeks universally to religion: which noble and renowned personages made the people devout & affectionate zealously to the gods in prayers, othes, oracles and prophesies, by the meanes of hope and feare together, which they imprinted in their hearts: In such sort, that if you travell through the world, well you may finde cities without wals, without literature, without kings, not peopled and inhabited, without houses, no monies, and such as desire no coine, which know not what Theaters or publicke halls of bodily exercise meane: but never was there nor ever shall be any one city seene, without temple, church or chappell, without some god or other, which useth no prayers nor othes, no prophesies and divinations, no sacrifices either to obtaine good blessings or to avert heavy curses and calamities: nay, no man thinks a man should sooner finde a city built in the aire without any plot of ground wheron it is seated, than that any common wealth altogether void of religion & the opinion of the gods should either be first established, or afterwards preserved and maintained in that state.

This is it that containeth and holdeth together all humane society, this is the foundation of piety and stay of all lawes which they subvert and overthrow directly, who goe not round about the bush as they say, nor secretly and by circuit of covert speeches, but openly and even at the first assault set upon the principall point of all, to wit, the opinion of God, and religion: and then afterwards as if they were haunted with the furies, they confesse how grievously they have sinned, in shuffling and confounding thus, all rights and lawes, and in abolishing the ordinance of justice and policie, to the end that they might obtaine no pardon, for to slip and erre in opinion, although it be not a part of wise men, yet it is a thing incident to man: but to impute and object those faults unto others which they commit themselves, what should a man call it if he for-
beare

bear to use the proper termes & names that it deserveth? For if in writing against *Antidorus* or *Bion* the Sophister, he had made mention of lawes, of policie, of justice and government of common weale, might not one have said unto him as *Electra* did to her furious brother *Orestes*.

*Poore soule, be quiet feare none ill
Deare hart, in bed see thou be still.*

cherishing and keeping warme thy poore body? As for me, let them argue and expostulate with me about these points, who have lived oeconomically or politically. And such are they all whom *Colotes* hath reviled and railed upon. Among whom *Democritus* verily in his writings admonisheth and exhorteth, both to learne military science, as being of all others the greatest, and also to take paines, and endure travels. Whereby men attaine to much renowne and honour. As for *Parmenides* hee beawtified and adorned his owne native country with most excellent lawes which he ordained: in so much as the magistrates every yeere when they newly enter into their offices, binde the citizens by an oth to oblerve the statutes and lawes of *Parmenides*. And *Empedocles* not onely judiciously convented and condemned the principall persons of the city wherein he dwelt, for their insolent behaviour and for distracting or embeselling the publicke treasure, but also delivered all the territorie about it from sterility and pestilence, whereunto before time it was subject, by enmuring and stopping up the open passages of a certaine mountaine, through which the fourth winde blew and overspred all the plaine country underneath. *Socrates* after he was condemned to death, when his friends had made meanes for him to escape, refused to take the benefit thereof, because he would maintaine and confirme the authority of the lawes; chusing rather to die unjustly, than to save his life by disobaying the lawes of his country. *Atellus* being pretor or captain generall of the city wherein he dwelt, defeated the Athenians in a battell at sea. *Plato* left behinde him in writing many good discourses of the lawes and of civill government: but much better imprinted he in the hearts and minds of his disciples & familiars, which were the cause that *Dion* freed *Sicily* from the tyranny of *Dionysius*; and *Thrace* likewise was delivered by the meanes of *Pytho* and *Heraclides*, who killed king *Cotys*. *Chabrias* and *Phocion*, worthy commanders of the Athenians armie, came both out of the schoole *Academia*. As for *Epicurus* he sent as farre as into *Asia* certaine persons of purpose to taunt and revile *Timocrates*, yea and caused the man to be banished out of the kings court, onely for that he had offended *Metrodorus* his brother. And this you may read written in their owne books. But *Plato* sent of those friends which were brought up under him *Aristomus* to the Arcadians, for to ordaine their common wealth, *Phormio* to the Elians *Menedemus* to those of *Pyrria*, *Eudoxus* to the Cnidians, and *Aristotle* to those of *Sagira*, who being all his disciples and familiars, did pen and set downe lawes. *Alexander* the Great requested to have from *Xenocrates* rules and precepts as touching the government of a kingdome. And he who was sent unto *Alexander* from the Greeks dwelling in *Asia* & who most of all other set him on a light fire and whetted him on to enterprise the warre against the barbarous king of *Persia*, was *Delus* an Ephefian, one of *Platos* familiars. *Zenon* also a scholar of *Parmenides* undertooke to kill the tyrant *Demylus*, and having no good successe therein, but missing of his purpose, maintained the doctrine of *Parmenides* to be pure and fine golde tried in the fire from all base metal, shewing by the effect, that a magnanimous man is to feare nothing, but turpitude and dishonour; and that they be children and women, or else effeminate and heartlesse men like women, who are affraid of dolor and paine: for having bitten off his tongue with his owne teeth, he spit it in the tyrants face. But out of the schoole of *Epicurus*, and of those who follow his rules and doctrines, I doe not aske what tyrant killer there was or valiant man and victorious in feats of armes, what lawgiver, what counsellour, what king or governour of state, either died or suffered torture for the upholding of right and justice: but onely which of all these Sages did ever so much as in batke and make a voiage by sea in his countries service and for the good thereof? which of them went in embassage or disbursed any mony thereabout? or where is there extant upon record any civill action of yours in matter of government. And yet because that *Metrodorus* went downe one day from the city, as far as to the haven *Pyræum*, & tooke a journey of five or six miles to aide *Mythra* the Syrian one of the king of *Persia* traine and court, who had bene arrested and taken prisoner, he wrote unto all the friends that he had in the world, of this exploit of his: and this doubty voiage *Epicurus* hath magnified & exalted in many of his letters. What a doe would they have made then, if they had done such an act as *Aristotle* did who reedified the city of his nativity *Stagira*, which had bene destroyed by king *Philip*? or as *Theophrastus*, who twice delivered and freed his native city being held and oppressed by tyrants? Should not thinke you

you the the river *Nilus* have fooner given over to beare the popyr reed, than they bene weary of describing their brave deeds. And is not this a grievous matter and a great indignity, that of so many sects of Philosophers that have bene, they onely in manner enjoy the good things and benefitts that are in cities, without contributing any thing of their owne unto them? There are not any Poets Tragedians or Comedians, but they have endeavoured to doe or say alwaies some good thing or other for the defence of lawes and policie: but these here, if peradventure they write ought, write of policie, that we should not intermeddle at all in the civill government of state: of Rhetoricke, that we should not plead any causes eloquently at the barre: of Royalty, that we should avoid the conversing and living in kings courts: neither doe they name at any time those great persons who manage affaires of common weale, but by way of mockerie for to debate and abolish their glorie. As for example of *Epaminondas* they say that he had indeede some good thing onely in name and word, but the fame was but *glorious*, that is to say, as little as might be, for that is the very terme that it pleaseth them to use. Moreover they name him heart of yron demanding why he marched up and downe through out all *Peloponnesus* with his armie as he did, and sat not rather quiet at home in his owne house with a dainty chapter upon his head given wholly to make good chere, and to sleepe with his belly full in a whole skin. But me thinks I should not for any thing omit in this place to rehearse what *Metrodorus* hath written in his booke of philosophy, wherein abjuring all dealing in government of state, he saith thus, Some there be of these wise men (quoth he) who being full of vanity and arrogancy, had so deepe an insight into the businesse thereof, that in treating of the rules of good life and of vertue they suffer themselves to be carried away with the very same desires that *Lycurgus* and *Solon* fell into. What? was this vanity indeede and the abundance of vanity and pride, to set the city of *Athenis* free, to reduce *Sparta* to good policy, and the government of holisme lawes, that yong men should doe nothing licenciously nor get children upon curtisans and harlots? and that riches, wanton delicacie, intemperance, loosenesse & dissolution should beare no sway nor have the command in cities, but law onely and justice; for these were the desires of *Solon*. And thus *Metrodorus* by way of scoone and contumelious reproch addeeth thus much more for a conclusion to therest, And therefore (quoth he) it is well becoming a gentleman, to laugh a good and right heartily at all other men, but especially at these *Solones* and *Lycurgis*. But verily such an one were not a gentleman *Metrodorus*, nor well borne, but servile, base, unruly and dissolute and who deserved to be scourged not with the whip which is for free borne persons, but with that whip *Astragalote*, wherewith the maner was to whip and chastice those gelded sacrificers called *Gally* when they did amisse in the ceremonies and sacrifices of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods. Now, that they warred not against the lawgivers but the very lawes themselves, a man may heare and learne of *Epicurus*; for in his questions he demandeth of himselfe, whether a wife man being assured that no man ever should know, would doe and commit any thing that the law forbiddeth? and he maketh an answer which is not full nor an open, plaine and simple affirmation, saying, doe it I will, marry confesse it and be knownen thereof I will not. Again, writing as I suppose unto *Idomeneus*, he admonisheth him not to subiect and enthrall his life unto lawes and the opinions and reputations of men: unlesse it be in this regard onely that otherwise there is prepared odious whipping chere and that neere at hand. If then it be so, that they who abolish lawes, governments and policies, do withall subvert and overthrow mans life: if *Metrodorus* and *Epicurus* doe no lesse, withdrawing and averting their friends and followers from dealing in publicke affaires, and spitefully hating those who doe meddle therein, miscalling and railing at the chiefe and wisest lawgivers that ever were, yea and willing them to contemne the lawes, so that they keepe themselves out of the feare of the whip and danger of punishment, I cannot see that *Colotes* hath in any thing so much belied others, and raised false imputations against them, as he hath indeede and truly accused the doctrine and opinions of *Epicurus*.

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Cccc

OF



OF LOVE.

The Summarie.

This Dialogue is more dangerous to be read by young men than any other Treatise of Plutarch, for that there be certaine glances here and there against honest marriage, to upholde indirectly and underhand, the cursed and detestable filthinesse covertly couched under the name of the Love of young boyes. But minds guarded and armed with true chastitie and the feare of God, may see evidently in this discourse the miserable estate of the world, in that there be found patrons and advocates of so detestable a cause; such I meane as in this booke are brought in under the persons of Protogenes and Pisias. Meane while they may perceive likewise in the combat of matrimoniall love against unnaturall Pædæraſtie not to be named, that honestie hath armes sufficient to defend it selfe for being vanquished, yea and in the end to go away with the victorie. Now this Treatise may be comprised in foure principall points: of which, the first (after a brieſe Preface wherein Autobulus being requested to rehearse unto his companions certaine reports which before time hee had heard Plutarch his father to deliver as touching Love, enriveth into the discourse) containeth the historie of Ilmenodora, enamoured upon a young man named Bacchon; whereupon arose some difference and dispute: of which, Plutarch and those of his companie were chosen arbitratours. Thereupon Protogenes seconded by Pisias, (and this is the second point) setting himselfe against Ilmenodora, disgraceth and discrediteth the whole sex of woman kinde, and praiseth openly enough the love of males. But Daphneus answereth them so fully home and pertinent to the purpose, that he discovereth and detecteth all their filthinesse, and confuteth them, as behoovefull it was, (showing the commodities and true pleasure of conjugal love. In this defence, assisted he is by Plutarch, who provoveth that neither the great wealth, nor the forward affection of a woman to a man, causeth the marriage with her to be culpable or unworthy to be blamed, by divers examples declaring that many women even of base condition, have bene the occasion of great evils and calamities. But as he was minded to continue this discourse, nerves came how Bacchon was caught up and brought into the house of Ilmenodora, which made Protogenes and Pisias to dislodge; inſomuch as their departure gave entrie into the third and principall point concerning Love what it is? what be the parts, the causes, the sundry effects and fruits thereof, admirable in all sorts of persons, in altering them so as they become quite changed and do others than they were before: which is confirmed by many notable examples and similitudes. In the last point Plutarch discourseth upon his argument, and thus by the Philosophy of Plato and the Ægyptians, conferring the same with the doctrine of other Philosophers and Poets. Then having expressly and fully condemned Pædæraſtie, as a most vile and abominable thing, and adjoined certaine excellent advisements for the entertering of love in wedlocke, betwene husband and wife, of which he relateth one proper example, his speech ended by occasion of a messenger who came in place, and drew them all away to the wedding of Ilmenodora and Bacchon, before said.



OF

OF LOVE.

FLAVIANUS.



LT was at *Helicon* (ð *Autobulus*) was it not, that those discourses were held as touching Love, which you purpose to relate unto us at this present, upon our request and intreaty, whether it be that you have put them downe in writing, or beare them well in remembrance, considering that you have so often required and demanded them of your father?

AUTOBULUS.

Yes verily, in *Helicon* was (ð *Flavianus*) among the Muses, at what time as the Theſpians solemnized the feast of *Cupid*: for they celebrate certaine games of prize every five yeeres, in the honour of Love, as well as of the Muses, and that with great pompe and magnificence.

FLAVIANUS.

And wot you what it is that we all here that are come to hear you, will request at your hands?

AUTOBULUS.

No verily, but I shall know it when you have tolde me.

FLAVIANUS.

Mary this it is: That you would now in this rehearsal of yours, lay aside all by-matters and needlesse preambles, as touching the descriptions of faire meadows, pleasant shades; of the crawling and winding Lvie; of rills issuing from fountaines running round about; and such like common places, that many love to insert, desirous to counterfeit and imitate the description of the river *Iſſus*, of the Chast-tree, and the fine greene graſſe and ptery herbs growing daintily upon the ground, rising up alittle with a gentle assent; and all after the example of *Plato* in the beginning of his Dialogue *Phædrus*, with more curiouse iwis and affectation, than grace and elegancie.

AUTOBULUS.

What needs this narration of ours (my good friend *Flavianus*) any such Proeme or Préface? for the occasion from whence arose and proceeded these discourses; requireth onely an affectionate audience, and calleth for a convenient place as it were a stage and scaffold, for to relate the action: for otherwise, of all things els requisite in a Comedie or Enterlude, there wanteth nothing: onely let us make our praiers unto the Muses Mother, Ladie Memorie, for to be propice unto us, and to vouchsafe her assistance, that we may not misse, but deliver the whole narration. My father long time before I was borne, having newly espoused my mother, by occasion of a certaine difference and variance that fell out betweene his parents and hers; tooke a journey to *Theſſie*, with a full purpose to sacrifice unto *Cupid* the god of Love; and to the feast hee had up with him my mother also, for that it principally apperained unto her to performe both the praiser & the sacrifice. So there accompanied him from his house, certaine of his most familiar friends. Now when he came to *Theſſie*, he found *Daphneus* the sonne of *Archidamus*, and *Lysander* who was in love with *Simons* daughter, a man who of all her woers was best welcome unto her and most accepted: *Sælusus* also the sonne of *Arifſion*, who was come from *Tithora*: there was besides, *Protogenes* of *Tarſus*, and *Zenixippus* the Lacedæmonian, both of them his olde friends and good hostis, who had given him kinde entertainment: and my father said moreover, that there were many of the best men in *Bæotia* there, who were of his acquaintance. Thus as it should seeme, they abode for two or three daies in the citie, entertering one another gently at their leisure with discourses of learning, one while in the common empaled parkes of exercises, where the youth used to wrestle, and otherwhiles in the Theaters and Shew-places, keeping companie together. But afterwards, for to avoid the troublesome contentions of Minstrels and Musicians, where it appeared that all would go by favour, such labouring there was before-hand for voices, they dislodged from thence for the most part of them, as out of an enemies country, and retired themselves to *Helicon*; and there sojourned and lodged among the Muses: where, the morrow morning after they were thither come, arrived and repaired unto them *Anthemion* and *Pisias*, two noble gentlemen, allied both and affectionate unto *Bacchon*, surnamed *The Faire*, and at some variance one with another by reason of I wot not what jealousy, in regard of the affection they bare unto him. For there was in the city of *Theſſie*, a certaine

Ccccc 2

Dame

Dame named *Ismenodora*, descended of a noble house and rich withall: yea and of wife and honest carriage besides in all her life: for continued shee had no small time in widowhood without blame, reproch or touch, notwithstanding shee was young, and therewith beautifull.

This fresh widow whiles the treated of a marriage to be made betwene *Bacchon* a young gentleman, a neighbours childe, whose mother was a very familiar friend of hers; a certaine young maiden a kinswoman of her owne, by often talking with him, and frequenting his company much, fell herselfe in some fancy with the young man: Thus both hearing and speaking much good and many kinde speeches of him, and seeing besides a number of other gentlemen and persons of good worth to be enamoured upon him; by little and little the also fell to bee in hot love with the youth: howbeit, with a full intention and resolution to doe nothing that should be dishonest, or unbecoming her place, parentage, & reputation, but to be wedded unto *Bacchon* lawfully in the open sight of the world, and so to live with him in the estate of wedlocke. As the thing it selfe seemed at the first very strange, so the mother of the young man of one side doubted and suspected the greatnesse of her fate, and the nobility & magnificence of her house & lineage, as not meet & correspondent to his condition, for to be a lover or to be matched thereto; and on the other side, some of his companions who used to ride forth a hunting with him, considering that the young age of *Bacchon* was not answerable to the yeeres of *Ismenodora*, buzzed many doubts in his head, and frightened him from her what they could, saying: That he might be his mother, and that one of her age was not for him; and thus by their jelling and scoffing, they hindered the marriage more, than they who laboured in good earnest to break it: for hee began to enter into himselfe, and considering that he was yet a beardless youth, and scarcely undergrown, he was abashed and ashamed to marry a widow. Howbeit in the end, shaking off all others, he referred himselfe to *Anthemion* and *Pisias*, for to tell him their minds upon the point, and to advise him for his best: Now was *Anthemion* his cousin german, one of good yeeres, and elder than himselfe farre; and *Pisias* of all those that made love unto him, most austere: and therefore he both withstood the marriage, and also checked *Anthemion*, as one who abandoned and betrayed the young man unto *Ismenodora*. Contrariwise, *Anthemion* charged *Pisias* and said he did not well: who being otherwise an honest man, yet heerein imitated leawd lovers, for that he went about to put his friend beside a good bargain, who now might be sped with so great a marriage, out ofso worshipfull an house, and wealthy besides; to the end that he might have the pleasure to see him a long time stripped naked in the wrestling place, fiesh still, and smooth, and not having touched a woman. But because they should not by arguing thus one against another, grow by little and little into heat of choler, they chose for umpiers, and judges of this their controversie, my father and those who were of his company; and thither they came: assistant also there were unto them, other of their friends, *Daphneus* to the one, and *Protagenes* to the other, as if they had beene provided of set purpose to plead a cause: As for *Protagenes* who sided with *Pisias*, he inveighed verily with open mouth against dame *Ismenodora*: whereupon *Daphneus*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what are we not to expect, and what thing in the world may not happen; in case it be so that *Protagenes* is ready heere to give defiance and make warre against love, who all his life both in earnest and in game, hath beene wholly in love, and all for love, which hath caused him to forget his booke, and to forget his naturall countrey, not as *Lais* did, who was but five daies journey distant: for that love of his was slow and heavy, and kept still upon the land: whereas your *Cupid*, *Protagenes*

With his light wings displayed and spread,

Hath over seas full swiftly fled

from out of *Cilicia* to *Athens*, to see faire boies, and to converse and goe up and downe with them (for to say a truth, the chiefe cause why *Protagenes* made a voyage out of his owne countrey, and became a traveller, was at the first this and no other) Heereat the company tooke up a laughter, and *Protagenes*: Think you (quoth he) that I warre not against love, and not rather stande in the defence of love against lascivious wantonnesse, and violent intemperance, which by most shamefull acts and filthy passions, would perforce challenge and break into the fairest, most honest, and venerable names that be? Why (quoth *Daphneus* then) do you terme marriage and the secret of marriage, to wit, the lawfull conjunction of man and wife, most vile and dishonest actions, than which there can be no knot nor linke in the world more sacred and holy? This bond in truth of wedlocke (quoth *Protagenes*) as it is necessary for generation, is by good right praised by Politicians and law-givers, who recommend the same highly unto the people and common multitude; but to speake of true love indeed, there is no jot or part thereof in the societie

tie and fellowship of women: neither doe I think that you and such as your selves, whose affections stand to wives or maidens, do love them no more than a sicke loveth milke, or a bee the honnycombe: as caters and cookes who keepe foules in mme, and feed calves and other such beasts fatten in darke places, and yet for all that they lovethem not. But like as nature leadeeth and conducteth our appetite moderately, and as much as is sufficient to bread and other viands; but the excess thereof, which maketh the naturall appetite to be a vicious passion, is called gourmandise, and pampering of the flesh: even so there is naturally in men and women both a desire to enjoy the mutuall pleasure one of another: whereas the impetuous lust which commeth with a kinde of force and violence, so as it hardly can be held in, is not fittly called love, neither deserveth it that name: For love if it seife upon a young kinde, and gentle heart, endeth by amity in vertue: whereas of these affections and lusts after women, if they have successe and speed never so well, there followeth in the end the fruit of some pleasure, the fruition and enjoying of youth and a beautifull body, and that is all. And thus most testified *Aristippus*, who when one went about to make him have a distaste and dislike of *Lais* the curtisan, saying, that she loved him not, made this answer: I suppose (quoth he) that neither good wine, nor delicate fitt loveth me, but yet (quoth he) I take pleasure and delight in drinking the one, and eating the other. For surely the end of desire and appetite, is pleasure and the fruition of it. But love if it have once lost the hope and expectation of amity and kindnesse, will not continue nor cherish and make much for beaury sake, that which is ike some and odious, be it never so gallant and in the flower and prime of age, unlesse it bring forth and yeeld such fruit which is familiar unto it, even a nature disposed to amity and vertue. And therefore it is that you may heare some husband in a comedie, speaking tragically thus unto his wife:

*Thou hast loved me: and I againe,
thine haired and disdaine
Will easly beare: and this abuse
turne to my proper gaine.*

For surely, more amorous than this man is not hee, who not for lucre and profit, but for the fleshly pleasure of *Venus*, endureth a curst, froward and froward wife, in whom there is no good nature nor kinde affection. After which maner *Philippides* the Comical Poet scoffed at the

Orator *Stratocles* and mocked him in these verses:

*She winds from thee, she turns away unkind,
Hardly thou canst once kisse her head behind.*

But if we must needs call this passion Love, yet surely it shall be but an effeminate and bastard love, sending us into womens chambers and cabinets as it were to *Cynofarges* at *Athens*, where no other youths doe exercise but misbegotten bastards: or rather, like as they say, there is one kinde of gentle faulcons or roiall eagles bred in the mountains, which *Homer* calleth the Blacke eagle for game: whereas other kinds there be of bastard hawks, which about pooles and meres catch fish or seaze upon heave winged birds and flow of flight; which many times wanting their prey, make a piteous noise and lamentable cry for very hunger and famine: even so the true and naturall love is that of young boies, which sparkleth not with the ardent heat of concupiscence, as *Anacreon* saith the other of maidens and virgins doeth: it is not befined with sweet ointments, nor tricked up and trimmed, but plaine and simple alwaies a man shall see it, without any itisting allurements in the Philosphers schooles, or about publicke parks of exercise and wrestling places, where it hunteth kindly and with a very quick and piercing eye after none but young striplings and springalls, exciting and encouraging earnestly unto vertue, as many as are meet and worthy to have paines taken with them: whereas the other delicate and effeminate love, that keepeth home and stireth not out of dores, but keepeth continually in womens laps, under canopies or within curtaines in womens beds and soft pallets, seeking alwaies after daintie delights, and pampered up with unmanly pleasures, wherein there is no reciprocal amitie, nor heavenly ravishment of the spirit, is worthy to be rejected and chased farre away: like as *Solon* banished it out of his common wealth, when he expressly forbade all slaves and those of servile condition to love boies or to be anointed in the open aire without the baines, but hee debarrd them not from the companie of women. For amitie is an honest, civil and laudable thing: but fleshly pleasure, base, vile, and illiberal. And therefore that a servile slave should make love to a sweet youth, it is neither decent, civil nor commendable: for this is no carnall love nor hurtfull any way, as that other is of women. *Protagenes* would have continued his speech and said more, but *Daphneus* interrupting him: Now surely, you have done it

CCCC 3 very

very well (quoth he) and alledged *Solon* trimly for the purpose; and wee must belike, take him for the judge of a true lover, and the rule to go by, especially when he saith:

*Thou shalt love boies, till lovele downe
upon their face doth spring,
Catching at mouth their pleasant breath,
and soft thighs cherishing.*

Adjoine also unto *Solon* (if you thinke good) the Poet *Aschylus*, whereas he saith:

*Unhankfull man, unkinde thou art
For kisses sweet which thou hast found,
Regarding not of thy deare hart,
The thighs so streight and buttocks round.*

Here are proper judges indeed of love. Others I wot well there be, who laugh at them, because they would have lovers like to sacrificers, bowel-priers and soothsaiers, to cast an eye to the hanches and the loines: but I for my part, gather from hence a very good and forcible argument in the behalfe of women: for if the companie with males that is against kinde, neither taketh away nor doth prejudice the amitie and good will of lovers, farre more probable it is that the love to women which is according to nature, is performed by a kinde of obsequious favour, and endeth in amity: for the voluntarie submision of the female to the male, was by our ancestors in olde time, *Proteogenes*, termed *Zeus*, that is to say, Grace or Favour: which is the reason that *Pindarus* saith *Vulcane* was borne of *Juno* with *Zeus*, that is to say, without the Graces. And *Sappho* the Poetesse speaking to a young girle not as yet for her tender yeeres marriageable:

*Too young (my child) you seeme to me,
Withouten Grace also to be.*

And *Heraclitus* was asked the question of one in these termes:

*What did you force the maiden by compulsion,
Or win her grace and favour with perswasion.*

whereas the submision in this kinde of males to males, if it be against their will, is named violence and plaine rape: but if it be voluntarie, and that upon an effeminate weaknesse they be so farre beside their right wits as to yeeld themselves to be ridden as it were and covered, for those be *Platoes* words, in manner of foure footed beastes; I say such love is altogether without Grace, ³⁰ without decencie, most unseemly, filthy and abominable. And therefore I suppose verily, that *Solon* poured out those verses when he was a lustie yoonker, ranke of blood and full of naturall feed, as *Plato* saith: for when he was well slept in yeres he sung in another tune and wrote thus:

*The sports of VENUS Lady bright,
And BACCHUS now are my delight:
In MUSICKE like I pleasure take:
For why? these three men joies domke.*

when he had retired and withdrawn his life as it were out of a troublesome sea and tempestuous storme of *Pederastium*, into the quiet calme of lawfull marriage and studie of Philosophie.

Now if we will consider better, & looke nether into the truth, the passion of Love (*Proteogenes*) be it in one sex or another, is all one & the same: but if upon a froward and contentious humor you will needs divide and distinguish them, you shall finde that this love of boies doth not containe it selfe within compasse, but as one late borne and out of the seasonable time of age and course of this life, a very bastard and begotten secretly in darknesse, it would wrongfully drive out the true legitimate naturall love, which is more ancient. For it was but yesterday or two daies ago as one would say my good friend, and namely, since yong lads began in *Greece* to disrobe & turne themselves naked out of their clothes, for the exercise of their bodies, that it crept into these impaled places, where youtnes prepared themselves for to wrestle: & there closely feeling it selfe lodged and was entailed; where by litle and litle when the wings were full grown, it became so insolent, that it could not be held in, but offer injury and outrage to that nuptiall love, which is a coadjutresse with nature, to immortalize mankind, in kindling it immediately againe by generation according as the flame is extinguished and put out by death. But this *Proteogenes* heere would seeme to deny that the said love tendeth to any pleasure: The truth is this, he is ashamed to confesse, and afraid to avow so much. But there must needs be devised some pretie reason, and cleanly excuse, for the touching, feeling, and handling of these faire yong boies. VVell the pretence and colour to cover all is amity and vertue. He bestreth himselfe with dust against he should wrestle, he doth bath and wash in cold water, he knitteth & bendeth his

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browes full gravely, he giveth it out and maketh his boast that he studieth Philosophie, that he is chaste and continent: and all this is abroad and before folke, for feare of the lawes; but when the night comes, and that every man is retired to his rest,

*Sweet is the fruit that stolen is secretly,
And gather'd close, while keeper is not by.*

And if as *Proteogenes* saith this *Pederastium* aimeth not at carnall conjunction, how then can it be love, if *Venus* be not there? considering that of all other gods and goddesses, her alone *Cupid* is defined and devoted to serve and attend upon, having neither honour, power nor authority, no farther than the will impart and bestow upon him. And if you say unto mee, that there may be some love without *Venus*, like as there is drunkennesse without wine, for a man may drinke of a certain decoction of figs, or barley made into malt, & be drunke therewith: I answer you, that as this is but a flatulent exagitation, so the motion of such love is fruitlesse, imperfect, bringing Iostome fatietie, and wearisome fullnesse soone. VVhiles *Daphneus* thus spake, it appeared evidently, that *Pisias* found himselfe galled, and was enchaffed against him. Therefore so soone as he had made an end of his speech, after some litle pause: O *Hercules* (quoth hee) what intolerable impudency and inconsiderate rashnesse is this, that men should confesse and avow, that like dogs they be tied to women by their naturall parts, and so chaste and banish this god *Cupid*, out of the publicke places of exercise, out of the open galleries and walks; from the pure conversation in open aire, sunne shine, and before the whole world for to be ranged and brought; ²⁰ to litle spades, hatchets, drogues, medicines, charmes and forceries of these wanton and lascivious women? For to speake of chaste and honest dames, I say, it is not becoming that they should either love or be loved. And heereat verily my father said, that himselfe tooke *Proteogenes* by the hand, reciting this verse out of the Poet:

*Such words as these no doubt will make
The Argives, armes anon to take.*

For surely *Pisias* through his insolencie, causeth us to side with *Daphneus*, and undertake to maintaine his part, seeing he so farre exceedeth the bonds of all reason, as to bring into marriage and wedlocke, a society without love, and void of that divine infinit of amity, and inspired from heaven above: which wee see how we have enough to doe for to maintaine and hold with at the yokes, bittes and bridles, of feare and shame, if this hearty affection and grace be away. ³⁰ Then *Pisias*, I passe litle (quoth he) for all these words: and as for *Daphneus* me thinks I see how it fareth with him, as it doth with a piece of brasse, which melteth not so much by force of fire, as it doth by another piece of brasse melted, if a man power the same upon it, for then anon it will be liquefied and runne together with it. And even so, the beauty of *Lysandra* doth not so greatly affect and trouble him, as this that conversing along time with one that is enflamed and full of fire, by touching her he is himselfe all fire: and evident it is, that unless hee retire with speed unto us, he will melt and runnall to liquor: But I perceive (quoth he) that I do that which *Anthemion* should most desire and wish, namely, that I am offensive both to the judges and to my selfe; wherefore I will hold my peace & say no more: You say true indeed (quoth *Anthemion*). ⁴⁰ you do me a great pleasure, for you should at the very first have said somewhat to the point, and upon the particular matter now in question: I say therefore (quoth *Pisias*), but I protest before hand, & that aloud, that for mine ownepart I will be no hindrance, but that every woman may have her lover) that this yong man *Bacchon* had need to take heed and beware of the riches and wealth of *Ismenodorus*; otherwise if wee match him with such an house of so great state and magnificence, we shall ere wee be aware consume him to nothing, like a piece of time among brasse. For a great matter I may tell you it were, if being so yong as he is, and espousing a wife of meane and simple degree, he should insuch a mixture hold his owne, and keepe the predominance as wine over water. But we may see that this gentlewoman heere seemeth already to looke for to commaund and be his master: otherwise she would never have refused and rejected to many husbands as she hath done of such reputation, so nobly descended, and so wealthy withall, for to woo and sollicite as she doth away by new crept out of the shell, no better than a page but the other day, one wits that had more need to goe to schoole still, and be under a tutor and governor. And heereupon it is, that those husbands who are of the wiser sort, doe of themselves cast away, or else clip and cut the wings of their wives, that is to say, their goods and riches, which cause them to be proud and insolent, sumptuous and wasteful, full of shrewdnesse, vaine, light, and foolish; and with these wings they mount many times, take their flight and away; or if they stay at home, better it were for a man to be bound with fetters of gold, as the

maner

from out of the city bringing newes of a very strange and wonderfull occurrent. For *Ismenodora*, perswading her selfe (as probable it was) that *Bacchon* misliked not this marriage in his heart but that he held off, for the respect and reverence that he carried unto those who seemed to divert him from it, resolved, not to give over her suit, nor to cast off the young men. Whereupon she sent for such of her friends, as were lusty young and adventurous gallants, and withall her favourites those that wished well to her love: certaine women also who were inward with her and most trusty: and when she had assembled them all together in her house and communicated her mind unto them, she waited the very houre, when as *Bacchon* was wont ordinarily to passe by her dores, going well and orderly appointed forth to the publicke place of wrestling. Now when he approached nere unto her house all enhailed and anointed as he was, accompanied only 10 with two or three persons, *Ismenodora* her selfe stepped forth of dores, crossed the way upon him and only touched the mandilion that he had about him: which signall being given, all at once her friends leapt forth & faire caught up this faire youth in his mandilion and dublet as he was, and gently carried him into her house, and immediately that the dores fast locked. No sooner had they gotten him within dores, but the women in the house turning him out of his upper mandilion afore said, put upon him a faire wedding robe, & withall the servants of the house ran up and downe, and adorned with ivie and olive branches the dores and gates not onely of *Ismenodora* but also of *Bacchons* house: and with that a minstrill wench also passed along through the street piping and singing a wedding song. As for the citizens of *Thebes* and the strangers who were there at that time, some of them tooke up a laughter, others being angry and offended herat, 20 incited the masters and governours of the publicke exercises (who indeed have great authority over the youth and carry a vigilant eye unto them, for to looke nerely unto all their behaviours) whereupon they made no account at all of the present exercises then in hand, but leaving the theater, to the dore they came of *Ismenodora*, where they fell into hot reasoning and debating of the matter one against another. Now when the said friend of *Pisias* was come in all hattering upon the spur with this newes, as if he had brought some great tidings out of the campe in time of warre, he had no sooner uttered, panting for want of winde and in manner breathlesse, these words, *Ismenodora* hath ravished *Bacchon*, but *Zewippus*, as my father told the tale, laughed heartily, and out of *Euripides* (as he was one who alwaies loved to reade that Poet) pronounced this sentence: 30

*Well done faire dame: you having wealth at will,
Are worldly wise, your minde thus to fulfill.*

But *Pisias*, rising up in great choler, cried out, O the will of God, what will be the end of this licentious libertie, which thus overthroweth our cite? seeing how all the world is grown already to this passe, that through our unbridled audaciousnesse, we doe what we list, and passe for no lawes? but why say I lawes, for haply it is but a ridiculous thing to take indignation for the transgressing of civill law and right: for even the very lawe of nature is violated by the insolent rashnesse of women. Was there ever the like example scene in the very isle *Lennox*? Let us be gone (quoth he) goe we and quit from hence-foorth the wrestling schooles, and publicke place of exercises, the common hall of justice, and the separate house, and commit all to women, if the cite be so inervate as to put up such an indignitie. So *Pisias* brake company and departed in these termes, and *Protagenes* followed after him, partly as angry as he, and in part appeasing & mitigating his mood a little. Then *Anthemion*: To say a truth (quoth he) this was an audacious part of hers, and favouring somewhat of the enterprize of those Lemnian wives in old time, and no marvel: for we our selves know that the woman was exceeding amorous. Hereat *Sochrus*: Why thinke you (quoth he) that this was a ravishment indeed, and plaine force, and not rather a subtil devise and stratagem, as it were of a young man himselfe, who hath wit at will, to colour and excuse himselfe, in that escaping out of the armes of his other lovers, he is fallen into the hands of a faire, young and wealthie Ladie. Never say so (quoth *Anthemion*) nor intertaine such an opinion of *Bacchon*: for say that he were not of a simple nature (as he is) and plaine in all his dealings, yet would he never have concealed so much from me, considering that he hath made me privie to all his secrets, and knoweth full well that in these matters I was of all other most ready to second and let forward the sute of *Ismenodora*. But a hard matter it is to withstand not anger as *Heraclitus* saith, but love: for whatsoever it be that it would have, compass the same it will, though it be with the perill of life, though it cost both goods and reputation. For setting this thing aside, was there ever in all our cite, a woman more wise, sober and modest than *Ismenodora*? when was there ever heard abroad of her, any evil report, and when

when

went there so much as a light suspicion of any dishonest act out of that house? Certes we must thinke and say, that the seemes to have beene surprised with some divine instinct (supernatural and above humane reason. Then laughed *Pemptides*: You say even true (quoth he) there is a certaine great maladie of the bodie, which thereupon they call sacred: is there any marvel then that the greatest and most furious passion of the minde some do terme sacred and divine? But it seemes unto me, that it fares with you here, as I saw it did sometime with two neighbours in *Aegypt*, who argued & debated one with another upon this point, that whereas there was presented before them in the way as they went, a serpent creeping on the ground, they were resolved both of them, that it presaged good & was a luckie signe; but either of them tooke & challenged it to 10 himselfe: for even so when I see that some of you draw love into mens chambers, and others into womens cabinets, as a divine and singular good thing, I nothing wonder thereat, considering that this passion is grown to such power and is so highly honoured, that even those who ought to clip the wings thereof, and chase it from them of all sides, those be they that magnifie and exroll it most. And verily hitherto have I held my peace as touching this matter in question, for that I saw the debate and controversie was about a private cause rather than any publicke matter: but now that I see how *Pisias* is departed, I would gladly heare and know of you, whereat they aimed and tended, who first affirmed that Love was a God? When *Pemptides* had propounded this question, as my father addrest himselfe and began to make his answer, there came another messenger in place, whom *Ismenodora* had sent from the cite, for to bring *Anthemion* with 20 him; for that the trouble and tumult in manner of a sedition grew more and more within the towne, by occasion that the two masters of the publicke exercises, were at some difference one with another, whiles the one was of this minde that *Bacchon* was to be redeemed and delivered, the other againe thought that they were to deale no farther in the matter. So *Anthemion* arose incontinently and went his way with all speed and diligence possible: and then my father calling to *Pemptides* by name, and directing his speech unto him: You seeme *Pemptides* (quoth he) in my conceit, to touch a very maine and nice point, or rather indeed to stirre a string that would not be stirred, to wit, the opinion and beleefe that we have as touching the gods, in that you call for a reason and demonstration of them in particular. For the ancient faith and beleefe received from our ancients in the country where we are borne is sufficient, than which there can not be said or imagined a more evident argument: 30

For never was this knowledge found,

By wit of man or sense profound.

But this tradition being the base and foundation common to all pietie and religion, if the certitude and credit thereof received from hand to hand be shaken and moved in one onely point, it becometh suspected and doubtfull in all the rest. You have heard no doubt how *Euripides* was coufused and troubled for the beginning of his Tragedie *Menalippe*, in this manner:

Zōi sōi tōiō mōiō sōi, &c.

Jupiter whose name I know

By heare say onely and no mo.

40 And verily he had a great confidence in this Tragedie, being as it should seeme magnificently and with exquisite elegancie penned: but for the tumultuous murmuring of the people, hee changed the foresaid verses, as now they stand written:

Zōi sōi tōiō mōiō sōi, &c.

God Jupiter (which name in veritie

Doth sort full well to his divinitie.)

And what difference is there by our words and disputation, betwene calling the opinion which we have of *Jupiter* and of *Mercurie* into question and making doubt of *Cupid* or Love? For it is not now of late, and never before, that this God begins to call for altars or to challenge sacrifices: neither is he a stranger come among us from some barbarous superstition, like as certaine 50 *Atta* and I wont not what *Adonides* and *Adonei*, brought in by the meanes of some halfe-men or mungrell *Hermaphrodites* and odde women; and thus being closely crept in, hath met with certaine honours and worshippes farre unmeet for him, in such sort as he may well be accused of bastardie and under a false title to have beene enrolled in the catalogue of the gods: for my good friend, when you heare *Empedocles* saying thus,

*And equall to the best in length
and breadth, was *Admetes*,*

But

*But see in spirit thou it behold,
nor with deceitfull eye.*

you must understand him, that he writeth thus of Love; for that this God is not visible, but apprehended onely by opinion and beleefe, among other Gods which are most ancient. Now if of all them in particular, you seeke for a prooffe and demonstration, laying your hands upon ech temple, and making a sophisticall triall by every altar, you shall find nothing void and free from calumination and envious slander: for not to go farre off, make but these verses:

*But Venus meth can I see
How great a goddesse she should be:
Of Cupid she the mother is,
And she alones that Love doth give:
Whose children we (you not wel this)
Are all, who on the earth do live.*

And verily *Empedocles* called her *Cupid*, that is to say, fertile or giving life: *Sophocles* *Empedocles*, that is to say, fruitfull: both of them using most fit and pertinent attributes. Howbeit, this great and admirable worke, to wit, Generation, is wrought principally and directly by *Venus*, but collaterally and as an accessary by Love: which if love be present, is pleasant & acceptable; contrariwise, if love be away, and not assistent thereto, surely the act thereof remaineth altogether not experible, if dishonorable, without grace and unamiable. For the conjunction of man and woman without the affection of love, like as hunger and thirst which tend to nothing else but 20 fatiety and fulnesse, endeth in nought that is good, lovely and commendable: but the goddesse *Venus*, putting away all lothsome fatiety of pleasure, by the meanes of love, engendred amitie and friendship, yea and temperature of two in one. And heretupon it is that *Parmenides* verily affirmeth love to be the most ancient worke of *Venus*, writing thus in his booke intituled *Cymogenis*, that is to say, the creation of the world.

*And at the first she framed love
Before all other gods above.*

But *Hesiodus* seemeth in mine opinion more physically to have made love more ancient than any other whatsoever, to the end that all the rest by it might breed and take beginning. If then we becare this love of the due honours ordained for it, certes those which belong to *Venus* will 30 not keepe their place any longer. Neither can it be truly said that some men may wrong and reproch love, and forbear withall to doe injurie unto *Venus*. For even from one and the same stage we doe here these imputations, first upon love:

*Love idle is it selfe, and in good trath
Possesseth such like persons, given to sloth.*

And then againe upon *Venus*:

*Venus (my children) hath not this onely name
Of Venus or of Cyprius: for the same
Answer right well to many an attribute,
And surname, which men unto her impute.
For hell she is: and also violence
That never ends, but doe remorse
And furious rage, yong folke for to incite*

Like as, of the other gods there is not one almost, that can avoid the approbrious tongue of unlettered rufficity and ignorance. For do but consider and observe god *Mars*, who as it were in an Caldeean and Astronomically table standeth in a place diametrically opposit unto love, make I say what great honours men have yielded unto him, and contrariwise what reprochfull termes they give him againe:

*Mars is starke blinde and seeth not
(saie dames) but like wilde bore,
By turning all things up side downe,
works mischief evermore.*

Homer calleth him *murderer*, that is to say, imbrued with blood and polluted with murders; likewise *Andageismon*, that is to say, variable and leaping from one side to another. As for *Chrysippus*, by etymologizing and deriving this gods name, fastneth upon him a criminous accusation, saying that *apies*, for so he is named, in Greeke, cometh of *apies*, that is to say to murder and destroy: giving

giving thereby occasion unto some, to thinke that the facultie and power in us, prone to warre, fight, debate, quarrell, anger, and fell stomacke, is called *Apis*, that is to say, *Mars*. Like as others also will say, that concupiscence in us, is termed *Venus*, our gift of speaking, *Mercurius*; skill in arts and sciences, *Muses*; and prudence, *Minerva*. See you not how deepe a pic and downfall of Atheisme and impietie is ready to receive and swallow us up, in case we range and distribute the gods according to the passions, powers, faculties and vertues that be in us?

Ifce it very well (quoth *Pempeides*): but neither standeth it with pietie and religion, to make gods to be passions; nor yet contrariwise, to beleefe that passions be gods. How thinke you then (quoth my father) is *Mars* a god, or a passion of ours? *Pempeides* answered, That he 10 thought him to be a god, ruling and ordering that part of our soule wherein is seated animosity, anger and manly courage. What *Pempeides*, cried out my father then, hath that turbulent, warring, overthwart and quarrelling part in us, a deitie to be president over it; and shall this that breedeth amity, societie and peace, be without a divine power to governe it? Is there indeed, a martiall and warlike god of armes, called thereupon *Stratius* and *Eoyalius*, who hath the superintendence and presidency of mutual murders wherein men kill and be killed, of armour, weapons, arrows, darts and other shot of assaults and scaling walles, of saccage, pillage and booties? Is there never a god, to be a winnesse, guide, director and coadjutor of nuptiall affection and matrimoniall love, which endeth in unitie, concord and fellowship? There is a god of the woods and forests, named *Agroteros*, who doth aide, assist and encourage hunters, in chasing 20 and crying after the roe-bucke, the wilde goat, the hare and the hart; and they who lie in secret wait for to intercept wolvcs and beares in pitfallcs, and to catch them with snares, make their praies to *Asistum*,

*Who first, as I have heard men say,
Did grimes and snares for wilde beasts lay.*

And *Hercules* when he bent his bowe, and was ready to shoot at a bird, called upon another god: and as *Aeschylus* reporteth,

*Phoebus the hunter, directed by and by,
His arrow straight, as it in aire did fly.*

And shall the man who hunteth after the fairest game in the world, even to catch friendship and 30 amitie, have no god nor demi-god, no angell to helpe, to favorise, and speed his enterprife and good endeavours? For mine owne part, my friend *Daphneus*, I take not man to be a more base plant or viler tree, than is the oake, the mulberie tree, or the vine which *Homer* honoureth with the name of *Hemeris*, considering that in his time and season he hath a powerfull instinct to bud and put forth most pleasantly, even the beauty both of body and minde. Then (quoth *Daphneus*) who ever was there, before God, that thought or said the contrary? Who? answered my father: many even all they verily, who being of opinion, that the carefull industrie of plowing, sowing and planting, apperteineth unto the gods:

*For certaine Nymphs they have light Dryades
Whose life they say is equall with the trees.*

40 And as *Pindarus* writeth,

*God Bacchus who the pure resplendent light
Of Autumne is, and with his kinde influence
Doth nourish trees: and cause to grow upright,
And fructife at length in affluence.*

Yet for all this are not perlawded that the nouriture and growth of children, and yong folke, who in their prime and flour of age, are framed and shaped to singular beauty and feature of personage, belongeth to any one of the gods or demy gods. Neither by their saying, any deitie or divine power, hath the care & charge of man, that as he groweth he should shoot up streight, and arise directly to vertue; and that his naturall indument and generous ingenuity should be 50 perverted, daunted and quelled, either for default of a careful tutour and directour, or through the lewd and corrupt behavioir of bad company about him. And verily were it not a shamefull indignity and ingratitude thus to say: and in this behalfe to drive God as it were from that bounty and benignity of his to mankinde, which being defused spread and dispersed over all, is defectuous in no part, no not in those necessary actions and occasions, whereof some have their end more needfull iwis many times than lovely or beautifull to see to. As for example, even our very birth at first, is nothing slightly at all nor pleasant, in regard of the blood and bitter pangs that do accompany it, yet hath the same a goddesse to be the president & overseer there-

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of,

of, to wit *Lucina*, called thereupon *Lochia* and *Ilithia*. Besides, better it were for a man never to have bene borne, than to become evill and naught, for want of a good governor and guardian. Moreover the deitie and devine power, leaveth not man destitute when he is sicke, no nor when he is dead: but some God there is or other, that hath an office and function even then, and is powerfull in those occasions: there is one, I say, that helpeth to convey the soules of such as have ended their life, from hence into another world, and to lay them in quiet repose, who for bestowing and transporting of them in that sort is called *Catunastes* and *Psychopompos* according as he saith.

*The shady night never bare
(The harps to sound) a fine musician:
Nor prophet secrets to declare:
Ne yet in cures a good physician:
But for the soules of dead, below,
In their due place, them to bestow.*

And yet in these ministries and functions many odious troubles and inconvincences there be: whereas contrariwise there can be named no worke more holy, no exercise, game of price or profession of mysteries, whatsoever, whereof becometh a god better, to have the dispose, precedence and oversight, than is the charge and regard, to order and rule the desires of lovers, affecting and pursuing beautifull persons in the flower and prime of their age. For herein their is nothing foule, nothing forced not by constraint: but that gentle perswasion & attractive grace, 20 which yeelding in truth a pleasant and sweet labor, leadeth all travell whatsoever unto vertue and amities; which neither without a god can attaine unto the desired end which is meet and convenient, nor hath any other god, for the guide, master, and conductor, than Love which is the companion of the Muses graces and *Venus*;

*For Cupid sowing secretly
In heart of man a sweet desire,
And heat of Love, immediately
By kindling wilde and gentle fire.*

According as *Menandripedes* saith, tempereth the pleasantest things that be with those that are most faire and beautifull. How say you *Zenxippus*, is it not so? Yes verily (quoth he) I am altogether of that minde: for to hold the contrary were very absurd. Then (quoth my father-a-gaine) and were it not as monstrous, that whereas amitie hath foure severall kindes and branches, according as the ancient Philosophers have divided it: The first in nature, then that of propinquity and locall affinity, the third of society, and the last this of love, every one of the rest should have a god to be the president and governor thereof, to wit, furnished either *sin*, or *sin*, or *sin*, and *sin*, and this amorous amitie onely or love as accursed, interdicted and excommunicate, be left without a lord and ruler? considering that it requirith more care, solicitude and government than all the rest? It doth indeed (quoth *Zenxippus*) and need it hath out of that which is strange but proper and familiar, of the owne.

Moreover (quoth my father) a man may here take hold by the way of *Plato* his opinion and doctrine to this purpose: to wit, that there is one kind of furie transmitted from the body to the soule proceeding from certaine indispositions and malignant distemperatures of ill humours, or else occasioned by some hurtfull winde or pernicious spirit that passeth and entrench into it, and this furie is a sharpe and dangerous disease. There is another not without some divine instinct: neither is it engendred at home and within us: but a strange inspiration it is, coming from without, a very alienation of reason, sense, and understanding, the beginning and motion whereof ariseth from some better power and a certaine divine puissance. And this passion in generall is named *Enthusiasmus*, as one would say, a divine inspiration. For like as, *en*, in Greeke signifieth repletion with spirit or winde. And *theos*, that which is full of prudence and wit: Even so faith be an agitation and shaking of the soule is called *enthusiasmos*: by the participation and society of some more heavenly and divine power. Now this enthusiafine is subdivided: for one part thereof is propheticall, and can skill of foretelling natural things, when one is inspired and possessed by *Apollo*. A second is *Bacchanall* sent from *Bacchus* whereof *Sophocles* speaketh in one place thus,

*And see you dance,
With Corybants,*

For those furies of dame *Cybele* the mother of the gods, as also Panique & terrors frights hold al

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of the *Bacchanall* sacred ceremonies. The third proceedeth from the Muses, which meeting with a tender and delicate soule, not polluted with vice, stirreth up and raiseth a poetical spirit, and muscical humour: as for that raging and martiall *Enthusiasme* (for *Arminianus* it is called) that furious inspiration breathing warre, is well known to every man, for to proceed from god *Mars*; a furie wherein there is no grace, no muscical sweetnesse, hindring the generation and nourishment of children, and inciting people to take armes. There remaineth one alienation more of the understanding & *Daphneus*, and an extasie or transportation of mans spirit, and the same not obscure, nor quiet and calme: concerning which I would demand of *Pempires* heere,

*What god is he, that shakes the speare
In hand, which doth so faire fruit beare.*

Even this ravishment of love, settled as well upon faire and good boies, as honest and sober dames; which is the hottest and most vehement transportation of the mude: for see you not that even the very soldier and warrior himselfe, comming once to be surprised therewith, laide downe his armes presently, and cast off his warlike furie,

*For then his servants joy to make,
And console from his shoulders take.*

and himselfe having no more minde to battell, sat still looking upon others that fought. And as for these *Bacchanall* motions, these wanton skipplings and frisks of the *Corybants*, they use 20 to appeale and stay by changing, onely in dauncing of the measures, the foot *Trocheus* into *Spondeus*; and in song, the *Phrygian* tune into the *Dorique*: semblably *Pythia* the priestresse of *Apollo*, being once come downe from her three footed fabrick, upon which she receiveth that incentive spirit of furie, remaineth quiet and in calme tranquillity: whereas the rage of love, after it hath once in good earnest caught a man, and set him on fire, there is no musick in the world, no charme, no lenitive song, no change of place able to stay it: for amorous persons when they be present, doe love, if they be absent, doe long: in the day time they follow after their sweet hearts, by night they lie and watch at their doores; fasting and sober they call upon their faire paramours, full and drunken, they sing and chant of them: neither are poeticall fancies and inventions, as one sometimes said for their lively and effectfull expression, the dreams

30 of persons waking; but rather this may be verified of lovers imaginations, who devise and talke with their loves absent, as if they were present, they smile, embrace, chide, and expostulate with them, as if they saw them in place: for it seemeth that our ordinarie sight doth depaunt other imagination with liquid and watrish colours, which quickly passe away, are gone and departed out of our minds: but the fancies and visions of Lovers being imprinted in their cogitations by fire or enambled, leave in their memorie lively images fully engraved, which move, live, breathe, speake, remaine and continue euer after; like as *Cato* the *Romane* said, that the soule of the lover lived & dwelt in the soule of the loved: for that there is settled fore in him the visage, countenance, manners, nature, life, and actions of the person whom he loveth, by which being led and conducted, he quickly dispatcheth and cutteth off a long journey, as the

40 * *Cynicks* are wont to say, finding a short, compendious and direct way unto vertue: for hee passeth speedily from love to amity and friendship, being carried on end by the favour of this God of Love, with the instinct of his affection, as it were with winde and tide, with weather and water together: in summe, I say, that this enthusiasme or ravishment of lovers is not without some divine power, and that there is no other god to guide and governe it, than he whose feast we solemnize, and unto whom we sacrifice this very day: howbeit, for that we measure the greatness of a god by puissance especially & profit, according as among all humane goods, we holde roialty and vertue to be most divine, and so to call them. It is time now to consider first and forme, whether Love be inferior to any other god in power? And verily *Sophocles* saith:

*Venus in power doth much avails,
To win a prize and to premise.*

50 Great also is the puissance of *Mars*: and verily we see the power of all other gods to be after a sort divided in these matters two waies, the one is affective, and causeth us to love that which is beautifull and good, the other is adverbative, and maketh us to hate that which is foule and bad, which are the first impressions, that from the beginning are engraven in our mindes, according as *Plato* in one place speaketh of the *Idea*. Let us now come to the point, and consider how the very act alone of *Venus* may be had for a goat or some such small piece of silver, neither was

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their

* *scilicet, some
read Koyner,
that is, Com-
call Poets,*

there ever man known to endure any great travell, or to expose himselfe to any danger, for the enjoying of such a fleshly pleasure, unless he were amorous withall and love sicke. And to forbear here to name such curiosities as *Phryne* and *Lais* were, we shall finde my good friend, that *Gnathanium* the harlot,

*At lantern light in evening late,
Waiting and calling for some mate.*

is many time passed by and neglected: but otherwhiles againe

*If once some sudden spirit move,
The raging fit of fervent love.*

it maketh a man to prize and esteeme the forefaide pleasure which erewhile he reckoned nothing so woorth, comparable in value to all the talents as they say, of *Tantalus* treasure, and equall to his great seignorie and dominion; so enervate is the delight of *Venus*, and so soone bringeth it lothsome facietie, in case it be not inspired with the power of love: which we may see yet more evidently by this one argument; namely, that there be many men who will be content to part with others in this kind of venereous pleasure, yea, and can find in their hearts to prostitute unto them not only their mistresses and concubines, but also their owne espoused wives; as it is reported of that *Galba* or *Cabbas* a Romaine, who, if I doe not mistake, invited *Mecenas* upon a time unto his house, & feasted him; where perceiving how from him to his wife there passed some wanton nods and winkings, which bewaied that hee had a minde and fancie to her, he gently rested his head upon a pillow or cushion, making semblance as though he would take a nap and sleepe, whiles they dallied together: in the meane time when one of the servants which were without spying his time, came softly to the table for to steale away some of the wine that stood there; avaint unhappy knave (quoth *Galba*) being broad awake, and open eyed, knoweth thou not that I sleepe onely for *Mecenas* sake? But peradventure this was not so strange a matter, considering that the said *Galba* was no better than one of the buffons or pleasters that professe to make folke merry and to laugh. I will tell you therefore another example: At *Argos* there were two of the principall citizens concurrents, and opposit one to the other in the government of the city, the one was named *Philoftratus*, & the other *Phaulius*; now it fortuned upon a time that king *Philip* came to the towne: and commonly thought it was, that *Phaulius* plotted and practised to attaine unto some absolute principallity and sovereignty in the city, by the means of his wife, who was a yoong and beautifull ladie, in case he could bring her once to the kings bed, and that she might lie with him. *Xicoftratus* smelling and perceiving as much, walked before *Phaulius* doore and about his house for the nonce, to see what he would do: who indeed having thod his wife with a paire of high shooes, cast about her a mantle or mandilion, and withall set upon her head a chaplet or hat after the Macedonian fashion, and dressed her every way like unto one of the kings pages; sent her secretly in that habit and attire unto his lodging. Now considering there hath bene in times past and is at this present such a number of amorous persons and lovers, have you ever read or known that any one of them hath bene the bawd to prostitute his owne love, though he might thereby have gained soveraigne majesty, and obtained the divine honours of *Jupiter*? I verily beleve no: for why? there is not a person dare quetch to contradict and oppose himselfe in government of State against the actions of princes and tyrants? But on the other side, corrivalls they have and concurrences many in love, such as will not sticke to beard them in the question of faire, yoong and beautifull persons, whom they affect and fancie. For it is reported that *Aristogiton* the Athenian, *Anisilon* the Metapontine, and *Menalippus* of *Agigentum* never contended nor contested with the tyrants, for all they saw them to walte and rinate the common-weale, yea, to commit many enormous outrages; but when they began once to sollicit and tempt their paramors and loves, then they rose up as it were in the defence of their sacred temples and sanctuaries, then they stood against them even with the hazzard and perill of their lives. It is said, that king *Alexander* wrote unto *Theodorus* the brother of *Protesis* in this wise: Convey unto me that Musick wench of thine, so that sings so daintily, and receive for her ten talents, which I send by this bearer; let me have her, I say, unless thou thyselfe be in love with her. When *Antipatrides* another of his minions, came in a maske on a time to his house, accompanied with a pretty girle that played upon the psalterie, & sung passing well; *Alexander* taking great delight & contentment in the said damo-sell, demanded of *Antipatrides*, whether he were not himselfe enamoured of her. And when he answered, Yes verily, and that exceeding much. A mischief on thee (quoth he) leud varlet as thou

thou art, and the divell take thee: but the wench he abstained from, and would not so much as touch her. But marke moreover & besides, of what power, even in martiall feates of armes, Love is: Love I say, which is not (as faith *Euripides*)

*Of nature slow, dull, sicke, inconsistent,
Nor in soft cheeks of maidens resistant.*

For a man that is possessed secretly in his heart with Love, needeth not the assistance of *Mars*: when he is to encounter with his enemies in the field; but having a god of his owne within him, and presuming of his presence,

*Most prest he is and resolute,
To passe through fire and seas;
The blasts of most tempestuous windes,
He cares not to appeale.*

And all for his friends sake, and according as he commandeth him. And verily, of those children, as well sonnes as daughters, of lady *Xicobe*, who in a Tragedie of *Sophocles* are represented to be shot with arrows, and so killed, one there was, who called for no other to helpe and succor her at the point of death, but onely her paramor, in this wise:

*O that some god my Love would send,
My life to save, and me defend.*

Ye all know I am sure, doe ye not? how and wherefore *Cleomachus* the Theffalian died in 20 combat? Not I for my part (quoth *Pemprides*) but gladly would I heare and learne of you. And it is a storie (quoth my father) worth the hearing and the knowledge. There came to aide the Chalcidians, at what time as there was hot warre in *Theffalie* against the Eterrians, this *Cleomachus*: now the Chalcidians seemed to be strong enough in their footmen, but much adoe they had, and thought it was a difficult peece of service, to breake the cavallerie of their enemies, and to repell them. So they requested *Cleomachus* their allic and confederate, a brave knight, and of great courage, to give the first charge, and to enter upon the said men of armes. With that, he asked the youth whom he loved most entirely, and who was there present, whether he would beholde this enterprize, and see the conflict: and when the yoong man answered Yea, and withall, kindly kissing and embracing him, set the helmet upon his head; *Cleomachus* much 30 more hardy and fuller of spirit than before, assenbled about him a troupe of the most valourous hofemen of all the Theffalians, advanced forward right gallantly, and with great resolution set upon the enemies, in such sort, as at the very first encounter he brake the front, discomfited the men of armes, and in the end put them to flight. Which discomfiture, when their infanterie saw, they also fled: and so the Chalcidians woon the field, and achieved a noble victorie. Howbeit, *Cleomachus* himselfe was there slaine, and the Chalcidians shew his sepulchre and monument in their Market place, upon which there standeth, even at this day, a mighty pillar erected. And whereas the Chalcidians before-time held this paderastie or love of yoong boies an infamous thing, they of all other Greeks ever after affected and honoured it most. But *Aristotele* writeth, that *Cleomachus* indeed lost his life after he had vanquished the Eterrians in battell: but as for him who was thus killed by his lover, he saith that he was of *Chalotis* in *Thrace*, sent for to aide those of *Chalotis* in *Euboea*: and hereupon it cometh that the Chalcidians use to chant such a caroll as this:

*Sweet boies, faire impes extract from noble race,
Endued besides with youth and beauties grace,
Envie not men of armes and bolde courage,
Fruition of your prime and flowing age:
For here as well of Love and kinde affection,
As of provesse, we all doe make profession.*

The lover was named *Anton*, and the boy whom he loved *Philistus*, as *Dionysius* the Poet writeth in his booke* of Causes.

50 And in our city of *Thebes*, *o Pemprides*, did not one *Ardeus* give unto a youth whom he loved, a complet armour, the day that he was enrolled fouldier, with the inscription of *Ardeus* his owne name? And as for *Pammenes* an amorous man and one well experienced in love matters, he changed and altered the ordinance in battell of our footmen heavily armed, reprooving *Homer* as one that had no skill nor experience of loves; for ranging the Achians by their tribes and wards, and not putting in array the lover close unto him whom he loveth: for this indeed had bene the right ordinance, which *Homer* describeth in these words:

Dddd 3

The

* Orentin:
led Anis.

*The Morians set so close, and shield to shield
So jointly touch'd, that one the other held.*

And this is the onely battalion and armie invincible. For men otherwhiles in danger abandon those of their tribe, their kindred also and such as be allied unto them: yea, and beleeve me, they forsake their owne fathers and children: but never was there enemie scene, that could passe through, and make way of evasion betwene the lover and his darling, considering that such many times, (thow their adventerous resolution in a bravery, and how little reckoning they make of life, unto them being in no distresse nor requiring so much at their hands. Thus *Thero* the Theffalian laying and clapping his left hand to a wall, drew forth his sword with the right, and cut off his owne thumbe, before one whom he loved, and challenged his corrival to doe as much, 10 if his heart would serve him. Another chanced in fight to fall groveling upon his face, and when his enemie lifted up his sword to give him a mortall wound, he requested him to stay his hand a while untill he could turne his body, that his friend, whom he loved, might not see him wounded in his backe part. And therefore we may see, that not onely the most martiall and warlike nations are most given to Love, to wit, the Boeotians, Lacedaemonians, and Candioti, but also divers renowned princes and captaines, of olde time: as namely, *Meleager*, *Achilles*, *Aristomenes*, *Cimon*, *Epaminondus*. And as for the last named, he had two yong men whom he dearely loved, *Alopius* and *Zephiadorus*, who also died with him in the field at *Mantineas*, and was likewise interred neere unto him. And when *Alopius* became hereupon more terrible unto his enemies, and most resolute, *Euchimna* the Amphyssian, who first made head against him, 20 to resist his furie, and smote him, had heroique honors done unto him by the Phocæans. To come now unto *Hercules*; hard it were to reckon and number his lyes they were so many: But among others, men honour and worship to this day *Iolauus*, because they take him to have bene *Hercules* his desling, in so much as upon his tombe the manner is of lovers to take a corporall oth and assurance of reciprocall Love. Moreover it is reported of *Apollo*, that being skillfull in Physicke, he saved the life of *Alectis* being desperately sicke, for to gratifie *Admetus*, who as he loved her intirely being his wife, so he was as tenderly beloved of him. For the Poets doe fable, that *Apollo*, being inamour'd, for pure Love,

*Did serve Admetus one whole yeere
As one that his hir'd servant were.*

And here it falleth out, in some sort well, that we have made mention of *Alectis*: for albeit women have ordinarily much dealing with *Mars*, yet the ravishment and furious fits of Love driveth them otherwhiles to enterprise somewhat against their owne nature, even to voluntarie death: and if the poetickall fables are of any credit, and may goe currant for trueth, it is evident by such reports as goe of * *Alectis* of *Protesilaus*, and *Euridice* the wife of *Orpheus*, that *Pluto* o-beieth no other god but onely Love, nor doth what they command. And verily howsoever in regard of all other gods, as *Sophocles* saith,

*He cannot skill of equity,
of favour and of grace.
But onely with him Iustice straight,
and rigour taketh place.*

Yet he hath good respect and reverence to lovers, and to them alone he is not implacable nor inflexible. And therefore a good thing it is, my friend, I confesse, to be received into the religious confraternity of the Eleusinian mytheries: but I see that the votaries professed in Love, are in the other world in better condition accepted with *Pluto*: And this I say as one who neither am too forward in beleeving such fables of Poets, nor yet so backward as to distrust and discredit them all: for I assure you they speake well, and by a certaine divine fortune and good hap they hit upon the trueth, saying as they do, that none but lovers returne from hell unto this light againe: but what way and how they wot not; as wandring indeed and missing of the right path, which plato of all men first by the meanes of philosophy found out and knew. And yet among the Aegyptians fables, there be certaine small slender and obscure shadowes of the truth, 50 dispersed here an there. Howbeit they had need of an expert and well experienced hunter, who by small tracts knoweth how to trace and finde out great matters. And therefore let us passe this over.

And now that I have discoursed of the force and puissance of Love being so great as it appeareth, I come now to examine and consider the bountie and liberality thereof to mankind, not whether it conferre many benefites upon them, who are acquainted with it, and make use thereof

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thereof (for notable they be and well knownen to all men) but whether it bringeth more and greater commodity to those that are studious of it, and be amorous? For *Euripides*, howsoever he were a great favourer of Love; yet so it is, that he promised and admitted that in it, which of all others is least, namely when he said,

*Love teacheth Musike, make when you will
Though one before, thereof had no skill.*

For he might as well have said, that it maketh a man prudent and witty, who before was dull and foolish; yea & valiant, as hath bene said, who before was a coward; like as they that by putting into fire burning peeces of wood, make them firme and straight, where as they were before 10 weake and tender: Semblably, every amorous person becometh liberal and magnificent, although he had bene aforetime a pinching snudge: For this base avarice and micherie waxeth soft, and melteth by love, like as iron in the fire, in such sort, as men take more pleasure to give away and bestow upon those whom they love, than they doe, to take and receive of others. For yee all know well how *Anytus* the sonne of *Anthemon* was inamour'd upon *Alcebiades*, and when he had invited certaine friends and guests of his unto a sumptuous and stately feast in his house, *Alcebiades* came thither in a maske to make pastime; and after he had taken with him one halfe of the silver cups that stood upon the boord before them, went his waies, which when the guests tooke not well, but said that the youth had behaved himselfe vere proudly and malpertly toward him. Nor so (quoth *Anytus*) for he hath dealt very courteously with me, in that, when he 20 might have gone away withall, he left thus much behinde for me. *Zenoxippus* taking ioy hereat: O *Hercules* (quoth he) you want but a litle of ridding quite out of my heart that hereditary hatred derived and received from our ancestors, which I have taken against *Anytus*, in the behalfe of *Socrates* and Philosophie, in case he were so kinde and courteous in his love. Be it so (quoth my father) but let us proceed: Love is of this nature, that it maketh men otherwise melanchollicke, austere, and hard to be pleased or converted withall, to become more sociable, gentle and pleasant: for as ye know well enough,

*More stately is that house in light,
Where in the fire burnes cleere and bright.*

and even so, a man is more lightsome and jocund, when he is well warmed with the heat of love. 30 But the vulgar sort of men are in this point somewhat perversly affected and beside all reason; for if they see a flashing celestiall light in an house by night, they take it to be some divine apparition, and wonder thereat: but when they see a base, vile, & abject mind suddenly replenished with courage, libertie, magnificence, desire of honour, with grace, favour and liberality, they are not forced to say as *Telemachus* did in *Homer*:

*Certes, some god, I know full well,
Is now within, and here doth dwell.*

And is not this also, quoth *Daphneus*, (tell me, I pray you, for the love of all the Graces) an effect of some divine cause, that a lover who regardeth not, but despiseth in a manner all other things, I say not his familiar friends onely, his fellows and domesticall acquaintance, but the 40 lawes also and magistrates, kings and princes; who is afraid of nothing, admireth, esteemeth and observeth nothing; and is besides so hardy, as to present himselfe before the flashing shot of piercing lightning, so soone as ever he espieth his faire love;

*Like to some cocke of eravain kinde less fall,
Or hangs the wing, and daunted is withall.*

He drops I say, his courage is cooled, his heart is done, and all his animosities quailed quite. And here it were not impertinent to the purpose, to make mention of *Sappho* among the Muses. The Romans write in their history, that *Cicero* the sonne of *Vulcanus* breathed and flashed flames of fire from his mouth. And in trueth the words that *Sappho* uttereth, be mixed with fire, and by her verses testifieth the ardent and flaming heat of her heart,

*Seeking for love some cure and remedy
By pleasures found of Muses melodye.*

as *Philoxenus* writeth. But *Daphneus*, unless he peradventure the love of *Lyandra* have made you to forget your olde sports and delights wherewith you were wont to passe the time away, call to minde (I beseech you) and rehearde unto us those sweet verses of faire *Sappho*, wherein she saith, that when her love came in her sight, she lost her voice presently, and was speechlesse, her bodie ran all over into colde sweats, she became pale and wan, she fell a trembling and quaking, her braines turned round, surpris'd she was with dizzinesse, and fell into a fainting fit of swooning.

Thrice

* For *Alectis* was reported to die for the love of *Admetus*, & to have his life.

Thrice happy do I holde that night,
Who may enjoy thy sight,
Of thy sweet voice to reape delight,

And pleasant smiles:

Which kinde in me such a fire,
That, as I them do much admire,
My heart they ravish, and desire

Transport the whiles.

Thy face no sooner doe I see,
But sudden silence comes on me;
My tongue strings all dissolved bee,

And speech quite gone:

Then, underneath my skin is spread
A fiery flush of colour red;
With that mine eyes be darkened,

And sight yeeld none.

Mine eares also do buzze and ring,
And yet distinctly heare nothing;
Cold drops of sweet run down trickling,

Or stand as dew:

My joints anon and sinewes shake,
My heart-root pants, my flesh doth quake;
And palenesse soone doth overtake

My former brow.

And thus full wan I do remaine,
As flower in bonke that long hath laine,
Or grasse in field, which winning raine,

Doth quickly fade:

Untill at length in extasie,
Withouten sense and breath I lie;
As if death of me suddenly

Surprize had made.

When *Daphneus* had recited this sonet: Is not this (quoth my father, in the name of *Jupiter* I beseech you) a plaine possession of the minde by some heavenly power; is not this (I say) an evident motion and a very celestiall ravishment of the spirit? What furious passion was there ever so great and strong, that came upon the propheticke *Pythia*, when she mounted that three-footed fabrick, from whence she delivered oracles? Who ever was there so farre transported and carried beside himselfe by the pipes and flutes of fanaticall persons supposed to be surprized by some divine spirit of furie, by the tabour and other strange ceremonies in the service of *Cybele* the mother of the gods? Many there be, that holde the same body, and looke upon the same 40 beautie; but the amorous person onely is caught and ravished therewith. What should be the reason of it? Certes, there is some cause thereof? Verily, when *Alexander* sheweth it unto us, yet we learne it not, nor understand his meaning by these verses:

There is a mal-die of the minde,
That it surpriseth fatally:
Who smitten is therewith, doth finde
Himselfe forewounded inwardly.

And heereof is god Love the cause, who toucheth one, and spareth another. But that which ought indeed to have been spoken rather at the first,

Since now it comes into my minde,
And way out of my mouth would finde.

as *Aschilus* saith, I thinke not good to overpasse in silence, being a matter of so great importance. For of all things els (my good friend) in a manner, whereof we take knowledge, not by the ministerie of the five naturall senses; some there be, that came into credit (at the beginning) and authority, by fables; other, by lawes; and the rest, by doctrine and discourse of reason. Now the constant beleefe and full perswasion of the gods, the first masters, teachers and authors al- 50 ther thereof, were Poets, Law givers, and in a third ranke, Philoſophers, who all with one accord jointly

jointly did fer this downe as a verity, that Gods there be: howbeit, they are at great discord and variance, touching the number, order, nature, essence and power of them. For those whom the Philoſophers acknowledge to be gods, are not subject to diseases, nor to age, neither knowthey what it is to fele paine or endure travell:

Escape they doe the passage of the firſt,
Of roaring Acheron, and live in joy and mirth.

And in that regard Philoſophers admit not at all the Poeticall *Ides* and *Arms*, that is to say, contentions and reconciliations: they will not allow *Ancas* and *gobos*, to be gods, nor confesse them to be the ſonnes of *Mars*: and in many points doe they differ also and differ from lawgivers; as *Xenophanes* did, who said unto the Egyptians as touching *Osiris*: if you take him for a mortall man, adore him not; if you account him an immortal god, lament not for him. Again, the 10 the Poets and lawgivers on the other side, deigne not, nor will abide so much as to heare those Philoſophers who of certaine Ideas, numbers, unities and spirits, make gods; neither can they possibly conceive and understand such doctrine. In summe, much variety there is & diffonance in their opinions, about this one point: but like as in old time there were three sects or factions in *Athens*, all adverse, opposite & malicious one unto the other, to wit, of the *Paralli*, the *Epacrii*, and *Pædiai*: yet notwithstanding, when they were assembled and met together in a generall 20 councill, they gave all their voices and suffrages to *Solon*, and elected him with one common assent their peace-maker, their governour, and lawgiver, as one worthy, without any question or doubt at all, to have conferred upon him the principality and highest degree of vertue and honour: even so those three sects differing in opinion about the gods, and giving their voices some on this side, and others on that, and not willing to subscribe one unto another, nor easily receiving that which is otherwise delivered than by themselves, be all of one and the same minde as touching this one god Love; and him the most excellent Poets, the best Law givers, 30 and the principall Philoſophers, admit with one voice into the register and kalender of the gods, praising and extolling him highly in all their writings, and like as *Alcæus* saith, That all the *Mitylenæans* with one accord and generall consent, chose *Pittacus* for their soveraigne prince and tyrant; even so *Hesiodus*, *Plato*, and *Solon*, bring and conduct Love out of *Helicon*, into the Academie unto us, for our king, prince, and president, crowned and adorned gaily 40 with garlands and chaplets of flowers, honored also, and accompanied with many shackles and couples professing amitie and mutuall societie: not such as *Euripides* saith:

With fetters bound and tied was,

Farre stronger than of iron and brass.

Linking them by a cold, heavy, and masse chaine of need and necessitie, as a colourable vaile and pretence to shame and turpitude; but such as are caried by winged chariots unto the most goodly and beautifull things in the world, whereof others have treated better and more at large. When my father had thus said: See you not (quoth *Soclarus*) how being fallen now againe, the second time into one and the same matter, you forced your selfe to turne away from it, I wor not how, avoiding to enter into this holy discourse, and (if I may be so bold to say what I thinke) 40 shifting off unjustly to pay the debt, which you have promised us? for having ere while by the way, and against your will made some little mention of the Aegyptians and of *Plato*; you passed them over then, and even so doe you at this present: as for that which *Plato* hath written, or rather these *Muses* heere have by him delivered, I know well you will say nothing thereof; although we should request and pray you to doe it: but for that you have covertly signified thus much, that the mythologic or fables of the Aegyptians accord sufficiently with the doctrine of the Platonikes concerning Love: it were against all reason that you should refuse to discover, 50 reveale, and declare it unto us: and content will we be, in case we may heare but a little of such great and important matters. Now when the rest of the companie instantly intreated likewise; my father began againe and said: That the Aegyptians like as the Greeks, acknowledge two kinds of Love, the one vulgar, the other celestiall: they beleefe also that there is a third befitting, to wit, the sunne; and *Venus* above all they have in great admiration; as for us we see a great affinity and resemblance betweene Love and the sunne; for neither of them both is (as some doe imagine) a materiall fire, but the heat of the one and the other is milde and generative; for that which proceedeth from the sunne, giveth unto bodies nouriture, light, and deliverance from cold winter; that which cometh from the other worketh the same effects in foules: and as the sunne betweene two clouds, and after a foggy mist breaketh forth most ardent: even to Love after anger, fallings out, and fits of jealousie; upon attonement and reconciliation made be- 60 twene

twene Lovers, is more pleasant and fervent : and looke what conceit some have of the sunne, that it is kindled and quenched alternately, namely, that every evening it goeth out, and every morning is lighted againe : the same they have of Love, as being mortall, corruptible, and not permanent in one estate : moreover, that habite or constitution of the body which is not exercised and inured to endure both cold and heat, can not abide the sunne ; no more can that nature of the soule which is not well nurtured and liberally taught, be able to brooke Love, without some paine and trouble ; but both the one and the other is transported out of order, yea and indisposed or diseased alike, laying the weight upon the force and power of Love, and not upon their owne impuissance and weaknesse : this only seemeth to be the difference betweene them ; that the sunne exhibiteth and sheweth unto those upon the earth who have their eyes 10 sight, things beautifull and foule indifferently ; whereas Love is the light that representeth faire things onely, causing lovers to be lookers of such alone, and to turne toward them ; but contrariwise to make none account of all others. Furthermore, they that attribute the name of *Venus* to the earth, are induced thereto by no similitude nor proportion at all ; for that *Venus* is divine and celestiall, but the region wherein there is a mixture of mortall with immortal, is of it selfe feeble, darke, and shady, when the sunne shineth not upon it ; like as *Venus*, when love is not affilant unto it : and therefore more credible it is, that the moone should resemble *Venus*, and the sunne Love, rather than any other god ; yet are not they therefore all one, because the body is not the same that the soules, but diverse ; & like as the sunne is sensible & visible ; but Love spiri- 20 tuall and intelligible : and if this might seeme a speech somewhat harsh, a man might say, that the sunne doeth cleane contrary unto Love, for that it diverteth our understanding from the speculation of things intelligible unto the beholding of objects sensible, in abusing and deceiving it by the pleasure and brightnesse of the sight, perswading it to seeke in it, and about it, as all other things ; so teach it selfe, and nothing else where, being ravished with the Love thereof,

*For that we see it shine so faire
Upon the earth, and in the aire.*

according as *Liripides* saith, and that for want of knowledge and experience of another life, or rather by reason of forgetfulness of those things which Love reduceth into our memorie. For like as when we awake in some great and resplendent light, all highly visions and apparitions van- 30 ish away and depart, which our soule saw during sleepe : even so it seemeth that the sunne doeth astonish the remembrance of such things as here happen and chance in this life ; yea, and to bewitch, charme, and enchant our understanding, by reason of pleasure and admiration, so as it forgetteth what it knew in the former life : and verily there is the true & real substance of those things ; but heere apparitions onely, by which our soule in sleepe admireth, and embraceth that which is most beautifull, divine, and woonderfull : but as the Poet saith ;

*About the same are vaine illusions,
Dravnes mensfold, and soules illusions.*

And so the mind is perswaded that all things here be goodly and precious, unless haply by good adventure it meet with some divine, honest, and chaste Love for to be her Physician and fa- 40 vior ; which passing from the other world by things corporall, may conduct and bring it to the truth, and to the pleasant fields thereof, wherein is seated and lodged, the perfect, pure, and naturall beautie, not sophisticate with any mixture of that which is counterfeite and false ; where they desire to embrace one another, and to commune together as good friends, that of long time have had no interview nor entercourse, assisted alwaies by Love, as by a Sextaine, who leadeth by the hand those that are professed in some religion, shewing unto them all the holy reliques and sacred ceremonies one after another. Now when they be sent hether againe, the soule by it selfe can not come neere and approach thereto, but by the organe of the body : and like as, because young children of themselves are not able to comprehend intelligible things ; therefore Geometricians put into their hands visible and palpable formes, of a substance incor- 50 porall and impassible, to wit, the representations of spheres, cubes, or square bodies, as also those that be *Adelaedra*, that is to say, having twelve equal faces : even so the celestiall Love doth present and shew unto us, faire mirrors to behold therein beautifull things, howbeit mortall, thereby to admire such as be heavenly and divine ; sensible objects, for to imagine thereby those that be spiritual and intelligible. These be the severall favors and beauties, faire colours, pleasant shapies, proportions and features of young persons in the flower of their age ; which shining and glutting as they doe, gently excite and stirre up our memorie, which by little and

little at the first is enflamed thereby : whereby it cometh to passe that some through the folly of their friends and kinsfolke, endeavoring to extinguish this affection and passion of the minde, by force, and without reason, have enjoined no benefit thereof, but either filled themselves with trouble and smoke, or else running with their heads forward, into beastly and filthy pleasures, pined away and were consumed. But such as by wife and discret discourse of reason, accompa- 10 nied with honest and shamefast modestie, have taken from Love the burning furious and trite heat thereof, and left behinde in the soule a splendor and light, together with a moderate heat (and not a boiling agitation thereof, stirring, as one said, a slippery motion of the feed, when as the atomes of *Epicurus* by reason of their smoothnesse and tickling are driven together) which 15 causeth a certaine dilatation, woonderfull degenerative, like as in a plant or tree, which putteth forth leaves, blossomes, and fruit ; for that she receiveth nutriment, because the pores and passages of docilitie, obedience and facilitie, to be perswaded by entertaining gently good admonitions and remonstrances be open, such I say within a small time pierce farther, and passe beyond the bodies of those whom they Love, entering as farre as into their soules, and touch their towardnesse, their conditions and manners, reclaiming their eyes from beholding the bodie, and conversing together by the communication of good discourses, behold one another by that meanes ; provided alwaies that they have some make and token of true beautie imprint 20 ed within their understanding ; which if they cannot finde, they forsake them, and turne their Love unto others, after the manner of bees, which leave many Greene leaves and faire floures, because they can gather out of them no hony ; but looke when they meet with any trace, any influence, or semblance of divine beauty smiling upon them, then being ravished with delight and admiration, and drawing it unto them, they take joy and contentment in that which is truly amiable, expetible, and to be embraced of all men.

True it is that Poets seeme to write the most part of that which they deliver as touching this god of Love, by way of meriment, and they sing of him as it were in a maske ; and little doe they speake in good earnest touching the very truth, whether it be upon judgement and reason, or some divine instinct and inspiration : as for example among other things, that which they give out concerning the generation of this god, in this manner :

*Dame Iris with faire winged shoes,
and golden yellow haire,
Conceived by sir Zephyrus,
the mightiest god did beare.*

unless it be so that you also are perswaded by the Grammarians, who holde that this fable was devised to expresse the variety and gay diversity, as it were of sundry colours represented in this passion of Love. For, what else should in respect (quoth *Daphneus*) Listen then said my father, and I will tell you. Forced we are, by manifest evidence to beleve, that when we behold the rainbow, it is nothing else but a reflexion of raies and beames, which our eyes suffer, when our sight falling upon a cloud somewhat moist but even & smooth withall and of an indifferent and meane 30 thickenesse, meeteth with the Sunne beames, and by way of repercussion seeth the radiant raies thereof, and the shining light about it, and so imprinteth in our mind this opinion, that such an apparition indeed is settled upon the cloud. And even such is the sophistical device and subtil invention of that in the generous and toward minds of gentle lovers, it causeth a certaine reflexion of memorie, from beauties appearing here, and so called, in regard of that divine, lovely indeed, blessed and admirable beautie. Howbeit the common sort, pursuing and apprehending the image onely thereof, expresse in faire persons, as well bodies as young damo- 40 sels, as it were in mirrors, can reape no fruit more certaine and assured than a little pleasure mingled with paine among ; which is nothing else as it seemeth, but the error and wandering dizziness or conceit of most folke, who in clouds and shadowes seeke and hunt after the contentment of their lust and desire : much like unto young children who thinke to catch the rainbow in 50 their hands, being drawn and allured thereto by the deceitfull shew presented to their eyes. Whereto the true lover indeed, who is honest and chaste, doth farre otherwise : for he listeth up his desire from thence to a divine, spiritual and intelligible beauty : and whensoever he meeteth with the beauty of a visible bodie, he useth it as the instrument onely of his memorie, he embraceth and loveth it by conversing also with it ioufully, & with contentment, his understanding is more and more inflamed. Such amorous persons as these, whiles they hant these bodies here, neither rest to firing still, in a desire and admiration of this cleare beautie : nor when they are come

come thither after their death, returne they hither againe as fugitives, for to hover and keepe about the dores, chambers and cabinets of young married wives, which are nothing else but vaine dreames and illusions appearing to sensuall men and women given overmuch to voluptuous pleasures of the body, and such as untruly be called lovers. For he, who intrueth is amorous, and is thither come where true beauties are, and converseth with them, as much as it is possible and lawfull for a man to doe, is winged anon, mounteth up on high, he is purified and sanctified, continually abiding resident above, dauncing, walking and disporting alwaies about his god, untill he come backe again into the Greene and faire meadowes of the Moore and of *Pennus*, where, being laid a sleepe, he beginneth to receive a regeneration and new nativity. But this is an higher point and deeper matter, than we have undertaken at this present to discourse upon. To returne therefore unto our love, this propertie also it hath, like as all other gods, according to *Euripides*,

*To take great joy and much content,
When men with honors him present.*

And contrariwise, he is no lesse displeased, when abuse or contempt is offered unto him. For most kinde and gracious he is unto them that receive and entertaine him courteously: and againe as curst and shrewd to those who shew themselves stiffe-necked and contumacious unto him. For neither *Jupiter* surnamed *Hospital*, is so ready to chastice and punish wrongs done unto guests and suppliants, nor *Jupiter Genetall* so forward to prosecute & accomplish the curses and execrations of parents, as love quickly heareth the praises of those lovers who are unthankfully requited by their loves, being the punisher of proud, rude, and uncivill persons. For what should one speake of *Eucheyntus* and *Leucocomantis*, her I meane, who even at this day is called in *Cyprus*, *Paracypsa*? And peradventure you have not heard of the punishment of *Gorgo* in *Candia*, who was served much after the manner of the said *Paracypsa*, save onely that she was turned into a stone, when she would needs looke out at a window, and put forth her body to see the corps of her lover entred. But of this *Gorgo* there was sometime one inamour'd, whose name was *Asander*, a young gentleman, honest, and of good parentage descended, who having beene before time of worthiefull and wealthy estate, was decayed much and brought to poverty: howbeit his minde abated not so withall, that he thought himselfe unworthy of the best fortune that might be. Whereupon he sued unto this *Gorgo* a kinswoman of his, by way of marriage, notwithstanding that for her goods and riches she was much sought unto & wooed by many others: and albeit he had divers great and wealthy competitors and contrivalls, yet he had wrought and gained all the guardians, tutors and neere kinfolke of the damosell to serve his suit.

Here there is a great defect and breach in the originall.

Moreover those things which are named to be the causes that engender Love, be not proper and peculiar to the one sex or to the other, but common to them both. For those images which from without perce and enter into amorous persons, according to the Epicureans opinion, running to and fro, stirring and tickling the masse of the whole body, gliding and flowing into the genetall seed, by certaine other dispositions of the atomes, it cannot be that they should doe from young boies, and impossible altogether from women: unlesse also these faire and sacred recordations we call and referre unto that divine, true and celestially beautie, according to the Platoniques, by the meanes of which rememorations as with wings the soule is mounted and carried up. What should hinder then, but that such recordations may passe as well from young boies as damosells or women? especially when as we see a good nature, chaste and honest, appeare jointly in the flower of favour and beauty, like as, according to *Aristotle*, a straight and well fashioned thoe, sheweth the good forme and proportion of the foot: which is as much to say, as when under beautifull faces and in neat and faire bodies, they, who are skillfull in the knowledge and iudgement of such things, perceive the cleare and evident traces of a sincere minde nor corrupt nor counterfeit. For it is no reason that a voluptuous person being demanded this question,

*For wanton Love how stands thy minde?
To male more, or to female kinde?*

and

and answering,

*Both hands are right with me where beauty is,
Neither of twaine to mee can come a misse.*

Should seeme to have made fit and pertinent answer according to his owne carnall concupiscence: and that an honest and generous person should not direct his affections to the beautiful and toward disposition of a youthe's nature, but to the naturall parts that make difference of sex. Certes he that loveth horses and is skillfull in good horsemanship, will love no lesse the generosity and swiftnesse of the horse *Podergus*, then of *Aetha* the mare of *Agamemnon*. And the huntsman, taketh not pleasure onely to have good dogs and hounds of the male kinde, but also keepeth the braches and bitches of *Candie* and *Laconia*. And shall he who loveth the beauty and sweet favour of mankind, not be indifferently affected both to the one sex and to the other, but make a difference as in divers garments, betwene the love of men and women? And verily men say, that beauty is the flower and blossom of vertue. Now to say, that the feminine sex doth not flower at all, nor shew any appearance and token of a good and towardly disposition to vertue, were very absurd: for *Aeschylus* went to the purpose, when he wrote these verses:

*A damself young, if she have knownen
and tasted man once carnally,
Her eie doth it bewray anon,
is sparkles fire suspiciously.*

20 Go to then: are there evident marks & signes to be seene upon the visages of women, so testifie a malapert, bold, wanton, and corrupt nature; and contrariwise, shall there be no light shining in their faces, so give testimony of their modestie and pudicitie? Or rather, shall there be divers demonstrative evidences in many of them, but yet such as will not stirre up and provoke any person to love them? Surely it is neither so nor so; there is no truth nor probability in any of them both: but every thing is common indifferently, as well in the one sex as the other, as we have shewed.

Here also there is another want in the originall.

30 O *Daphnaeus*, let us impugne and confute those reasonings, whereupon *Zeuzeippus* etwile diffounded, supposing that Love is all one with concupiscence, which is disordinate, and leadeth the soule into all loosenesse and dissolution. And yet do I not thinke, that he is so perswaded indeed, and of that beliefe; but for that he hath heard often times odious persons, and such as have no loveliness in them, so to say: of whom, some holde under their hands, and have at command, poore silly women, whom they have gotten for some petie dowries sake, and whom together with their moneys they put to the managing of domesticall affaires, and to make bafe, vile, and mechanicall accounts, quarrelling and brawling with them every day; and others againe, 40 having more minde and desire to get children, than to love espoused wives, like unto grasshoppers, which cast their seed upon squilles, sea onions, or such like herbs, having discharged their lust in all the haste upon any body that first comes in their way, and reaped the fruit onely that they sought for, bid marriage farewell, and make no farther account of their wedded wives, or if they tary and stay with them still, they regard them no more than their olde shoes, making no count either to love them, or to be loved reciprocally of them. And verily, *scire* and *scire*, which signifie, to love and to be loved againe dearly, which differ but in one letter from the verbe *scire*, that is to say, to contraine and holde together, seeme unto me at the first sight, directly to import and shew a mutuall benevolence, by long time and acquaintance tempered with a kinde of necessity. But looke what person soever love fetleth upon in marriage, so as he be inspired once therewith; at the very first, like as it is in *Platoes* Common-wealth, he will not have these words in his mouth, *Mine and Thine*: for simply all goods are not common among all friends, but those only who being leved apart in body, conioine and colliquate, as it were perforce, their soules together, neither willing nor believing that they should be twaine, but one: and afterwards by true pudicity and reverence one unto the other, whereof wedlocke hath most need. As for that which commeth from without, carying with it more force of lawe, than voluntary obsequence and reciprocal duty, and that in regard of feare and shame,

Eccc

*A piece of worke, that needs the guide
Of many hits and helmes beside.*

requireth alwaies to have ready at hand a carefull regard among those that are coupled in matrimonie: whereas in true love there is so much continency, modesty, loyalty and faithfullnesse, that although otherwhile it touch a wanton and lascivious minde, yet it diverteth it from other lovers, and by cutting off all malapert boldnesse, by taking downe and debasing insolent pride and untaught stubburnnesse, it placeth in lieu thereof, modest bashfullnesse, silence and taciturnity; it adorneth it with decent gesture, and seemly countenance, making it soft ever after obedient to one lover onely. Ye have heard (I am sure) of that most famous and renowned courtisan *Lais*, who was courted and sought unto by so many lovers, and ye know well, how she 10
inflamed and set on fire all *Greece* with the love and longing desire after her; or to say more truly, how two seas strave about her? how after that the love of *Hippolechus* the Thessalian had ceased upon her, she quit and abandoned the mount *Aerocorintus*,

*Sailed upon the river side,
Which with greene waves by it did glide.*

as one wretched of it; and flying secretly from a great army as it were of other lovers, she retired herself right decently within *Megalopolis* unto him; where other women upon very sight, envie and jealousy, in regard of her surpassing beautie, drew her into the temple of *Venus*, and stoned her to death: whereupon it came, as it should seeme, that even at this day they call the said temple, The temple of *Venus* the murderesse. We our selves have known divers young 20
maidens, by condition no better than slaves, who never would yeeld to lie with their master; as also sundry private persons of meane degree, who refused, yea, and dislained the companie of queenes, when their hearts were once possessed with other love, which as a mistresse had the absolute command thereof. For like as at *Rome*, when there was a Lord Dictatour once chosen, all other officers of State and magistrats valed bonet, were presently deposed, and laid downe their ensignes of authority; even so those, over whom Love hath gotten the mastery and rule, incontinently are quit, freed and delivered from all other lords and rulers, no otherwise than such as are devoted to the service of some religious place. And in truth an honest and ver-
gineous dame, linked once unto her lawfull spouse by unfaigned love, will sooner abide to be clipped, clasped and embraced by any wolves and dragons, than the contréfaction and bedfellowship of 30
any other man whatsoever but her owne husband. And albeit there be an infinit number of examples among you here, who are all of the * same country, and professed associates in one dance with this god Love; yet it were not well done to passe over in silence the accidents which befell unto *Camma* the Galatian lady. This yong dame being of incomparable beauty, was married unto a tetrarch or great lord of that countrey named *Sinnatus*; howbeit, one *Synorix* the mightiest man of all the Galatians was enamoured upon her: but seeing that he could not prevale with the woman neither by force and perswasion, so long as her husband lived, he made no more ado but murdered him. *Camma* then having no other refuge for her pudicity, nor comfort and ease-
ment of her hearts griefe, made choise of the temple of *Diana*, where she became a religious votary, according to the custome of that countrey. And verily the most part of her time she be-
stowed in the worship of that goddesse, and would not admit speech with any futers, many though they were, and those great personages, who sought her marriage: but when *Synorix* had made meanes very boldly to aske her the question, and to sollicite her about that point, she seemed not to reject his motion, nor to expostulate and be offended for any thing past, as if for pure love of her, and ardent affection, and upon no wicked and malicious minde unto *Sinnatus*, he had beene induced to do that which he did: and therefore *Synorix* came confidently to treat with her and demand marriage of her: she also for her part came toward the man kindly, gave him her hand, and brought him to the altar of the said goddesse; where after she had made an offering unto *Diana*, by pouring forth some little of a certaine drinke made of wine & hony, as it should seeme, empoisoned, which she had put into a cup, she began unto *Synorix*, & dranke up 50
the one halfe of it, giving the rest unto the said Galatian for to pledge her. Now when she saw that he had drunke it all off, she fetched a grievous grone, and brake forth aloud into this speech, naming withall her husband that dead was: My most loving and deere spouse (quoth she) I have lived thus long without thee in great sorow and heavinesse expecting this day; but now receive me joyfully (seeing it is my good hap to be revenged for thy death upon this most wicked and ungratious wretch) as one most glad to have lived once with thee, and to die now with him. As for

* *ἑταῖροις*,
exactly ἑταῖ-
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for *Synorix*, he was caried away from thence in a litter, and died soone after; but *Camma* having survived him a day and a night, died by report most resolutely and with exceeding joy of spirit. Considering then, that there be many such like examples aswell among us here in *Greece*, as the Barbarians, who is able to endure those that reproch and revile Love, as if being associate and affiant to love, it should hinder amitie; whereas contrariwise, the company of male with male, a man may rather terme intemperance and disordinate lasciviousnesse, crying out upon it in this manner:

*Grasse wantonnesse or filthie lust, it is
Not Venus faire that worketh this.*

10 And therefore such filths & baggages as take delight to suffer themselves voluntarily thus to be abused against nature, we reckon to be the worst and most flagitious persons in the world; no man reposeth in them any trust, no man doth therein any jot of honor and reverence, nor vouchsafeth them worthy of the least part of friendship: but in very truth, according to *Sophocles*,

*Such friends as these, men are full glad
and joy when they be gone:*

*But whiles they have them, wits and pray,
that they were rid alone.*

As for those, who being by nature leaud and naught, have beene circumvented in their youth, and forced to yeeld themselves and to abide this villany and abuse, at their life after, abhorre the 20
sight of such wicked wantons, and deadly hate them, who have bene thus disposed to draw them to this wickednesse; yea, and ready they are to be revenged; and to pay them home at one time or other, whensoever meanes and opportunity is offered: for upon this occasion *Cratinus* killed *Archelus*, whom in his flower of youth he had thus spoiled: as also *Pytholus* slew *Alexander* the tyrant of *Phrya*. And *Persander* the tyrant of *Ambracia* demanded upon a time of the boy whom he kept, whether he were not yet with childe: which indignity the youth tooke to the heart, that he slew him outright in the place: whereas, with women, and those especially that be 30
coupled and wedded wives, these be the earnest penies as it were and beginnings of amity, yea, & the very obligation and society of the most sacred & holiest ceremonies: As for fleshly pleasure itselfe, the least thing it is of all other: but the mutual honour, grace, dilection and fidelity
30 that springeth and ariseth from it daily, is highly to be reckoned and accounted of: and therefore neither can the Delphians be noted for follie, in that they terme *Pennithus*, that is to say, a chariot; by reason of this yoke-fellowship: nor *Homer*, in calling this conjunction of man and wife, *phron*, that is to say, amity and friendship. *Solon* likewise is deemed by this, to have beene an excellent law-giver, and most expert in that which concerneth marriage; when he decreed expressly, that the husband should thrice in a month at the least embrace his wife and company in bed with her; not for carnall pleasures sake, (I assure you) but like as cities and states use, after a certaine time betwene, to renew their leagues and confederacies one with another, so he would have that the alliance of marriage should effsoones be entertained anew by such solace and delectation, after jarres, which otherwhiles arise and breed by some bone cast betwene.
40 Yea, but there be many enormous and furious parties, will some one say, that are plaid by such as are in love with women. And be there not more (I pray) by those that are enamoured upon boies? do but make him who uttereth these passionate words:

*So often as these eyes of mine behold
That bearded youth, that smooth and lovely boy,
I faint and fall: then wits I him to hold
Within mine armes, and so to die with joy:
And that on tombe were set where I do lie,
An Epigram, mine end to testifie.*

But as there is a furious passion in some men doting upon women, so there is as raging an affection in others toward boies, but neither the one nor the other is love. Well, most absurd it were to say that women are not endued with other virtues: for what need we to speake of their temperance and chastity, of their prudence, fidelity and justice: considering that even fortitude it selfe, constant confidence and resolution, yea and magnanimity, is in many of them very evident. Now to holde, that being by nature not indisposed unto other virtues, they are untoward for amitie onely and frendship, (which is an imputation laid upon them) is altogether beside all reason. For well known it is that they be loving to their children and husbands: and this their

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naturall

naturall affection, is like unto a fertile field or battell soile, capable of amitie, not vnapt for persuasion, nor destitute of the Graces. And like as Poetrie having fitted unto speech song, meeter and rhyme as pleasant spices to aromatize and season the same, by means whereof, that profitable instruction which it yieldeth, is more attractive and effectfull, as also the danger therein more inevitable: even so nature, having endued a woman with an amiable cast and aspect of the eye, with sweet speech, and a beautilfull countenance; hath given unto her great meanes, if she be lascivious and wanton, with her pleasure to deceive a man, and if she be chaste and honest, to gaine the good will and favour of the Graces: and even so a man might aduise a good matron, to be a Philosopher, and a worthy personage otherwise, howbeit in his behavior exceeding soure and austere, to sacrifice unto the Graces: and even so a man might aduise a good matron, to be a sober dame, to offer sacrifice unto Love, for his propitious fauour unto marriage, and his residence with her, and that her husband, by her kind loving demeanour unto him, may keepe home, and not seeke abroad to some other, and so be forced in the end to breake out into such speeches as these out of the Comedie:

Wretch that I am, and man unhappy I

So good a wife to quit with injury.

So good a way to quit with injury.
For in wedlocke, to love, is a better and greater thing by fare, than to be loved; for it keepeth folke from falling into many faults & flips, or to fay more truly, it averteeth them from all those inconveniences which may corrupt, marre, & ruinate a mariage: as for those passionate affections, which in the beginning of matrimoniall love moove fittes, somewhat poinant and biting, to let me entreat you (good friend *Zenippus*) not to feare; for any exclamation or smartt that they have, although to fay a truch, it were no great harme if haply by fome little wound, you come to be incorporate and united to an honest woman; like as trees that by incision are engrafted and grow one within another: for when all is laid, is not the beginning of conception a kinde of exclamation; neither can there be a mixture of two things into one, unless they mutually suffer one of the other, & be reciprocally affected. And verily, the Mathematical rudiments which children be taught, at the beginning trouble them, even as Philosophie also at the first is harsh unto young men: but like as this unpleasantnesse continueth not alwaies with the, no more doeth that mordacity sticke still among lovers. And it seemeth that Love at the first resembleth the mixture of two liquors, which when they begin to incorporate together, boile and worke one with another: for even so Love seemeth to make a certaine confused tract and ebullition; but after a while that the Love be once settled and thoroughly clesed, it bringeth unto Lovers a most firme and assured habit: and there is properly that mixtion and temperance which is called universall, and thorough the whole: whereas the love of other friends converting and living together, may be very well compared to the mixtion which is made by these touching and interlacings of atomes, which *Epicurus* speaketh of; and the same is subject to ruptures, separations, and flartings a funder: neither can it possibly make that union which matrimoniall love and mutuall conjunction doeth: for neither doe there arise from any other Loves greater pleasures, nor commodities more continually one from another, ne yet is the benefit and good of any other friendship so honorable or expetible, as

*When man and wife keepe house wth h^one accord,
And lovingly agree at bed and bord.*

And lovingly agree at bed and board.

Especially when the law warranteth it, and the bond of procreation common between them, is assistant thereto. And verily nature sheweth that the gods themselves have need of such love: for thus the Poets say, that the heaven loveth the earth; and the Naturalists hold, that the Sunne likewise is in love with the Moone, which every month is in conjunction with him, by whom also the conceiveth. In briefe, must it not follow necessarily, that the earth, which is the mother and breeder of men, of living creatures, and all plants, shall perish from god, shall abandon the world: when love, which is ardent desire, and instinct inspired from god, shall abandon the matter, and the matter likewise shall cease to lust and seeke after the principle and cause of her conception.

ception, and that we may not range too far, nor use any superfluous and nugatory words,

But to the end that we may not range too farre, nor use any superfluous and nugatory words, your selfe doe know, that these pæderasties are of all other most uncertaine, & such as use them are wont to scoff much thereat and say, that the amitie of such boies is in manner of an egge divided three waies; and as for themselves, they resemble the wandering Nomades in *Scythia* who having encamped in the spring time, and pastured where the fields be Greene and full

of flowers, presently diflodged and depart as it were out of an enemies country. And yet *Bion* the Sophister was more rough and odious in his words toward fuch, when he termed the first downe or haire appearing upon the face of beautifull youthe *Flammodi*, and *Arifigentes*; for that by them Lovers were delivered out of the tyrannie of such faire persons, when they begin once to budde and put forth. But these imputations are not iustly charged upon true Lovers. As for that which *Euripides* said, it was pretie, and caried some elegancie with it; for as he embraced and killed faire *Agathon*, even when his beard began to grow, he said: that of faire persons, the very later season of the Autumne was lovely and beautiful: But I say more than so, namely, that the lovelinesse of honest women passeth not away with riveles, wrinkles, and

10 hoarie haire, but continue alwaies even to their sepulchre and tombes of memoriall. Again, there are but a few couples in that other sex, of true Lovers; but of men and women joined in wedlocke, an infinite number, who to the very last have kept most faithfully their loyalty and hearty love reciprocally one unto the other. But one example among many other, which befell in our daies, under *Vespaſian* the emperour, I will relate unto you. *Julius*, he who in *Caligula* was the author of a revolt, and raised a rebellion, had many other complices, (as a man may well thinke) of this conspiracie, and among the rest, one *Sabinus* a young gentleman of an high spirit, and for wealth and reputation, a principall person, and of speciall mark: these men having enterprised a great disservice, faulst of their purpose; and expecting no other but that they should, according to iustice, suffer due punishment according to their defaults. Some

20 killed themselves, other thinking to escape by flight, were apprehended; as for *Sabinus*, all other good and ready meanes he had to save himselfe, and flic unto the Barbarians in a strange country: but lately he had taken to wife, a most vertuous dame, and every way right excellent, whose name in those parts was *Empoia*, as one would say in the Greeke language, *ἡρώς*, that is to say, a princeesse or great lady; but her he could not possibly either in his love endure to forsake nor find meanes to take with him: whereas therefore he had at an house in the country certaine secret vaults, & hidden cellars deepe under the ground, where he bestowed his treasure & goods in safetie, and those known to two of his enfranchised servants, and no more; the rest of his household servants he discharged and sent away: pretending unto them, that he was resolved to poison himselfe; & retaining still about him those two truly freed men. with them they went

30 down into thofe fecrete caves or vaults digged out of the ground; which done, he fent one of thefe enfranchifed fervants of his, whole name was * *Martalline* unto his wife, to let her underftand that he had killed himfelfe with poifon, and that the whole houfe together with his corps was burnt; for his purpofe was by the unfeyned forrow and mourning of his wife, to make the rumour that ran of his death, the better to be beleevd; & fo it fell out inverty dedd: for no fooner heard the thefe newes, but with piteous cries, & dolefull lamentations, the caft herfelfe upon the ground, where ſhe at that time was, & lay there along for three daies and three nights together, without meat or drinke: which when *Subina* heard, fearing leaft the woman would by this meanes worke her owne death, he commanded the faid *Martalline* to round her fecretly in the eare, that he was yet living, and lay hidden within the ground, requeſting her withall,

for to make the same faire and yellow like burnishing gold, hath a certaine propertie in it to pinguifc withall, and so to raise and rarifie the flesh, that it causeth it to be lax, and so to swell and puffe up more plump: of this medicinable oile she made no spare, but used to rub and besmeare the other parts of her body, in such sort, as that by their proportionable rising, she hid her great belly, which grew more round and full every daie than other. Now when her time was come, she endured the pangs and paines of her travell in child-birth, alone by herselfe; being gone downe to her husband like a lionesse into her denne, and there she stickled at her owne brest secretly, if I may so say; her male whelpes, for two boy twinnes she was delivered of; of which two fonnies, the one chanced to be flaine in *Aegypt*, the other, not long since, but very lately, was with us at *Delphos*, named after his father, *Sabinus*. Howbeit for all this, *Vespassian* caused this lady to be put to death; but for this murder of his he dearely paid, and was punished accordingly: for within a while after, his whole posterity was utterly destroyed and rooted out from the face of the earth, so as there remained not one of his race: for there was not in those daies, and during his empire, a more cruell and inhumane fact committed; neither was there ever any other spectacle that both gods and angels seemed more to abhorre and to turne away their eyes from beholding. And yet her grandiloquence and flour resolutions in her speech, whereby she did exasperate and provoke *Vespassian* most, was such, that it diminished much the pitifull ruth and compassion, that the beholders of the execution had of her: for when she was past hope of obtaining her husbands life, she would needs die in his turne, and required that exchange for him, saying withall, that it was a greater joy unto her, for to live in darkenesse and under the earth, than to see him emperor.

And heerewith (quoth my father) ended their discourse as touching Love, at what time as they were nere unto *Thebes*, for then they might perceive coming toward them, faster than with a footpace, one of *Pisias* friends, named *Diogenes*; unto whom *Soclarus* spake aloud, when he was yet a good way off: You bring us no newes I hope *Diogenes* of warre? Offe better than so (quoth he) being, as there is, a marriage towards; why mend you not your pace therefore, and make haste thither? for the nuptiall sacrifice staith onely for your coming: At which words (as my father said) all the rest of the company joied, and were exceeding glad; onely *Zenxippus* shewed himselfe mal-content, and not well pleased; for he could not dissimble it: howbeit he was the first man that approved the act of *Ismenadora*, as good and lawfull: and even now he willingly set a garland upon his owne head, and put on a white wedding robe, marching before all the companie through the market place, to render thanksgiving unto the god Love, for this marriage. Well done (quoth my father then) I swear by *Jupiter*: goe we on all hands away, and let us be gone; that we may laugh and make our selves merie with this man, and withall adore and worship the god: for evident it is, that hee taketh joy in that which hath bene done, and is present with his favour and approbation to grace the wedding.



OF 50

OF THE FACE APPEARING WITHIN THE ROUNDE OF THE MOONE.

The Summarie.



THis dialogue is defective in the beginning thereof. In it are brought in Sylla and Pharnaces, with some others, disputing with Plutarch, as touching one point of naturall Philosophy, worthy to be considered and read over and over againe, by those that take delight in such pleasant speculations meete for good wits to be exercised in. The weight of this matter concerneth the globe of the Moone and toucheth principally this notable accident of the face which appeareth therein: by occasion whereof, divers questions depending upon the first and principall, are discussed and resolved by our authour, according as he hath comprised and understood them. But here is the mischiefe in this discourse, like as in many others of this kinde come, that it is not only headlesse, but maimed also and dismembred otherwise: and yet the translation and the french especially hath with great dexterity laid the pieces together, so as the breaches can hardly be seene, unless a man looke very nere. Now the principall matters handled here, be these that follow. After that Plutarch had refused three opinions concerning the face in the Moone and brought in one Lucius, maintaining that position of the Academiques, who presuppose
30 that the Moone is terrene and consisteth of an earthly substance, he entred into disputation against those who attribute one centre unto the world and the earth, labouring to confirme his owne opinion by divers arguments marked in their order: which he handleth with such a grace that yet a man may see withall, how naturall Philosophy destitute of that light of Gods word (which by Moses in the first chapter of Genesis resolveth and cleareth inquit disputation and controversie in these matters) is in a manner blinde and stumbles many times most grossly and absurdly. Moreover, according to the ruine of words and speeches, which commonly in such conferences follow one upon another, they treat of the centre and motion of the universall world, of the proportion thereof, and the principall parts of it: the illumination of the Moone, of reflexions and mirrows, of eclipses and the shadow of the earth. Item, whether the Moone be a globe of fire, or of what else? what is her colour? from whence proceedeth
40 death? how cometh this resemblance of a face which is observed in her? whether she be inhabited or no? as also of her nature and effects. Toward the end he intermedleth a fable fetched from the Poets and ancient naturall Philosophy, for to mollifie and make more probable and credible that which had bene delivered as touching those that dwell within the Moone. In sum, this treatise giveth good proofe of the quick and pregnant wit of our authour, who could enter into, and perce through all things: whereof if he have not alwaies attained unto the exact knowledge, we should rather by all likelihood blame the iniquity of long time, which hath not permitted us to have these bookes entire and whole, than the insufficiency of so deepe a clerke. To conclude, this ought to move those that sound and search into the secrets of nature, to joine with that which the moderne Philosophers of our time are able to write slightly and at ease of such matters, what hath bene delivered by the ancients, who indeed
50 have made the coverture unto those who succeeded after them: to the end that there might be drawn out of them all, a certaine firm resolution, which raise us up above the Moone, and all other celestiall bodies, unto the only God and sole Creator of so many admirable works, thereby to acknowledge, serve and praise him according as his omnipotent greatness doth deserve.

OF

OF THE FACE APPEARING in the roundle of the Moone.



ELL, thus much said *Sylla*, for it accorded well to my speech, and depended thereupon: but I would very willingly before all things esse know, what need is there to make such a preamble for to come unto these opinions, which are so currant and rise in every mans mouth, as touching the face of the Moone. And why not (quoth I) considering the difficultie of these points which have driven us thither: for like as in long maladies, when we have tried ordinarie remedies, and usuall rules of diet, and found no helpe thereby, we give them over in the end, and betake our selves to lustfull sacrifices and expiations, to analects or preservatives for to be hanged about

our necks, and to interpretations of dreames: even so in such obscure questions, and difficult speculations, when the common and ordinarie opinions, when usuall and apparent reasons will not serve nor satisfie us, necessary it is to assay those which are more extravagant, and not to reject and despise the same, but to enchant or charme our selves, as one would say, with the discourses of our auncients, and trie all meanes for to finde out the truth: for at the very first encounter you see, how absurd he is & intollerable, who saith, that the forme or face appearing in the Moone, is an accident of our eie-sight, that by reason of weaknes giveth place to the brightness thereof, which accident we call the dazelling of our eies, not considering withall, that this should befall rather against the Sunne, whose light is more resplendent, and beames more quicke and piercing, according as *Empedocles* himselfe in one place pleasantly noteth the difference, when he saith:

*The Sunne that shines so quicke and bright,
The Moone with dimme and stony light.*

for so he expresth that milde, amiable, pleasant, and harmelesse visage of the Moone: and afterwards rendereth a reason, why those, who have obscure & feeble sights, perceive not in the Moone any different forme or shape, but unto them her circle shineth plaine, even, uniforme and full round about; whereas they who have more quicke and piercing eies, doe more exactly observe the proportion and lineaments, and discern better the impression of a face, yea, and distinguish more perfectly and evidently the severall parts: for in mine opinion it would fall out cleane contrary, in case the weaknesse of the eie being overcome, caused this apparition, that where the patient eie is more feeble, there the said apparence and imagination should be more expresse and evident: furthermore, the inequality therein, doth fully every way confute this reason; for this face or countenance is not to be seene in a continuat and confixed shadow: But *Agesanax* the Poet, right elegantly depainteth in some sort the same, in these words:

*All round about environed
With fire she is illumined:
And in the middles there doth appeere,
Like to some boy, a visage cleere:
Whose eies to us doe seeme in view,
Of colour grayish more than blew:
The browes and forehead, tender seeme,
The cheeks all reddish one would deeme.*

For in truth darke and shadowy things, compassed about with those that are shining & cleare are driven downward, and the same doe rise againe receproally, being by them repulled, and in one word, are interlaced one within another, in such sort as they represent the forme of a face lively and naturally depainted: and it seemeth that there was great probability in that which *Clearchus* said against your *Aristotle*. For this *Aristotle* of yours, though he familiarly conversed with that ancient *Aristotle*, perverted and overthrow many points of the Peripateticks doctrine. Then *Apollonides*, taking upon him to speake, demanded, what opinion this might be of *Aristotle* and upon what reason it was grounded. Surely (quoth I) it were more meet for any

man

man esse to be ignorant hereof, than for you, considering that it is grounded upon the very fundamental principles of Geomtry. For this man affirmeth that the thing, which we call the face in the Moone, are the images and figures of the great ocean, represented in the Moone as in a mirror: for the circumference of a round circle, being reflected backe every way, is wont to deceive the sight in such things as are not directly seene. And the full Moone her selfe is, for evenesse, smoothnesse and lustre, the most beautiful and purist mirror in the world. Like as therefore yee holde, that the rainbow appeareth (when our eie-sight is reflected backe upon the Sunne) in a cloud, that hath gotten smoothnesse somewhat liquid, and a consistence withal; even so (quoth he) a man may see in the Moone the great ocean, without, not in the very place where it is situate: but from whence the reflexion by touching the light reverberat and sent backe, maketh a sight and apparition thereof. which *Agesanax* hath laid in another place, after this manner,

*The figure of the Ocean
is just resembled there
In flaming mirror, when great waves
it doth against it reare.*

Apollonides then, being perswaded that it was so; a singular opinion beleeve me (quoth he) this was of his, and when all is said, newly and after a strange maner devised by a man, who may be thought bold and confident enough in his projects, howbeit full of wit and a great clerke withall. But how did *Clearchus* refute the same? First & for most (quoth I) If the maine sea or ocean be all of one nature then it must needs be that the current thereof is all one uniforme & continuat: but the apparence of those blacke & dim obscurities which are observed in the face of the Moone, is not even and continued, but there be certaine isthmes or partitions betweene cleere and bright, which divide and seperat that which is shade and darke. Therefore seeing each part is distinct, and hath proper bounds and limits apart, the conjunctions & approachments of the cleere to that which is darke, making a semblance of high and low, do expresse and resemble the similitude of a figure, with eies & lips; so that of necessity we are to suppose, that there be many oceans and maine seas, distinguished by the isthmes of firme lands betweene: which is a manifest untruth. And admit that there is but one continued sea for all, it is not credible that the image thereof should appeare so dissipate and distracted by peeces: and as for this point, the surer way is, and lesse dangerous, to demand, than to affirme ought in your presence; namely whether, the habitable earth being equall in length and bredth, it is possible, that all the light reflected and sent backe by the Moone, should equally touch the whole ocean and all those that faile therein, and even such as seeme to dwell in it, as the Brittaines doe: seeing that your selves have maintained that the whole earth, in proportion to the globe or sphere of the Moone, is no more than a very pricke. As for this verily (quoth I) it is your part to regard and consider: and true it is that as touching the reverberation and reflexion of the light from the Moone, it belongeth neither to you nor to *Hipparcus*. And yet I assure you, my good freind *Lamprias* (quoth *Apollonides*) there be many naturalists, who holde it not good to affirme with *Hipparcus* that our sight is so driven backe; but they suppose and affirme, that it is more like and probable that it hath a certaine temperature and obeisant compact structure, than such beatings and repercuSSIONS as *Epicurus* imagineth the Atomes have. Neither doe I beleeve that *Clearchus* would have us to suppose, that the Moone is a massive and weighty bodie, but celestiall and lightsome: against which you say that the refraction of our eie-sight should reach: and therefore all this reflexion, and reverberation falleth to the ground and comes to nothing. But if I should be urged, and intreated by him to receive and admit the same, I would aske him the question, how it comes to passe, that this image of the sea is to be seene onely in the bodie of the Moone, and not in any of the other starres? for by all likelihood and probability, our sight should suffer the same equally in all, or just in none at all. But I pray you (quoth I, casting mine eies upon *Lamprias*) call to minde againe that which was first delivered of our part, & by those of our side. Nay rather I am affraid (quoth *Lucius*) least we may be thought to offer over much injury unto *Phar-naces*, if we should so passe over the Stoicks opinion unconfuted, and without opposing any thing against it. Why then reply somewhat upon this man (quoth I) who holdeth that the Moon is a whole mixture of the aire, and of some milde fire, and then afterwards saith, that like as in a calme, there happeneth other whiles a little horror or winde, that rumbleth and bloweth upon the sea, even so the aire thereby becommeth blacke, and thereupon is made a certaine resemblance

blance

blance and forme of a visage. Courteously done of you *Lucius* (quoth I) thus to clad and cover with faire words and good termes so absurd and false an opinion. But so did not our friend, but spake the plaine troth, and said that the Stoicks disfigured the Moones face making it blacke and blew, and filling it with darke spots and clouds, and withall invoking her by the name of *Minerva* and *Diana*, and in the meane while making her a lump as it were of paste, consisting of darke aire and a fire of charcole, that cannot burne out, nor yeeld light of it selfe, but having a body hard to be judged and knowen, ever smoaking and alwaies burning like to those lightnings which by the Poets are called, lightleife and smoakie. But thara fire of coales, such as they would have that of the Moone to be, continueth not long, nor can so much as subsist, if it meete nor with some solid matter, which may holde it in and withall feed and nourish it; I suppose that they know better, who in meriment say that *Vulcane* is lame and doth halt, than these Philosophers doe: for that indeed fire cannot goe forward without wood or fiewell, no more than a lame cripple without his staffe or crutches. If then the Moone be fire, how cometh it to have so much aire in it? For this region aloft which mooveth round, doth not consist of aire, but of some other more noble substance, which is able to subtilize and set on fire every thing beside. But in case it be afterwards engendered in it, how is it that it perisheth not by being changed and transubstantiated by the fire into a celestiall substance, but maintaineth it selfe, and continueth together as it were, cohabiting with the fire so long, like unto a spike or naile set fast continually in the same parts, and fitted thereto? For being rare as it is, and diffused, meet it were that it should not so abide and continue, but be dissipated and resolved; and to grow compact and thicke it is impossible, so long as it is mixed with fire, having no earth nor water; which are the two onely elements whereby the aire will gather to a consistence and thickenesse. Moreover, the swiftnesse and violence of motion, is wont to enflame the aire that is within stones, yea, and in lead as cold as it is: much more then, that which is in fire, being whirled about, and turned with so great celeritie and impetiositie: for in this regard they are offended with *Empedocles*, for that he made the Moone congealed aire, in manner of haile, and included within a sphere of fire: and yet themselves say, that the Moone being a sphere or globe of fire, doeth enclose and containe the aire dispersed to and fro; and that the same hath neither ruptures nor concavities, ney yet any profundities, which they admit who will have the Moone to be of earth, but forthwith superficially onely, and as it were settled upon the imbossed and swelling backe thereof: which is against all reason, if it be to endure, and cannot possibly be, in case we give credit to that which we doe see in full Moones: for divided it ought not to be, and separate apart, being blacke and darke, but either being hidden, to be altogether darkened, or else to be illuminate when the Moone is overspread by the Sunne. For heere beneath with us, the aire that is in deepe pits and low caves of the earth, where the Sunne beames never come, remaineth darke and shade, without any light at all: but that which is spread about the earth, is cleere, and of a light some colour; for by reason of the raritie thereof, it is very easie to be transmuted into every qualitie and facultie; but principally by the light, which if it never so little touch it, as they say, and lay hold of it, you shall see it incontinently changed, and light throughout. This very reason therefore seemeth greatly to helpe and maintaine the opinion of them who drive the aire into I wot not what deepe vallies and pits within the Moone; as also to confute you who mingle and compound I know not how, her sphere of fire and aire; for impossible it is that there should remaine any shadow or obscuritie in the superficies thereof, when the Sunne with his brightnesse doeth cleere and illuminate whatsoever part of the Moone we are able to discern, and cut with our eye-sight. And as I spake these words, even before I had made an end of my speech: See (quoth *Pharnees*) the ordinary cast of the Academie, how it is, practised upon us, in that they busie themselves evermore, and spend time in all their discourses to speake against others, but never allow the discussing and reprooving of that which they deliver themselves: but if any happen to confesse and dispute with them; they must plead in their owne defence alwaies, and not be allowed to reply or come upon them with any accusations: for mine owne part, you shall not draw me this day to render a reason of such matters as you charge upon the Stoicks, nor to speake in their behalfe, before I have called you to an account: for thus turning the world upside downe, as you doe. Heereat *Lucius* laughing; And very well content am I good sir, (quoth he) so to do, provided alwaies, that you accuse us not of impietie; like as *Artimachus* thought that the Greeks ought to have called *Cleanthes* the Samean into questiō, judiciously & to condemne him for his impietie and Atheisme, as one that shooke the very foundations

dations of the world to overthrow all, in that the man endeavoring to save and maintaine those things which appeare unto us above, supposed the heaven to stand still as immoveable, and that it was the earth that mooved round by the oblique circle of the Zodiacke, and turned about the owne axeltree. As for us, we speake of our selves, and in our owne behalfe. But they, my good friend *Pharnees*, who suppose that the Moone is earth, why doe they turne the world upside downe, more than you; who place the earth heere hanging in the aire, being faire greater then the Moone, as the Mathematicians take their measure, in the accidents of the eclipses, and by the passages of trajections of the Moone through the shadow of the earth, collecting thereby the magnitude thereof, and what space it taketh up? For surely the shadow of the earth is lesse than it selfe, by reason that it is cast by a greater light. Now that the said shadow is streight, and pointed upward toward the sun, *Homer* himselfe was not ignorant, but signified as much, when he called the night *Scythia*, for the sharpnesse at the point of the said shadow; and yet the Moone as it appeareth in her eclipses, being caught and comprehended within the compasse of that shadow, hath much ado to get out of it, by going forward in length, thrice as much as her owne bignesse comes to. Consider then, how many times greater must the earth needs be than the Moone, if it be so, that the shadow which it casteth, where it is sharpest and narrowest, is thrice as much as the Moone. But yee are afraid least the Moone should fall, if the were avowed to the earth: (for it may be haply, that *Aeschylus* hath sealed you a warrant, and secured you for the earth, when he said thus of *Atlas*:

He stumeth like a pillar strong and sure,
From earth to heaven above that reacheth freight;
To beare on shoulders twaine, he doeth endure
A masse burden and unwelvy weight.)

if under the Moone there runne and be spread a light and thin aire, not firme and sufficient for to susteine a solide masse: whereas according to *Euclardus*:

To beare the earth there standest thou
Columns and pillars of hard diamant.

And therefore *Pharnees* for himselfe is out of all feare, that the earth will fall; may he pittie those who are directly and plumb under the course of the Moone, and namely the Aethiopiens, and those of *Taprobana*, least to weightie a masse should tumble downe upon their heads. And yet the Moone hath one good meanes and helpe to keepe her from falling, to wit, her very motion and violent revolution, like unto those bullets or stones, or whatsoever weights be put within a sling, they are sure enough from slipping or falling out, so long as they be violently swong and whirled about. For every body is caried according to the naturall motion thereof, if there be no other cause to empeach or turne it aside out of course: which is the reason that the Moone mooveth not, according to the motion of her poise, considering the inclination thereof downward, is staied and hindered by the violence of a circular revolution. But peradventure more cause there were to marvel, if the should stand altogether as the earth, immoveable: whereas now the Moone hath this great cause to empeach her, for not tending downward hither. As for the earth, which hath no other motion at all to hinder it; great reason there is, that according to that onely weight of the owne, it should moove downward and there settle, for more heavy it is than the Moone, not so much in this regard, that greater it is, but more, for that the Moone by reason of heat and aduision of fire, is made the lighter. In briefe, it appeareth by that which you say, if it be true that the Moone be fire, it hath need of earth, or some other matter to rest upon and cleave unto, for to maintaine, nourish, and quicken fill the power that it hath: for it cannot be conceived or imagined, how fire should be preserved without fuel, or matter combustible. And you your selves asseme, doe yee not? that the earth abideth firme and sure, without any base or piedfall to susteine and hold it up? Yes verily (quoth *Pharnees*) being in the proper and naturall place, which is the very mids and center. For this is it, whereto all heavy and weightie things doe tend, incline, and are caried to, from every side, and about which they cling, and be counterpeized: but the upper region throughout, if haply there be any terrestriall and heavy matter, by violence sent up thither, repelleth and casteth it downe againe with force incontinently, or to speake more truly, letteth it goe and fall, according to the owne naturall inclination, which isto tend and settle downward.

For the answer and refutation whereof, I willing to give *Lucius* some reasonable time to summon his wits together, and to thinke upon his reasons: and calling unto *Theon* by name,

Which

Which of the tragickall Poets was it (*Theon* quoth I) who said that Physicians
Bitter medicines into the body poure,
When bitter choler they meane to purge and scoure?

And when he made me answer that it was *Sophocles*. Well (quoth I) we must permit them so to doe upon necessity: but we ought not to give care unto Philosophers, if they would maintain strange paradoxes, by other positions as absurd, or to confute admirable opinions, devise others much more extravagant and wonderfull: like as these here who brooch and bring in a motion forsooth tending unto a middle, wherein, what absurdity is there not? Holde not they that the earth is as round as a ball, and yet we see how many deepe profundities, haucie sublimities & manifold inequalities it hath? affirme not they that there be antipodes dwelling opposite one unto another, and those sticking as it were to the sides of the earth with their heeles upward & their heads downward all arse verse, like unto these woodwormes or cats which hang by their sharpe claws? Would not they have even unto also that are here for to goe upon the ground not plumb upright, but bending or enclining sidelong, reeling and staggering like drunken folke? Doe they not tell us tales, and would make us beleve, that if barres and masses of iron waighing a thousand talents a peece, were let fall downe into the bottom of the earth, when they came once to the middle centre thereof, will stay and rest there, albeit nothing els came against them nor sustained them up? And if peradventure by some forcible violence they should passe beyond the said midlt, they would soone rebound backe thither againe of their owne accord? Say not they that if a man should saw off the trunks or ends of beams on either side of the earth, the same would never settle downward still throughout, but from without forth fall both into the earth, and so equally meet one another, and cling together about the hart or centre thereof. Suppose not they that if a violent streame of water should runne downward still into the ground, when it met once with the very point or centre in the midlt, which they holde to be in ground, when it met once with the very point or centre in the midlt, which they holde to be in ground, it would then gather together and turne round in manner of a whirlpooole, about a pole, waving to and fro there continually like one of these pendant buckets, and, as it hangeth, wagge incessantly without end? And verily some of these assertions of theirs are so absurd, that no man is able to enforce himselfe to imagine in his minde although fally, that they are possible. For this indeed is to make high and low all one: this is to turne all upside downe: that those things, which be come as farre as to the midlt, shall be thought below and under: and what is under the middle shall be supposed above and aloft; in such sort, as that if a man, by the sufferance and consent of the earth, stood with his navell just against the middle and centre of it, he should by this meane have his head and his heeles both together standing upward: and if one should come and digge through the place beyond that part of him which was above, shall in the digging be drawn downward, and that which was beneath be cast upward both at once: and if there may be imagined another to goe cleane contrary unto him, their feet which were opposite one unto the other, should neverthelesse be said and be indeed both together, beneath and above. Thus they both carrying upon their backs and also drawing after them, not I assure you a box or litle budget, but a fardle and packe, I sweare unto you, of judglers boxes full of so many and so grosse paradoxes and absurdities, wherewith they play passe and repasse, yet the say for all this, that others erre, who place the Moone which they holde to be earth, above, and not where the midlt and centre of the world is. And yet if every ponderous body, incline to the same place and bendeth from all sides and on every part to the midlt thereof, certainly the earth shall not appropriate and challenge unto it selfe weightie masses as parts thereof because it is the middle of the world, more than in regard it is whole and entire: and the gathering together of heave bodies about it, shall be no signe nor argument to shew that it is the middle of the world, but rather to proove and testifie that these bodies which have bene taken and pulled from it and returne againe, have a communication and conformitie in nature with the earth. For like as the Sunne converteth into it selfe the parts whereof it is composed, even so the earth receiveth and beareth a stone, as a part appertaining unto it, in such sort as in time every one of these things is incorporate and united with it. And if it chance that there be some other body which from the beginning was not allotted and laid unto the earth nor plucked from it, but had a part from it, a proper consistence and peculiar nature of the owne, as they may say the Moone had, what should let, but it may abide severally by it selfe, compacted and bound close together in all the proper parts thereof? For heereby, is not shewed demonstratively that the earth is the midlt of the whole world: and the conglobation of weighty bodies

dies heere and their concretion which the earth declareth unto us the maner how it is probable that the parts which be their gathered to the bodie of the Moone, may there also remaine. But he who driveth all earthly and ponderous things into one place, ranging them altogether, and making them the parts of one and the same bodie, I marvel why he attributeth not in like maner the same force and constraint unto light substances, but suffereth so many conglobations of fire to be apart and distinct asunder, neither can I see the reason why he should not bring all the staires into one; and thinke that there ought to be one entire body of those substances that rise upward and are of fire nature. But you Mathematicians, (friend *Pollonides*) affirme that the Sunne is distant from the *Primum Mobile*, and highest scope of heaven, infinite thousand miles: and after him, that the day star *Venus* and *Mercury*, with the other Planets, which being situate under the fixed staires, and distant one from another, by great intervals and spaces betwene, doe make their severall revolutions: meane while you doe not thinke, that the world affordeth unto heavy and terrestriall bodies, a great and large place in it, and a distance one from another. But see what a ridiculous thing it were, to denie the Moone to be earth because it is not seared in the lowest place of the world; and withall to affirme it to be a star so farre remote from the firmament and *Primum Mobile*, even a huge number of *stadia*, as if it were plunged low into some deepe gulfe: for so farre under other staires the is, as no man can expresse, and even you Mathematicians want numbers to reckon and summe the distance: and the seemeth after a sort to touch the very earth, making her revolution as she doth, so nere unto the tops of high mountaines, leaving behinde her (as *Empedocles* saith) the very prints and tracks of her chariot wheels upon them: for often times she surpasseth not the shadow of the earth, which is very short, and reacheth not high, by reason of the excessive greatnesse of the Sunne that shineth upon it: and she seemeth to walke her stations so nere unto the upper face of the earth, and in a maner within the armes of it, that the obstructeth and hideth from us the light of the Sunne, because the mounten not above this shadowy, terrestriall and darke region like unto the night, which is (as one would say) the very sinage and matches allotted to the earth. And therefore a man may be holde to say, that the Moone is within the limits and confines of the earth, seeing withall that darkened and shadowed it is by the high crests and tops of mountains therein. But to leave all other staires, as well fixed as wandering, consider the demonstrations of *Aristarchus* in his treatise of *Magnitudes and Distances*, that the distance of the Sunne from us is more than that of the Moone, above eightene folde, but under twentie; and he verily raiseth the Moone highest, saith that she is from us, fix and fiftie times as farre as is the centre of the earth; the distance whereof is fortie thousand *stadia*. By their calculation who keepe a meane, and according to this supposition, the Sunne ought to be distant from the Moone more than foure thousand and thirty *stadia* ten thousand times tolde: so farre (I say) is she off from the Sunne in regard of her ponderosity, and so nere approacheth she unto the earth: so that if, by places, we ought to distinguish of substances, the region and portion of the earth challengeth the Moone, and in regard of her proximity and vicinage unto it, she ought by right to be reckoned and enrolled among the natures, affaires, and bodies terrestriall.

Neither shall we do amiss in my conceit, if having given unto these bodies (that are said to be aloft) so large a space and distance, we allow also to those beneath, such a race and spacious route to runne in, as is from the earth to the Moone: for as he is not moderate nor tolerable, who calleth the upper superficies onely and cope of the heaven *æther*, that is to say, aloft, or superiour; and all the rest *æther*, that is to say, beneath; so he who termeth the earth or rather the center of it onely, *æther*, that is to say, below or inferiour, is not to be endured; considering that the huge vastity of the world may afford, even in this region beneath, such a competent space as is meet and convenient for motion. For if one would maintaine, that all above the earth is immediately to be counted high and aloft; another presently will come upon him with this contradiction, and say, that he may as well hold, that whatsoever is beneath the *Primum mobile* or starre firmament, ought to be called, Below. In summe, how is the earth called, The middle? and whereof is it the middle? for the universall frame of the world, called *æther*, is infinite; and this infinite which hath neither head nor foot: how can it in reason have anavill? for even that which we call the mids of any thing, is a kinde of limitation; whereas infinitie is a meere privation of all limits and bounds. As for him who saith, it is not in the mids of that universallie; but of the world, he is a pleasant man, if he thinke not withall, that the world it selfe is subject to the same doubts and difficulties: for the said universall frame leaveth not unto the very world a middle,

middle, but is without a certaine seat, without assured footing, mooving in a voidnesse infinite, not into some one place proper unto it: and if haply it should meet with some any other cause of stay, and to abide still, the same is not according to the nature of the place. And as much may we conjecture of the Moone, that by the meanes of some other soule or nature, or rather of some difference, the earth continueth firme beneath, and the Moone mooveth. Furthermore you see, how they are not ignorant of a great error and inconvenience: for if it be true, that whatsoever is without the centre of the earth, it skils not how, is to be counted Above and Aloft, then is there no part of the world to be reckoned Below or Beneath; but aswell the earth it selfe, as all that is upon it, shal be above & aloft: and to be short, every bodie neere or about the centre, must go among those things that are aloft; neither must we reckon any thing to be under or beneath, but one pricke or point, which hath no bodie: and the same forsooth must make head and stand in opposition necessarily, against all the whole nature besides of the world; in case, according to the course of nature, *eternum* and *eternum*, that is to say, above and beneath, be opposite. And not only this absurdity will follow, but also all heauey and ponderous bodies must needs lose the cause, for which they bend and incline hither: for, bodie there will be none, toward which it should move: and as for this pricke or centre that hath no bodie, there is no likelihood, neither would they themselves have it so, that it should be so puiſſant and forcible, as to draw to it, and retaine about it, all things. And if it be found unreaſonable and repugnant to the coule of nature, that the world should be all above, and nothing beneath, but a terme or limit, and the same without body, without space and distance; then this that we say, is yet more reaſonable, namely, that the region beneath and that above, being parted distinctly one from another, have nevertheless each of them a large and spacious roome to round themselves in. But suppose (if it please you) it were against nature, that terrestriall bodies should have any motion in heaven; let us consider gently and in good termes, not after a tragicall manner, but mildly, This prooveth not by-and-by, that the Moone is not earth, but rather, that earth is in some place, where naturally it should not be: for the fire of the mountaine *Aetna* is verily under the ground, against the nature of it; howbeit, the same ceaseth not therefore to be fire. The winde contained within leather bottles, is of the owne nature light and given to mount upward, but by force it cometh to be there, where naturally it ought not to be. Our very soule it selfe (I beseech you in the name of *Jupiter*) is it not against nature detained within the body; being light, 30 in that which is heauey; being of a fire substance in that which is colde, as yee your selves say; and being invisible, in that which is grosse and palpable? do we therefore denie, that the soule is within the bodie, that it is a divine substance under a grosse and heauey masse, that in a moment it passeth thorowout heaven, earth and sea; that it pierceeth and entrencheth within flesh, nerves and marrow; and finally, is the cause together with the humors of infinite passions? And even this *Jupiter* of yours, such as you imagine and depaint him to be, is he not of his owne nature a mighty and perpetuall fire? howbeit, now he submitteth himselfe and is pliable; subject he is to all formes and apt to admit divers mutations. Take heed therefore, and be well advised (good fir) lest that in transferring and reducing every thing to their naturall place, you doe not so philosophize, as that you will bring in a dissolution of all the world, and set on foot againe that olde 40 quarrell and contention among all things which *Empedocles* writeth of: or, to speake more to the purpose, beware you raise not those ancient Titans and Giants, to put on armes against nature: and so consequently endeavour to receive and see againe that fabulous disorder and confusion, whereby all that is weightie, goeth one way, and whatsoever is light, another way apart,

Where neither light, some countenance
of sunne, nor earth all greene
With herbs and plums, adorned is,
nor surging seas is scene.

according as *Empedocles* hath written; wherein the earth feeleth no heat, nor the water any winde; wherein there is no ponderosity above, nor lightnesse beneath; but the principles and elements of all things be by themselves solitary, without any mutuall love or dilection betweene them; not admitting any society or mixture together, but avoiding and turning away one from the other, moving apart by particular motions, as being disdainfull, proud, and carrying themselves in such sort, as all things do where no god is, as *Plato* saith, that is as those bodies are affected wherein there is no understanding nor soule, untill such time as by some divine providence there come into nature a desire; and so amity, *Venus* and Love be there engendered, according to the

the sayings of *Empedocles*, *Parmenides* and *Hesiodus*; to the end, that changing their naturall places and communicating reciprocally their gifts and faculties; some driven by necessity to moove, other bound to rest; they be all forced to a better state, remitting somewhat of their power; and yeelding one to another, they grew at length unto accord, harmony and societie. For if there had not bene any other part of the world against nature, but that each one had bene both in place, and for quality, as it ought naturally to be, without any need of change or transposition, so that there had bene nothing at the first wanting, I greatly doubt what and wherein was the work of divine providence; or whereupon it is, that *Jupiter* was the father, creator and maker. For in a campe or field, there would be no need of a man who is expert and skillfull in ranging and ordering of battell, in case every fouldier of himselfe knew his ranke, his place, his time and opportunity, which he ought to take, keepe and observe. Neither would there be any use of gardeners, carpenters or masons, if water were of it selfe taught naturally to go where as it is needfull, and to runne and overflow a place which requieth watering; and if bricks, timber-logs and stones by their owne inclinations and naturall motions, were to range and couch themselves orderly in their due places. Now if this reason and argument of theirs doth directly abolish all providence; if order belong unto God, together with the distinction of all things in the world; why should any man wonder, that nature hath bene so disposed and ordered by him, as that fire should be here, and the flares there? and againe, that the earth should be seated here below, & the Moone placed there above, lodged in a more fire & strong prison, devised by reason, than that which was first ordered by nature? For were it so, that absolutely and of necessity, all things should follow their naturall instinct, and move according to that motion which naturally is given them, neither would the Sunne runne his course any more circularly, nor *Pennus*, nor any other planet whatsoever; for that such light substances, and standing quick upon fire, mount directly upward. Now if it be so, that nature receiveth such an alteration and change in regard of the place, as that our fire here being moved and stirred, riseth plumbeward; but after it is gotten once up to heaven, together with the revolution thereof, turneth round: what marvel is it, if semblably, heauey and terrestriall bodies, being out of their naturall places, be forced & overcome by the circumstant aire, to take unto another kind of motion? For it cannot be said with any reason, that heaven hath this power to take from light substances the propertie to mount aloft, and can not likewise have the puiſſance to vanquish heauey things & such as naturally move downward: but one while it maketh use of that power of her owne, another while of the proper nature of things, alwaies tending to the better. But to let passe these habitudes and opinions whereto we are servilly addicted, and to speake frankly and without feare what our minde is, I am verily perswaded, that there is no part of the universall world, that hath by it selfe any peculiar order, seat or motion, which a man simply may say to be naturall unto it: but when each part exhibiteth and yeeldeth profitably that, wherefore it is made, and whereto it is appointed, moving it selfe, doing or suffering, or being disposed as it is meet and expedient for it, either for salerie, beautie, or puiſſance, then seemeth it to have place, motion and disposition, proper and convenient to the owne nature. For man, who is disposed (if any thing els in the 40 whole world) according to nature, hath in the upper parts of the bodie, and especially about his head, those things that be ponderous and earthly; but in the mids thereof, such as be hote and of a fire nature; his reeth, some grow above, others beneath; and yet neither the one range of them nor the other, is against nature. Neither is that fire which shineth above in his eyes, according to nature, and that which is in the bellie and heart, contrary to nature, but in each place is it properly seated and commodiously. Now if you consider the nature of shell-fishes, you shall finde, that (as *Empedocles* saith)

The oysters, mureurs of the sea,
and shell-fish everyone,
With maske coat; the tortoise eke,
with brest as hard as stone,
And want'd backe, which archwife he
aloft doth hollow reare;
Shew all, that heauey earth they do
above their bodies beare.

And yet this hard coat and heauey crust, like unto a stone, being placed over their bodies, doth not preile or crush them; neither doth their naturall heat, in regard of lightnesse, sic up and vanish away, but mingled and composed they are one with the other, according to the nature of

every one. And even so it standeth, to good reason, that the world, in case it be aninall, hath in many places of the body thereof, earth, and in as many, fire and water, not driven thither perforce, but so placed & disposed by reason: for the eie was not by the strength of lightnesse forced to that part of the body wherein it is; neither was the hart depressed downe by the weight that it had, into the brest; but because it was better and more expedient for the one and the other, to be seated where they are. Semblably, we ought not to thinke, that of the parts of the world, either the earth settled where it is, because it fell downe thither by reason of ponderositie, or the Sunne, in regard of lightnesse, was caried upward, like unto a bottle bladder full of winde, which being in the bottome of the water, presently riseth up, (as *Metedorus* of *Chios* was persuaded) or other stars, as if they were put in a balance, inclined this way or that, as their weight more or lesse required, and so mounted higher or lower to those places where now they are seated: but rather by the powerfull direction of reason in the first constitution of the world, some of the starres like unto bright and glittering eies have bene set fast in the firmament, as one would say aloft in the very forehead thereof: and the Sunne representing the power and vigor of the heart, sendeth and distributeth in manner of bloud and spirits, his heat and light thoroughout all. The earth and sea are to the world, proportionable to the paunch and bladder in the body of a living creature: the moone situate betwene the Sunne and the earth, as betwene the heart and the bellie, resembling the liver or some such soft bowell, transmitteth into the inferior parts here beneath, the heat of those superior bodies, and draweth to herselfe those vapors that arise from hence, and those doth the subtil & refine by way of concoction and purification, and so send and distribute them round about her. Now whether that solid and terrestrial portion in it, hath some other propertie serving for a profitable life or no, it is unknowne to us; but surely it is evermore the best and surest way in all things, to go by that which is necessitie: for what probability or likelihood can we draw from that which they deliver? They affirme, that of the aire the most subtle and lightesome part, by reason of the raritie thereof, became heaven; but that which was thickened and closely driven together, went to the making of starres; of which the Moone being the heaviest of all the rest, was concreat and compact of the most grosse and muddy matter thereof: and yet a man may perceive how she is not separate nor divided from the aire, but moveth and performeth her revolution through that which is about her, even the region of the winds, and where comets or blasing starres be engendered and hold on their course. Thus these bodies have not bene by their natural inclinations, according as each of them is light or heave, placed and situate as they be, but surely by some other reason they have bene so ranged and ordeined.

After these words were said, when I would have given unto *Lucius* his turne to speake, and to hold on this discourse, there being nothing at all behinde left, but the demonstrations of this doctrine: *Aristotle* began to smile, I am a witnesse (quoth he) that you have directed all these your contradictions and refutations, against those, who hold that the Moone is it selfe halfe fire; and who affirme, that all bodies of their owne accord, tend either upward or downward directly: But whether there be any one who saith, that the Starres of their owne nature, have a circular motion, & that in substance they be far different from the four elements, that came not ever, so much as by chance and fortune into your remembrance: and therefore I count my selfe exempt from all trouble and molestation in that behalfe. Why, good sir (quoth *Lucius*) if yee should haply suppose and set downe, that the other starres, and the whole heaven besides, were of a pure and sincere nature, void of all change and mutation, in regard of passion, as also bring in a certaine circle, in which they performed their motions by a perpetual revolution, you should not finde any one at this time to gaine-say you; notwithstanding there were in this position doubts and difficulties innumerable. But when your speech is descended so low as to touch the Moone, then can it not maintaine in her that impassibility, and the celestiall beautie of that body. But to leave all other inequalities and differences therein; certes, that very face which appeareth in the body of the Moone, commeth necessarily from some passion of her owne substance, or else by the mixture of some other, (for that which is mingled in some sort alwaies suffereth) because it looeth that former puritie, being perforce overcast and filled with that which is worke. As for that dull and flow course of hers, that weake and feeble heat whereby, as the Poet *Ion* saith,

*The grapes their kinde concoction luke,
And on the vine tree turne not blacke.*

unto what shall we attribute the same, if not to her imbecitie, in case an eternall and heavenly body

body can be subject unto any such passion? In summe, my good friend *Aristotle*, if the Moone be earth, surely a most faire and beautiful thing it seemeth to be, and full of great maiestie: if a starre, or light, or some divine and celestiall body, I am affraid least she prove deformed and foule, yea, and disgrace that beautiful name of hers, in case of all those bodies in heaven, which are in number so many, the onely remaineth to have need of the light of another,

*Casting behinde, her eie ahyates,
Upon the Sunne and his bright raies.*

according as *Parmenes* writeth. And verily our familiar friend, having in a lecture of his, proved by demonstration this proposition of *Anaxagoras*; that all the light which the Moone hath, the Sunne giveth unto her, was commended and well repured for it. For mine owne part, I am not minded to say what I have learned, either of you, or with you; but taking this for a thing granted and confessed, I will proceed forward to the rest behinde. Probable therefore it is, that the Moone is illuminate, not in maner of a glasse or crysell stone, by the bright irradiation and shining beames of the Sunne striking through her; neither yet by a certaine collustration and mutual conjunction of lights, as torches which being set burning together, do augment the light: for so it would be no lesse full moone in the conjunction or first quarter, than in the opposition, in case she did not containe and keepe in, nor repell the raies of the sunne, but suffer them to passe through her by reason of her raritie and foggositie, or if by a contempment (she thineth and kindleth as it were the light about her: for we cannot alledge her oblique and biasc declination, or her averstions and turnings away, before and after the conjunction or change, as when it is halfe Moone, tipped croissant, or in the wane; but being directly and plumbbe upon the bodie that illuminateth it, as *Democritus* saith, it receiveth and admitteth the Sunne, in such sort, as by all likelihood she should then appeare, and she shine through her: But so farre is she from so doing, that both herselfe at such a time is unseene, and many times hideth the Sunne, and keepeth off his beames from us: for according to *Empedocles*,

*His raies aloft she turneth eteane aside,
That to the earth beneath they cannot wend:
The earth it selfe she doth obscure and hide,
So farre as she in compass doth extend.*

As if this light of the Sunne fell upon night and darknesse and not upon another starre. And whereas *Pojadonius* saith, that in regard of the thickness & depth of the Moones body, the light of the Sun can not through her pierce, as far as unto us, this is manifestly convinced as untrue. For the aire as infinite as it is, and deeper by many degrees than the Moone, is nevertheless illuminated and lightened all over, and throughout by the Sunne. It remaineth therefore that according to the opinion of *Empedocles*, the Moone-light which appeareth unto us, cometh by the reflexion and repercussion of the Sunne-beames. And hereupon it is, that the same is not with us hot and bright, as of necessitie it would be, if it did proceed either from the inflammation or commixtion of two lights. But like as the refraction or reverberation of a voice, doth cause an echo, or resonance more obscure than is the voice it selfe, as it was pronounced; and as the raps, that shot, rebounding backe againe, doeth give, are more milde and soft,

*Even so the Sunne beames when they beat
Upon the Moone in compass great.*

yeeld a weake and feeble reflexion or reflexion, as one would say of light, the force thereof being much abated & resolved by the refraction & reflexion. Then *Sylla*: Certes, great probability this carrieth with it, that you have delivered: But the most forcible objection that is made against this position, how thinke you, is it any waies mitigated and mollified? or hath our friend here passed it over quite with silence? Whereby speake you this (quoth *Lucius*)? what opposition meane you? or is it the doubt or difficulty about the Moone when she appeareth the one halfe? Even the very same (quoth *Sylla*) for there is some reason, considering that all reflexion is made by equall angles, that when the halfe Moone is in the middes of heaven, the light should not be caried from her upon the earth, but glance and fall beyond the earth: for the Sunne being upon the Horizon, toucheth with his raies the Moone, and therefore being reflected and broken aequally, they must light upon the opposite bound of the Horizon, and so not send the light hither; or else there shall ensue a great distortion and difference of the angle, which is impossible. Why good sir (quoth *Lucius*) I dare assure you, this hath not bene overpassed, but explained already: and with that, casting his eie as he spake, upon *Aeneas* the

FFFF 3

Mathematician:

Mathematician: I am abashed (quoth he) friend *Menelms*, to overthrow a Mathematicall position, that is supposed and laid as a ground, and fundamentall principle for oblique matters of mirrors: And yet I must (quoth he) of necessity: for that it neither appeareth in this example, nor is generally confessed as true, that all reflexions tend to equall angles, for checked and confuted it is by round embowed or embossed mirrors, when as they represent images appearing at one point of the sight, greater than themselves. This also is disproved by double or two-folde mirrors, for that when they be inclined and turned one unto the other, so as the angle be made within, each of the glasses or plaine superficies, yeeld the resemblance of a double image, and so represent foure in all from one face; two apparent, answerable to that without on the left side; and other twaine obscure, & not so evident on the right side, all in the bottome of the mirrors, where they yeeld images, in appearance greater than the thing it selfe, at one point onely of the sight. The same likewise is overthrowen by those mirrors which are hollow, where-in the aspect is variable: whereof *Plato* rendereth a reason and efficient cause: for he saith, that a mirror rising of the one side and the other, the sight doeth change the reflexion, falling from the one side to the other: and therefore as the views and visions, some immediately returne upon us, others gliding upon the opposite parts of the mirror, have recourse againe from thence unto us, it is not possible that all reflexions should be in equall angles: so that when they come to coping and close sight, they thinke by these oppositions to take from the fluxions of light, carried from the Moone to the earth, the equalitie of angles, supposing this to carry more probability with it, than the other. Howbeit, if we must needs yeeld thus much, and grant this unto our best beloved *Gemitrian*: sith and formost by all likelihood this should befall unto those mirrors that are very smooth and exquisitely polished: whereas the Moone hath many inequalities, and asperities, in such sort, as the raies comming from the vast body of the Sunne, and carried to mightie altitudes, which receive one from another, and intercommunicate the lights, as they be sent to and fro, and distributed reciprocally, are refracted, broken, and interlaced all manner of waies, so as the counterglights doe meet and encounter one another, as if they came from many mirrors unto us. Moreover, if we should grant and suppose these reflexions of beames upon the superficies of the Moone, to be made by way of equall angles, there is no impossibility in the matter, but that the same raies being carried to great a way, should have their fractions, flexions, and delapsions: that thereby the light should be confused and shine the more.

Some also there be who prove by lineary demonstration, that she casteth much of her light to the earth plumb downe by direct line drawn under her as she doth encline: But for a man to make such a description and delimitation, reading as it were, neither could it well be. In briefe I marvel (quoth he) how they came thus to alledge against us the halfe Moone, more than halfe tipped or croissant. For if the Sunne do illuminate the masse, as a man would say, of the Moone, being of a celestiall or fiery matter, surely he would not leave halfe the sphere or globe thereof darke alwaies & shadowed without light, to our sense, but how little soever he touched her, turning as he doth about, reason would give and convenient it were that she should be wholly replenished and totally changed and turned, by that brightnesse of his, which spreadeth so quickly, and passeth through all so easily. For considering that wine touching water in one point onely, or a drop of blood falling into some liquor, dieth and coloureth the same all red or purple, like unto blood: and seeing they say that the very aire is altered with light, not by any deflexion or beames intermingled, but by sudden conversion and change, even in a point or prick onely: how can they thinke that one starre comming to touch another starre, and one light another should not be mingled immediately, nor make a confusion and mutation throughout, but to illuminate that onely in the outward superficies which it toucheth? For that circle which the Sun maketh in fetching a compasse and turning toward the Moone, one while falling upon the very line which parteth that which is visible in her from the invisible, another while rising up directly, in such sort as that it both cutteth her in twaine & is cutte also by her reciprocally, according to divers regards and habitudes of that which is light to the darke, causing those sundry formes in her, whereby she appeareth but halfe, more than halfe horned and croissant: this I say sheweth more than any thing els, that this illumination of the Moone, whereof we speake all this whiles, is not a mixture of two lights but a touching onely, not a collustration or gathering together of sundry lights, but an illustration thereof round about. But for as much as she is not only illuminate

illuminate her selfe, but he also sendeth backe hither unto us the image of that brightnesse, this consumeth us more and more in that which we say as touching her terrene substance. For never are there any reflexions and reverberations upon a thing that is rare and of subtle parts; neither may a man easily so much as imagine how light from light, or one fire should refuse and rebound from another: but needs it must be that the subject which maketh the reverberation or reflexion is firme, solid and thicke, to the end there may be a blow given against it, and a rebounding also from it. To prove this, doe but marke the aire; which giveth passage unto the Sunne for to perce quite through it, neither admitteth it any repulse or driving backe. Contrariwise we may see, that from wood, from stones, and from clothes or garments, hung forth against the same, he maketh many reflexions of his light, and illuminations on every side. And even so we see, that the earth by him is illuminate; for he sendeth not his beames to the very bottome thereof as in water, nor throughout the whole as in the aire: but looke what circle the Sunne maketh turning about the Moone, and how much he cutteth from her, such another there is that compasseth the earth: and just so much he doth illuminate alwaies, as he leaveth without light: for that which is illumined in the one and the other, is a little more than a hemisphere. Give me leave therefore now to conclude after the maner of Geometricians by proportion. If when three things there be, unto which the light of the Sunne commeth, to wit, the Aaire, the Moone, and the earth, we see that one of them is by him illuminate, not as the aire, but as the earth: we must of necessity collect that those two be of one nature, considering that of the same cause they suffer the same effects. Now when all the companie highly commended *Lucius* in this disputation: Passing well done of you *Lucius* (quoth I) you have to a proper discourse annexed as prety a comparison; for we must give you your right and not defraud you of that which is your due. With that smiled *Lucius*: I have yet (quoth he) a second proportion which I will adde unto the other, to the end that we may prove by demonstration, that the Moone wholly resembleth the earth, not only by this that the sufficiency together with the earth, from the same cause, the same accidents: but also because they both doe worke the like effects upon the same object. For this I am sure you will yeeld and grant unto me, that of all those things which are observed about the Sunne, none doe so much resemble one another, as his eclipses doth his setting or going downe: if you will but call to minde that meeting of Sunne and Moone together, which happened of late daies, and beginning immediately after nooned, caused many a starre from the sky to be seene, and wrought such a temperature or disposition in the aire, as is of the twilight evening and morning. But if you will not grant me the said supposition in this, our *Theon* here will cite and bring, I trow, *Asimmermus*, *Cydias*, *Archilochus*: and besides them *Stesichorus* and *Pindarus*, lamenting that in eclipses, the world is robbed of their greatest light which they bewaile as if it were entered, saying that midnight was come at noone day, and that the radiant beames of the Sunne, went in the way and path of darkenesse: but above all he will alledge *Homer*, saying that in an eclips, the faces and visages of men were overcast and seized upon with night and darkenesse: also that the Sunne was quite lost and missing out of the heaven being in conjunction with the Moone. * * * * *

And this hapneth by a naturall cause, according as *Homer* sheweth in this verse,

*Ἐν πόλει σίβηρος ὁ πλοῦτος, ὅτε δὲ κοιμήσθω,
Ὅτε ἡμέρα ἀνέστη, τὸν οὐρανὸν ἰδὼν
Ὅτε ἡμέρα ἀνέστη, τὸν οὐρανὸν ἰδὼν
As one goes out, another cometh in.*

As for the rest in mine advice they be as certaine and doe conclude as exactly as the demonstrations of the Mathematicians, to wit, that as the night is the shadow of the earth, so the eclipse of the Sun, is the shadow of the Moone, when as the sight returneth upon it selfe. For the Sunne going downe is hidden from our sight by the earth, and being eclipsed is likewise darkened by the Moone, and both the one and the other be offuscations of darkenesse; that of the Sunne setting, by the earth, and the other of the Sunne eclipsed by the Moone, by the reason that the shade empacheth our sight: of which premises the conclusion evidently doth follow. For if the effect be like, the efficient also be sensible, because necessary it is, that the same accidents or effects in the same subject, must come from the same efficient. Now if the darkenesse occasioned by the eclipses be not so deepe nor affeet the aire so forcibly as doth the night, we are not to marvell thereat: for the substance of that bodie which maketh the night, and offit that causeth the eclipse, may well be the same, although the greatnesse be not equal. For the Aegyptians:

Some thinke
he meaneth
that darknesse
over the face
of the earth,
which hapned
at the verie
time that our
Saviour suffe-
red upon the
crosse, which
continued six
the first hour
of the day, un-
to the ninth,
thats is to say,
from noone,
until three of
the clocke af-
ter noone.
* Somewhat
had bene said
of the change
of the Moone,
as it should
seeme, for it
will not stand
with the Sunne
eclipse, to be
at any other
time than at
the change
of nature.

tians, I suppose, doe hold, that the Moone is in bignesse the 72. part of the earth : And *Anaxagoras* saith it is just as big as *Peloponnesus*. *Aristarchus* writeth that the overthwart line or Diameter of the Moone in proportion to that of the earth is lesse than if 60. were compared with nineteene : and somewhat more than if a hundred and eight were compared with 43 : and thereby the earth bereaveth us of all sight of the Sunne, so great it is. For it must be a great obstacle and opposition betwene, which continueth the time of night : and the Moone albeit otherwise the hideth all the Sunne, yet that eclipse neither lasteth not so long, nor is so universal : for there appeareth alwaies about his circumference some light, which will not permit the darknesse to be so blacke and deepe, and altogether so obscure. *Aristotle* also, I meane the ancient Philosopher of that name, rendering a reason why there happen eclipses of the Moone 10 oftener than of the Sunne, among other causes, brings in this for one : that the Sunne is eclipsed by the obstruction of the Moone, and the Moone by that of the earth, which is much greater and more spacious, and so by consequence is opposed very often. And *Ptolemy* defined this accident thus : The eclipse of the Sunne (quoth he) is the conjunction or meeting of the Sunne and the Moone, the shadow whereof doeth darken our eye-sight : for there is no defect or eclipse of the Sunnes light, but unto those, whose sight the shadow of the Moone hath caught, and so hindreth them from seeing the Sunne. Now in confessing that the shadow of the Moone reacheth downe unto us, I know not what he hath left himselfe for to alledge. Certes, impossible it is, that a starre should cast a shadow : for that which is void altogether of light, is called a shadow ; and light maketh no shadow, but contrariwise, naturally 20 riddeth it away. But what arguments besides, were alledged to this purpose (quoth he) ? The Moone (quoth I then) suffereth the same eclipse : Well done (quoth he) of you, to reduce this into my memorie : But would you have me to prosecute this disputation, as if you had already granted and set downe, that the Moone is subject to eclipses, when she is caught within the shadow of the earth ; or that for a subject and argument of some declamation, and demonstration unto you, I first rehearse all the arguments one after another ? Mary, do so I pray you (quoth *Theon* :) bestow your labour in such a discourse. I had need verily (quoth he) of some perswasion, having onely heard say, that when these three bodies, to wit, the earth, the Sunne, and the Moone, are directly in one right line, then happen eclipses ; for that either the earth, taketh the Sunne from the Moone, or the Moone taketh him from the earth : for the Sunne is 30 in defect or eclipse when the Moone, and the Moone likewise when the earth is in the mids of them three ; whereof the one falleth out in conjunction, the other in the opposition or full Moone. Then (quoth *Lucius*) these be in a manner all the principall points and the very briefe of those that which hath bene delivered : but to begin withall, if you thinke so good take in hand that firme argument which is drawn from the forme and figure of the shadow, which indeed is a *Conus* or *Pyramid* (resembling a sugar loafe) with the sharpe end forward, namely when a great fire or great light being round, comprehendeth a masse likewise round but lesse : and hereupon it cometh that in eclipses of the Moone the circumscription of the blacke or darkenesse, from the cleere and light, have alwaies their sections round : for the approachments and applications of a round bodie, in what part soever, whether it give or receive those sections, 40 by reason of the similitude doe alwaies keepe a round forme and be circular. Now to the second argument. You know well (I suppose) that the first part eclipsed or darkened in the Moone, is that which regardeth the east : and contrariwise in the Sunne, that which looketh toward the west : for the shadow of the earth goeth from east to west, but contrariwise the Sunne and Moone, from west eastward. The experience of the apparitions, giveth us the visible knowledge of these things : and many words there need not to make the demonstration hereof plaine and evident to be understood : by which suppositions is confirmed the cause of the eclipse : For, in as much as the Sunne is eclipsed when he is overtaken, and the Moone by meeting with that which maketh her eclipse, by all likelihood, may rather necessarily the one is caught behinde, the other surprised before, for that the obstruction, & innumbration beginneth on that side on which 50 that cometh first that maketh the said innumbration. Now the Moone lighteth upon the Sunne from the west, as striving with him in course and hastning after him : but the shadow of the earth cometh from the east, as having a contrary motion. The third reason is taken from the time and greatnesse of the eclipses of the Moone. For when she is eclipsed on high and farr from the earth, the continueth but a little while in defect or want of light : but when she suffereth the same default being low and nere unto the earth, she is much oppressed, and slowly getteth

getteth the fourth of the shade thereof : and yet when she is low she moveth most swiftly, and being aloft, as slowly. But the cause is in the difference of the shadow, which toward the bottom or base is broader as are the *Cones* or *Pyramids*, & so it groweth smaller and smaller taper-wise, untill at the top it endeth in altharpe point. And hereupon it cometh that the Moone being low and so falling within the shadow is compassed with greater circles of the shadow, & so passeth through the very bottom of it, & that which is most darke : but being on high, by reason of the narrow compass of the shadow, being as it were in a small puddle of mire, she is but a little filled or beried therewith, & so quickly getteth forth of it. Here I passe by the accidents and effects that have their particular causes. For we daily see that the fire, out of a shady place appeareth 10 reth & shineth the rather, either by reason of the thicknesse of the darke aire, which admitteth no effluxions nor diffusions of the vertue of the fire, keeping in and containing within it selfe the substance thereof : or rather if this be a passion of the sense, like as hot things nere unto cold are felt to be more hot, and pleasures presently upon paines found more vehement : even so things cleere, appeare better when they are laid nere unto those that be darke, by means of different passions, which doe streine the imagination : but the former conjecture seemeth to bee more probable : for in the Sunne shine, the whole nature of fire not onely leeseeth his brightness, but also in giving place unto it, becometh more dull, and unwilling to burne, for that the heat of the Sunne doth scatter and dissipate the force thereof. If then it were true that the Moone had in it a feeble and dimme or dusky fire, as being a muddy starre, as the *Stoicks* saie 20 it is, reason it were and meet, that it should not suffer any one of those accidents (but contrary al) which now we see it to suffer, namely to be seene at that time when as it is hidde ; and againe to be hidde, what time as the sheweth herselfe : that isto say, to be covered all the rest of the time, being darkened by the aire environing it, and to shine out againe for six moneths, and afterwards for five moneths be hidde, entering within the shadow of the earth. For of 465. revolutions of eclipsed full Moones, 404. are of six moneths, and the rest of five. It must needs be then, during this time, the Moone should appeare shining in the shadow : but contrariwise wee see, that in the shadow eclipsed she is, and looetheth her light, which she recovereth againe afterwards, when she is escaped and gotten forth of the said shadow, yea, and appeareth often in the day time ; so that it is rather any thing else than a fire body, and resembling a starre. 30 *Lucius* had no sooner thus said, but *Pharnaces* & *Apollonides* came running both together, to set upon him, and to confute his speech : and then *Pharnaces* assited by *Apollonides* there present : Why : this (quoth he) is that which principally prooveth the Moone to be a starre, and to stand much upon fire, namely, that in eclipses she is not wholly darkened, and not at all to be seene, but sheweth through the shade a certaine colour, resembling a coale of fire, and the same fearefull to see to, which is the very naturall and proper hue of her owne. As for *Apollonides*, he made instance and opposition as touching the word shadow : for that (quoth he) Mathematicians by that terme use alwaies to call the place which is not illumined, but the heaven admitteth no shadow. Where to I made answer, that this instance of his was alledged rather against the word contentiously, than against the thing Physically, or Mathematically ; for the place which is darkened and obstructed by the opposition of the earth, if a man will not call a shadow, but a place void or deprived of light, yet be it what it will, whensoever the Moone 40 is there, you must of necessitie confesse, that she becometh obscure and darkened : and in one word, I say, it is a very absurd folly to hold, that the shadow of the earth reacheth not to that place, from whence the shadow the Moone falling upon our sight heere upon the earth, causeth the eclipse of the Sunne. And now will I come againe to you *Pharnaces* : For that burnt colour, like a coale in the Moone, which you say is proper unto her, agreeth very well to a body, that hath thicknesse and depth : neither use there to remaine in bodies which be rare any mark or token of a flame, nor a coale can possibly be made of a body which is not solide & able to receive deepe within it the heat of fire, and the blacknesse of smoke : as *Elomer* himselfe 50 sheweth very well in one place, by these words :

*When flower of fire was gon and flouen away
And flame extinct the coales he did forsake.*

For the coale seemeth not properly to be fire, but a bodie fire and altered by fire, remaining still in a solid masse or substance which hath taken as it were deepe root : whereas flames are but the setting on fire and fluxions of some nutriment or matter which is of a rare substance, and by reason of feeblenesse is quickly resolved and consumed. In so much as there were not another

ther argument so evident, to prove that the Moone is solid and terrestrial, as this, if the proper colour thereof resemble a coale of fire. But it is not so my *Pharnces*: for in her eclipse she changeth diversly her colours, which Mathematicians in regard of time and place determinately distinguish in this sort. If she be eclipsed in the West, she appeareth exceeding blacke for three houres and an halfe: if in the middle of the heaven, she sheweth this light reddish or bay colour resembling fire: and after seven houres and an halfe, there ariseth a rednesse indeed. Finally, when this eclipse hapneth in the east and toward the Sunne rising she taketh a blew or grayish colour, which is the cause that the Poets and namely *Empedocles* calleth her *Glaucope*. Considering then, that they see manifestly how the Moone changeth into so many colours in the shadow, they doe very ill to attribute unto her this colour onely of a burning or live coale: which intueeth a man may say to be lesse proper unto her than any other, and rather to be some little suffusion and remnant of light appearing and shining through a shadow; and that her proper and naturall colour is blacke and earthy. For seeing that here below whereas the lakes and rivers which receive the Sunne beames, and by that meanes seeme in their superficies to be some time reddish, and otherwhiles of a violet colour, the shadowy places adjoining take the same colours and are illuminated, starting backe by reason of reflexions & divers rebated splendours. What wonder is it, if a great river (as it were) or flux of shadow falling upon a celestiall sea as a man would say of a light not firm, fleshy & quiet, but stirred with innumerable starres walking over it, and besides, which admitteth divers mixtures and mutations, doth take from the Moone the impression of sundry colours, and send the face hither unto us? For it cannot be avowed that a starre or fire should appeare through a shadow either blacke, blew, or violet; but hills, plaines, and seas, are seene to have many and sundry resemblances of colours by reflexion of the Sunne running upon them, which are the very tinctures, that a brightnesse mingled with shadowes and mists (as it were) with painters drugges and colours, bringeth upon them: which tinctures *Homere* went about to expresse in some sort and to name, when one while he calleth the sea *iris-bus*, and once that is to say, of a violet colour, or deepened as wine, and otherwhile the waves purple: in one place the sea blew, greene or grey, and the colour white: as for the tinctures and colours appearing upon the earth diversly, he hath let them passe, as I suppose, for that they be in number infinit. So, it is not like that the Moone should have but one plaine and even superficies in manner of the sea, but rather resemble naturally of all things especially the earth, whereof olde *Socrates* in *Plato* seemeth to fable, whether it were, that under covert words and enigmatically he ment this here of the Moone, or spake of some other. For it is neither incredible nor wonderfull if the Moone in it having no corruption nor muddinesse but the fruition of pure light from heaven, and being full of heat, not of furious and burning fire, but of such as is milde and hamelesse, hath also within her faire places and marvellous pleasant mountaines also, resplendent like bright flaming fire, purple tinctures or zones, gold and silver likewise good store, not dispersed heere and there in the bottome thereof, but arising up to the upper face of the said planes in great abundance, or else spread over the hills and mountaines, even and smooth. Now say that the sight of all these things cometh unto us through a shadow, and that after divers and sundry sorts, by reason of the variable and different mutation of the circumstant aire, yet looseth not the Moone for all that, the venerable opinion that goeth of her and the reputation of her divinity, being esteemed among men a celestiall earth, or rather a feculent and troubled fire, as the Stoicks would have it, and standing much upon lees or dreggish matter. For the very fire it selfe hath barbarian honours done unto it among the Medes and Assyrians, who for very feare leere and adore such things as be noisome and hurtful, hallowing & consecrating the same above those things which are of themselves good and honorable. As for the name of the earth, there is not a Greeke but he holdeth it right worshipfull, sacred, and venerable: in so much as it is an ancient coslome received throughout all *Greece*, to honour it as much as any other god whatsoever. And far is it from us men, to thinke that the Moone which we take to be a celestiall earth, as a dead body without soule or spirit, and altogether void of such things, which we ought to offer as first fruits to the gods. For both by law we celd recompence and thanksgiving unto it, for those good things which we have received, and by nature we adore the same, which we acknowledge to be the most excellent for vertue, and right honourable for puiffance, and therefore we thinke it no sinne at all, to suppose the Moone to be earth. To comenow unto the face that appeareth therein: like as this earth upon which we walke, hath many sinuities and valleys, even so as probable it is, that the said heavenly earth, lieth open with great deepe caves,

and

and wide chinks or ruptures, and those containing either water or obscure aire: to the bottome thereof the light of the Sunne is not able to pierce and reach, but there falleth, and sendeth to us hither a certaine divided reflexion. Then *Apollonides*: Now I beseech you good sir, even by the Moone herselfe, thinke you it is possible that there should be shadowes of caves, gulfes, and chinkes there, and that the same should be discovered by our sight here? or doe you not make reckoning of that which may come thereof? What is that (quoth I): Mary I will tell you, (quoth he) and albeit you are not ignorant thereof, yet may you give me the hearings. The Diameter of the Moone, according to that bignes which appeareth unto us, in the equall and ordinary distances, is twelve fingers breadth long: and every one of those blacke and darke shadowy streaks therein, is more than halfe a finger, that is to say, above the foure an twentieth part of the said Diameter. Now if we suppose the whole circumference of the Moone to be thirtie thousand stadia, and according to that supposition the Diameter to be ten thousand, every one of those obscure and shadowy marks within her, will not be lesse than five hundred stadia, or thereabout. Consider then first, whether it be possible that there should be in the Moone so great profundities, and such rugged inequalities, as to make so bigge a shadow? and then, whether being so great, their bignes should not be defiered and seene by us. Heereupon I smiling upon him: Now I assure you *Apollonides* (quoth I) I con you thanke, you have done it very well, in devising such a proper demonstration, whereby you will prove both me and your selfe also to be greater than those Giants *Alciades*, I meane not at every houre of the day, but especially in the morning and evening: doe you thinke that when the Sunne maketh our shadowes so long, hee yeeldeth unto our sense this goodly collection and augmentation, that if the thing which is shadowed be great, then that which maketh the shadow must needs be exceeding great? Neither of us twaine, I wot well, hath ever bene in the isle *Lennox*, and yet both of us have many a time heard this vulgar Iambique verse fo rise in every mans mouth:

Abos aplos her modest hanging robes,

The mountaine Athos shall on either side,

The cove that stands in Lennox hide.

For this shadow of the hill falleth as it should seeme, upon a certaine brazen image of an heifer in that isle, reaching in length over sea no lesse than 700 stadia, not because the said mountain which maketh the shadow is of that height, but because the distaffes of the light causeth the shadowes of bodies to be by many folds greater than the bodies are. Go to then, consider that when the Moone is at the full, at what time as she rendeth unto our eie the forme of a visage most expressly, by reason of the profunditie of the shadow within, then is she also farthest distant from the Sunne: for the farre recoiling and withdrawing backward of the light, is it that makes the shadow great, and not the bignes of those inequalities, which are upon the superficies of the Moone. Moreover you see that the excessive gluttering of the Sunne shining all about, will not suffer a man to see in the day time the very tops of mountaines: but the deepe, hollow, and shadowy parts therein, appeare very farre off. It carieth therefore no absurditie at all, that a man is not able exactly to see and discern that full light and illumination of the Moone: but that the opposition of darke shadowes unto cleare lights, by reason of their diversitie is more exquisitely seene. But this (quoth I) seemeth rather to checke and confute that reflexion, and reverberation which is said to rebound from the Moone, for that they who stand within the raies or beames that are returned and retorted backe, have meanes to see not onely that which is illumined, but that also which doeth illuminate. For when, in the refutation of a light from the water upon some wall, the light falleth upon the very place it selfe, which is thus illumined by the reflexion, the eie seeth three things, to wit, the beames or shining light driven backe, the water which maketh that reflexion, and the Sunne it selfe, whose light hitting upon the superficies of the water, is reflexed and sent backe. This being generally granted as a thing evidently seene, yet by way of objection, they bid those who asirme, that the earth is illuminated from the Moone by the reflexion of the Sunnes light from it, to shew by night the Sunne appearing in the superficies of the Moone, like as he may be seene in the day time within the water upon which she shineth, when there is the forefaid reflexion of his beames: But because he cannot then be seene, they intere, that it must be by some other manner, and not by reflexion, that the Moone is illumined; and if there be no such reflexion, then cannot the Moone in any wise be earth. How shall this be met withall, and what answer shall be shaped unto it (quoth *Apollonides*) for the reason of reflexion seemeth all one, and common as well

to

to us as to you. True (quoth I) common it is in some sort, and in some sort not: but first marke I beseech you the comparison, how they go cleane kin, kam, and against the streame, as if rivers ranne up hilles: for the water is heere beneath upon the earth, and the Moone is above and in the heaven: in such sort as the beames reflected, make the forme of their angles opposit and quite contrarie one unto the other; the one carrying the head or point upward against the superficies of the Moone, the other downward to the ground. Let them not then demand and require that a mirrour should render every forme or face alike, not that in every distance there should be equall or semblable reflexion, for in fiddoing they would goe against apparent evidence. And they who holde the Moone to be a bodie not smooth, even subtille as water is, but solid, massy, and terrestriall; I cannot conceive why they should looke for to see the Sunne in it as in a glasse. For milke verily doth not yield such specularie images nor cause reflexion of the light, by reason of the inequality and rugged asperity of the parts: how is it possible then, that the Moone should send backe from it the light as mirrours doe which are more polished? And even this also, if any rafe, blur, filth, or confused spot have caught them in the superficies, from whence the light being reflected is wont to receive the impression of some figure, may wel be seene, but counter-light they yeeld none: and he who requireth, that either the Sunne should appeare in the Moone, or our fight be redoubled against the Sunne, let him require withall, that the eie be the Sunne, the sight thereof the light, and man, heaven. For like it is that the reflexion of the Sunne beames against the Moone, for their vehemence & exceeding great brightnesse, should with a stroke rebound upon us: but seeing our sight is weak and feeble, what marvel is it, if it neither give such a stroke as might rebound, nor maintaine the continuuty thereof: if it leaped backe againe, but is broken and faileth; as not having that abundance of light, whereby it should not be disfigured and dissipated, within those uneven and unequal asperities? For it is not possible that the reflexion of our sight upon water, or other sorts of mirrours, whiles the fame is yet strong, and able, as being nere unto the spring from whence it commeth, should not returne againe upon the eie. But from the Moone, suppose there may rebound some glimmering glances, certes they be all weak and obscure, failing in the very way, by reason of so long a distance. For otherwise arched and hollow mirrours send backe their reflected raies with more force, than they came in, in such sort as many times they catch fire and doe burne: whereas the imbossed and couled mirrours made round and bearing out like a bowle, cast from them feeble and darke raies, because they beate them not backe on all sides. You see certainly when two rainebowes appeare in the heaven, by reason that one cloud doth invite and comprehend another, that the rainebow which compasseth the other without forth, yeeldeth dim colours, and not sufficiently distinct & expressed, because the outward cloud being farther remote from our sight, maketh not a strong and forcible reflexion. And what needs there any more to be said: considering that the very light of the Sunne returned and sent backe by the Moone leecheth all the heat: and of his brightnesse there commeth unto us with much adoe but a small remnant, and a portion very little and feeble. Is it possible then that our sight running the same race there should any percell or residue thereof reach from the Moone backe againe to the Sunne? For mine owne part, I thinke not. Consider also I beseech you (quoth I) even your owne selves, that if our eyesight were affected and disposed alike by the water and by the Moone, it could not otherwise be: but that the Moone should represent unto us the images of the earth, of trees, of plants, of men, and of fittars, as well as water doth, and all other kinds of mirrours. Now if there be no such reflexion of our eie sight fro the Moone, as to bring backe unto us those images, either for the feeblenesse of it, or the rugged inequality of her superficies, let us never require that it should leape backe as far as to the Sun. Thus have we reported as much as our memory would carrie away, whatsoever was there delivered: Now is it time to desire *Sylla* or rather to require & exact of him, to make his narration, for that admitted he was to here this discourse upon such a condition. And therefore if you thinke to good, let us give over walking, and sitting downe here upon these feates, make him a sedentarie audience. All the company liked well of this motion. And when we had taken our places, *Theon* thus began. Certes I am desirous (quoth he) and none of you all more, to heare what shall be said: But before I would be very glad to understand somewhat of those who are said to dwell in the Moone, not whether there be any persons there inhabiting, but whether it be possible that any should inhabit there. For if this cannot be, then it were mere folly and beside all reason, to say, that the Moone is earth: otherwise it would be thought to have beene created in vaine and to

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no end: as bearing no fruits, nor affording no habitation, no place for nativity, no food or nourishment for any men or women, in regard of which cause, and for which ends we firmly hold, that this earth wherein we live, as *Plato* saith, was made and created, even to be our nourish and keeper, making the day and night distinct one from another. For you see and know, that of this matter, many things have beene said aswell merily and by way of laughter, as seriously: and in good earnest. For of those who inhabit the Moone, some are said to hang by the heads under it, as if they were so many *Tantals*; others contrariwise, who dwell upon it, are tied fast, like a host of *xiens*, and turned about with such a violence, that they are in danger to be flung and shaken out. And verily the moveth not after one single motion, but three manner of waies: 10 whereupon the Poets call her other-while, *revolving*, or *Trivola*, performing her course together, according to length, breadth, and depth in the Zodiak. Of which motions, the first is called, A direct revolution; the second, An oblique winding or wheeling in and out; and the third, the Mathematicians call (I wrote not how) An inequality: and yet they see, that the hath no motion at all even and uniforme, nor certaine in all her monthly circuits and reverfions. No marvel therefore; considering the impetuositie of these motions, if there fell a lion sometimes out of her into *Peloponnesus*: nay rather we are to wonder, why we see not every day a thousand fells of men & women, yea, and as many beasts shaken out from thence, and flung downe headlong with their heeles upward. For it were a meere mockerie, to dispute and stand upon their habitation there, if they neither can breed nor abide there. For considering that the *Aegyptians* and 20 *Troglodytes*, over whose heads the Sunne standeth directly one moment onely of the day in the time of the Solstices, and then presently retireth, hardly escape burning, by reason of the excessive heat of the circumstant aere; how possibly can the men in the Moone endure 22 Summers every yere, when the Sunne once a moneth is just in their Zenith, and felleth plumb over head, when he is at the full? As for winds, clouds, and raines, without which the plants of the earth can neither come up nor be preserved; it passeth all imagination, that there should be any there, the aere is so subtille, drie and hote; especially, seeing that even here beneath, the highest mountaines doe admit or feele the hard and bitter Winters from yere to yere, but the aere about them being pure and cleere, and without any agitation whatsoever, by reason of the subtiltie and lightnesse, avoideth all that thicknesse and concretion which is among us: unless 30 haply we will say, that like as *Minerva* infilled and dropped into *Achilles* mouth some *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*, when he received no other food; so the Moone, who both is called and is indeed *Minerva*, nourisheth men there, bringeth forth daily for them *Ambrosia*, according as *olde Phereides* was wont to say, that the very gods also were fedde and nourished. For as touching that Indian root, which (as *Megasthenes* saith) certeine people of *India*, who neither eat nor drinke, nor have so much as mouthes, whereupon they be called *Assomi*, do burne and make to smoke, with the odor and perfume whereof, they live; how can they come by any such there, considering the Moone is never watered nor refreshed with raine? When *Theon* had thus said: You have (quoth I) very properly and sweetly handled this point; you have (I say) by this merry conceited jest, laied smooth and even, those bent and knit browes, the austerity (I meane) of this 40 whole discourse; which hath given us heart and encouraged us to make answer: for that, if we faile and come short, we looke not for straight examination, nor feare any sharpe and grievous punishment. For to say a truth, they who take most offence at these matters, rejecting and discrediting the fame, are not so great adversaries unto those who are most perswaded thereof; but such as will not after a milde and gentle sort consider that which is possible and probable. First and foremost therefore, this I say, that, suppose there were no men at all inhabiting the Moone, it doth not necessarily follow therefore, that the was made for nothing and to no purpose: for we see that even this earth here is not thoroughout inhabited, nor tilled in all parts: nay, there is but a little portion thereof habitable, like unto certeine promontories or deny-lands arising out of the deepe sea, for to breed, ingender and bring forth plants & living creatures: for of the rest, some part is desert, waste and barren, by reason of excessive colde and heat; but in truth, the greatest portion lieth drowned under the great and maine sea. But you (for the great love that you beare to *Aristarchus*, whom you admire so much, and evermore have in your hands) give no care to *Crates*, notwithstanding that you reade these verses in *Homer*.

*The ocean sea, from whence both men
and gods were first bred,
With surging waves the greatest part
of earth doth ever spread.*

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And

And yet God forbid, that these parts should be said for to have beene made for nought: for the sea doth expire and breath forth certaine mild vapours: and the most gentle and pleasant winds which arise and blow in the greatest heat of Summer, come from frozen regions and not inhabited for extreme colde, which the snow melting and thawing by little and little do send from them and scatter over all our countreys. And the earth (as *Plato* saith) ariseth out of the sea in the mids, as a guardiansse and workmistrresse of night and day. What should hinder then, but that the Moone also may well be without living creatures in it, and yet give reflexions unto the light diffused and spread about her; yea, and yeld a receit or receptacle of the stars rayes which have their confluence, meeting and temperature in her, whereby she concocteth the evaporations ascending from the earth, and withall, abateth the over-ardent and fierie heat of the Sunne. 10 Over & besides, attributing as we do very much to the ancient opinion & voice which we have received from our forefathers, we will be bold to say, that she hath bene reputed *Diana*, as a virgin, barren and fruitlesse, but otherwise salutarie, helpfull and profitable to the world. And of all this that hath bene said (my friend *Theon*) there is nothing that doth proove and shew directly, this habitation of men in the Moone to be impossible: for her turning about being so milde, so kinde and calme, polisheth the aire neere unto it, it distributeth and spreadeth the same all about in so good disposition, that there is none occasion given to feare, that those who live in it should fall downe or slide out of her, unlesse she also come downe withall. As for that manifold variety of her motions, it proceedeth not from any inequality, error or confusion, but the Astrologers demonstratively shew thereby an order and course most admirable, contriving it so, that she should be fast within certaine circles that turne and winde about other circles, some devising that she herselfe stirreth not, others supposing that she moveth alwaies equally, smoothly and in conforme celerity: for these are the ascensions of divers circles, the circumvolutions and turnings about, the habitudes in references one to another, yea, and respective to us, which make most elegantly those orderly elevations and depressions in altitude, which appeare in her motion, yea, and her digressions in latitude, all jointly with that ordinary and direct revolution of hers in longitude. As touching that exceeding heat and continuall inflammation of the Sunne, you will cease (I am sure) to be afraid thereof, in case, first and foremost, you will say to those eleven hote and activall conjunctions as it were in exchange, as many oppositions when she is at the full, and then oppose unto those excessive and enormous extremities which holde 30 not long, the continuall change and mutation, which redueth them into a proper and peculiar temperature, taking from them that is excessive and overmuch in both: for it seemeth very probable, that the time betweene is a season resembling the Spring tide: Moreover, the Sun sendeth his beames into us thorow a grosse and troubled aire, casting his heat nourished and fed by evaporations: whereas the aire there, about the Moone, being subtile & transparent, doth disgregate and disperse the said beames, as having no nouriture to mainteine them, nor body to settle upon.

To come now unto trees, woods and fruits; here indeed with us, they be the raynes that nourish them: but in other high countreys with you, namely, about * *Thebes* and *Siene*, it is not the water from heaven, but out of the earth, that feedeth them: for the earth being soaked there-with, and besides refreshed with coole winds and comfortable dewes, would be loth to compare infertility with the best watered ground in the world, such is the goodness, vertue and temperature of the soile. And verily the trees of the same kinde with us, if they have bene well wintered, that is to say, if they have endured a sharpe and long Winter, bring forth plenty of good fruit; but in *Lubya* and with you in *Aegypt*, they are soone hurt and offended with colde, and it they feare exceedingly. And whereas the provinces of *Gedrosia* and *Trageladitis*, lying hard upon the ocean sea, be very barren by reason of their drouth, and are altogether without trees: yet within the sea adjoining thereto, and which beatech upon the continent, there grow trees of a wonderfull bignesse, yea & there be that put forth fresh and greene at the very bottome of the sea: whereof some they call Olive trees, others, Lawrels, and some againe *Isb* hairets. As for those plants which be called *Anacamperotes*, after they be plucked forth of the ground where they grow, and so hanged up, they doe not only live as long as a man would have them, but (that which more is) budde and put forth greene leaves. Moreover, of those plants which are set or sowne, some, as namely, Centaury, if they be planted or sowed in a rich or fat soile, and the same well drenched and watered, doe degenerate and grow out of their naturall quality: yea, and lesse all their vertue, for that they love to grow drie, and in their proper nature and soile agreeable thereto, they thrive passing well. Others cannot so much as away with any dewes,

dewes, as the most part of the Arabian plants; for wet them once, they milke; fade and die. What marvell then if there grow within the Moone, roates, seeds, plants, and trees, that have no need either of shewers, or of winter winde and weather, but are appropriate naturally to a subtile and dry aire, such as the summer season doeth afford? And why may not stand with good reason, that the Moone herselfe sends certaine warme winds, and that by her shaking and agitation, as the still mooveth, there should breath forth a sweet and comfortable aire, fine dewes, and gentle moistures, spread and dispersed all about, sufficient to mainteine the plants fresh and greene: considering withall, that the of her owne temperature is not ardent, nor exceeding drie, but rather soft and moist, and engendering all humidity? For there cometh not from her unto us, any one effect or accident of siccity, but of moisture and of a feminine & soft constitution, many; to wit, the growing and thriving of plants, the putrefaction of flesh killed, the turning of wines to be sowre, flat, and dead, the stummes and tendernes of wood, and the easie deliverance of women in childbirth. But I feare me, that I should move and provoke *Pharnaces* againe, who all this while sitteth still and saith nought, if I alledge the ebbing and flowing, or the inundations of the great Ocean, as they themselves say, the furies, frights, and armes of the sea, which swell and rise by the Moone, naturally given to encrease moisture and breed humours: and therefore I will direct my words toward you rather, friend *Theon*, for you say unto us, in expounding these verses of the Poet *Alcan*,

What things on earth the dewe, as nowe doth feed:

Which Jupiter and Moone betwixt them breed.

that in this place he calleth the aire *Jupiter*, and faith, that being moistened by the Moone, he is converted into dew: for the Moone my good friend, seemeth in nature to be quite contrary unto the sunne, not onely in this, that whatsoever he doeth thicken, drie, and harden, she is wont to resolve, moisten, and mollifie, but that which more is, to humect and refrigerate the heat that cometh from him, when the same lighteth upon her, or is mingled with her. Therefore as well they who suppose the Moone to be a fire and ardent body, doe erre, as those who would have the creatures there inhabiting, to have all things necessarie for their generation, food and maintenance, like unto them that live here; never considering the great difference and inequality which is in nature, wherein there be found greater and more varieties and 30 diversities of living creatures, one with another, than with other things: neither would there be men in the world without mouthes, and whose lippes are grown up together, and who were nourished also with smells onely, in case men could not live without solide and substantiall food. But that power of Nature which *Ammonius* himselfe hath shewed us, and which *Hesiodus* under covert words hath given us to understand by these verses,

In Malloves and in Asphodels,

which grow on every ground,

What use and profit manifold,

for man there may be found.

Epimenides hath made plaine and evident indeed and effect, teaching us that nature susteineth 40 and preserveth a living creature with very small food and maintenance: for so it may have but as much as an olive, it needs no more nourishment, but may live therewith, and doe full well. Now it is very like & probable, that those who dwell within the Moone, if any els, be light, active and nimble of body, and easie to be nourished with any thing whatsoever: also that the Moone (as well as the Sunne, who is a living creature, standing much upon fire, and by many degrees greater than the earth) is nourished and maintained as they say, by the humours which are upon the earth, like as all other states, which are in number infinite. So light and slender they imagine those living creatures to be that are above, and so soon contented and satisfied with small necessities. But we neither see this, nor yet consider that a divers region, nature and temperature is meet and agreeable unto them: much like, as if when we could not our selves come 50 nere unto the sea, nor touch and taste it, but have seene it only a farr off, & heard that the water in it is bitter, brackish, salt, and not potable, one should come and tell us, that it nourisheth a mightie number of great creatures, of all sorts & formes, living in the bottome thereof, and that it is full of huge and monstrous beasts, which make use of the water, as we doe of aire; hee would be thought to tell us tales and monstrous fables: even so it seemeth that we stand affected and disposed in these matters of the Moone, not believing that there be any men inhabiting within it. But I am verily perswaded, that they may much more marvell, seeing the earth here

a farre off, as the dregges, sediment, and grounds as it were of the whole world, appearing unto them through moist cloudes, and foggie mists, a small thing God wot, and the same with-out light, base, object, and unmoveable: show the same should breed, nourish, maintaine, and keepe living creatures which have motion, breathing, and vitall heat: and in case they had ever heard these verses out of *Iliomer*, as touching certaine habitations,

Ugly and foule, most hideous to be seene:

Whereof the gods themselves right fearefull beent.

Also:

Under the earth beneath, and hell unseene,

As farre as heavens from earth remooved beent.

they would thinke verily and say, that they had beene spoken of this earth heere: and that darke hell and *Tartarus* were heere situate, and farre remote: as also that the Moone onely was the earth, as being equally distant from heaven above and hell beneath. Now before I had well made an end of my speech, *Sylla* taking the words out of my mouth: Stay a while (quoth he) O *Lamprius*, your speech; and hold off with your boat, as they say, for feare you runne an end with your tale upon the ground ere you be aware, and mar all the plaie, which for this present hath another scene and disposition; and I my selfe am the actor: but before I proceed farther, I will bring forth mine author unto you, if there be nothing to impeach me; who beginneth in this manner with a verse of *Iliomer*:

Farre from the maine, within the Ocean sea,

There lies an island high Ogygiae.

distant from great *Britaine* or *England* Westward, five daies sailing: And other three isles there be, of like distance one from the another, and from the said island, bearing northwest, whereas the sun setteth in Summer: in one of which the barbarous people of the country doe fable and feine that *Saturne* was detained and kept prisoner by *Jupiter*. Now for the keeping as well of it, as of those other isles, and the whole sea adjacent, which was called *Saturns* sea, the gyant *Ogygius*, or *Briareus* was placed: as also that the maine and firme land, wherewith the great sea is bordered round about, is remooved from the othes isles not so farre, but from *Ogygia* five hundred *stadia* or there about: unto which men use to row in galleis, for that sea is very ebbe and low, hardly to be passed by great vessels, by reason of the huge quantitie of mudde brought thither by a number of rivers, which running out of the maine continent, discharge themselves into it, raising mightie shelves and barres, whereby the sea is choked up as it were with earth, and hardly navigable: which gave occasion of that old opinion which went thereof, that it should be frozen and stand all over with an ice. Well, the coasts along the firme land, which lie upon this sea, are inhabited by Grecks, all about a rightie bay or gulfes thereof, no lesse spacious than the huge lake *Aleotis*, the mouth or entrance whereof lieth directly opposite unto that of the *Caspian* sea: These people are reputed and named to be the inhabitants of the continent or firme land, accounting and calling all us Islanders, as dwelling in a land environed round about, and washed with the sea. They suppose also, that they in old time who accompanied *Hercules*, and being left by him, abode there, and intermingled afterwards with the people and nations of *Saturne*, caused to revive againe the Greeke nation there, well neere extinguished, which being subdued and brought under the language, lawes, maners, and fashions of the Barbarians, flourished againe by these means, was well peopled, and recovered their ancient puissance and greatnesse. And hereupon it is, that the chiefe and principall honour, they doe unto *Hercules*, but in a second place, to *Saturne*. Now when the statue of *Saturne*, which we call *Phoenon*, & there by his saying, *Nycturnus* is entred into the signe *Taurus*. (& that it doth once in the space of 30. yeeres) they having long before prepared all necessities for a solemne sacrifice, & a long voyage or navigation, send forth those upon whom the lot falleth, to row in that huge sea, and to live a long time in a strange country. Now when they be imbarcked & entred once in to the wide and open sea, they take their adventure and fortune, as it falleth out. Such as have passed the dangers of the sea & arived in safetie, land first in those Islands lying opposite against them, being inhabited by Greeke nations, where they see the Sunne to be hidden from them not one full houre in thirtie daies (and that is all their night) whereof the darkenesse is but small, as having a twilight in the west where the Sunne went downe, much like the dawning of the day. Having heere made their abode for ninety daies, during which space they were highly honored and found great entertainment, as being reputed holy men and so termed, conducted they are with

with the mindes and transported over into the Island of *Saturne*: which is inhabited by no others but themselves and such as had beene sent thither before time in this maner. For albeit lawfull it is for them, after they have done service unto *Saturne* the time of thirtie yeeres, to faile home againe into their owne country; yet for the most part they chuse to remaine there still in peace and rest, than to returne soone, for that they be already inured and accustomed to the place: others because without any labor and trouble of theirs, they have plentie of all things, as well for their sacrifices, as for the ordinary maintenance of such, as continually are given to their books and to the study of Philosophy. For surely by their saying, the nature of the Island and the mildenesse of the aire is wonderfull. And whereas some of them were willing to depart from thence, they have beene staied and empeached by a divine power; which hath appeared unto them as unto their friends and familiars, not onely in dreames and by way of outward signes, but visibly also unto many of them, by the means of familiar spirits and angels, devising and talking with them. For they say that *Saturne* himselfe is personally there, within the deepe cave of a great hollow rocke shining and glittering like pure gold, where he lieth asleepe; for that *Jupiter* had devised for him sleepe, in stead of other chaines and bonds, to keepe him fast for stirring. But there be certaine birds haunting the top of the said rocke, which flie downe from thence and carry unto him the divine food *Ambrosia*. As for the whole Island, it is by report replenished with a most fragrant and odoriferous perfume, which out of that cave, as from a lively fontaine doth breath forth continually. And the said demons or angels doe attend and wait upon *Saturne*, such I meane as were his courtiers and minions, at what time as he reigned as soveraigne over gods and men; who having the skill of prophetic and divination, doe of themselves foretell many future things: howbeit of the greatest matters and of most importance, they make report and relation after they have beene downe below with *Saturne*, as his dreames revealed unto them. For whatsoever *Jupiter* thinketh and deviseth of before, *Saturne* dreameth: As for his sodaine wakenings they be Titanical passions and perturbations of the spirit in him. But his sleepe is milde and sweet, wherein he sheweth his divine and roiall nature of it selfe pure and incunctaminat. And thither (quoth he) this stranger and friend of mine being brought, where he served god *Saturne* at his ease & repose, attained unto the skill of Astrologie, so far forth as it is possible for one that had the exact knowledge of Geometry. And among other parts of Philosophy he gave himselfe unto that which is called naturall. But having a longing desire to visite and see the great Island (so to they call the firme land wherein we are) after the thirtie yeeres were past, and his successors thither arrived, taking his leave of his kinsfolke and friends whom he had farwell, he tooke sea in other respects lightly and mildly appointed, but good store he carried with him of voyage provision within pots and cups of gold. But to recount unto you in particular what adventures to him befell, how many nations he visited, through what countries he travelled, how he searched into holy writings, and was professed in all religious orders and holy confraternities, one whole day would not be sufficient (I say) to rehearse, as he himselfe delivered the same unto us, particularising very well of every thing: but as much as concerneth this present discourse, listen and I will relate unto you. For he continued a long time at *Carthage*, where he was greatly honored and respected, as alldoing us, for that he found sacred skinned parchment, which at the overthrow and sackage of the former city called Great *Carthage* had beene secretly conveyed thither and hid hidden along time under the ground. So he said that of those gods which appear unto us in heaven, we ought (and so he advised me also) to adore and worship especially the Moone, as the principall guide and maiestie of our life. Whereat when I marvelled and besought him to expound and declare the same more plainly: The Grecks (quoth he) O *Sylla*, talke very much of the gods; but in all things they say not well. As for example, first and foremost, in naming *Ceres* and *Proserpina* they doe well and right: but to put them both together, and to thinke that they are both in one and the same place, they doe amisse: For the one, to wit, *Ceres*, is upon the earth, the very daime and mistress of all those things that be above the ground; but the other is in the Moone, and called he is by them that inhabit the moone, *Cere* and *Persephone* that is to say, *Proserpina*. *Persephone* as one would say *quarters*, for that she bringeth light and brightnesse: but *Cere*, because the sight or apple of the eie, in which is seene the image of him who looketh into it, like as the brightnesse of the Sunne appeareth in the Moone, we call *Cere*. Now whereas it is said that they goe up and downe wandering and seeking one the other, the same is with some truth with it: for they desire and long after one another when they be parted and asunder, and they embrace

embrace one the other in the darke many times. Moreover, that this *Ceres* or *Proserpina* is one while above in heaven and in the light, another while in darkenesse and the night, is not untrue; only there is some error in reckoning and numbring the time. For we see her not fix moneths, but every sixth moneth, or from fix moneths to fix moneths, under the earth, as under her mother, caught with the shadow: and seldom is it found that this should happen within five moneths: for that it is impossible that she should abandon and leave *Pluto*, being his wife: according as *Homer*, hath signified although under darke and covert wordes, not untruely, saying,

But to the farthest borders of
the earth and utmost end,
Even to the faire Elysian fields
the gods then shall thee send.

For looke where the shadow endeth and goeth no farther, that is called the limit and end of the earth: and thither no wicked and impure person shall ever be able to come. But good folke after their death in the world being thither carried, lead there another easie life in peace and repose; howbeit, not altogether a blessed, happie and divine life, untill they die a second death: but what death this is, aske me not, my *Sylla*, for I purpose of my selfe to declare & shew it unto you hereafter. The vulgar sort be of opinion that man is a subject compounded, and good reason they have so to thinke: but in believing that he consisteth of two parts onely they are deceived: for they imagine that the understanding is in some sort a part of the soule: but the understanding is better than the soule, by how much the soule is better and more divine than the bodie. Now the conjunction or composition of the soule with understanding, maketh reason: but with the bodie, passion: whereof this is the beginning and principle of pleasure and paine, the other of vertue and vice. Of these three conjoined and compact in one, the earth yeeldeth for her part the body; the Moone, the soule; and the Sunne, understanding to the generation or creation of man; and understanding giveth reason unto the soule; * * * * even as the Sunne light and brightnesse to the Moone. As touching the deaths which we die, the one maketh man of 3. two, and the other of 2. one. And the former verily is in the region and jurisdiction of *Ceres*, which is the cause that we sacrifice unto her. Thus it cometh to passe that the Athenians called in olde time those that were departed, *Amunxenes*, that is to say, *Cereales*. As for the other death it is in the Moone or region of *Proserpina*. And as with the one terrestrial *Mercury*, so with the other, celestiall *Chalcidius* doth inhabit. And verily *Ceres* dissolveth and separeteth the soule from the bodie sodainly and forcibly with violence: but *Proserpina* parteth the understanding from the soule, gently, and in long time. And hereupon it is, that she is called, *Morose*, as one would say, begetting one: for that the better part in a man becometh one and alone, when by her it is separated: and both the one and the other hapieth according to nature. Every soule without understanding, as also endued with understanding, when it is departed out of the body, is ordained by fatall destiny to wander for a time, but not both alike, in a middle region between the earth and the Moone. For such soules as have beene unjust, wicked, and dissolute, suffer due punishment and paines for their sinfull defects: whereas the good and honest, untill such time as they have purified, and by expiration purged forth of them, all those infections which might be contracted by the contagion of the body; as the cause of all evill, must remaine for a certaine set time, in the mildest region of the aire, which they call the meadowes of *Pluto*. Afterwards, as if they were returned from some long pilgrimage or wandering exile into their owne country, they have a taste of joy, such as they feele especially, who are professed in holy mysteries, mixed with trouble and admiration, and each one with their proper and peculiar hope: for it driveth and chaleteth forth many soules, which longed already after the Moone. Some take pleasure to be still beneath, and even yet looke downward, as it were to the bottome: but such as be mounted aloft, and are there most surely bestowd, first as victorious, stand round about adorned with garlands, and those made of the wings of *Eustathia*, that is to saie, Constancie: because in their life time here upon earth, they had bridled and restrained the unreasonable and passible part of the soule, and made it subject and obedient to the bridle of reason. Secondly, they resemble in fight, the raies of the Sunne. Thirdly, the soule thus ascended on high, is there confirmed and fortified by the pure aire about the Moone, where it doth gather strength and solidity, like as iron and Steele by their tincture become hard. For that which hitherto was loose, rare and spongeous,

groweth

groweth close, compact and firme, yea, and becometh shining and transparent, in such sort, as nourished it is with the least exhalation in the world. This is that *Resplendens* means, when he said, that the soules in *Plutoes* region have a quicke sent or smelling. And first they behold there the greatnesse of the Moone, her beauty and nature, which is not simple nor void of mixture, but as it were a composition of a starre and of earth. And as earth mingled with a spirituall aire and moisture, becometh softy, and the blood tempered with flesh, giveth it sense; even so say they, the Moone mingled with a celestiall quintessence even to the very bottome of it, is made animate, fruitful, and generative, and withall, equally counterpeised, with ponderosity and lightnesse. For the whole world it selfe, being thus composed of things which naturally move downward and upward, is altogether void of motion locally, from place to place; which it seemeth that *Xenocrates* himselfe by a divine discourse of reason understood, taking the first light thereof from *Plato*. For *Plato* was he who first affirmed, that every starre was compounded of fire and earth, by the means of middle natures given in certaine proportion; in as much as there is nothing object to the sense of man, which hath not in some proportion a mixture of earth and light. And *Xenocrates* said, that the Sunne is compounded of fire and the first or primitive solid: the Moone of a second solid, and her proper aire: in summe, throughout, neither solid alone by it selfe, nor the rare apart, is capable and susceptible of a soule. Thus much as touching the substance of the Moone. As for the grandeur & bignesse thereof, it is not such as the Geometricians set downe, but farre greater by many degrees. And seldom doubt it measure the shadow of the earth by her greatnesse; nor for that the same is small, nor for that it bringeth a most fervent and swift motion, to the end, that quickly and with speed the might passe the darke place, and bring away with her the soules of the blessed: which make, hie and cry: because all the while they are within the shade, they can not heare any more the harmonie of celestiall bodies: and withall, underneath, the foules of the damned which are punished, lamenting, wailing, and howling in this shadow, are presented unto them. And this is the reason, that in the eclipses of the Moone, many were wont to ring bassons and pannes of brasse, and to make a great noyse and clattering about these soules. And affrighted they are to behold that which they call the face of the Moone, when they approach neere unto it, seeming to be a terrible and fearful sight, whereas it is no such matter. But like as the earth with us hath many deepe and wide gulfs, as namely, one here, to wit, the Mediterranean sea; lying betwene *Hercules* pillars, and so running into the land hither to us: and another without; that is to say, the Caspian sea, and that also of the red sea. So there be these deepe concavities and vallies of the Moone, and those in number three; whereof the greatest they call The hole or gulf of *Heata*, wherein the soules do punish and are punished, according as they either did or suffered hurt while they were here: the other two * be small, to wit, the very passages whereby the soules must goe one while to the tract of the Moone ying toward heaven, and another while to that which regardeth the earth. And verily, that which looketh to heaven; they call the Elysian field; whereas the other earthward to us, the field of *Proserpina*, nother, I meane, who is under the ground just against us. Howbeit, the Daemons do not converse alwaies in the Moone; but descend other-whiles thither below, for the charge and superintendence of oracles: as heretofore sufficient knowe to the highest mysteries and ceremonies, and those they do celebrate, having no other way to wicked deeds which they punish; and withall, ready they are to preserve the good in perils, & will of warre as the sea. In which charge and function, if they themselves with this lady faile, and here upon earth do ought either by unjust favour or envie, they feele the nature thereof according to their merits: for thrust downe they are againe to the earth, and sent with a wife and childrens bodies. But of the number of the better sort, are they who served and accompanied *the Sunne*, as they themselves report; such as in times past also were the *Idii* *Dadithin* *Cris*, the Corybants in *Phrygia*, & those of Boeotia in the city of *Libada*, named *Trophonades* beside yeon; in sooth number of others in sundry parts of the earth habitable; whose names, temples and honors remaine

& continue unto this day, but the powers & puillances of some do faile and are quite gone, as being translated into another place, & making a most happy change: which translation some obtaine sooner, other later, after that the understanding is separated from the soule; and separated it is by the love and desire to enjoy the image of the Sunne, by which that divine, blessed and desirable beaume which every nature after divers sorts seeketh after, it findeth. For even the very Moone turneth about continually for the love of the Sunne; as longing to companie and converse with him, as the very fontaine of all fertilitye. Thus the nature of the soule is spent in the

Moone,

* *plures, some read parages, that is to say, long.*

Moone, reteining onely certaine prints, marks and dreames, as it were, of her life: and herof, thinke it was well and truly said,

*The soule made haste, as one would say,
Like to a dreame, and flew away.*

which it doth not immediatly upon her separation from the bodie, but afterwards, when she is alone by herselfe and severed from the understanding. And in truth, of all that ever *Homer* wrote, most divinely he seemeth to have written of those who are departed this life, & be among the spirits beneath, these verses:

*Next him, I knew of Hercules
the strength and image plaine,
Or semblance: for himselfe with gods
immortall did remaine.*

For like as every one of us is not ire and courage, nor feare nor yet lust, no more than flesh or humours, but that indeed whereby we discourse and understand, even so, the soule it selfe being cast into a forme by the understanding, and giving a forme unto the bodie, and embracing it on every side, expresseth and receiveth a certaine impression and figure, so as albeit she is distinctly separate both from understanding and also from the bodie, she reteineth still the forme and semblance a long time, in so much as well she may be called an image. And of these foules, as I have already said, the Moone is the element, because foules doe resolve into her, like as the bodies of the dead into the earth. As for such as have bene vertuous and honest, and which loved so a studious and quiet life, imployed in philosophie, without meddling in troublesome affaires, soone are reolved, for that being left and rid of understanding, and using no more corporall passions, they vanish away incontinently; but the foules of ambitious persons, and such as are busied in negotiations, of amorous folke also given to the love of beautifull bodies, and likewise of wrathfull people, calling still to remembrance those things which they did in their life, even as dreames in their sleepe, walke wandering to and fro, like to that ghost of *Endymion*: for considering their inconstancie and aptnesse to be over subject unto passions, the same transporteth and plucketh them from the Moone unto another generation, not suffering them quietly there to passe and vanish away, but still allureth and calleth them away: for now is there nothing small, staied, quiet, constant and accordant, after that being once abandoned of the understanding, so they come to be seized with the passions of the body: so that of such foules void of reason, came and were bred afterwards the *Tityi* and *Typhons*, and namely, that *Typhon* who in times past by force and violence seized the city *Delphos*, and overturned up-side-downe the sanctuaries of the oracle there; most ungracious imps destitute of all reason and understanding, and abandoned to all passions upon a proud spirit and violence, wherewith they were puffed up. Howbeit, at length, after long time, the Moone receiveth the foules, and composeth them: the Sunne also inspiring into them againe, and sowing in their vitall facultie, understanding, maketh them new foules: yea, and the earth in the third place, giveth them a new bodie: for nothing doth she give after death, of all that which she taketh to generation. And the sunne receiveth nothing of others, but taketh againe that understanding which he gave. But the Moone giveth and receiveth, joineth and disjoineth, uniteth and separateth, according to her divers faculties and powers: of which, the one is named *Lilhyia*, to wit, that which joineth: another, *Arctonius* or *Diana*, which parteth and divideth. Of these three fatal sisters or destinies, the whom they name *Atropos*, is placed within the Sunne, and giveth the beginning of generation. *Cloto* being lodged in the Moone, is she that joineth, minglet and uniteth. The third and last, called *Lachesis*, is in the earth, who also lendeth her helping hand, and doth participate much with Fortune. For that which is without soule, is weak in it selfe, and naturally exposed to all injuries and to suffer hurt: but the understanding is soveraigne over all the rest, and nothing is able to do it injury.

Now the soule is of a middle nature and mixt of them both, like as the Moone was made and created by God, as a composition and mixture of things above and things beneath; keeping the same proportion to the Sun, as the earth doth to her. And thus you have heard (quoth *Sylla*) what I learned of this stranger or traveller: which (as he said himselfe) he understood by those *Dæmons*, who were chamberlaines and servitors to *Saturne*.

As for you, *O Lamprias* and the rest, you may take my relation in good or ill part, as you please.

WHY



WHY THE PROPHE- TESSE PYTHIA GIVETH NO ANSWERES NOW FROM THE ORACLE, IN VERSE OR MEE TRE.

The Summarie.

They who have so highly chamed the excellency of man, extolling the vigor of humane wit and understanding; what soever they doe alledge to that purpose, have ordinarily forgot the principall, which is to shew that all the sufficiency of his intelligence, is a furious guide; his will, a bottomlesse gulfe and pit of confusion; the light of his reason, a deepe darke night; his lusts and desires, so many enraged beasts to rent and tear him in peeces; if God by some especiall and singular grace doe not illumine, regenerate and command him. Among a million of testimonies for the prooffe and confirmation herof, that which presenteth it selfe unto us in this dialogue is most sufficient: for is not this wonderfull, and a certaine signe of a marvellous blindness of mans wisdom, to see those, who all their life time doe nothing els but seeke after the soveraigne good, maintaine vertue, detest vices, condemne *Attilas*, *Epicurians*, and *Libertines*, yet to dread, feare, yea and adore the sworne enemy of their salvation and true life, to wit, *Satan* the devell? Yes verily, and that which now we reade, agreeable to certaine discourses hereafter following, and namely, wherem a disputation is held, wherfore the oracles now doe cease? as also what this word *ET* signifieth, sheweth not onely the opinion of *Plutarch* and some other Philosophers as touching these matters: but also the miserable state of all those who are abandoned to their owne sense, and void of the knowledge of the true God. And this ought to be remembered a second time, for feare lest in reading these discourses so eloquently penned, we be turned out of the right way: but rather contrariwise that we may perceive so much the better how vaine and detestable all the habit of man is, if it have for the ground and foundation, nothing but the conceits of his corrupt spirit. So then in this dialogue, we may behold the wisdom of the Greeks, running after *Satan*: and taking great paines for to strive and set on foot one matter, which we ought to abhorre and bury in perpetual oblivion: or to touch withall their might and maine beside, that which the wisdom of the flesh cannot compass. There be here divers personages who revive and set a worke the oracles of that priestesse or propheteesse at *Delphos*, wherem was the renowned temple of *Apollo*, the very cave and den of *Satan*, and wherem he exercised his trade and skill, with impossures and illusions incredible: during the space of many yeares. But to make this disposition of more force and validity, *Plutarch* after his accustomed fashion of brooding and introducing his owne opinion by a third, following the stile and manner of the Academicks writing, bringeth to *Delphos* a stranger, who being together with *Basiliscos*, *Philinus*, & other amused and occupied in beholding the statues which were therein great number, there began a discourse by way of disputation touching brasse and the properties thereof. Which when it was well discussed and debated, *Diogenianus* demanded, why the ancient oracles were delivered in homely vense: & those in evill fashion? whereto there were made divers answers tending to his point to make us believe, that wherem soever the words be most rusty, and worst couched, there we are to observe so much the more the excellency of the author. And this confirmeth fully, that which we have already spoken as touching the illusions of the devell, who is not content thus to abuse and deceive his slaves, but in this place hath to deale with a ridiculous & most apparent audaciousnesse, if the eyes of those whom he thus abuseth, had never so little meanes to see the thousand parts of his deceitfull guiles, as grosse and thicke as mountains. Continuing this discourse, they handle afterwards the prefaces of these statues, and of others reserved in divers places for the better authorizing of the oracles; which when *Boethius* the Epicurean knocked,

Plutarch

Plutarch replēteth and reenters into a common place, concerning the gravitie of these rude and ill fashioned oracles, conferring them with those of Sibylla, and maintaining the authoritie of them with his companions, through all the reasons they could devise. These be in summe, the contents of this Dialogue, which comprehendeth divers matters dependant thereof, and those noted in their order: the conclusion whereof is this, That as reprobable they be, who tax the simplicity and rudenesse of such oracles, as those, who otherwise controule them for their ambiguity, obliquity and obscurity.

WHY THE PROPHETESSE

Pythia giveth no answers now from the

Oracle in verse or meeter.

BASILOCLES.



OU have led this stranger, *Philius*, such a walke in shewing him the statues and publike works, that you have made it very late in the evening, and I my selfe am weary in staying for you, and expecting when you will make an end.

PHILIUS.

NO marvell, we goe so softly, and keepe so slow a pace, & *Basilocles*, sowing and mowing (as they say) presently with all our speeches after fight and combat, which sprout forth and yeeld unto us by the way as we go, enemies lying as it were in ambush, much like unto those men which in old time came up of teeth sown by *Cadmus*.

BASILOCLES.

How then? shall we fend for and intreat some one of those who were present there, or will you your selfe gratify us so much, as to take the paines for to deliver unto us, what speeches those were, and who were the speakers?

PHILIUS.

I must be the man, I perceive *Basilocles*, to doe this for your sake; for hardly shall you meet with any other els throughout the whole cite: for I saw the most part of them going up againe together, with that stranger to *Corynetus* and *Lycuria*.

BASILOCLES.

What? is this stranger so curious and desirous to see things, and is he withall friendly and wonderfull sociable?

PHILIUS.

YES that he is: but more studious is he, and desirous to learne: neither is this most woorthy of admiration in him; for he hath a kinde of mildnesse, accompanied with a singular good grace: his pregnant wit and quick conceit minnsteth unto him matter to contradict, and to propose doubts: howbeit the same is not bitter and odious in his propositions, nor leavened with any overthwart frowardnesse and perverse stubburnesse in his answers; in such sort as a man having bene but a little acquainted with him, would soone say of him:

*Certes a lewd man and a bad,
He never for his father had.*

For you know well I suppose *Diogenianus*, the best man one of them in the world?

BASILOCLES.

I know him not my selfe, *Philius*: howbeit, many there be who report as much of this young man. But upon what occasion or cause began your discourse and disputation?

PHILIUS.

THOSE who were our guides, conversant and exercised in the reading of histories, rehearsed and read from one end to the other, all those compositions which they had written, without any regard of that which we requested them, namely, to epitomize and abridge those narrations, and most part of the Epigrams. As for the stranger, he tooke much pleasure to see and view those faire statues, so many in number, and so artificially wrought: But he admired most of all, the fresh brightnesse of the brasse, being such as shewed no filth nor rust that it had gathered, but caried the glosse and resplendent hew of azur: so as he seemed to be ravished and

10

astonied when he beheld the statues of the amirals and captaines at sea (for at them he began) as representing naturally in their tincture and colour as they stood, sea men and sailors in the very maine & deepe sea. Whereupon: Had the ancient workmen (quoth he) a certaine mixture by themselves, and a temper of their brasse, that might give such a tincture to their works? for as touching the Corinthian brasse, which is so much renowned, it is thought generally, and so given out; that it was by meere adventure and chaunce, that it tooke this goodly colour, and not by any art: by occasion that the fire caught an house, wherein there was laid up some little gold and silver, but a great quantitie of brasse, which mettals being melted together & so confused one with another, the whole masse thereof was filled cald brasse because there was more thereof in it, than of the other mettals. Then *Theon*: We have heard (quoth he) another reason, more subtile than this, namely, that when a certeine brasse foundler or coppersmith in *Corinth*, had met with a casket or coffer, wherein was good store of golde, fearing lest he should be discovered, and this treasure found in his hands, he clipped it by little and little, melted and mixed it gently with his brasse, which tooke thereupon such an excellent and wonderfull temperature, that he solde the pieces of worke, thereof made, passing deere, in regard of their dainty colour, and lovely beauty, which every man set much by, and esteemed. But both this and the other is but a lying tale: for by all likelihood this Corinthian brasse was a certeine mixture and temperature of mettals, so prepared by art; like as at this day, artificers by tempering gold and silver together, make thereof a certeine singular and exquisite pale yellow by it selfe, howbeit, in mine eie, the same is but a wanne and sickly colour, and a corrupt hue, without any beautie in the world. What other cause then might there be (quoth *Diogenianus*) as you thinke, that this brasse heere hath such a tincture? To whom *Theon* made this answer: Considering (quoth he) that of these primitive elements and most naturall bodies that are, and ever shall be, to wit, fire, aire, water and earth, there is not one which approacheth or toucheth the brasse worke, but aire onely, it must of necessitie be, that it is the aire which doeth the deed, and by reason of this aire lying alwaies close upon them, and never parting therefro, commeth this difference that they have from all others. Or rather this is a thing notoriously knownen of old, even before *Theognis* was borne, as said the comickall Poet.

But would you know by what speciall propertie and vertue the aire should by touching, set such a colour upon brasse? Yes, very faine answered *Diogenianus*. Certes, so would I, my sonne (quoth *Theon*) let us therefore search into the thing both together in common: and first of all, if you please, what is the cause that oile filleth it full of rust, more than all other liquor whatsoever? for surely it cannot be truly said, that oile of it selfe setteth the said rust upon it, considering it is pure and neat, not polluted with any filth when it commeth to it. No verily (quoth the young man) and there seemeth to be some other cause else, beside the oile; for the rust meeting with oile, which is subtile, pure, and transparent, appeareth most evidently; whereas in all other liquors, it maketh no shew, nor is seene at all. Well said my sonne (quoth *Theon*) and like a Philosopher: but consider, if you thinke so good, of that reason which *Aristotle* alleged, Mary that I will (quoth he againe.) Why then I will tell it you (quoth *Theon*.) *Aristotle* saith, that the rust of brasse lighting upon other liquors, pierceth insensibly, and is dispersed through them, being of a rare substance, and unequal parts, not abiding close together; but by reason of the compact and fast soliditie of oile, the said rust is kept in, and abideth thrust and united together. Now then, if we also of our selves were able to presuppose such a thing; we should not altogether want some meanes to charme as it were and allay somewhat this doubt of ours. And when we had allowed very well of his speech, and requested him to say on and prosecute the same: he said; That the aire in the cite of *Delphos* was thicke, fast, strong and vehement withall, by reason of the reflexion and repercussion of the mountaines round about it, and besides, mordicative, as witnesseth the speedie concoction of meat that it causeth. Now this aire by reason of the subtilty and incisive qualitie thereof, piercing into the brasse, and cutting it, for ceth out of it a deale of rust, and skaleth as it were much terrestrial substance from it: the which it restraineth afterwards and keepeth in, for that the densitie and thicknesse of the aire giveth it no issue: thus this rust being staid & remaining still, gathering also a substance by occasion of the quantie thereof, putteth forth this floure as it were of colour, and there within the superficies contracteth a resplendent and shining hew. This reason of his, we approved very well; but the stranger said, that one of those suppositions alone was sufficient to make good the reason: For that subtilty (quoth he) seemeth to be somewhat contrary unto the spissitude

and

and thicknesse, supposd in the aire: and therefore it is not necessarie to make any supposal thereof; for brasse of it selfe as it waxeth old, in tract of time exhaleth and putteth forth this rust, which the thicknesse of the aire coming upon, keepeth in and doeth so incrassate, as that through the quantitie thereof, it maketh it evident and apparent. Against which objection and reply of his, *Theon* inferred thus againe: And what should hinder (quoth he) that one and the same thing might not be firme or subtil, and withall thicke, both at once: like as his clothes of silke, and linnen, of which *Homer* writeth thus:

*And from sale-veb of linnen, ran away,
The oile as mass as tin and would not stay,*

Whereby he giveth us to understand, the fine spinning, and close weaving thereof, which would not suffer the oile to rest upon it, and soake through, but to glide off and drop downe, so neere were the threads, otherwise finally driven together, and so thicke, that it would not let any liquor to passe through. And thus a man may alledge the subtiltie of the aire, not onely for to fetch out the rust, but also to bring it to a more pleasant and greenish colour, by mixing splendour and light together with the said deepe azure. Heereupon ensued a pause and silence for a pretie while; and then the discourters and historians aforesaid, alledged againe the words of a certeine oracle in verse (which was delivered, if I be not deceived) as touching the roialtie and reigne of *Acgon*, an *Argive* king: Whereat *Diogenianus* said, that it had bene many times in his head to marvell, at the base, rude, and homely composition of those verses, which doe continue oracles: notwithstanding that the god *Apollo* is reputed the president of the Muses & eloquence; unto whom no lesse appertained the beauty & elegancy of stile & composition, than goodnesse of voice in song & melody, as who surpassed for sweet verififying *Hesiodus* & *Homer*, both very faine: and yet for all that, we see many of his oracles, rude, base, & faulty, as well for the meeter & measure, as the bare words. Then *Serapion* the Poet, who being come fro *Athenis*, was there present: Why (quoth he) beleeve you that those verses were of god *Apollo*es making? shall we suffer you to say as you do, that they come a great way short of the goodnesse of those verses which *Homer* & *Hesiodus* composed? and shall we not see them as passing well and excellently made, correcting our owne judgement as forestealed and possessed aforehand with an ill custome? Then *Boethius* the Geometrician (for you not well that the man hath ranged himselfe already to the sect of *Epicurus*;) Heard you never (quoth he) the tale of *Paufan* the painter: Not I verily, quoth *Serapion*. And yet worth it is the hearing, saith *Boethius*. He having bargained & undertaken to paint an horse wallowing & tumbling on his backe, drew him running on foote with all foure: whereat when the party was angrie and offended, who set him a worke, *Paufan* laughed at him, and made no more ado, but turned the ends of the painted table; thus when the upper end was shifted downward, the horse seemed not to runne, but to tamble with his heeles aloft. Semblably it falleth out (quoth *Boethius*) in certeine speeches, when they are inverted and uttered the contrary way: and therefore soone you shall have who will say, that the oracles are not elegant, because they be of god *Apollo*es inditing: but contrariwise, that they be none of his, because they are but rudely made and unfavory: and as for that it is doubtful and uncerteine: but this is evident and plaine, that the verses of oracles be not exquisite-ly couched, and laboriously endited, whereof I crave no better judge then your selfe *Serapion*: for you are wont to compose and write Poems, which as touching the argument and subject matter be austere and philosophical: but for their wit, grace and elegant composition otherwise, resemble rather the verses of *Homer* and *Hesiodus*, than those of the oracles pronounced by *Pythia* the Priestres of *Apollo*. With that *Serapion*: We are diseased all of us (o *Boethius*) in our eyes and eares to, being wont (such is our nicenesse and delicacie) to esteeme and terme such things simply better, which are more pleasant: and peradventure ere it be long, we will finde fault with *Pythia*, for that the doeth not chaunt and sing more sweetly than *Glauce* the professed minstrell and singing wench; and because she is not besmeared with odoriferous oiles, nor richly arrayed in purple robes: yea, and some haply will take exception at her, for not burning Cinnamon, *Ladanum* or Frankincense, for perfume: but onely Laurel and barley meale. And see you not faith one, how great a grace the Sapphick verses carie with them, and how they tickle the eares, and joy the hearts of the hearers: whereas *Sibylla* out of her furious and enraged mouth, as *Horacius* saith, uttering forth and refunding words without mirth, and provoking no laughter, not gloriously painted and set out, nor pleasantly perfumed and bespiced, hath continued with her voice a thousand yeeres, by the means of *Apollo*, speaking by her. And

Pindarus

Pindarus saith, that *Cadmus* heard from *Apollo*, not loftie and high musicke, not sweet, not delicate, nor broken and full of varietie: for an impassible and holy nature, admitteth not any pleasure: but heere together with the base musicke, the most part of the delight also is cast downe, and as it should seeme, hath runne into mens cares and possessed them. When *Serapion* had thus said: *Theon* smiling: *Serapion*, I see well (quoth he) hath done according to his old wont, and followed his owne disposition and maners in this behalfe: for there being offered some occasion to speake of pleasure, he hath quickly caught at it. But yet for all that, let us *Boethius*, howsoever the verses of oracles be woofe than those of *Homer*, not thinke that it is *Apollo* who made them; but when he hath given onely the beginning of motion, then each propheticke is moved according as he is disposed to receive his inspiration. And verily if oracles were to be penned downe and written, and not to be barely pronounced, I doe not suppose that we would reprove or blame them (taking them to be the hand-writing of the god) because they are not so curiously endited as ordinarily the letters of kings and princes are. For surely, that voice is not the gods, nor the sound, nor the phrasie, ne yet the meeter and verse, but a womans they be all. As for him, he representeth unto her, fancies onely and imaginations, kindling a light in the soule to declare things to come: and such an illumination as this, is that which they call *Enthusiasmus*. But to speake in a word to you that are the priests and prophets of *Epicurus* (For I see well that you are now become one of that sect) there is no meanes to escape your hands, considering that yee impute unto the ancient prophetesses, that they made bad and faulty verses, yea and reprove those moderne priestesses of these daies, who pronounce in prose and in vulgar termes the oracles, for feare they should be atticked again by you, in case they delivered their verses headlesse, without ioines and curtailed. Then (quoth *Diogenianus*) jest not with us I pray you in the name of God, but rather assaile us this common doubt, and rid us of this scruple; for there is no man, but desireth to know the reason and cause, why this oracle hath given over to make answer in verses and other speeches as it hath done? Whereto *Theon* spake thus: But now my sonne, we may seeme to doe wrong and shamefull injurie unto our discourters and directours heere, these Historians, in taking from them that which is their office: and therefore let that be done first which belongeth to them; and afterwards you may enquire and dispute at leisure of that which you desire. Now by this time were we gon forward as farr as to the statue of king *Hiero*: and the stranger albeit he knew well all the reit, yet so courteous he was and of so good a nature, that he gave eare withall patience to that which was related unto him: but having heard that there stood sometime a certeine colunne of the said *Hiero* all of brasse, which fell downe of it selfe the very day whereon *Hiero* died at *Saracese* in *Sicilie*, he wondered therat: and I thereupon recounted unto him other like examples as namely, of *Hiero* the Spartan, how the day before that he lost his life in the battell at *Leutres*, the eyes of his statue fell out of the head: also that the two starres which *Lysander* had dedicated after the navall battell at the river called *Aligos-potamos*, were missing and not to be scene: and his very statue of stone put forth of a foddren so much wilde weedes and greene grasse in so great quantity that it covered and hid the face thereof. Moreover during the time of those wofull calamities which the Athenians sustained in *Sicilie*, not onely the golden dates of a palme tree fell downe, but also the ravens came and pecked with their bills all about the fcutcheon or shield of the image of *Pallas*. The Cnidians coronet likewise which *Philotomelus* the tyrant of the Phocaeans had given unto *Pharfa* the fine dauncing wench, was the cause of her death: for when he had passed out of *Greece* into *Italie*, one day as she plaied and daunced about the church of *Apollo* in *Metapontine*, having the said coronet upon her head, the yong men of the city came upon her for to have away the gold of that coronet: and striving about her one with another who should have it, rare the poore woman in peeces among them. *Aristotle* was wont to say that *Homer* was the onely Poet who made and devised words that had motion, so emphaticall they were & lively expressed: but I for my part would say that the offerings dedicated in the city, to neat statues, jewels, & other ornaments moved together with the divine providence, do foresignifie future things: neither are the same in any part vaine and void of sense; but all replenished with a divine power. Then *Boethius*: I would not else (quoth he:) for it is not sufficient belike, to enclose God once in a month within a mortall bodie, unlesse we thrust him also into every stone and peece of brasse? as if fortune and chance were not sufficient of themselves to worke such feates and accidents. What (quoth I) thinke you then that these things every one have any affinity with fortune and chance? and is it probable that your Atomes doe glide, divide, and decline, neither before

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nor after, but just at the very time as each one of them who made these offerings, should fare better or worse? And *Epicurus* belike, as farre as I see serveth your turne now and is profitable unto you in those things which he hath laid or written three hundred yeares past: but this god *Apollo*, unless he imprison and immure himselfe (as it were) and be mixed within every thing is not able in your opinion, to give unto any thing in the world the beginning of motion, nor the cause of any passion or accident whatsoever. And this was the answer which I made unto *Boethius* for that point: and in like manner spake I as touching the verses of *Sibylla*. For when we were come as farre as to the rocke which joineeth to the senate house of the city, and there rested our selves, upon which rocke by report the first *Sibylla* sat, being new come out of *Halicarnassus*, where she had beene fostered by the Muses, although others there be that say she arrived at *Malcon*,¹⁰ and was the daughter of *Lamia*, who had *Neptune* for her father, *Serapion* made mention of certaine verses of hers wherein she praised her selfe saying, that she should never cease to prophesie and foretell future things, no not after her death; for that she her selfe should then goe about in the Moone, and be that which is called the face therein appearing: also that her breath and spirit mingled with the aire should passe to and fro continually in propheticall words and voices of oracles prognosticating: and that of her bodie transmuted and converted into earth, there should grow herbes, shrubs and plants, for the food and pasturage of sacred beasts appointed for sacrifices; whereby they have all sorts of formes and qualities in their bowels and inwards: and by the means whereof men may foreknow and foretell of future events. Hereat *Boethius* made semblance to laugh more than before. And when *Zons* alledged, that howsoever these²⁰ seemed to be fabulous matters and mere fables, yet so it was that many subversions & transmutations of Greeke cities, many expeditions also and voiajes made against them of barbarous armies, as also the overthrowes & destructions of sundry kingdomes and dominions, give testimonie in the behalfe of ancient prophesies and predictions. And as for these late and moderne accidents (quoth he) which hapned at *Cumes* and *Dicaearchia*, long before chanted and foretold by way of prophesie out of *Sibylls* books; did not the time ensuing as a debt accomplish and pay? the breakings forth and eruptions of fire out of a mountaine, the strange ebullitions of the sea, the casting up aloft into the aire of stones & cinders by subterranean winds under the earth, the ruine and devastation of so many and those so great cities at one time, and that so suddenly, as they who came but the next morrow thither, could not see where they stood³⁰ or were built, the place was so confounded. These strange events (I say) and occurrences, as they be hardly beleaved to have hapned without the finger of God, so much lesse credible it is, that forefence and foretolde they might be, without some heavenly power and divinitie. Then *Boethius*: And what accident (good sir, quoth he) can there be imagined, that Time oweth not unto Nature; and what is there so strange, prodigious and unexpected, as well in the sea as upon the land, either concerning whole cities or particular persons; but if a man foretold of them, in proceesse and tract of time the same may fall out accordingly? And yet, to speake properly, this is not foretelling, but simply telling, or rather to cast forth and scatter at random in that infinity of the aire, words having no originall nor foundation, which wandering in this wise, Fortune otherwhiles encountreth and concurreth with them at a very venture. For there is a great difference,⁴⁰ in my judgement, betwene saying thus, that a thing is hapned which hath bene spoken; and a thing is spoken that shall happen: for that speech which uttereth things that are not extant, containing in it it selfe the fault and error, attendeth not by any right, the credit and approbation thereof, by the accidental event; neither useth it any true and undoubted token of prae-diction, with a certaine foreknowledge, that happen it will when it hath bene once foretold, considering that infinity is apt to produce all things; but he who guesseth well, whom the common proverb pronounceth to be the best diviner,

For whose conjecture misseth least,

Time I account the wisard best.

resembleth him, who traceth out and followeth by probabilities as it were by tracts and footings, that which is to come. But these propheticall *Sibylls* and furious *Bacchides*, have cast at all adventure as it were, into a vast ocean, without either judgement or conjecture, the time; yea, and have scattered at random the nownes and verbs, the words and speeches of passions and accidents of all sorts. And albeit some of them forme to happen, yet is this or that false alike at the present time when it is uttered, although haply the same may chance afterwards to fall out truly. When *Boethius* had thus discoursed, *Serapion* replied upon him in this wise: *Boethius* (quoth

(quoth he) giveth a good verdict and just sentence of those propositions which are indefinitely and without a certaine subject matter in this manner pronounced. If victorie be foretold unto a Generally, he hath vanquished: if the destruction of a citie, it is overthrowen: but whereas there is expressed not onely the thing that shall happen, but also the circumstances, how, when, after what sort, and wherewith, then is not this a bare guesse and conjecture of that which peradventure will be; but a prae-signification and denouncing peremptorily of such things as without faile shall be: as for example, that prophesie which concerned the lameness of *Agessilaus*, in these words:

*I though proud and haughty (Sparta) now,
and sound of foot thou bee,
Take heed by halting regiment,
there come no harme to thee:
For thou shalt unexpected plagues
thy state long time assaile,
The deadly waves of fearfull warres
against thee shall prevail.*

Semblably, that oracle as touching the Isle which the sea made and discovered about *Thera* and *Therasta*, as also the prophesie of the warre betwene king *Philip* and the Romans, which ran in these words:

*But when the race of Trojan blood,
Phaenicians shall defeat
In bloody fight, looks then to see
strange sights and wonders great.
The sea shall from amid the waves
yeeld fires empetr strong,
And flames thicke of lightning bright,
with stormy flames among.
With that an Island shall appear,
that never man yet knew:
And weaker men in battell set,
the mightier shall subdue.*

For whereas the Romans in a small time conquered the Carthaginians, after they had vanquished *Anibal* in the field, and *Philip* king of the Macedonians gave battell unto the Aetolians and Romans, wherein he had the overthrow; also, that in the end there arose an Island out of the deepe sea, with huge leames of fire and hideous ghosts: a man can not say, that all these things hapned and concurred together by fortune and mere chance: but the very traine and orderly proceeding thereof, doth shew a certaine prescience and fore-knowledge. Also, whereas the Romans were foretold the time five hundred yeeres before, wherein they should have ware with all nations at once, the same was fulfilled when they warred against the slaves and fugitives who⁴⁰ revolted and rebelled. For in all these, there is nothing conjecturall and uncerteine, nothing blinde and doubtfull, that we need infinitely to seeke after fortune therefore: whereas many pledges there be of experience, giving us assurance of that which is finite and determinate, shewing the very way, whereby fatall destinie doth proceed: Neither do I thinke any man will say, that these things being foretold with so many circumstances, jumped altogether by fortune. For what els should hinder, but that a man may as well say (*Boethius*) that *Epicurus* wrote not his books of principall opinions and doctrines so much approved of you, but that all the letters thereof were jumbled and huddled together by mere chance and fortune, that went to the composing and finishing of that volume. Thus discoursing in this manner, we went forward still. And when in the Corinthian chapell we beheld the date tree of braile, the onely monument⁵⁰ thereremaining of all the oblations there offered, *Diogenianus* wooedred to see the frogges and water-snakes which were wrought artificially by turners hand about the but and root thereof; and so did we likewise: because neither the Palme tree is a moorie plant and loving the waters, like as many other trees are: neither doe the frogges any way pertaine to the Corinthians, as a maike or ensigne given in the armes of their city: like as the Selinuntians by report, offered sometimes in this temple, the herbe *Smalach* or Parsley, called *Selinum*, all of gold: and the Tenedonians, an hatchet, taken from the Crabfishes bred in their Island, neere unto the Promontorie

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rie called *Asterion*: for those Crabs onely (as it is thought) have the figure of an hatchet imprinted upon their shell. And verily, for *Apollonia* himselfe, we suppose that ravens, swannes, wolves, hawks, or any other beasts, be more acceptable than these. Now when *Serapion* alleged, that the workman hereby meant and covertly signified the nouriture and rising of the Sunne out of humors and waters, which by exhalation he converteth into such creatures, whether it were that he had heard this verse out of *Homer*,

*Then out of sea arose the Sun,
And left that goodly lake anon.*

Or seeme the Aegyptians to represent the East or Sun-rising by the picture of a childe sitting upon the plant *Lotos*. Thereat I laughed heartily. What meane you thus (good sir, quoth I) to thrust hither the sect of the Stoicks: came you indeed to foist sily among our speeches and discourses, your exhalations and kindlings of the fumes, not bringing downe hither the Sunne and the Moone, as the Theffalian women doe by their enchantments; but making them to spring and arise as from their first originall out of the earth and the waters? For *Plato* verily, called manna celestially plant, as rising directly from his root, above which is his head. But you in the meane time mocke and deride *Empedocles*, for saying that the Sunne occasioned by the reflexion of the heavenly light about the earth.

*Hirantes with fearlesse visage sends againe
Up to the heavens and there dot he brightly shine.*

while you selves make the Sunne terrestrial, animal, or a fennish plant, ranging him among the waters and the native place of frogs. But let vs betake all these matters to the tragicall and strange monstrosities of the Stoicks: meane while treat we cursorily and by the way of these acceffary and by-works of mechanicall artifices and handicrafts men: for surely in many things they be very ingenious and witty: many in every plot they cannot avoid the note of bald devices & affected curiositie in their inventions. Like as therefore he that painted *Apollonia* with a rocke upon his head, signified thereby the day-broke, & the time a little before sunne rising: even so a man may say that these frogs doe symbolize and betoken the season of the Spring, at what time as the Sunne begins to rule over the aire and to disfigure the winter: at least waies if we must according to your opinion, understand the Sunne and *Apollonia* to be both, one god, and not twaine. Why? (quoth *Serapion*) are you of another minde? and doe you thinke the Sunne to be one, & *Apollonia* another? Yes may doe I (quoth he) as well, as that the Sunne and Moone do differ. Yea and more than so: for the Moone doth not often, nor from all the world hide the Sunne: whereas the Sunne hath made all men together, for to be ignorant of *Apollonia*: diverting the minde and cogitation by the meanes of the fensie, and turning it from that which is unto that which appeareth onely. Then *Serapion* demanded of those Historians our guides and conductors, what was the reason that the forsaide cellor chappell, was not intitled by the name of *Cypellus* who dedicated it, but called the Corinthians chappell. And when they held their peace, because as I take it, they knew not the cause; I began to laugh thereat: And why should we thinke (quoth I) that these men knew or remembered any thing more, being astounded and amazed as they were to heare you fable and talke of the meteors or impressions in the aire? For even themselves we heard before relating, that after the tyranny of *Cypellus* was put downe and overthrowen, the Corinthians were desirous to have the inscription as well of the golden statue at *Pisa*, as of this cell or treasure house, for to runne in the name of their whole city. And verily the Delphians gave and granted them so much according to their due desert. But for that the Elians envied them that privilege, therefore the Corinthians passed a publicke decree, by vertue whereof they excluded them from the solemnity of the Isthmian games: And hereof it came, that never after that, any champion out of the territorie of *Eli*, was knowne to shew himselfe to doe his devoir at those Isthmick games. And the massacre of the Molionides which *Hercules* committed about the city of *Cleona*, was not the cause as some doe thinke, why the Elians were debarred from thence: for contrariwise it had belonged to them for to exclude and put by others; if for this they had incurred the displeasure of the Corinthians. And thus much said I for my part. Now when we were come as far as to the hall of the Acanthians and of *Brafidas*, our discounting Historians and expostitors shewed us the place, where sometimes stood theobelisks of iron, which *Rhojops* the famous courtisan had dedicated. Whereat *Diogenianus* was in a great chafe, and brake out into these words: Now surely (quoth he) the same city (to their shame be it spoken) hath allowed unto a common strumpet a place whither to bring and where

where to bestow the tenth part of that salacie which he got by the use of her body, and unjustly put to death *Aelope* her fellow servant. True (quoth *Serapion*): but are you so much offended hereat? cast up your eie and looke aloft: behold among the statues of brave captains and glorious kings, the image of *Mnesarete* all of beaten gold, which *Crates* faith was dedicated and set up for a Trophy of the Greeks late victorious. The yong gentleman, seeing it: Yea, but it was of *Phryne* that *Crates* spake so. You say true (quoth *Serapion*): for her proper name indeed was *Mnesarete*: but surnamed she was *Phryne* in meriment because she looked pale or yellow like unto a kinde of frogge named in Greeke *Phryne*. And thus many times surnames doe drowne and suppress other names. For thus the mother of king *Alexander* the great, who had for his name at first, *Pollyxene*, came afterwards to be as they say, surnamed *Myrtale*, *Olympias* and *Siratonice*. And the Corinthian lady *Eumetis*, men call unto this day, after her fathers name, *Cleobuline*; and *Herophile*, of the city *Erythra*, she who had the gift of divination and could skill of prophesie; was afterwards in proceffe of time surnamed *Sibylla*. And you have heard Grammarians say; that even *Leda* her selfe, was named *Mnesinoe*, and *Orestes* *Achaus*. But how thinke you (quoth he) calling his eie upon *Theon*, to answer this accusation as touching *Phryne*? Then he smiling againe: In such sort (quoth he) as I will charge and accuse you, for buying your selfe in blaming thus the light faults of the Greeks. For like as *Socrates* reprooved this in *Callias*, that gave defiance onely to sweet perfumes or precious odors; for he liked well enough to see the daunces and gesticulations of yong boies, and could abide the sight of kissing, of pleasaunts, buffons and jesters to make folke laugh: so me thinks that you would chafe and exclude out of the temple, one poore silly woman who used the beauty of her owne body, haply not so honestly as she might: and in the meane time you can abide to see god *Apollonia* environed round about with the first fruits, with the tenth and other oblations arising from murders, warres, and pillage, and all his temple throughout hanged with the spoiles and booties gotten from the Greeks: yea, and are neither angry nor take pity when you reade, over such goodly oblations, and ornaments, these most shamefull inscriptions and titles: *Brafidas* and the Acanthians, of the Athenians; the Athenians of the Corinthians: the Phocaeans of the Theffalians; the Orneates of the Sicyonians; and the Amphyctyons of the Phocaeans.

But peradventure it was *Praxitelis* alone who was offensive unto *Crates*, for that he had set up a monument there, of his owne sweet heart, which he had made for the love of her; whereas *Crates* contrariwise should have commended him, in that among these golden images of kings and princes, he had placed a courtisan in gold, reproching thereby and condemning riches, as having in it nothing to be admired, and nothing venerable: for it well befleemeth kings and great rulers, to present *Apollonia* and the gods with such ornaments and oblations as might testify their owne justice, their temperance and magnanimity; and not make shew of their golden store and abundance of superfluous delicacies, whereof they have their part commonly who have lived most shamefully. But you alledge not this example of *Craesus* (quoth another of our historians & discourses) who caused a statue in gold to be made & set up here, of his woman-baker; which he did not for any proud and insolent ostentation of his riches in this temple, but upon an honest & just occasion: for the report goeth, that *Ayattus* the father of this *Craesus*, espoused a second wife, by whom he had other children, whom he reared and brought up. This lady then purposing secretly to take away the life of *Craesus*, gave unto the baker aforesaid, poison, willing her, when she had tempered it with dough, and wrought it into bread, to serve the same up unto *Craesus*. But the woman gave secret intelligence hereof unto *Craesus*, and withall, bestowed the poisoned bread among the children of this step-dame. In regard of which demerit, *Craesus* when he came to the crowne, would acknowledge and requite the good service which this woman had done, with the testimony, as it were, of this god himselfe; wherein he did well and virtuously. And therefore (quoth he) meet it is and seemly, to praise and honor highly such oblations, if any have bene presented and dedicated by cities upon semblable occasions, like as the Opuntians did. For when the tyrants of the Phocaeans had broken and melted many sacred oblations both of golde and silver, and thereof coined money, which they sent and dispersed among the cities; the Opuntians gathered as much silver as they could, wherewith they filled a great pot, sent it hither, and made thereof an offering to *Apollonia*. And I verily, for my part, doe greatly commend those of *Smyrna* and *Apollonia* for sending hither certaine cornes-ears of gold, in token of harvest: and more than that, the Eretrians and Magnetics, for presenting this god with the first fruits of their men & women, recognising thereby, him to be the giver, not only of

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the fruits which the earth yeeldeth, but also of children, as being the authour of generation and the lover of mankind. But I blame the Megarians as much, for that they onely in manner of all the Greeks, caused to be erected here, the image of this our god, with a lance in his hand, after the battell with the Athenians, who upon the defeature of the Persians, held their city in possession, and were by them vanquished in fight, and disfeized thereof againe. And yet true it is, that these men afterward offered unto *Apollo* a golden plectre wherewith to play upon his Cittern or Viole, having heard (as it should seeme) the Poet *Serapion*, speaking of the said instrument:

*Which Don Apollo, faire and lovely sonne
Of Iupiter, doth tune in skilfull wise,
As who is wont of all things wrough and done,
All ends with their beginnings to comprise:
And in his hand the plectre bright as golde,
Even glittering rates of shining Sun doth holde.*

Now when *Serapion* would have said somewhat of these matters: A pleasure it were (quoth the stranger) to heare you devise and discourse of such like things, but I must needs demand the first promise made unto me, as touching the cause why the Prophetesse *Pythia* hath given over to make answer any longer by oracle, in verse and metre: and therefore, if it so please you, let us surcease visiting the rest of these oblations and ornaments, and rather sit we downe in this place, for to heare what can be said of this matter, being the principall point and maine reason which impeacheth the credit of this oracle; for that of necessity one of these two things must needs be: either that the Prophetesse *Pythia* approacheth not neere enough to the very place where the divine power is, or els that the aire which was wont to breathe and inspire this institution, is utterly quenched, and the puissance quite gone and vanished away. When we had fetched therefore a circuit about, we sat us downe upon the tablements on the South side of the temple, nere unto the chappell of *Tellus*, that is to say, the Earth, where we beheld the waters of the fountaine *Castilius*, and the temple of the Muses, with admiration, in such sort as *Boethius* incontinently said, that the very place it selfe made much for the question and doubt moved by the stranger: For in olde time (quoth he) there was a temple of the Muses even there, from whence the river springs; in somuch as they used this water for the solemne libations at sacrifices, according as *Simonides* writeth in this wise:

*Where water pure is kept in basons faire
Beneath, of Muses with their yellow haire.*

And in another place, the same *Simonides* with a little more curiositie of words, calling upon *Cleio* the Muse, saith, the is the holy keeper.

*The sacred caves, who doth superintend
Whereby from lovely fountaine do descend
Those waters pure, which all the world admires,
And thereof for to have a taste desires:
As rising from those caves prophetically,
That yeeld sweet odors most mirificall.*

And therefore *Eudoxus* was much overseene to believe those who gave out, that this was called the water of *Styx*. But in truth, they placed the Muses as assistants to divination, and the warders thereof, neere unto that river and the temple of *Tellus* aforesaid, whereunto appertained the oracle: whereby answeres were rendered in verse and song. And some there be who say, that this heroique verse was first heard here:

Σεραπίων ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ κρητὲν ἔειπεν αὖτις.

That is to say,

*Thou prettie Bees and birds that sing:
Bring hither both your wax and wing.*

at what time as the oracle being forsaken and destitute of the god *Apollo*, lost all the dignity and majesty that it had. Then *Serapion*: These things indeed (quoth he) *Boethius*, are more meet and convenient for the Muses. For we ought not to fight against God, nor together with prophetic and divination take away both providence and divinitie; but to seeke rather for the solution of those reasons which seeme to be contrary thereto, and in no wise to abandon and cast off that faith and religious belief, which hath in our country, time out of minde, passed from father to sonne. You say very well and truly (quoth I) good *Serapion*, for we despaire not of Philosophy,

as if it were quite overthrowen and utterly gone, because Philosophers beforetime, pronounced their sentences, and published their doctrines in verse: as for example, *Orpheus*, *Hesiodus*, *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, *Empedocles*, *Thales*, and afterwards ceased and gave over to versifie, all but your selfe, for you have into Philosophie reduced Poetrie againe, to set up a loud and loftie note, for to incite and stirre up yong men. Neither is Astrologie of lesse credite and estimation, because *Aristarchus*, *Timochares*, *Aristyllus*, and *Hipparchus*, have written in prose: wherof *Eudoxus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Thales*, wrote before them in verse of that argument; at leastwise, if it be true that *Thales* was the author of that Astrologie which is ascribed unto him: And *Pindarus* himselfe confesseth, that he doubted greatly of that manner of melodie,

10 which was neglected in his daies, wondering why it was so despised. For I assure you it is no absurd thing, nor imprudent, to search the causes of such mutations: But to abolish all arts and faculties, if haply somewhat be changed or altered in them, I hold neither just, nor reasonable. Then came in *Theon* also with his vie, adding moreover & saying, that it could not be denied, but that in truth herein there have bene great changes & mutations: howbeit, no lesse true it is, that even in this very place there have bene many oracles & answeres delivered in prose, & those concerning affaires, not of least consequence, but of great importance. For as *Thucydides* reporteth in his historie, when the Lacedaemonians demanded of the oracle, what issue there would be of the warre which they waged against the Athenians? this answer was made: That they should obtaine the victorie, and hold till the upper hand: also that he would aid and succour them, both requested, and unrequested: and that unless they recalled home *Pericles*, he would gather together * * *

of silver. Semblably, when the Athenians consulted with the oracle about their successe in that warre which they enterprised for the conquest of *Sicilie*, this answer they received: That they should bring out of the city *Erythra*, the priestresse of *Minerva*: now the name of the said woman was *Hesychia*, that it to say, repose, or quietnesse. Moreover, at what time as *Dionomenes* the Sicilian, would needs know of the oracle, what should become of his sonnes? this answer was returned: That they should all three be tyrants, and great potentates: wherewith when *Dionomenes* replied againe: Yea mary, my good lord *Apollo*, but peradventure they may rue that another day, *Apollo* answered: True indeed, & thus much moreover I prophesie unto thee, for to be their destroy. And how this was fulfilled you all know: for *Gelon* during his reigne, had the dropie: *Hiero* was diseased with the stone, all the time of his tyrannie: and *Thrasybulus* being overtoiled with warres and civill editions, in short time was dethroned & driven out of his dominions. Moreover, *Procles* the tyrant of *Epidaurus*, among many others, whom he had cruelly and unjustly put to death, murdered *Timarchus*, who fled from *Athens* unto him, with a great quantitie of money, after he had received him into his protection, and shewed him many courtesies and kindneses at his first arrivall: him (I say) he slew, and afterwards cast into the sea his corps, which he had put into a chest: and howsoever other knew not of this murder, yet *Cleander* of *Aegina*, was privie thereto, and the minister to execute the same. After this, in processe of time, when he was fallen into troubles, and that his state began to be disquieted, he sent his brother *Cleotimus* hither to the oracle, to enquire secretly whether he were best to flee and retire himselfe out of the way. *Apollo* made this answer: That he granted *Procles* flight and retreat thither, where as he commanded his host of *Aegina* to bestow a chest, or else where the flagges cast their heads. The tyrant understanding that *Apollo* would him either to throw himselfe into the sea and there be drowned, or else to be entered in the ground, because flagges are wont to bury and hide their homes within the earth, when they be fallen, made no haste, but delayed the time: but after a while, when troubles grew more and more upon him, and all things went backward with him, every day woofte than other, at length he fled: But the friends of *Timarchus* having overtaken him, slew him likewise, and flung his body into the sea. Furthermore (which is the greatest matter of all) those

50 *Rhetra*, by vertue whereof, *Lycurgus* ordeined the government of the Lacedaemonians common-wealth, were delivered unto him in prose. What should I speake of *Agrius*, *Herodotus*, *Philochorus*, and *Ister*, who of all others travelled most in gathering of oracles together, which were given in verse, and yet have penned many of them without verse. And *Theopompus*, who studied, no man so much, to cleere the history as touching oracles; sharply reprooveth those, who thinke that *Pythia* the prophetesse in those daies, gave no answeres nor propheties in metre: which challenge of his when he minded to proove and make good, he could alledge but very few examples; for that all the rest in manner were even then pronounced in prose, like as

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at this day, some there be that runne in verse and meeter. By which allegations of his, he made one about the rest notoriously divulged, which is this. There is within the province of *Phocia*, a certaine temple of *Hercules*, furnished *Mythogone*, as one would say, hating women: and by the ancient custome and law of that country, the priest thereof for the time being, must not in the whole yeere company with a woman: by occasion whereof, they chuse old men to this priesthood: howsoever not long since, a certaine young man, who was otherwise of no ill behaviour, but somewhat ambitious, and desirous of honour, and who besides loved a young wench, attained to this prelacie or sacerdotall dignity: at the first he bridled his affection, and forbore the said damosell: howbeit, one time above the rest, when he was laid upon his bed, after he had drunke well, and beene a dancing, the wench came to visit him; and to be short; he dealt carnally with her; whereupon being much troubled in minde, and in fearefull perplexity, he fled unto the oracle, and enquired of *Apollo* as concerning the sinne which he had committed, whether he might not be afforded for it by praiers or expiatorie satisfaction: and this answer he received:

Διὸς δὲ δαίμονος ἐγγυχέει θεῶν.

* All things necessarie, God permitteth.

But if a man haply should graunt that no answer in these daies is delivered by oracle, but in verse; yet would he be more in doubt of ancient oracles, which sometime in meeter and otherwhiles in prose gave answers. But neither the one nor the other (my sonne) is strange and without reason, if so be you conceive aright and carry a pure and religious opinion of god *Apollo*, and doe not thinke that he himselfe it was who in old time composed the verses and at this day prompteth unto *Pythia* the prophesies, as if he spake through masks and visours. But this point is of such moment; that it requirith a longer discourse and farther inquirie into it: many for this present it may suffice for our learning, that we call to remembrance and put you in minde briefly, how the body useth many organs or instruments; that the soule envelopeth the body and the parts thereof; and that the soule is the organ or instrument of God. Now the perfection of any organ or instrument, is principally to imitate and resemble that which useth it, as much as is in the power thereof: and to exhibit the worke and effect of the intention in it selfe, and to shew the same not such as it is in the workman, pure, sincere, without passion, without error and faultlesse, but mixed and exposed to faults: for of it selfe obscure it is and altogether unknown unto us; but it appeareth another, and by another, and is replenished with the nature of that other. And here I passe over to speake of wax, gold, silver, brasse, and all other sorts of matter and substance, which may be cast and brought into the forme of a mould. For every of these verily receiveth one forme of a similitude imprinted therein, but to this resemblance or representation, one adjoineth this difference, and another that, of it selfe: as easily is to be seene, by the infinite diversities of formes in images, as also by the appearance of one and the same visage in divers and sundry mirours, flat, hollow, curbed, or embowed, round outwardly, which represent an infinite variety. But there is neither mirror that sheweth and expresseth the face better, nor instrument of nature more supple, obsequent and pliable, than is the Moone: howbeit receiving from the Sunne a light and fire illumination, she sendeth not the same backe unto us, but mingled with somewhat of her owne: whereby it chanceth the colour, and hath a power or facultie far different, for no hear at all there is in it: and as for the light so weak and feeble it is that it faileth before it cometh unto us. And this I suppose to be the meaning of *Heraclitus*, when he saith, that the lord, unto whom belongeth the oracle at *Delphos*, doth neither speake, nor conceale, but signifie onely and give signe. Adde now to this which is so well said and conceived, and make this application: that the god who is heere, useth *Pythia* the propheteesse, for sight and hearing, like as the Sunne useth the Moone. He sheweth future things by a mortall body, and a soule which cannot rest and lie still, as being not able to shew her selfe immoveable and quiet to him who stirreth and mooveth her, but is troubled still more and more by the motions, agitations, and passions, of her owne, and which are in her selfe: for like as the turnings of bodies, which together with a circular motion, fall downward, are not firme and strong, but turning as they do round by force, and tending downward by nature, there is made of them both, a certaine turbulent and irregular circumgyration: Even so the ravishment of the spirit, called *Entbusiasmus* is a mixture of two motions, when the minde is moved in the one by inspiration, and in the other naturally. For considering that of bodies which have no soule, and of themselves continue alwaies in one estate quiet, a man cannot make use nor

* This is the divels divinitie.

moove them perforce, otherwise than the quality of their nature will heare, nor move a cylindre like a bal, or in manner of a square cube, nor a lute or harpe, according as he doth a pipe, no more than a trumpet after the order of a cithern or stringed instrument: ne yet anything else otherwise than either by art or nature each of them is fit to be used. How is it possible then to handle and manage that which is animate, which mooveth of it selfe, is indued with will and inclination, capable also of reason; but according to the precedent habitude, puissance and nature? As for example, to move one musically, who is altogether ignorant and an enemy of musick; or grammatically, him who skilleth not of grammer, and knoweth not a letter of the booke; or eloquently and rhetorically, one who hath neither skill nor practise at all in orations. Certes I cannot see or say how? And herein *Homer* also beareth witness with me, who albeit he supposed thus much, that nothing (to speake of) in the whole world, is performed and effected by any cause, unlesse God be at one end thereof: yet will not he make God to use all persons indifferently in every thing, but each one according to the sufficiency that he hath by art or nature. To prove this, see you not (quoth he) my friend *Diogenianus*, that when *Minerva* would persuade the Achaeans to any thing the callest for *Ulysses*? when he is minded to trouble and marre the treaty of peace, she seeketh out *Pandarus*? when he is disposed to discomfit and put to flight the Trojans, she addresseth her selfe and goeth to *Diomedes*? for of these three, the last was a valiant man of person, and a brave warrior; the second a good archer, but yet a foolish and brainlesse man; the first right eloquent and wise withall: for *Homer* was not of the same minde

20 with *Pandarus*, if so be it were *Pandarus* who made this verse,

If God so will in sea thou maist well faile
upon an hurdle or a wicker fraile.

But well he knew, that powers and natures be destined to divers effects, according as each one hath different motions, notwithstanding that which mooveth them all, be but one. Like as therefore that facultie which moveth a living creature naturally going on foot, can not make it to flie; nor him who fluttreth and flammereth, to speake readily; ne yet him to crie bigge and aloud, who hath a small and slender voice: which was the reason (as I take it) that when *Batrus* was come to *Rome*, they sent him unto *Africo*, there to plant a colonie, and people a citie; for howsoever he had a flutting and flammering tongue, and was otherwise of a small voice, yet a princely minde he carried, a politike head he had of his owne, and was a man of wisdom & government: even so impossible it is, that *Pythia* should have the knowledge to speake here elegantly & learnedly: for notwithstanding that she were wel borne and legitimate as any other, & had lived honestly and discreetly, yet being brought up in the house of poore husbandmen, she descendeth into the place of the oracle, bringing with her no art learned in schoole, nor any experience whatsoever. But as *Xenophon* thinketh, that a young bride when she is brought to her husbands house, ought to be such an one as hath not seene much, and heard as litle, femblyably, *Pythia* being ignorant and unexpert in manner of all things, and a very virgin indeed as touching her minde and soule, cometh to converse with *Apollo*. And we verily are of opinion, that God for to signifie future things, useth Herons, Wrens, Ravens, Crows, and other birds, speaking after their manner: neither will we have soothsayers, and prophets, being as they are, the messengers and heralds of God, to expound and declare their predictions in plaine and intelligible words: but wee would that the voice and dialect of the propheteesse *Pythia*, resembling the speech of a *Chorus* in a tragedie from a scaffold, should pronounce her answers not in simple, plaine, and triviall termes, without any grace to fet them out, but with Poeticall magnificence of high and stately verses, disguised as it were with metaphors and figurative phrases, yea, and that which more is, with found of flute and hautboies: what answer make you then, as touching the old oracles? Surely, not one alone, but many. First, the ancient *Pythia* as hath bene said already, uttered and pronounced most of them in prose: secondly, that time afforded those complexions and temperatures of bodie, which had a propense and forward inclination to Poetrie; whereto there were joined incontinently, the alacritie, desires, affections, and dispositions of the soule, in such sort, as they were ever preft and ready, neither wanted they ought but some little beginning from without, to fet them on worke, and to stirre the imagination and conception; whereby there might directly be drawn unto that which was meet and proper for them, not onely Astrologers and Philosophers as *Philinus* saith; but also such as were well soaked with wine, and shaken with some passion, who either upon pittie surprisng them, or joy presented unto them, might immediately slide as it were, and fall into a melodious and

* In the Poet, as in the Poet, with a small character, that is to say, to his full strength.

and singing voice; inſomuch as their feasts were full of verſes, and love ſongs, yea and their books and compoſitions, amatorious, and favoring of the like. And when Euripides ſaid:

*Love makes men Poets, marke it when you will,
Although before in verſe they had no ſkill.*

He meaneth not that love putteth Poetrie or Muſicke into a man in whom there was none before, but wakeneth, ſtirreth and enchaſeth that which before was drowſie, ſtill, and cold. Or elſe my good friend, let us ſay, that now a daies there is not an amorous perſon, and one that ſkillett of love, but all love is extinct and periſhed, becauſe there is no man, as *Pindarus* ſaith,

*Who now in pleaſant vaine Poeticall
His ſongs and duties doeth addreſſe,
Which juſt in rhyme and meeter fall,
To praife his faire and ſweet miſtreſſe,*

But this is untrue and abſurd: for many loves there be that ſtirre and moove a man, though they meet not with ſuch minds as naturally are diſpoſed and forward to Muſicke or Poetrie: and well may theſe loves be without pipes, without harpes, viols, lutes, and ſtringed instruments: and yet no leſſe talkative nor ardent, than thoſe in old time. Again, it were a ſhame and without all conſcience to ſay, that the Academie with all the quire and company of *Socrates* and *Plato*, were void of amorous affection (whoſe amatorious diſcourſes are at this day extant, & to be read) although they left no Poems behind them. And is it not all one to ſay, that there was never any woman but *Sappho* in love, nor had the gift of propheticke, ſave onely *Sibylla*, and *Ariſtonice*, or ſuch as publiſhed their vaticinations and prophesies in verſe? For vertue as *Cheremon* was wont to ſay, is mingled and tempered with the manners of thoſe that drinke it: And this Enthuſiaſme or ſpirit of propheticke, like unto the raviſhment of love, maketh uſe of that ſufficiencie and facultie, which it findeth ready in the ſubject; and mooveth ech one of them that are inſpired therewith, according to the meaſure of their natural diſpoſition: and yet as we conſider God and his providence, we ſhall ſee that the change is ever to the better. For the uſe of ſpeech, reſembleth properly the permutation and worth of money; which is good and allowable, ſo long as it is uſed and known, being currant, more or leſſe, and valued diversly, as the times require. Now the time was, when the very marke and ſtampe (as it were) of our ſpeech was currant and approved, in meeter, verſes, ſongs and ſonets: For aſmuch as then, all hiſtorie, all doctrine of Philoſophie, all affection; and to be briefe, all matter that required a more grave and ſtately voice, they brought to Poetry and Muſicke. For now, onely few men, hardly, and with much ado; give care and underſtand: but then, all indifferently heard, yea, and take great pleaſure to heare thoſe that ſung,

*The ſwallow ploughman with his bine,
The ſowler with his nets and line.*

as *Pindarus* ſaith: but alſo moſt men for the great aptitude they had unto Poetrie, when they would admoniſh and make remonſtrances, did it, by the meanes of harpe, lute, and ſong withall: if they meant to rebuke, chaſtiſe, exhort, and incite, they performed it by tales, fables, and proverbes. Moreover their hymnes to the honour and praife of the gods, their praiers and vows, their ballads for joy of victory, they made in meeter and muſicall rhyme: ſome upon a dexterity of wit, others by uſe and praſiſe. And therefore neither did *Apollo* envie this ornament and pleaſant grace unto the ſkill of divination, neither baniſhed he from this three-footed table of the oracle the Muſe ſo highly honored, but rather brought it in, and ſtirred it up as affecting and loving Poeticall wittes: yea, and himſelfe miniſtered and inſuſed certaine imaginations, helping to put forward the loſtie and learned kinde of language, as being much prized and eſteemed. But afterwards, as the life of men, together with their fortunes and natures came to be changed; thrift and utilitie (which remooveth all ſuperfluity) tooke away the golden luſts, and foretope of perukes, the ſpangled coifes, caules, and attires, it caſt off the fine and deinty robes called *Xyſtides*; it clipped and cut away the buſh of haire growing too long; it unbuckled and unlaced, the trim buſkins, acquainting men with good reaſon, to glory in ſtriſtineſſe and frugalitie, againſt ſuperfluities and ſumptuous delicacies, yea, and to honour ſimplicite and modeſty, rather than vaine pompe and affected curioſitie: And even ſo, the manner of mens ſpeech, changing alſo and laying aſide all glorious ſhew, the order of writing an hiſtorie therewithall, preſently came downe as one would ſay from the ſtately chariot of verification, to proſe, and went a foot; and by the meanes eſpecially of this faſhion of writing and ſpeak-

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king at liberty, and not being tied to meaſures, true ſtorie, come to be diſtinguiſhed from lying fables: and Philoſophie embracing perſpicuity of ſtile, which was apt to teach and inſtruct, rather than that which by tropes and figures amuled and amafed mens braines. And then *Apollon* reſpected *Pythia*, that ſhe ſhould not any more call her fellow citizens, *Pyreans*, that is to ſay, burning fires; nor the Spartanes, *Ophioboroi*; that is to ſay, devourers of ſerpents; nor men *Oreans*; nor river, *Orempotas*: and ſo by cutting off from her, prophesies, verſes, and ſtrange termes, circumlocutions and obſcuritie, he taught and inured her to ſpeake unto thoſe who reſorted to the oracles, as lawes do talke with cities, as kings devide and commune with their people and ſubjects, and as ſcholars give care unto their ſchoole-maſters, framing and applying his manner of ſpeech and language ſo, as it might be full of ſenſe and perſwaſive grace: for this leſſon we ought to learne and know that, as *Sophocles* ſaith:

*God to the wiſe in heavenly things,
is a light ſome guide,
But ſoole ſo briefly he doth teach,
that they goe alwaies wide.*

And together with plainneſſe, and diluciditie, belief was ſo turned and altered, changing together with other things, that beforetime, whatſoever was not ordinary nor common, but extravagant, or obſcurely and covertly ſpoken, the vulgar ſort drawing it into an opinion of ſome holineſſe hidden underneath, was aſtonied thereat and held it venerable: but afterwards, deſirous to learne and underſtand things cleerely and eaſily, and not with masks of diſguized words, they began to finde fault with Poeticke, wherein oracles were clad; not onely for that it was contrary and repugnant to the eaſie intelligence of the truth, as mingling the darkneſſe and ſhadow of obſcuritie with the ſentence, but alſo for that they had prophesies already in ſuſpicion; ſaying, that metaphors ænigmatically, and covert words, yea and the ambiguities which Poetry uſeth, were but ſhifts, retractes, and evaſions to hide and cover all, whenſoever the events fell not out accordingly. And many you may heare to report, that there be certaine Poeticall perſons, praſiſhed in verſifying, ſit yet about the oracle, for to receive and catch ſome words there delivered; which preſently and extempore, they reduce and contrive into verſe, meeter, and rhyme, as if they were panniers to beſow all the answers in. And heere I forbear to ſpeake what occaſion of blame, and matter of calumnniation in theſe oracles, theſe *Onomurtoi*, *Prodote* and *Cineſones* have miniſtered, by adding unto them a tragical pompe, and ſwelling inflation of words, when as neither they had need thereof, nor yet received any varietie and alteration thereby. Moreover, certaine it is, that theſe jurglers and vagarant circumforanean land-leapers, theſe praſtiſers of legier de main, theſe plaiers at paſſe and repaſſe, with all the packe of thoſe vagabonds, ribauds, and jeſters who haunt the feaſts of *Cybele* and *Serapis*, have greatly diſcredited and brought into obloquie the profeſſion of Poetrie: ſome by their extemporall facultie and telling fortunes, others by way of lotterie forſooth, and by certaine letters and writings, forging oracles which they would give to poore varlets and ſilly women, who were ſoone abuſed thereby, eſpecially when they ſaw the ſame reduced into verſe, and ſo were carried away with Poeticall termes. And from hence it is now come to paſſe, that Poeticke, for that ſhe hath ſuffered herſelfe thus to be prophaned and made common, by ſuch counſurers, jurglers, deceivers, enchanters, and falſe prophets, is fallen from the truth, and rejected from *Apollons* three-footed table.

And therefore I nothing wonder if otherwhiles in old time, there was ſome need of this double meaning, circumlocution, and obſcuritie: for I aſſure you, there was not wont to come hither one for to enquire and be reſolved about the buying of a ſlave in open market: nor another to know what profit he ſhould have by his traffike or huſbandry: but hither came or ſent great and puiſſant cities, kings, princes, and tyrants, who had no meane matters in their heads, to conſult with *Apollo* as concerning their important affaires; whom to provoke, diſpleaſe, and offend, by cauſing them to heare many things contrary to their will and minde, was nothing good and expedient for thoſe who had the charge of the oracle: for this god obdeth *Euripides* when he ſetteth downe a law as it were for him, ſaying thus:

*Phœbus himſelfe, and none but he,
Ought unto men the prophet to be.*

for he uſeth mortall men to be his miniſters and underprophets: of whom he is to have a ſpeciall care for to preſerve them, that in doing him ſervice, they be not ſpoiled and ſlaine by wicked perſons:

persons: in which regard he is not willing to conceale the truth; but turning aside the naked declaration thereof, which in poetrie receiveth many reflexions, and is divided into many parcels, he thereby did away the rigor and odious austeritie therein contained. And it skilled much, that neither tyrants should know it, nor enemies be advertised and have intelligence thereof. For their sakes therefore, he enfolded in all his answers, doubts, suspitions and ambiguities, which from others did hide the true meaning of that which was answered. But such as came themselves to the oracle, and gave close and heedfull care, as whom it concerned particularly, those he deceived not, neither failed they of the right understanding thereof. And therefore a very foolish man is he, and of no judgement, who doth take occasion of slander and calumniation, if the world and estate of mens affaires being changed, this God thinketh that he is not to aide and helpe men any more after his accustomed maner, but by some other. Furthermore, by the meanes of poetrie and verification, there is not in a sentence, any greater commodity than this, that being couched and comprised in a certaine number of words and syllables measured, a man may retaine and remember the same better. And necessarie it was for those in olde time, to carry away in memory many things, because there were delivered many signes and marks of places, many times and opportunities of affaires, many temples of strange gods beyond sea, many secret monuments, and repositories of demi-gods hard to be found of those who failed farre from *Greece*. For in the voyages of *Chios* and *Candie*, * * * * * enterprised by *Onesibius* and *Palanthus*, beside many other captaines and admirals, how many signes and conjectures went they by, and were to observe, for to finde the resting feat, and place of abode, which was ordained to every one of them? and some of them quite missed thereof: as for example, *Batius*: for his propheticke ran thus, That unlesse he arrived to the right place, he should be banished. Failing therefore of the countrey whereto he was sent, he returned againe to the oracle in humble maner, craving his favour. And then *Apollo* answered him in this wise:

Then knowest thy selfe, as well as I can tell,

That methyer in Atrike thou hast bene;

(For thither sent I thee to build and dwell)

Or Meliboea, that place so fertile, scene:

If thither now accordingly thou wend,

Thy wisdom then greatly will I commend.

And so he sent him away the second time. Likewise *Lysander* being altogether ignorant of the little hill *Archelodes*, of the place called *Alopecon*, as also of the river *Opires*.

And of the dragon, sonne of earth by kinde

Fuller astutely assailing men behinde.

all which hee should have avoided, was vanquished in battell, and slaine about those very places, and that by one *Imachion* and *Altartian*, who had for his device or armes in the target that he bare, a dragon puttraid. But I thinke it needlesse to recite many other ancient oracles of this kinde, which are not easily to be related, and as hardly remembered, especially among you who know them well enough. But now thanks be to God, the state of our affaires and of the world, in regard whereof men were wont to seeke unto the oracle is sealed: for which I reioice and congratulate with you. For great peace there is and repose in all parts; warres be staid, and there is no more need of running and wandering to and fro, from one countrey to another: civil diffensions and seditions be appeased: there are no tyrannies now exercised: neither doe thereraigne other maladies and miseries of *Greece*, as in times past, which had need of over-raigne medicins, exquisite drogues and powerfull confectiions, to remedy and redresse the same. Whereas therefore there is no variable diversity, no matter of fecerie, no dangerous affaires, but all demands be of petie & vulgar matters, much like to these schoole questions: Whether a man should marry or no? Whether a man may undertake a voiage by sea or no? or Whether he is to take up or put forth money for interest? where, I say, the greatest points, about which cities seeke unto *Apollo*, are about the fertility of their ground, plenty of corne and other fruits of the earth, the breed and multiplying of their cattell, and the health of their bodies: to goe about for to compise the same in verse, to devise and forge long circuits of words, to use strange and obscure termes, to such interrogatories as require a short simple and plaine answer, were the part of an ambitious and vainglorious Sophister, who tooke a pride in the elegant composing of oracles. Over and besides, *Pythia* of her selfe is of a gentle and generous nature: and when she descendeth thither and converseth with the god, she hath more regard of truth than of glory,

ry, neither passeth she whether men praise or dispraise her. And better it is were for us, if we also were likewise affected. But we now in a great agony (as it were) & fearefull perplexity left the place should lesse the reputation which it hath had for the space of three thousand yeeres, and doubting that some would abandon it and cease to frequent it, as if it were the schoole of a Sophister, who feared to lose his credit, and to be despised, devise apologies in defence thereof, faining causes and reasons of things which we neither know, nor is becoming us for to learne; and all to appeale and perswade him, who complaineth and seemeth to finde fault, whereas we should rather shake him off and let him goe.

For with him first,

It will be worst,

who hath such an opinion of this our God, as that he approved and esteemed these ancient sentences, of the Sages written at the entrance of the temple, *Know thy selfe*; *Too much of nothing*; principally for their brevity, as containing under few words a pithy sentence well and closely couched, and (as a man would say) beaten soundly together with the hammer: but reproved and blamed moderne oracles for delivering most part of their answers, briefly, succinctly, simply, and directly. And verily such notable Apophthegmes and sayings of the ancient Sages, resemble rivers that runne through a narrow stright, where the water is pent and kept in so close, that a man cannot see through it, and even so unnethe or hardly may the bottom of their sense be sounded. But if you consider what is written or said by them, who endeavour to search unto the very bottom, what every one of these sentences doth comprehend, you shall finde that hardly a man shall meet with orations longer then they. Now the dialect or speech of *Pythia* is such, as the Mathematicians define a straight and direct line, namely, the shortest that may be between two points: and even so it bendeth not, it crookeneth not, it maketh no circle, it catcheth no double sense and ambiguity, but goeth straight to the truth; and say it be subject to censure and examination, and dangerous to be misconstrued and beleaved amisse: yet to this day it hath never given advantage whereby it might be convinced of untruth: but in the meane time, it hath furnished all this temple full of rich gifts, presents and oblations, not onely of Greeke nations, but also of barbarous people, as also adorned it with the beautiful buildings and magnificent fabricks of the amphictyons. For you see in some sort, many buildings adjoined which were not before, and as many repaired and restored to their ancient perfection, which were either fallen to decay and ruined by continuance of time, or else lay confusedly out of order. And like as we see, that neere unto great trees that spread much and prosper well, other smaller plants and shrubs grow and thrive: even so together with the city of *Delfos*, *Pylos* flourisheth, as being fed and maintained by the abundance and affluence, which ariseth from hence, in such sort as it beginneth to have the forme and shew of solemne sacrifices of stately meetings and sacred waters, such as in a thousand yeeres before it could never get the like. As for those that inhabited about *Galaxion* in *Beotia*, they found and felt the gracious presence and favour of our God by the great plenty and store of milke, For,

From all their ewes thicke milke did spie;

As water fresh from lively spring:

Their tubs and tunnes with milke therein

Brim full they all, home fast did bring:

No barrels, botels, pails of wood,

But full of milke in houses stood.

But to us he giveth better markes, and more evident tokens and apparent signes of his presence and favour, than these be; having brought our countrey (as it were) from drinck and penurie, from desert & waste wilderness, wherein it was before, to be now rich and plentiful, frequented and peopled, yea and to be in that honor and reputation, wherein we see it at this day to flourish. Certes, I love my selfe much better, for that I was so well affected, as to put to my helping hand in this business, together with *Polyrates* and *Petræus*: Yea and him also I love in my heart, who was the first author unto us of this government and policy, and who tooke the paines and endeavoured to set on foot and establish most part of these things. But impossible it was, that in so small a time there should be seene so great and so evident a mutation by any industry of man whatsoever, if God himselfe had not bene assistant to sanctifie and honour this oracle. But like as in those times past, some men there were who found fault with the ambiguity, obliquity and obscurity of oracles; so there be in these daies, others, who like sycephants cavill at the over-

much simplicity of them; whose humorous passion is injurious and exceeding foolish. For even as little children take more joy and pleasure to see rainbowes, haloes or garlands about the Sunne, Moone, &c. yea, and comets or blasing starres, than they do to behold the Sunne himselfe or the Moone; so these persons desire to have enigmaticall and darke speeches, obscure allegories, and wrested metaphors, which are all reflexions of divination upon the sense and apprehension of our mortall conceit. And if they understand not sufficiently, the cause of this change and alteration, they go their waies, and are ready to condemn the God, and not either us or themselves, who are not able by discourse of reason to reach unto the counsell and intention of the said gods.

OF THE DÆMON OR FAMILIAR SPIRIT OF SOCRATES.

* Some adde
unto this title,
[The dialogue
of Thebes] and
in truth, that
narration
taketh up a
good part of
this dialogue.

* A Treatise in manner of a Dialogue.

The Summarie.

THE Thebans having lost their freedom and liberty by the violent proceedings of Archias, Leontidas and other tyrants, who banished a great number of good citizens and men of worth, in which roll and catalogue Pelopidas was one (as appeareth in the storie of his life, wherem Plutarch writeth of all this matter at large) it fell out at last, that the exiled persons tooke heart, drew to an head, and wrought so, as they recntred the city of Thebes, slew the tyrants, and displaced the garrison of the Spartans. Which done, they dispatched their ambassages to other states and Commonwealths of Greece, for to justifie their action; and namely, among the rest, they sent Caphisias to Athens: who being there, at the request of Archidamus a personage of great authoritie, related and reported the returne of the banished men, the surprising of the tyrants, and the restoring of the citie to their ancient franchises; and that with discourse so wonderfull pathetically, and such as shew the singular providence of God in the preferuation of states, and confusion of such wicked members as disturbe the publike peace. But in this recitall, there is inserted, and that with good grace, a digression as touching the familiar spirit of Socrates, by occasion of a Pythagorean Philosopher newly come out of Italie to Thebes, for to take up the bones of Lyllis: for by occasion that Galaxidorus the Epicurean devised the superstition of this stranger, professing withall the wisdom and learning of Socrates, who had cleaved and delivered Philosophie from all fantasticall illusions of spirits and ghosts, Theocritus bringeth in an example of a certaine prediction of this familiar spirit. Now withall, when the other had demanded the question, whether the same were as humane and naturall thing or no, the disputation began to kindle and waxe hot; until such time as Epaminondas and this stranger named Theonor came in place: and then they fell into a discourse of povertie and riches, by occasion that Theonor offered silver unto the Thebans, in recompense of their kindeaffe and good entertainment they had done Lyllis. And as they would have proceeded forward in this argument, there came one who ministred occasion for to returne unto the former narration as touching the enterprize and exploit of the said exiled persons: in which there is intermingled againe a treatise concerning the familiar of Socrates, with a large recitall of the fable of Timarchus. After which, Caphisias rehearseth the issue of the tragadie of the tyrants, shewing thoroughout, notable discourses of the divine wisdom, and joining therein a consideration of Socrates his wisdom, guiding and directing to a particular plot for the good of all Greece. But in this place the reader

der must remember and call to minde who this Socrates was; to wit, a man destitute of the true knowledge of God, and therefore he is to holde for suspected and naughty this familiar spirit of his, if a man would receive and admit the opinion of some interloquutors, who suppose it was a Dæmon or spirit from without; to the end that we should not rest upon revelation, inspirations and guidances of angels, unlesse it be of such, the testimonies wherof are grounded upon the holy scripture; but ste from the profane curiositie of certaine fantasticall heads, who by their books published abroad in print, have dared to reverse and raise up againe this false opinion (which some in this age of ours have) of familiar spirits, by whom they are forsooth as well advised and as surely taught and instructed as by the very spirit of God, speaking unto us by his written word.

OF THE DÆMON OR familiar spirit of Socrates.

ARCHIDAMUS.

HAVE heard (as I remember) *ô Caphisias*, a pretty speech of a certaine painter making a comparison of those who came to see the pictures and tables which he had painted: for he was wont to say, that the ignorant beholders and such as had no skill at all in the art of painting, resembled them who saluted a whole multitude of people all at once; but the better sort and such as were skillfull, were like unto those who used to salve every one whom they met, severally by name: for that the former had no exquisite insight into the works, but a superficiall and generall knowledge onely; whereas the other contrariwise, judging every piece and part thereof, will not misse one jot, but peruse, consider and censure that which is well done or otherwise. Semblably it falleth out in my judgement, as touching true actions indeed, which are not painted. The conceit and understanding of the more idle and carelesse persons reflecteth in this bare knowledge, in case they conceive only the summary and issue of a thing; but that, of studious and diligent persons, and lovers of faire and goodly things, like unto a judicious and excellent spectator of vertue, as of some great and singular art, taketh more pleasure to heare the particularities in speciall: for that the end of matters, ordinarily, hath many things common with fortune; but the good wit is better scene in causes, & in the vertue of particular occurrences & affaires which are presented; as when valour sheweth it selfe not astonished, but considerate and well advised in the greatest perils; where the discourse of reason is mingled with passion, which the sudden occasion of danger presented doth bring. Supposing then, that we also are of this kinde of spectators, declare you to us now in order from the beginning, how this matter did passe and proceed in the execution thereof, as also what talke and discourse was held there; for that by all likelihood you were present: and for mine owne part, so desirous I am to heare, that I would not faile to go as farre as to Thebes for the knowledge thereof, were it not, that I am thought already of the Athenians, to favor if the Boeotians more than I should.

CAPHISIAS.

Certes, *Archidamus*, since you are so earnest and forward to learne how these affaires were managed, I ought in regard of the good will which you beare unto us, before any businesse whatsoever (as *Pindarus* saith) to have come hither, expressly for to relate the same unto you: but since we are hither come in embassage already, and at good pleasure, whilst we attend what answer and dispatch the people of Athens will give us, in making it strange and goodly, and refusing to faustise to civill a request of a personage so kinde and well affectionate to his friends, whereas much as to revive the olde reproch imputed upon the Boeotians, to wit, that they hate good letters and learned discourses; which reproch began to waxe away with your *Socrates*, and in so doing, it seemeth that we treat of affaires with two priests: and therefore see, whether the Seigniors here present be disposed to heare the report of so many speeches and actions; for the narration will not be thort, considering that you will me to adjoine thereto the words that passed also.

ARCHIDAMUS.

You know not the men, *ô Caphisias*, and yet well woorthy they are to be knownen; for noble persons

persons they had to their fathers, and those who had bene well affected to our countrey. As for him (pointing to *Lyfihides*) he is (quoth he) the nephew of *Thrasibulus*; but he here, is *Timotheus* the sonne of *Canon*: those there, be the children of *Archimus*; and the other, our familiar friends. So that you shall be sure to have a well willing auditorie, and such as will take pleasure to heare this narration.

CAPHISIAS.

You say well. But where were I best to begin my speech, in regard of those matters that ye have already heard and known, which I would not willingly repeat?

ARCHDAMUS.

We know reasonably well, in what state the citie of *Thebes* stood, before the returne of the banished persons; and namely, how *Archias* and *Leontidas* had seduced intelligence, and conspired with *Phabidas* the Lacedemonian captaine, whom they perswaded, during the time of truce, to surpris the castle of *Cadmus*; and how having executed this disfeigne, they drave some citizens out of the city, and put others in prison, or held the men in awe, whiles themselves ruled tyrannically and with violence. Whereof I had intelligence, because I was (as you wot well) hoast unto *Melon* and *Pelipides*, with whom (so long as they were in exile) I was inwardly acquainted and conversed familiarly. Moreover, we have heard already, how the Lacedemonians condemned *Phabidas* to pay a great fine, for that he had seized the fort *Cadmia*, and how they put him by, and kept him from the journey and expedition of *Olynthus*, and sent thither in stead of him, *Lyfanoridas* with two other captaines, and planted a stronger garrison within the 20 castle. Furthermore, we know very well, that *Ismenias* died not the fairest kinde of death, presently upon I wot not what proceffe framed, and an action commenced against him, for that *Gorgidas* advertised the banished who were here, by letters, from time to time, of all matters that passed; in such sort, as there remained for you to relate, nothing els, but the returne of the said banished men, and the surprising or apprehension of the tyrants.

CAPHISIAS.

About that time (*Archdamus*) all we that were of the confederacie and conspired together, used ordinarily to meet in the house of *Simmias*, by occasion that he was retired and in cure of a wound which he had received in his leg, where we conferred secretly of our affaires as need required; but in shew and openly, discoursed of matters of learning and Philosophy, drawing 30 unto us often times into our companie, *Archias* and *Leontidas*, men who misliked not such conferences and communications, because we would remoove all suspicion of such conventicles. For *Simmias* having abode long time in foren parts among the Barbarians, being returned to *Thebes* but a little while before, was full of all maner of newes and strange reports as touching those barbarous nations; inso much, as *Archias* when he was at leisure, willingly gaue care to his discourses and narrations, sitting in the company of us yong gentlemen, as being well pleased that we should give our mindes to the study of good letters and learning, rather than busie our heads about those matters which they went about and practised in the meane while. And the very day on which late in the evening, and toward darke night following, the exiled persons above said were come closely under the wall, there arrived from thence unto us a messenger, 40 whom *Phereutis* sent, one who was unknown to us all, unlesse it were to *Charon*, who brought us word, that to the number of twelve yong gentlemen, and those the bravest gallants of all the banished conspirators, were already with their hounds hunting in the forest *Cutharon*, intending to be here in the evening; and that therefore they had sent before and dispatched a vaunt-courier of purpose, as well to advertise us thereof, as to be certified themselves who it was that should make his house ready for them to lie secret and hidden therein when they were once come; to the end that upon this foreknowledge they might set forward and go directly thither. Now as we studied and tooke some deliberation about this point, *Charon* of himselfe offered his house: whereupon, when the messenger intended to returne immediately & with great speed to the exiles, *Theocritus* the footfaier griping me fast by the hand, & casting his eie upon *Charon* 50 that went before: This man (quoth he) & *Caphisias* is no Philosopher nor deepe scholar, neither is he come to any excellent or exquisite knowledge above others, as his brother *Epaninondas*, and yet you see how being naturally enclined, and directed withall by the lawes, unto honor and vertue, he exposeth himselfe willingly unto danger of death, for the deliverie and setting free of his countrey; whiles *Epaninondas*, who hath had better means of instruction and education to the attaining of vertue, than any other Boeotian whatsoever, is restiffe, dull, and backward,

when

when the question is of executing any great enterprife for the deliverance of his native country. And to what occasion of service shall he ever be so well disposed, prepared and employed, than this? Vnto whom I made answer in this wise: We for our parts, most kinde and gently *Theocritus*, doe that which hath bene thought good, resolved and concluded upon among our selves, but *Epaninondas* having not yet perswaded us, according as he thinketh it better himselfe, not to put these our designements in execution, hath good reason to goe against that where-with his nature repugneth, and so he approacheth not the designement whereunto he is moved and invited. For it were unreasonable to force & compell a phylician, who promiseth & undertaketh to cure a disease, without lancet & fire, for to proceed to incision, cutting & cauterizing.

10 Why (quoth *Theocritus*) doth not he approve of the conspiracie? No (quoth I) neither shall I, either he that any citizens should be put to death, unlesse they were condemned first judicially by order of law: many, he saith, that if without massacre and effusion of citizens blood they would enterprife the deliverance of the city, he would assit and aide them right willingly. Seeing then that he was not able to endure us for to beleve his reasons, but that we followed still our owne course, he requirith us to let him alone pure, innocent, and unpolluted with the blood of his citizens, and to suffer him for to espie and attend some better occasions and opportunities; by means whereof with justice he might procure the good of the weale publicke. For murder (quoth he) will not containe it selfe within limits as it ought: but *Phereutis* happily and *Phelipides*, may bend their force principally upon the authors and heads of this tyranny, and wicked 20 persons: but you shall have some such as *Eumolpides* and *Samiadas* hot stomacked men; set on fire with choler and desire of revenge, who taking liberty by the vantage of the night, will not lay downe their armes, nor put up their swords, untill they have killed the whole city with bloodshed, and murdered many of the best and principall citizens.

As I thus devised and communed with *Theocritus*, *Anaxidorus* overhearing some of our words (for nere he was unto us): Stay (quoth he) and hold your peace, for I see *Archias* & *Lyfanoridas* the Spartan captaine coming from the castle *Cadmia*, and it seemeth that they make haste directly toward us. Heereupon we paused and were still: with that *Archias* calling unto *Theocritus*, and bringing him apart by himselfe unto *Lyfanoridas*, talked with him a long while, drawing him aside a little out of the way, under the temple of *Amphton*; in such sort, as whome 30 in an extreme agony & perplexity, for feare lest they had an inckling or suspicion of our enterprife, or that something were discovered: & thereupon they examined *Theocritus*. As these matters thus passed, *Phyllidas* (whom you *Archdamus* know) who was then the principall secretary or scribe under *Archias*, at that time captaine generall of the armie, being desirous of the approach of the conspirators, & withal both privy and party with us in the complot, came in place and tooke me (as his manner was) by the hand, beginning with open mouth to mocke our exercises of the body and our wrestling: but afterward, drawing me aside, a good way from the others, asked me whether the banished persons would keepe that appointed day or no? I made him answer, Yea. Then have I (quoth he) to very good purpose prepared a feast this day for to entertaine *Archias* in my house, and so to deliver him with ease into their hands, when he shall 40 have eaten freely, and drunke wine merrily. Passing well done (quoth I) & *Phyllidas*: but I beseech you withall, for to bring together all our enemies, or as many as you can. That is no easie matter (quoth he) to compass, but rather altogether impossible. For *Archias* hoping that some great layd of honor and estate will come thither unto him, in no wise can abide that *Leontidas* should be there, so that of necessity we must divide them into sundry houses. Now if *Archias* and *Leontidas* both be once apprehended, I suppose that the rest will soone flie, or else remaine quiet, and be very highly contented if any man will grant them safety and security of their lives. Well (quoth I) we will so doe: but I pray you, what businesse have they with *Theocritus*, that they are so long in talke with him? I know not for a truetie (quoth *Phyllidas*) but I have heard that there be certaine prodigious signes of unluckie and unfortunate preface unto the citie of Sparta.

When *Theocritus* was returned unto us againe, *Phidolas* the Haliertian coming toward us *Simmias* (quoth he) requesteth you to stay here a while for his sake: for he is an intercessor in the behalfe of *Amphterus* by the means of *Leontidas* that his life may be pardoned, and that instead of death, the man might be banished. This is fallen out (quoth *Theocritus*) in very good time and fitly to the purpose as a man would have it: for I was minded to enquire of you what things were found within the tombe of *Alemens*, and what shew it caried when it was opened a-

among you: and also whether you were present when *Agesilaus* sent of purpose for to translate and carry the reliques unto *Sparta*. Present I was not my selfe *Phidolus* in person: and I was very much angry and offended with my fellow citizens, in that I was so discarded and left out. Howbeit there was with the bones and other reliques of the corps, a certaine carquet of brass, and that of no great bignesse, and two earthen pots, containing amorphs a peece full of earth which in continuance of time was grown hard and converted into stone.

Over the sepulcher there was a table of brass likewise, wherein were written many letters, and those of a strange and wonderfull forme, as being of right great antiquity: for nothing could we pickie out of them, notwithstanding the letters appeared very well, after that the brass was faire washed and scoured cleane, the characters were of such a making by themselves, after a barbarous fashion, and resembling neereft those of the Egyptians. Whereupon *Agesilaus* also, as men say, sent a copy of them unto the king of *Aegypt*, praying him to shew the same unto their priests, to see whether they understood them or no? But peradventure of these matters *Simmias* also is able to tell us some newes, because about that time he conversed much with the said priests in points of Philosophie. And those of the citie *Altiartes* are of opinion, that their great sterility, and scarcitie, as also the swelling and inundation of the lake hapned not by chance, but was the vengeance divine upon those who suffered the monument of this Lacedæmonians likewise (quoth he) seeme to have beene threatened by the ire of the gods, as the prodigious signes and tokens presage no lesse, whereof *Lysanoridas* ere while talked with me: who even now is gone into the citie *Altiartes*, to cause the said monument to be filled up againe, and there to offer certaine funerall effusions and libaments, to the ghost of *Alcmena* and *Alcus*, according to a certaine oracle; but who this *Alcus* should be, he knoweth not: and so soone as he is from thence returned, he must search also the sepulchre of *Dive*, which none of the Thebanes doe know, unless they be those who have beene captaines of the horsemen. For looke who goeth out of this office, taketh with him his succesor that entrench into his place, by night, and when they two be alone together, he sheweth it unto him, and there they performe certaine religious ceremonies without fire, the tokens and marks whereof, they shuffe together, and confound so, as they be not scene; which done, they depart in the darke, and goe divers waies, one from the other. But for mine owne part, *Phidolatus*, I beleve verily he will never finde it out, for the most of those who have beene lawfully called to the captainship of the cavallerie, or to say more truly, even all of them are in exile, except *Gorgidas* and *Plato*, whom they will never aske the question, because they are afraid of them. And as for those who are now in place, well may they take the launce and the signet within the castle of *Cadmus*; for otherwise they neither know nor can shew ought. As *Theocritus* spake these words, *Leontidas* went forth with his friends; and we entering in, saluted *Simmias*, being set upon his bed, but I suppose he had not obtained his request, for very penfive and heavie he was; and looking wistfully in the face upon us all, he brake out into these words: O *Hercules*, what a world is this, to see the barbarous and savage manners of men? And was not this then a very good answer made by old *Thales*, who being returned home, after a long voyage, from out of a forren country, and demanded what was the strangest newes that he could make relation of? answered: That he had scene a tyrant live to be an old man. For thus you see, that him selfe who in his owne particular, had never received wrong by a tyrant, yet in regard of the odious trouble, in conversing and having to doe with them, is offended and become an enemy to the lawes. But haply God will see to these matters, and provide in time convenient. But know you (*Caphisus*) who this stranger may be, that is come unto you? I wot not (quoth he) whom you meane. Why (quoth he) *Againe*, *Leontidas* came and told us of a man, who was scene by night to arise from about the tombe of *Lysis*, accompanied in lately wife, with a great traine of men, in good order; and well appointed, who lodged there and lay upon pallets: for that there were to be scene in the morning little beds hard by the ground, made of chaff tree and of heath or lings. There remained also the tokens of fire, and of the libaments and oblations of milke. Moreover beimes in the morning he demanded of all passengers whom he met, where he should finde the children of *Polygnus* dwelling in that country? And what stranger might this be (quoth I): for by your report he should be some great personage, and not a private man and of meane degree. Not so (quoth *Phidolatus*) but when he comes welcome he shall be, and we will receive him courteously,

ously. But for this present, if peradventure (*Simmias*) you know any thing more than we, concerning those letters whereof we were of late in doubt, declare it unto us: for it is said that the priests of *Aegypt* understood by conference together the letters of a certaine table of brass, which *Agesilaus* not long since had from us, at what time as he caused the tombe of *Alcmena* to be opened. I have not (quoth *Simmias*, calling another matter presently to minde) scene this said table; *Phidolatus*: but *Agetoridas* the Spartan carrying with him many letters from *Agesilaus* came to the city *Memphis* and went unto the prophet *Chonuphis*, with whom we conferred as touching Philosophie, and abode together a certaine time, my selfe I meane, and *Plato*, with *Ellogion* the Peparethian. Thither I say arrived he as sent from king *Agesilaus*, who requested *Chonuphis*, that if he understood any thing of those letters which were written in the said brass, he would interpret the same, and send it backe unto him incontinently. So this prophet was musing and studying three daies together by himselfe, perusing and turning all sorts of figures and characters of auncient letters: and in the end wrote backe his answer unto king *Agesilaus*, and by word of mouth told us, that the said writing gave direction and comendement unto the Greeks, to celebrate the feast, and solemnize the plaies and games in the honor of the Muses: also that the forme of those characters, were the very same which had beene used at the time when *Proteus* reigned in *Aegypt*, which *Hercules* the sonne of *Amphitryon* learned: and that God by those letters advised and admonished the Greeks to live in peace and repose, instituting certaine games unto the Muses, for the study of Philosophie and good literature, and spitting one against another continually, with reasons and arguments as touching justice, laying armes cleane aside. As for us, we thought verily even then at the very first, that *Chonuphis* said well and truly; but much rather, when in our returne out of *Aegypt*, as we passed along *Caria*, certaine persons of the Isle *Delos*, met us upon the way, who requested *Plato* (as he was a man well scene and exercised in Geometrie) to explaine the meaning unto them of a certaine strange oracle, & hard to be understood; which god *Apollo* had given them: the tenour whereof was this: That the Delians and all other Greeke nations, should have a cessation & end of all their present troubles and calamities, when they had once doubled the altar which stood in the temple at *Delos*: for they being not able to guesse nor imagine what the substance and meaning should be, of this answer delivered by the oracle; and besides, making themselves ridiculous, when they thought to double the fabrick and building of the altar (for when they had doubled each side of the foure, they were not ware how by augmentation they made a solid bodie, eight times as bigge as it was before, and that by ignorance of the proportion, which in length yeeldeth the duple) they had recourse unto *Plato*, for to be resolved of this difficulty. Then he calling to minde the foresaid *Aegyptian* priest, said unto them: that the god plaied with the Greeks, for despising good sciences; reproaching them for their ignorance, and commanding them in good earnest to study Geometrie, and not cursorily after a superficiall manner; for that it was a matter and worke, not of a depraved conceit, nor of a troubled and dimme understanding, but sufficiently exercised, and perfectly scene in the sciences of Lines; to find of two lines one middle proportioned, which is the onely means to double the figure of a cubicke body, being augmented equally in all dimensions: And as for these (quoth he) *Endoxus* the Cnidian, or *Heliott* the Cyzicentian, hath performed sufficiently unto you; howbeit, we are not to thinke that the god hath need of any such duplication, neither was it, that which he meant, but he commanded the Greeks to give over armes for to converse with the Muses; in dycing their passions by the study of good literature, and the sciences, and so to couple and eate themselves, as that they might profit, and not hurt one another. But whilst *Simmias* thus spake, my father *Polygnus* entered the place, and sat him downe close unto *Simmias*, beginning thus to speake: *Epaminondas* (quoth he) requesteth both you, and all the rest that be here, unless your businesse otherwise be the greater, not to faile, but heere to stay; as being desirous to make you acquainted with this stranger, who is of himselfe a gentle person, and withall, is hither come with a generous and honest intention (being one of the Pythagorian Philosophers) from out of *Italy*, and his arrivall into these parts, as by occasion of certaine visions and dreames as the faith, yea, and evident apparitions admonishing him to purre and offer unto the good feignior *Lysis*, upon his tombe, those libaments which are due unto men departed: and having brought with him a good quantitie of gold, he suppoleth that he is bound to make recompense unto *Epaminondas*, for the charges which he was at in keeping & maintaining good *Lysis* in his old age, and most ready he is, without our request, and against our will, to succour our need and poverty.

vertie. *Simmi* as taking great pleasure to hear this: You tell us (quoth he) of a woonderfull man indeed, and such an one as is woorthy of Philosophy: but what is the reason that he came not directly unto us? Because (quoth he) he tooke up lodging last night about the sepulchre of *Zyffis*, and as I take it, *Epaminondas* hath led him to the river *Ismenus*, for to wash; but from thence they will come both together unto us: but before that he spake with us, he lodged upon the tombe of *Zyffis*, with a purpose as I thinke, to take up the bones and reliques of his body, for to carry with him backe into *Italy*, unless there were some spirit or daemon empeached him in the night: When my father had thus much said, he held his tongue: and then *Galaxidorus*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) how hard a matter is it to finde a man who is altogether free from vanitie, and in whom there is no spice of superstition? For some there be, who even against their willes are otherwhiles surpris'd with these passions, by reason either of ignorance or infirmity: others againe, to the end they might be thought more religious, more devout, and better beloved of the gods, upon a singularity, referre all their actions to the gods, as the authors thereof, preferring before all the inventions that came into their minde, dreames and fantastick apparitions, and all such foolish toies and vanities, which paradvnture is not unbecoming nor unprofitable for politians and statists, who are forced to frame themselves to a stubborne & disordinate multitude, for to reclaime and to pull backe the common & vulgar sort by superstition, as it were by the bit of a bridle, unto that which is expedient for them. But this maske seemeth not only undecent and unseemly for Philosophy, but also contrary to the profession thereof, which promiseth to teach us all that which is good and profitable with reason, and afterwards referreth the beginning of our actions unto the gods, as if it contemned reason and disgraced the prooffe of demonstration, wherein it seemeth to be most excellent turning aside to I wot not what oracles and visions in dreames, wherein oftentimes the wickedest man in the world, findeth as much as the very best. And therefore in mine opinion our *Socrates*, O *Simmi* as, used that manner of teaching, which is most worthy and besitting a Philosopher, to wit, simple, plaine, without all fiction, chusing it as most free and friendly unto the truth, rejecting and turning upon the Sophisters, all such vanity, as the very fume and smoake of Philosophy. Then *Theocritus* taking his turne to speake: How now (quoth he) *Galaxidorus*, hath *Melissus* perswaded you, as well as he made the judges beleeve, that *Socrates* dispised the gods and all divine powers? For this is that which he chargeth him with before the Athenians. In no wise (quoth he) as touching those heavenly powers: but having received from the hands of *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles*, Philosophy full of ridiculous fables, fantastick illusions, and vaine superstition, he acquainted us, playing thus the foole in good earnest, and being drunke with furie, to take up betimes and wilfully to cleave unto things of substance, yea and to acknowledge, that in sober reason consisteth the truth. Be it so (quoth *Theocritus*), but as touching the familiar spirit of *Socrates*, what shall we thinke or say of it? was it a cogging lie and mere fable, or what should we call it? For in mine owne conceit, like as *Homer* faineth that *Minerva* was evermore assistant in all the travels and perils of *Ulysses*, even so from the very first beginning, this divine spirit allotted unto *Socrates* a certaine vision, which guided him in all the actions of his life, this onely went and walked before him: it was a light unto him in all those affaires wherein nothing could be seene, and which possibly might not be gathered, nor comprehended by reason and wisdom of man, in so much, as many times this spirit spake with him, inspiring, directing, and governing, after a heavenly manner, his intentions. Now hee that would know a greater number of prooffes, and those more woonderfull, let them heare *Simmi* as speake, & others, who lived familiarly with him: as for my selfe, I will relate one example, which I saw with mine owne eyes, and where I was in person present: One day when I went to confult with the divinor or soothsaier *Euthyphron*, *Socrates* went up (as you may remember well, O *Simmi* as, for present you were there also, toward a place called *Symbolon*, and the house of *Andocides*, asking all the way as we went, & troubling *Euthyphron* with many questions, merrily and by way of sport; but all on a sudden he staid and rested, very studious and musing with himselfe a good while: then he turned backe and went along the street where joyners dwelt, that made coffers and chests, and called not those of his familiar friends who were gone before, the other way, for to have them returne: for why, his familiar spirit forbade him to go forward as he began, thus the greater part of them, retired and went with him, & among them, I my selfe was one, following evermore *Euthyphron* hard at heeles; but some other of the younger sort, would needs goe straight on still, of a very deliberate purpose to crosse and convince the familiar

familiar spirit of *Socrates*, and drew along with them *Charillus* the plaier upon the flute, who was then come with me to *Athens*, for to visit *Cebes*. Now when they went by the shops of the imagers, neere the common halles and courts of justice, they might see before them a mightie heard of hogges, as thicke as one might stand by another, full of dirt and mire, and bearing downe all before them, by reason of their great number; and for that there was no meanes to turne aside from them, they overthrew some of the young men above said, and laid them along on the ground, yea and all to be raied the rest of their clothes. Thus returned *Charillus* home to his lodging, with his legges, his thighs, and all his clothes, foully bedaubed with filthy dirt, in such sort, as he maketh us remember many times, and that with good laughing, the familiar spirit of *Socrates*, and causeth us to marvel how that divine power never forsooke this man, but had evermore a care and charge of him in all places and occasions whatsoever. Then (quoth *Galaxidorus*;) Thinke you that this familiar spirit of *Socrates* was some proper and peculiar power, and not a parcell of that universall and common necessitie, which confirmed this man by long experience, to give the counterpoise and over-weight for to make him incline to or fro, in things obscure and hard to be conjectured and guessed at, by discourse of reason? For like as one pound weight by it selfe alone draweth not the balance, but when as the poise hangeth equally, if a man put it then either to the one side or the other, it draweth the whole, and maketh all to incline that way: even so a voice or some small and light signe, is not sufficient to stirre a grave cogitation to proceed unto the execution of a thing, but being put into one of the two contrary discourses, it solveth all the doubt and difficultie, taking away the inequall in such sort, as then it maketh a motion and inclination. Then my father taking his course to speake: But I have heard (quoth he) O *Galaxidorus*, a certaine Megarian say, who likewise heard as much of *Terpsion*, that this spirit was nothing else but the sneefing either of himselfe, or of others about him; for if any one of his company sneeled on his right hand, whether he were before or behinde, it mattered not, then he inclined to doe that which he intended, and was presented into his minde; but if it were on the left hand, he gave over; and if it were himselfe that sneeled, when he was in doubt or suspense to doe, or not to doe a thing, he then was confirmed, and resolved to doe it; but if he hapned then to sneefe, when a thing was already begun, it staid him, and checked his inclination and purpose, to effect and finish the same. But this is very strange, if it be true that he used this observation of sneefing, how he could say unto his friends, that it was his familiar spirit, which either mooved him forward to doe a thing or drew him backe from it: for this my good friend can not chuse but proceed from a foolish vanity, and presumptuous ostentation, and not of truth and franke simplicitie, for which we esteeme this personage, to be very great and excellent above others, in case for some voice coming without forth, or by reason of sneefing, he should be troubled and empeached in the continuance of an action which he had commenced already, and so relinquish his desigge and deliberation: whereas it seemeth cleane contrary, that the motions and inclinations of *Socrates* carried with them a firmitude and durable vehemence in whatsoever he went about and undertooke, as proceeding from a direct and powerfull judgement, and from a strong motive that set him on worke. For he continued voluntarily all his life time in poverrie, whereas he might have had wealth enough, if he would have received at his friends hands sufficient, who were very willing, yea, and tooke joy to bestow their goods upon him: also he would never leave the studie and profession of Philosophy, for all the great hinderances and empeachments that he met withall: and finally, when he might easily have escaped and saved himselfe, by the meanes that his friends had prepared and made for him, he would never be remooved, nor yeeld unto their prayers, nor desist from his manner of merie and jesting speeches, though death were presented unto him, but held his reason firme and unremovable in the greatest perill that was. These were not the parts of a man, who suffered himselfe to be transported or carried away with vaine voices, or sneefings, from any resolution which he had taken: but of him who was guided and conducted by a greater command, and more puissant power, unto his dutie. I heare also, that he foretold some of his friends, the defeate and overthrow of the Athenians armie in *Stelie*. And before these things, *Pyrrampes* the sonne of *Antephon*, being taken by us, in the chase and execution of victorie about *Delion*, and wounded with a javelin, when he heard by those who were sent from *Athens* unto us for to treat of peace, that *Socrates* together with *Alcibiades* and *Laches*, being gone downe by the way of *Rheisse*, were returned in safety, made report unto us, that *Socrates* had many times called him backe, & other of his friends, and of his

band,

band, who flying with him for company, along the mountaine *Parnes*, were overtaken and killed by our horsemen, for that they had taken another way of flight from the battell, and notir, that he directed him unto by his angel or familiar spirit. And thus much I suppose that *Simmius* himselfe hath heard as well as I. True (quoth *Simmius*) I have heard it oftentimes, and of many persons, for upon this example and such like, the familiar spirit of *Socrates* was not a little spoken of in *Athenis*. Why suffer we then, *Simmius* (quoth *Philolaus*) this *Galaxidorus* here, by way of jest and meriment, to debase so much, this so great a worke of divination, as to passe it away in I wot not what voices and snecings: Which signes the vulgar sort of ignorant persons made use of by jest and mockerie, in small matters, and of no consequence: for when the question is of more greivous dangers, and affaires of greater importance; the saying is verified 10 of *Euripides*:

*Æoman will play the fool, nor such vaine words
Cast out, so neere the edge and dint of swords.*

And *Galaxidorus*: If *Simmius* (quoth he) *Philolaus*, hath hard *Socrates* himselfe say ought of these matters, I am willing to give care and to pardon him for any thing that you (*Philolaus*) have said, an easie matter it is to confute the fame: for like as in Physicke, the beating of the pulse is no great matter in it selfe, nor a pimple or whele: but signes they be both of no small things unto the Physician: and unto the pilot and master of a ship, the noise of the sea, the sight or voice of some bird, or a thin cloud running through the aire, signifieth some great winde or violent tempest in the sea: even so unto a propheticall and divining minde, a sneecing 20 or a voice spoken, in it selfe considered, is no such great matter, but signes they may be of most important accidents. For in no art nor science whatsoever, men doe despise the collection or judgement of many things by a few, nor of great matters by small: but like as if an ignorant person, who knoweth not the power of letters, seeing them few in number, and in forme vile and contemptible, could not beleieve that a learned man was able to read and relate out of them long warres in times past, the foundations of cities, the acts of mighty kings, and their variable fortunes; and should say that there were something underneath, which tolde and declared 30 unto the said Historian, every one of those matters in order; he might give good occasion of laughter & pleasantly to deride his ignorance unto as many as hard him speake so: even to take heed and beware, lest we (for that we know not the vertue and efficacy of every signe and foretoken, in as much as they preface future things) be not foolishly angered, if some prudent and wise man by the same signes foretell somewhat as touching things unknownen, and namely, if he say that it is not a voice nor a sneecing, but a familiar spirit, which hath declared the same unto him. For now come I to you *Polymnis*, who esteeme and admire *Socrates* as a personage, who by his 40 plaine simplicity, without any counterfet vanity whatsoever, hath humanized as I may so say, Philosophy, and attributed it to humane reason, if he called not his signe that he went by, a voice or sneecing, but after a tragical manner should name it a spirit familiar. For contrariwise, I would marvel rather that a man so well spoken as *Socrates* was, so eloquent, and who had all words so ready at command, should say that it was a voice or a sneecing, and not a divine spirit that taught him: as if one should say that himselfe was wounded by an arrow, and not with an arrow by him who shot it, or that a poise was weighed by the balance, and not with a balance, by him that held or managed the balance in his hand: for the worke dependeth not upon the instrument, but upon him who hath the instrument, and useth it for to doe the worke: and even 50 so the instrument is a kinde of signe used by that, which doth signify and prognosticate thereby. But as I have said already, we must listen what *Simmius* will say, as the man who knoweth this matter more exactly than others doe. You say true indeed (quoth *Theocritus*) but let us see first, who they be that enter heere in place: and the rather because *Epaminondas* is one, who seemeth to bring with him hither unto us the stranger above said. And when we looked all toward the gates, we might perceive *Epaminondas* indeed going before and leading the way, accompanied with *Synecodorus*, *Bacchylides* and *Atellus*, the plainer upon the flute. The stranger followed after, a man of a good and ingenious countenance to see to, and who carried in his visage great mildnesse and humanity, & besides went in his apparel very gravely and decently. Now when he had taken his place and was set downe close unto *Simmius*, and my brother next unto me, and all the rest as every one thought good: after silence made, *Simmius* addressing his speech unto my brother: Go to now *Epaminondas*, (quoth he) what stranger is this, from whence cometh he, and what may be his name? for this is the ordinary beginning and usuall entrance to farther knowledge

knowledge and acquaintance. His name (quoth my brother) is *Theanor* & *Simmius*: a man borne in the city *Craton*, one of them who in those parts professeth Philosophy, and discredith not the glory of great *Pythagoras*: but is come hither from out of *Italy*, a long journey, to confirm by good works, his good doctrine and profession. But you *Epaminondas* your selfe (quoth the stranger then) hinder me from doing, of all good deeds, the best. For if it be an honest thing for a man to doe good unto his friends, disthought it cannot be to receive good at their hands: for in thanks there is as much need of a receiver as of a giver; being a thing composed of them both, and tending to a vertuous worke: and he that receiveth not a good turne, as a tennis ball fairly sent unto him, disgraceth it much, suffering it to fall short and light upon the ground. 10 For what marke is there that a man shooteth at which he is so glad to hit and so sorry to misse, as this, that one worthy of a benefit & good turne, he either hath it accordingly, or faileth thereof unworthily? And yet in this comparison, he that there, in shooting at the marke which standeth still, and misseth it, is in fault; but heere, he who refuseth and flieth from it, is he that doth wrong and injury unto the grace of a benefit, which by his refusal, it cannot attaine to that which it tendeth unto. As for the causes of this my voyage hither, I have already shewed unto you; and desirous I am to rehearse them againe unto these gentlemen heere present, that they may be judges in my behalfe against you. When the colleges and societies of the Pythagorean Philosophers, planted in every city of our country, were expelled by the strong hand of the seditious faction of the Cyclonians; when those who kept still together were assembled and held a coun- 20 sell in the city of *Metapontine*, the seditious secte the house on every side, where they were met: and burnt them altogether except *Philolaus* and *Lysis*, who being yet young, active and able of body, put the fire by and escaped through it. And *Phylolaus* being retired into the countrey of the Laconians, saved himselfe among his friends, who began already to rally themselves and grow to an head, yea, and to have the upper hand of the said Cyclonians. As for *Lysis*, long it was ere any man knew what was become of him, untill such time as *Gorgias* the Leontine being sailed backe againe out of *Greece* into *Sicilie*, brought certaine newes unto *Arceus*, that he had spoken with *Lysis*, and that he made his abode in the city of *Thebes*. Whereupon *Arceus* minded incontinently to embarke and take the sea; so desirous he was to see the man: but finding himselfe for feeblenesse and age together, very unable to performe such a voyage, he 30 tooke order expressly upon his death bed with his friends to bring him over alive if it were possible into *Italy*, or at leastwise, if haply he were dead before; to convey his bones and reliques over. But the warres, seditions, troubles and tyrannies that came betweene and were in the way, impeached those friends, that they could not (during his life) accomplish this charge that he had laied upon them: but after that, the spirit or ghost of *Lysis* now departed, appearing visibly unto us, gave intelligence of his death, and when report was made unto us, by them who knew the certaine truth, how liberally he was entertained and kept with you, *Philolaus*, and namely, in a poore house, where he was held and reputed as one of the children, and in his old 40 agerichly maintained, and so died in blessed estate, I being a young man, was sent alone from many others of the ancient sort, who have store of money, and be willing to bestow the same upon you who want it, in recompence of that great favor and gracious friendship of yours extended to him. As for *Lysis*, worthily he will be entered by you, and bestowed in an honourable sepulchre, but yet more honourable for him will be that confession, which by way of recompense is given to his friend, by other friends of his and kinsfolke.

Whiles the stranger spake thus, the teares trickled downe my fathers cheeks, and he wept a good while for the remembrance of *Lysis*. But my brother smiling upon me, as his manner was: How shall we do now *Caphisias*, quoth he; shall we cast off and abandon our poverty for money, and so say no more, but keepe silence? In no wise (quoth I) let us not quit and forsake our olde friend, and to good a fostresse of young folke: but defend you it, for your turne it is now to speake. And yet I (quoth he) my father, feare not that our house is pregnable for money, un- 50 lesse it be in regard onely of *Caphisias*, who may seeme to have some need of a faire robe, to shew himselfe brave and gallant unto those that make love unto him, who are in number so many, as also of plenty of viands and food, to the end that he may endure the toyle and travell of bodily exercises and combats which he must abide in the wrestling schooles. But seeing this other heere, of whom I had more distrust, doth not abandon poverty, nor forsake out the hereditary indigence of his father and house, as a tincture and unseemly staines; but although he be yet a young man, reputeth himselfe gaily set out and adorned with frugality, taking a pride therein, and

and resting contented with his present fortunes: Wherein should we any mote employ our gold and silver, if we had it, and what use are we to make of it? What, would you have us to gild our armor, and cover our shields as *Nicias* the Athenian did, with purple and gold intermingled therewith? And shall we buy for you, father, a faire mantle of the fine rich cloth of *Mileus*, and for my mother, a trim coat of scarlet coloured with purple? For surely we will never abuse this present, in pampering our bellie, in feasting our selves, and making more sumptuous cheer than ordinary, by receiving riches into our house as a costly and chargeable guest? For upon that, my sonne (quoth my father) God forbid I should ever see such a change in mine house. Why (quoth he againe) we will not sit still in the house, keeping riches with watch and ward idle: for so the benefite were not beneficiall, but without all grace, and the possession thereof dishonorable. To what end then shall we receive it, quoth my father. It seemed of late (quoth *Epaminondas*) unto *Jason* a captaine of the Theffalians, that I made him an uncivill and rusticall answer, when he sent hither a great masse of gold, and requested me to take it as a gift: for I charged him plainly that he did me great wrong, and began to picke a quarrell with me, in that he affecting and aspiring to a monarchie, came with money to tempt & solicit me a plaine citizen, of a free city, and living under the lawes. But as for you sir, who are come unto us as a stranger, I approve your good will, for it is honest, yertuous and becoming a Philosopher, yea, and I love and embrace it singularly well: but this I must needs say unto you, that you bring medicines and physick drogues to men that are not sicke and aile nothing. Like as therefore, if you hearing that our enemies warred upon us, were come to bring us harnesse, armes and weapons as we well defensive as offensive for our succour; and being arrived and landed in these parts, I should finde all quiet, and that we lived in peace and amitie with our neighbours, you would not thinke that ye ought to give or leave the said armes among them that had no need nor desire thereof: even so, come you are to aide us against povertie, as if we were afflicted and distressed thereby: but it is cleane contrary, for we can beate it with ease, and well content we are to have it dwell with us still in the house: and therefore we feele no want either of money or munition, against her that doth us no displeasure. But this message you shall carry backe unto your fellows and brethren in the same profession beyond sea, that as they use their goods and riches most honestly and in the best manner, so they have friends here also, that can make use of their poverty as well. Now for the keeping, funerals & sepulture of *Zylis*, he hath himselfe sufficiently paid us therefore and discharged all, in that among many other good instructions, he taught us, not to be afraid of povertie, not to take it in ill part. To this, *Theonor* replied in this manner: Doeth it (I pray you) bewray a base minde and want of courage, to feare povertie? and is it not as absurd and as great a default in judgement, to dread and eschue riches? in case (I say) a man, not upon any sound reason, but for outward disguised shew, and in a foolish humor of vanitie, refuse and reject it. And what reason is there, to dissuade and debarre the getting and possession of goods, by all just and honest means, as *Epaminondas* useth? But rather, forasmuch as you are ready enough in your answers, as appeareth by that which you made as touching this point, unto *Jason* the Theffalian, I demand of you first, *Epaminondas*, whether you thinke any kinde of giving money to be just and lawfull; but no manner of taking? or that simply, both givers and takers do offend and sinne? Not so, quoth *Epaminondas*: but of this opinion I am, that as of other things, so of riches likewise, there is one giving and possessing, that is civill and honest; and another, dishonest and shamefull. Well then, quoth *Theonor*, what say you of him who giveth willingly and with a good heart, that which he ought: doeth he not give it well? The other granted and confessed it. Go to then, quoth *Theonor*, he who receiveth that which is given well and honestly, doth he not take it honestly also? or can there be a more just and lawfull taking of money, than that which is received of him who giveth righteously? I suppose (quoth *Epaminondas*) there can not be. Betwene two friends therefore (quoth he) *Epaminondas*, if the one may give, the other likewise may justly take: for in battels I confesse, a man ought to turne away and decline from that enemy of whom he hath received some pleasure; but in the case of benefits and good turnes, it is neither seemly nor honest, either to avoid or to reject that friend that giveth well and honestly. No in truth, quoth *Epaminondas*; but you are to consider with us, thus much; That there being in us many lusts and desires, and those of sundry things; some are naturall and (as they say) inbred, budding and breeding in our flesh and about our bodies, for the entertainment of those pleasures which be necessary; others be strangers, proceeding from vain opinions, which gathering strength and force by tract of time and long custome in bad

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nouriture, grow to such an head, that many times they plucke downe and holde our soules in subjection more forcibly and with greater violence, than doe those naturall before said. Now reason, by good use and vertuous exercise, minisheth meanes, that a man may draw away and spend many of those very passions which are inbred within us; but he had need to employ all the power and strength of custome and exercise against those other concupiscences which be forencers and come from without forth, for to consume, cut off and chaffe them, by all means of repressions and retentions that be reasonable. For if the resistance which reason maketh against the appetite of eating and drinking, forsooth many times and conquereth both hunger and thirst; far more easie is it, to cut off avarice and ambition, by forbearing and abstaining those things which the fame do cover, so farre forth, as in the end they will be discomfited and subdued. How say you, thinke you not that it is so? The stranger confessed no lesse. See you not then, quoth he againe, that there is a difference betwene an exercise, and the worke unto which the exercise is addressed? And like as of the art which teacheth how to exercise the body, a man may say, that the worke is the emulation, strife and contention to win the prize of the crowne against the concurrent or adversarie; but the exercise thereof, is the preparation that the champion makes, for to have his body apt, nimble and active thereto by continual trials of maisteries: even so you will grant, that a difference there is betwene vertue and the exercise of vertue. The stranger said yea unto it. Then tell me first and forme, quoth he, To abstaine from vile, filthy and unlawfull lusts, what thinke you, is it an exercise unto continency, or rather the very worke? To this, and proove of continency? The very worke and proove, I take it to be, quoth he againe: and the exercise and accustomance to sobriety, temperance and continency, is not that which you all practise, when after you have travelled your bodies, and like brute beasts provoked your appetites, you sit downe to meat, and there continue a long time, having your tables before you furnished with exquisite viands of all sorts, but touch not one dish, leaving them afterwards for your servants to engorge themselves therewith and make merry; when you the while present some little thing, and that plaine and simple, unto your appetites, which are already dulled and quenched: for the abstinance from pleasures and delights permitted, is it not an exercise against such as are forbidden? Yes verily, quoth the stranger. There is then (quoth he) my friend, a certaine exercise of justice against avarice and covetousnesse of money; and that is not, to forebear in night season to rob and spoile our neighbours houses, or to strip passengers out of their clothes: no, nor if a man doe not betray his cuntry or friends for a piece of money, is he truly said to inure and exercise himselfe against avarice: for haply the law and feare doth bridle and restrain his covetous desire from doing wrong or hurt to another: but he, who many times abstaineth from taking just gaires, and such as are granted and permitted him by the lawes, he willingly exerciseth and woonteth himselfe to keepe farre from any unjust and unlawfull taking of money. For neither is it possible, that in great pleasures, and those wicked and pernicious, the soule should containe herselfe from the appetite thereof, if many times before, being in full libertie to enjoy them, she did not despise the fame: nor easie for a man to passe over & contemne wicked takings & great gaires presented, who long before hath not chastised and tamed his covetous desire to have and gaine, which by other habitudes enough is nourished & bred up impudently & without all shame to lucre: for it swelleth againe, & is puffed up with injustice, so as hardly & with much ado it can abstaine from doing outrage to any one, for to win private profit thereby: but never will it assault a personage who hath not abandoned & given himselfe over to receive gifts & largesses of his friends, or to take presents & rewards of kings, but hath renounced the very benefits allotted unto him by fortune: who also hath retired & removed himselfe far from avarice, and a leaping desire after a treasure discovered and feen: It will never (I say) tempt him to commit any injustice, nor trouble his thoughts & cogitations: but such an one, will quietly and peaceably frame himselfe to do that which is honest, as having his heart more haughty, than to stoop to law, and being privy to himselfe of all good things settled in his soule. Loe, what men they be, upon whom *Cyprius* and my selfe be enamoured: and this is the reason friend *Simmius*, why we request this honest gentleman heere, the stranger, to suffer us to be sufficiently exercised in povertie, that we may attaine unto such vertue. After that my brother had finished this speech, *Simmius* having twise or thrice nodded with his head: A great man no doubt (quoth he) is this *Epaminondas*, and a verie great man indeed: and well may he thank his good father heere *Polymnis* for all; who from the first beginning, hath given his children the best education and bringing up in Philosophie: but as

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touching these matters, agree and accord with you, good stranger and friend. As for you *Lyfias*, let me demand of you (if we may be bold, as to hear and know of you) whether you purpose to remove him out of his sepulchre, and to transport him over into *Italy*? or rather to leave him behind you, to tarry among his friends and well-willers, who no doubt will be glad of us to lodge with him, when we shall be there, *Theonor* smiling upon him: It seemeth *Simmias* (quoth he) that *Lyfias* liketh well of the place where he is; and is not willing to remove, for that he had no want of any good things here, by the means of *Epinomondas*: for there be certaine particular sacred ceremonies, which we observe in the sepulture of our fellow professors in this confraternity of the Pythagoreans, which if they have not when they be dead, me thinke they have not attained to that happy end which we desire. When as therefore we knew by dreames, that *Lyfias* was departed this life (for we have an infallible signe, appearing unto us in our sleepe, whereby we can discern whether it be the ghost and image of one alive or dead) many had this conceit, that being departed in a forren and farr country, he had bene otherwise entered than he ought, and therefore we were to translate him from thence where he was, to the end, that being transported, he might have the due service, and accustomed obsequies belonging to our societie. Being therefore come with this minde and cogitation into these parts, and incontinently conducted by those of this country to his sepulchre; about the evening I poured out the libaments for mortuaries, for to call forth his spirit, that it might come and instruct me how I might proceed in this action: and this last night passed, I saw nothing; but me thought I heard a voice saying unto me: That I should not remove that which ought not to be stirred; because the corps of *Lyfias* had bene by his friends in holy manner entered, and his soule having her dome already, had her conge and passport to go unto another generation and nativity, accompanied and coupled with another daemon. And verily this morning when I had conferred with *Epinomondas*, and heard the manner how he had buried *Lyfias*, I understood that he himselfe had bene instructed by him, in the most secret points of our religion, and how he used the same spirit or daemon for the guidance of his life, unlesse I be so unexpert, that I cannot conjecture what the pilot is by his manner of navigation: for broad be the waies of this life, but few they are, which these angels doe direct and lead men in. When *Theonor* had thus said, he callt his eie upon *Epinomondas*, as if once againe he would behold his nature and maners, by the inspiration of his countenance and visage. And hereupon came in the Physician, and looked the band wherewith *Simmias* his wound was bound up, as purposing to dresse him. Then *Phylidas* who came in afterwards with *Hippothenidas*, willing me and *Charon*, and *Theocritus* to arise, drew us apart into a certaine corner or angle of the porch, woonderfully troubled as it might seeme by his countenance. With that, I spake unto him and said: What newes *Phylidas*? No newes *Caphisus* (quoth he to me) for I foresaw my felicie, and foretold you as much, namely, the slacknesse and cowardise of *Hippothenidas*, requesting you not to communicate unto him your enterprize, nor admit him into your company. Now whiles we were much amazed and astonied at these words: Say not so good *Phylidas* (quoth he) for gods sake; neither be you a cause both of our undoing and of the ruine of this city, by thinkinge rathnesse to be hardnesse: but have patience, and suffer these men to 40 retorne in safetie, in case it be so by ffall destinie appointed. *Phylidas* being chafed herewith, and set in a choler: Tell me (quoth he) *Hippothenidas*, how many thinke you be privy to our secrets in this designement? I know my felicie (quoth he) to the number of thirty at the least. If there be so many (quoth he) how commeth it to passe, that you onely crosse and gainsay, yea, and hinder that which hath bene concluded and agreed upon by us all? and to this purpose have dispatched a light-horseman, to ride in poste unto the banished persons, (who had put themselves in their journey hitherward) charging them to retorne backe, and that in no wise they should goe forward this day? considering that the most part of those things which went to this journey, but meit selfe had procured & prepared fit for their hands? upon these words of *Phylidas*, we were all much troubled and perplexed: but *Charon* above the rest, fasting his eie 50 upon *Hippothenidas*, and that with a fowre and sterne countenance: Most wicked wretch that thou art, quoth he, what hast thou done unto us? No harme, said *Hippothenidas* in case, leaving this curst & angrie voice of yours, you can be content and have patience, to heare and understand the reasons of a man as aged as your selfe, and having as many gray haire as you are: for if this be the point, to thew unto our fellow citizens how hardy and courageous we are, that we make no reckoning of our lives, and care not for any perill of death, seeing we have day enough

enough *Phylidas*, let us never stay for the dark evening, but presently, and immediately from this place run upon the tyrants with our swords drawn, let us kill and slay, let us die upon them, and make no spare of our selves: for it is no hard matter to do and suffer all this: many to deliver the citie of *Thebes* out of the hands of so many armed men as hold it, to diffize and expell the garnison of the Spartanes, with the murder of two or three men, is not so easie a thing, (for *Phylidas* hath not provided so much wine for his feast and banquet, as will be sufficient to make fiftene hundred souldiers of *Archias* guard drunken: and say we had killed him, yet *Crippidas* and *Aesfus*, are ready at night, both of them sober enough to keepe the corps du guard) my make wee such haste then, to draw our friends into an evident and certaine danger of present death, especially, seeing withall, that our enemies be in some sort advertised of their coming and approach: for if it were not so, why was there commandement given by them to those of *Thebes*, for to be in their armes upon the third day, which is this, and ready to goe with the Lacedaemonian captaines, whensoever they gave commandement? And as for *Amphinemus*, this very day as I understood, after their iudicial proceeding against him, they minded to put to death, upon the coming of *Archias*: And are not these pregnant presumptions, that the plot and enterprize is to them discovered? Were it not better then to deserte the execution of our designments a while longer, untill such time as the gods be reconciled and appeased? for our diviners and wisards having sacrificed a beecke unto *Ceres*, pronounce that the fire of the sacrifice denounceth some great sedition and danger to the common weale: and that which you 20 *Charon* particularly ought to take good heed of is this: Yesterday, and no longer since, *Hippothenidas* the sonne of *Brianthes*, a man otherwise of good fort, and one who knoweth nothing at all of our enterprize, had this speech with me: *Charon* is your familiar friend, *Hippothenidas*, but with me not greatly acquainted; advertise him therefore, if you thinke so good, that he beware and looke to himselfe, in regard of some great danger & strange accident that is toward him: for the last night, as I dreamed, me thought, I saw that his house was in travell as it were of childe; that he and his friends being themselves in distress, praied unto the gods for her delivery, standing round about her during her labour and painfull travell; but she seemed to loo and rore, yea, and to cast out certaine inarticulate voices, untill at the last there issued out of it a mightie fire; wherewith a great part of the citie was immediately burnt, and the castle 30 *Cadmea* covered all over with smoke onely, but no part of the fire ascended thereto. Lo, what the vision was, which this honest man related unto me, *Charon*: which I assure you, for the present, set me in a great quaking and trembling; but much more when I once heard say, that this day the exiled persons were to retorne and be lodged here within an house of the citie. In great anguish therefore I am, and in a wonderfull agonie, for feare lest we engage our selves within a world of calamities and miseries, without being able to execute any exploit of importance upon our enemies, unlesse it be to make a garboile, and set all on a light fire: for I suppose that the citie when all is done, will be ours, but *Cadmea* the castle as it is already, will be for them. Then *Theocritus* taking upon him to speake, and staying *Charon* who was about to reply somewhat against this *Hippothenidas*: I interpret all this (quoth he) cleane contrary: for there is not a signe that confirmeth me more in following of this enterprize (although I have had 40 alwaies good presages in the behalfe of the banished, in all the sacrifices that I have offered) than this vision which you have rehearsed: if it be so as you say, that a great and light fire shone over all the citie, and the same arising out of a friends house, and that the habitation of our enemies, and the place of their retreat was darkned and made blacke againe with the smoke, which never brings with it any thing better than teares and trouble some confusion: and whereas from among us there arose inarticulate voices, (in case a man should construe it in evil part, and take exception thereat, in regard of the voice) the same will be when our enterprize, which now is enfolded in obscure, doubtfull, and uncerteine suspition, shall at once both appeere, and also prevaille: as for the ill signes of the sacrifices, they touch not the publike state, but those who 50 now are most powerful and in greatest authoritie. As *Theocritus* thus was speaking yet still, I said unto *Hippothenidas*: And whom I pray you have you sent unto the men? for if he be not too farr onward on his way, we will send after to overtake him. I am not able to say of a truth *Caphisus*, whether it be possible to reach him, (quoth *Hippothenidas*) for he hath one of the best horses in all *Thebes* under him; and a man he is, whom yee all know very well, for he is the master of *Meleus* chariots, and his chariot men, one unto whom *Meleus* himselfe from the very first discovered this plot, and made privie unto it. With that, I considering and thinking

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have an opinion, that some Daemon doth communicate a kinde of divinitie unto men in their sleepes : but they thinke it strange and a miracle incredible, if a man should say unto them that the gods doe move and affect them sensibly when they be awake, and have the full use of reason : As if a man should thinke that a musician may play well upon his harpe or lute, when all the strings be slackt and let downe : but when the said instruments be set in tune, and have their strings set up, he cannot make any found, nor play well thereupon. For they could not see the cause which is within them, to wit, their discord, trouble and confusion ; whereof our familiar friend *Socrates* was exempt, according as the oracle prophesied of him before, which during his infancy was given unto his father : for by it, he commanded he was, to let him doe all that came into his minde, and in no wise either to force or divert him, but to suffer the instinct and voice of the child to have the reins at large, by praying onely unto *Jupiter Agoraeus* that is to say eloquent, and to the Muses for him : and farther than so, nor to busie himselfe nor to take care for *Socrates*, as if he had within him a guide and conductor of his life better than ten thousand masters and paedagogues. Thus you see, *Philolaus*, what our opinion and judgement is as touching the Daemon or familiar spirit of *Socrates* both living and dead, as who reject these voices, sweetnes and all such fooleries. But what we have heard *Timarchus* of *Charonea* to discourse of this point, I wot not well whether I were best to utter and relate the same, for feare some would thinke, that I loved to tell vaine tales. Not so quoth *Theocritus*, but I pray you be so good as to rehearse the same unto us : For albeit fables doe not very well expresse the truth, yet in some sort they reach thereto. But first tell us, who this *Timarchus* was ? For I never knew the man. And that may well be *Simmias* (quoth *Theocritus*) for he died when he was very yong, and requested earnestly of *Socrates* to be buried, nere unto *Lamprocles* *Socrates* his sonne who departed this life but few daies before, being a deere friend of his, and of the same age. Now this yong gentleman, being very desirous (as he was of a generous disposition, and had newly tasted the sweetnesse of Philosophy) to know what was the nature and power of *Socrates* familiar spirit, when he had imparted his mind and purpose unto me only and *Cebes*, went downe into the cave or vault of *Trophonias*, after the usuall sacrifices and accustomed complements due to that oracle performed : where having remained two nights and one day, in somuch as many men were out of all hope that ever he would come forth againe, yea and his kinsfolke and friends bewailed the losse of him, one morning becommes he issued forth very glad and jocund : And after he had given thanks unto the god and adored him, so soone as he was gotten through the presse of the multitude, who expected his returne, he recounted unto us, many wonders strange to be heard and seeme : for he said, that being descended into the place of the oracle, he first met with much darknes, & afterwards when he had made his praies, he lay a long time upon the ground, neither knew he for certain whether he was awake, or dreamed all the while : Howbeit, he thought that he heard a noise which light upon his head, and smot it, whereby the futures or fancies thereof were disjoined and opened, by which he yielded forth his soule ; which being thus separat, was very joyous, seeing it selfe mingled with a transparent & pure aire. And this was the first time that it seemed to breathe at liberty, as if long time before untill then, it had bene drawn in and pent, for then it became greater and larger than ever before, in manner of a faile spread and displaid to the full. Then he supposed that he heard (though not cleerely and perfectly) as it were a noise or found turning round about his head, and the same yielding a sweet and pleasant voice. And as he then looked behinde him he could see the earth no more, but the Isles all bright and illuminate with a mild and delicate fire, and those exchanged their places one with another, and withall, received sundry colours, as it were divers tinctures, according as in that variety of change the light did alter : and they all seemed unto him in number infinite, and in quantity excessive : and albeit they were not of equall poutprife and extent, yet round they were all alike : also, to his thinking, by their motion which was circular, the skie resembled, because unto the uniforme equality of their mooving, the pleasant sweetnesse of the voice and harmonic composed and resulting of them all, was correspondent and conformable. Amid these Islands there seemed a sea or great lake diffused and spread, shining with divers mixt colours, upon a ground of grey or light blew. Moreover, of these Isles some few failed as one would say, and were carried direct course downe the water beyond the current ; but others, and those in number many, went aside out of the channell, and were with such a violence drawn backe, that they seemed to be swallowed under the waves. Now this sea or lake, was (as hee thought) very deepe toward the South ; but on the North side full of selves and shallow flats ;

in many places it swelled and overflowed the land ; in others it retired and gathered in, as much for it againe, and arose not to any high tides : as for the colour, in some place it was simple and sea-like ; in another, not pure, but troubled and confused with mud, like unto a meere or lake. As concerning the force of the waves about these Isles which are carried together, the same bringeth them backe a while, but never conjoyneth the end to the beginning : so as they make at no time a circle entire and perfect, but gently divert the application and meeting of their ends, so as in their revolution they winde in and out, and make one crooked obliquity. To the mids of these, and toward the greatest part of the ambience aire, is enclined the sea, somewhat lesse than eight parts of the universall continent, as he thought. And the same sea hath two mouthes or 10 entrances, whereby it receiveth two rivers of fire, breaking into it, opposite one to the other, in such sort, as the blewnesse thereof became whitish, by reason that the greatest part was repelled and driven backe. And these things he said, that he beheld with much delight. But when he came to looke downward, he perceived a mighty huge hole or gulfie all round, in manner of an hollow globe cut thorow the mids, exceeding deepe and horrible to see to, full of much darknesse, and the same not quiet and still, but turbulent and often times boiling and wathing upward, out of which there might be heard innumerable roarings and growlings of beasts, cries and wrawlings of an infinite number of children ; with sundry plaints and lamentations of men and women together, besides many noises, tumults, clamors and outcries of all sorts, and those not cleere, but dull and dead, as being sent up from a great depth underneath, wherewith he was 20 not a little terrified, untill such time as after a good while, there was one whom he saw not, who said thus unto him, O *Timarchus*, What is your desire to know ? Who made answer : Even all, for what is there here, not admirable ? True, quoth he ; but as for us, little have we to do, & a small portion in those superiour regions, because they appertaine to other gods : but the division of *Proserpina* being one of the four, and which we dispose and governe, you may see if you will, how it is bounden with *Styx*. And when he demanded againe of him, what *Styx* was : It is (quoth he) the way which leadeth unto hell and the kingdome of *Pluto*, dividing two contrary natures of light and darknesse with the head and top thereof ; for as you see, it beginneth from the bottome of hell beneath, which it toucheth with the one extremity, and reacheth with the other to the light above, and so limiteth the utmost part of the whole world, divided into 30 four regiments. The first, is that of life ; the second, of moving ; the third, of generation ; and the fourth, of corruption. The first, is coupled to the second, by unity, in that which is not visible ; the second, to the third, by the minde or intelligence, in the Sun ; the third, to the fourth, by nature, in the Moone. And of every one of these copulations, there is a friend, or Destiny the daughter of Necessity, that keepeth the key. Of the first, she that is named *Atropos*, as one would say, Inflexible ; of the second, *Clotho*, that is to say, the Spinster ; of the third in the Moone, *Lachesis*, that is to say, Lot, about which is the bending of genture or nativity. As for all the other Isles, they have gods within them ; but the Moone appertaining to the terrestriall Demons, avoideeth the confines of *Styx*, as being somewhat higher exalted, approaching once only in an hundred severie seven second measures : and upon the approach of this precinct of *Styx*, 40 the foules cry out for feare. And why ? heell catcheth and swalloweth many of them, as they glide and slip about it : and others, the Moone receiveth and taketh up, swimming from beneath unto her, such I mene, as upon whom the end of generation fell in good and opportune time, all save those which are impure and polluted : for them, with her fearefull flashing and hideous roaring, she suffereth not to come neere unto her ; who seeing that they have misfed of their intent, bewaile their wofull state, and be carried downe againe as you see, to another generation and nativity. Why, quoth *Timarchus*, I see nothing but a number of fittes leaping up and downe about this huge and deepe gulfie, some drowned and swallowed up in it, others appearing againe from below. These be (quoth he) the demons, that you see, though you know them not. And marke withall, how this comes about. Every soule is endued with a portion of minde or under- 50 standing ; and of man, there is not one void of reason : but looke how much thereof is mingled with flesh and with passions, being altered with pleasures and dolors, it becommeth unreasonable. But every soule is not mixed after one sort, one as much as another ; for some are wholly plunged within the bodie, and being troubled and disquieted with passions, runne up and downe all their life time : others partly are mingled with the flesh, and in part leave out that which is most pure, and not drawn downward to the contagion of that grosse part, but remaineth swimming and floating as it were aloft, touching the top or crowne onely of mans head : (wheras

the rest is depressed downward to the bottomie, and drowned there) and is in maner of a cord hanging up aloft iust over the foule which is directly and plumbie under, to upholde and raise it up, so farre forth as it is obeisant thereto, and not overruled and swayed with passions and perturbations: for that which is plunged downe within the bodie, is called the foule; but that which is entire and uncorrupt, the vulgar sort calleth the understanding, supposing it to be within them as in mirroris that which appeareth by way of reflexion: but those that judge aright and according to the truth, name it Dæmon, as being cleane without them.

These stars then which you see as if they were extinct and put out, imagine and take them to be the foules which are totally drowned within bodie: and such as seeme to shine out againe, and to returne light some from beneath, calling and shaking from them a certaine darke & foggy mist, as if it were some filth and ordure, esteeme the same to be such foules, as after death are retired and escaped out of the bodie: but those which are mounted on high and move to and fro in one uniforme course throughout, are the Dæmons or spirits of men, who are said to have intelligence and understanding. Endeavour now therefore and frame your selfe to see the connection of each one, whereby it is linked and united to the foule. When I heard this, I began to take more heed, and might see stars leaping and floting uppon the water, some more, some lesse, like as we observe pieces of cooke, shewing in the sea where fishers nets have bene cast: and some of them turned in maner of spindles or bobins, as folke spin or twilt therewith, yet drawing a troubled and unequall course and not able to direct and compose the motion straight. And the voice said that those which held on a right course and orderly motion, were they whose foules were obeisant to the raynes of reason, by the meanes of good nurture and civill education, and such as shewed not upon the earth their beastly, grosse and savage brutishnesse: but they that esteemes life and fall up and downe unequally and disorderly, as struggling to breake out of their bounds, are those which strive against the yoke, with their disobedient and rebellious maners, occasioned by want of good bringing up, one while getting the maiesty and bringing them about to the right hand, another while curbed by passions and drawn away by vices, which notwithstanding they resist another time againe, and with great force strive to withstand. For that bond which in maner of a bridle-bit is put into the mouth as it were of the brutish and unreasonable part of the foule, when it pulleth the same backe, bringeth that which they call repentance of sins, & the shame after unlawfull and prohibited pleasures, which is a griefe and remorse of the foule restrained and bridled by that which governeth and commandeth it, untill such time as being thus rebuked and chastised, it become obedient and tractable like unto a beast made tame without beating or tormenting, as quickly and readily conceiving the signes and markes which the Dæmon sheweth. These therefore, at the last (long and late though it be) are ranged to the rule of reason. But of such as are obedient at the first, and presently from their very nativity hearken unto their proper Dæmon, are all the kind of prophets and diviners, who have the gift to foretell things to come, likewise holy and devout men: Of which number you have hard how the foule of *Hermodorus* the Clazomenian, was wont to abandon his body quite, and both by day and night to wander into many places: and afterwards to returne into it againe, having bene present the while to heare and see many things done and said a farr off: 40 which it used so long, untill his enemies by the treachery of his wife, surprised his body one time when the foule was gone out of it, and burnt it in his house. Howbeit, this was not true: for his foule never departed out of his body: but the same being alwaies obedient unto his Dæmon, and flacking the bond unto it, gave it meanes and liberty to run up and downe, and to walke to and fro in many places, in such sort, as having seene and hard many things abroad, it would come and report the same unto him: But those that consumed his body as he lay asleepe, are tormentured in *Tartarus* even at this day for it: which you shall know your selfe, good young man, more certainly within these three moneths (quoth that voice) and for this time see you depart. When this voice had made an end of speaking, *Timarchus*, as he told the tale himselfe, turned about to see who it was that spake; but feeling a great paine againe in his head, as if it had bene violently pressed and crushed, he was deprived of all sense and understanding, and neither knew himselfe nor any thing about him: But within a while after when he was come unto himselfe, he might see how he lay along at the entry of the foresaid cave of *Trochonia*, like as he had himselfe at the beginning. And thus much concerning the fable of *Timarchus*: who being returned to *Athens*, in the third moneth after, just as the voice foretold him, departed this life. And then we wondrously heereat, and made report thereof backe to *Socrates*; who rebuked and

and chid us, for saying nothing to him of it, whiles *Timarchus* was alive; for that he would willingly himselfe have heard him more particularly, and examined every point at the full. Thus you have heard, *Theophrastus*, a mingled tale and historie together of *Timarchus*: But see whether we shall not be faine to call for this strangers helpe, to the decision of this question: for verie proper and meet it is for to be discussed by such devout and religious men. And why (quoth *Theophrastus*) doth not *Epaminondas* deliver his opinion thereof, being a man trained up, and instructed in the same discipline and schoole with us. Then my father smiling at the matter: This is his nature (quoth he) my good friend, he loveth to be silent, and wary he is what he speaketh, but wondrously desirous to learne, and insatiable of hearing others. And hereupon *Spintharus* the Tarentine, who conversed familiarly with him heere a long time, was wont to give out this speech of him; That he had never talked with a man, who knew more, and spake lesse than he. But tell us now what you thinke your selfe, of that which hath bene said. For mine owne part (quoth he) I saie, that this discourse and report of *Timarchus*, as sacred and inviolable, ought to be consecrated unto God: and marvell I would, if any should discredit and hardly believe that which *Simmias* himselfe hath delivered of him; and when they name swans, dragons, dogs, and horses, sacred, beleve not that there be men celestiall and beloved of the gods, considering they hold and say, that God is never *viduus*, that is to say, a lover of birds, but *omniphagus*, that is to say, a lover of mankind. Like as therefore a man who is said to be *phylippus*, that is to say, a lover of horses; taketh not a fancie, nor regardeth alike all horses, comprised under the whole kinde, but chusing alwaies some one more excellent than the rest, rideth, chaiseth, and maketh much of him especially: even so, those divine spirits which turnout our nature, make choise and take as it were out of the whole flocke the best of us, upon whom they set their brand or marke, and then they thinke worthy of a more singular and exquisite education, and those they order and direct not with reines and bridles, but with reason and learning; and that by signes, whereof the common and rascall sort have no knowledge nor experience. For neither doe ordinary hounds understand the signes that huntmen use, nor every horse, the silling and chirting of the escurry, but such onely as have bene taught and brought up to it; for they with the least whistling and houting that is, know presently what they are commanded to do, and quickly be ordered as they ought. And verily, *Homer* seemeth not to be ignorant of this difference, whereof we speake: for of diviners and soothsaiers, some he calleth *divinantes*, that is to say, authours, or observers of birds; others, *tepus*, that is to say, bowel-priers, that spie into the inward of sacrifices; and some againe there be, who hearing and knowing what the gods themselves do speake, are able to declare secretly and foretell things to come; as may appeare by these verses:

King Priams decree sonne Helenus,
their minde soone under stood,
And what this god and goddesse both
in counsell deemed good.

And a little after:

For thus I heard the gods to say,
Who as immortal live for ay.

For like as they who are without, and not of the domestick and neere acquaintance of kings, princes and generall capitaines, do know and understand their willes & minds by the meanes of certaine firelights, found of trumpets and proclamations; but to their faithfull, trusty and familiar friends they speake by word of mouth: even so, God communeth and talketh with few, and that very feldome; but unto the common sort he giveth signes, and of these consisteth the arte of divination: for the gods receive very few men in recommendation for to adorne their lives, but those onely whom they are disposed to make exceeding happy and divine indeed: and those foules which be delivered from farther generation, and are for ever after at libertie and dismissed free from the bodie, become afterwards Dæmons, and take the charge and care of men, according as *Hesiodus* saith. For like as champions, who otherwise heretofore have made profession of wrestling and other exercises of the bodie, after they have given over the practise thereof, by reason of their olde age, leave not altogether the desire of glorie by that meanes, nor cast off the affection in cherishing the bodie, but take pleasure still to see other young men to exercise their bodies exhorting and encouraging them thereto, yea, and enforcing themselves to runne in the race with them: even so, they that are past the combats & travels of this life, and through

the vertue of their foules come to be Dæmons, despite not utterly the affaires, the speeches and studies of those that be here, but being favorable unto them who in their good endeavors aspire to the fane end that they have attained to, yea, and after a sort, banding and siding with them, do incite and exhort them to vertue, especially when they see them neere unto the ends of their hopes, and ready in maner to touch the fane. For this diuine power of Dæmons, will not forsake and be acquainted with every man indifferently, but like as they who stand upon the shore, can do no other good unto them who swim farre within the sea, and a great way from the land; but looke upon them and say nothing; but so such as are neere to the sea side, they runne; and for their sakes, wading a little into the sea, helpe both with hand and voice; and so save them from drowning: even so (*Simmias*) dealeth the Dæmon with us; for so long as wee are plunged and drowned within mundane affaires, and change many bodies, as it were, so many waggons and chariots, passing out of one into another, it suffereth us to strive and labour of our selves; yea, and by our owne patience and long sufferance to save our selves; and gaine the haven; but when there is a foule, which hath already by innumerable generations supported and endured long travels, and having in maner performed her course and revolution, straineth all her might and maine, with much sweat to get forth and ascend up: to it God envieth not her owne proper Dæmon and familiar spirit to be assistant, yea, and giveth leave to any other whatsoever; that is willing thereto. Now one is desirous of the fane; the fane also for her part, giveth good care, because the is so neere, and in the end is saved; but she that obedieth not nor hearkeneth to her owne familiar spirit, and proper demon as forsaken of it, speedeth not well in the end. This said, *Epaminondas* looking toward me: It is high time, *Caphisus*, for you (quoth he) to go into the wrestling scholl and place of exercise, to the end that you dis appoint not your companions: meane while, we (when it shall be thought good to dissolve and dis misse this meeting) will take the charge of *Theon*. Then said I, Be it so: but I suppose, that *Theon*, together with *Galaxidorus* & my selfe, is willing to commune and reason with you a little. In good time (quoth he) let them speake their minde and what they will. With that, he rose up and tooke us apart into a winding and turning corner of the gallery, where we came about him; and began to perswade and deale with him for to take part with us in the enterprife. He made us answer, That he knew well enough the day when the banished persons were to retorne; and had taken order with his friends to be ready against the time with *Gorgias*, and to embrace the opportunity thereof: howbeit, they were not determined to take away the life of any one citizen, not condemned by order of law, unless some urgent necessity enforced them thereto. And otherwise, it were very meet and expedient for the communitie of *Thebes*, that there should be some not culpable of this massacre, but innocent and cleare of all that then shall be committed; for so these men will be lesse suspected of the people, and be thought to counsell and exhort them for the best. We thought very well of this advice of his, and so he repaired againe to *Simmias*; and we went downe to the place of publicke exercises, where we met with our friends; and there we dealt one with another apart, as we wrestled together, questioning about one thing or another, and telling this or that, every one preparing himselfe to the execution of the designe: and there we might see *Archias* and *Philippus* all anointed and oiled going toward the feast. For *Phylidas* fearing that they would make haste and put *Amphitheus* to death, so soone as ever hee had accompanied *Lysanorides* and sent him away, tooke *Archias* with him, feeding him with hope to enjoy the lady whom he desired, and promising that she should be at the feast: whereby he perswaded him to minde no other thing, but to solace himselfe and make merry with those who were wont to roist and riot with him. By this time it drew toward night, the weather grew to be colde, and the winde rose high, which caused every man with more speed to retire and take house. For my part, meeting with *Damochlaus*, *Pelepides* and *Theopompus*, entertained them; and others did the like to the rest. For after that these banished persons were passed over the mountaine *Cythera*, they parted themselves; and the coldnesse of the weather gave them good occasion (without all suspicion) to cover their faces, and so to passe along the city undiscovered. And some of them there were, who as they entered the gates of the city, perceived it to lighten on their right hand without thunder, which they tooke for a good preface of safetie and glorie in their proceedings, as if this signe betokened, that the execution of their designment should be lightsome and honourable, but without any danger at all. Now when we were all entered in, and safe within house, to the number of eight and fortie, as *Theocritus* was sacrificing apart in a little oratorie or chappell by himselfe,

himselfe, he heard a great rapping and bouncing at the doore: and anon there was one came and brought him word, that two halberds of *Archias* guard knocked at the outward gate, as being sent in great haste to *Charon*, commanding to open them the doore, as greatly offended that they had staid so long. Whereat *Charon* being troubled in minde, commanded that they should be let in presently: who meeting them within the court with a coronet upon his head, as having newly sacrificed unto the gods, and made good cheere, demanded of these halberds, what they would. *Archias* and *Philippus* (say they) have sent us, willing and charging you with all speed to repaire unto them. Why, what is the matter (quoth *Charon*) that they should send for me in such haste at this time of the night, and what great newes is there? We know not, said these sergeants; but what word would you have us to carry backe unto them? Mary, tell them (quoth he) that I will cast off my chaplet, and put on another robe, and presently follow after: for if I should goe with you, it might be an occasion of trouble, and moove some to suspect that you lead me away to prison. You say wel, answered the officers againe, do even so; for we must goe another way to those fouldiers that watch and ward without the city, and deliver unto them a commandement from the head magistrates and rulers. Thus departed they. With that, *Charon* returned to us, and made relation of these newes; which strucke us into our dumps, and put us in a great affright, supposing for certeine, that we were betrayed, and our plot detected: most of the company suspected *Hippothemides*, for that he went about to impeach the retorne of the exiled persons, by the meanes of *Chiden*, whom he meant to send unto them: who seeing that he misfed of his purpose, by all likelihood, upon a fearful and timorous heart, might reveale our conspiracie, now when it was come to the very point of execution: for come hee was not with others into the house where we were all assembled: and to be short, there was not one of us all, that judged better of him than of a wicked and trecherous traitor: howbeit, we agreed all in this, that *Charon* should go thither as he was commanded, and in any wife obey the magistrates who had sent for him.

Then he commanding (*o Archidamus*) his owne sonne to be present, a stripling about fiftene yeeres of age, and the fairest youth in all the city of *Thebes*, very laborious and affectionate to bodily exercises; and for stature and strength, surpassing all his fellowes and companions of that age, yntade this speech unto us: My maisters and friends, this is my sonne and onely child, whom I love entirely, as you may well thinke; him I deliver into your hands, beseeching you in the name of the gods and all saints in heaven, that if you finde any perfidious treacherie by me against you, to doe him to death and not spare him. And now I humbly pray you, most valiant and hardy knights, prepare your selves resolutely against the last feast that ever these tyrants shall make: abandon not, for want of courage, your bodies to be villanously outraged and spoiled by these most leud and wicked persons, but be revenged of them, and now shew your invincible hearts, in the behalfe of your cuntry. When *Charon* had delivered these words, there was not one of us all but highly commended his magnanimitie and loialtie; but we were angry with him; in that he doubted of us that we had him in suspicion and distrust; and therefore willed him to have away his sonne with him. And more than that, me thinks (quoth *Pelepides*) you have not done well and wisely for us, in that you sent him not before to some other house: for what reason or necessity is there, that he should either perish or come into perill, being found with us? and yet it is time enough to convey him away, that in case it fall out with us otherwise than well, he may grow up after his kinde, for to be revenged of these tyrants another day. It shall not be so, quoth *Charon*; he shall even stay here, and take such part of fortune as we shall do: and besides, it were no part of honesty or honour, to leave him in danger of our enemies: And therefore, my good sonne (quoth he) take a good heart and a resolute, even above these yeeres of thine, enter in Gods name into these hazzards and trials that be thus necessarie, together with many valiant and hardy citizens, for the maintenance of liberty and vertue. And even yet, great hope we have, that good successe will follow, and that some blessed angell will regard and take in protection those who adventure thus for righteousnesse and justice sake. Many of us there were (*Archidamus*) whose teares trickled downe their cheeks, to heare *Charon* deliver these words; but himselfe being inflexible and not relenting one jot, with an undanted heart, a setled countenance, and eyes still drit, put his sonne into *Pelepides* hands, embraced every one of us, shooke us by the hands, and so encouraging us to proceed, went forth of the doores. Wonderful was this; but much more you would have woonded, to have seene the alacrity, cheerefull and constant resolution of his sonne, as if he had beene another *Neopolemus*, who never looked

looked pale, nor changed colour for the matter, notwithstanding so great danger presented; neither was he one jot astart: but contrariwise, drew forth *Pelipidas* sword out of his scabbard, to see and trie whether it was keene enough.

VVhiles these matters thus passed, there comestowards us *Dionon*, one of *Cephibodorus* friends, with a sword by his side, and a good cuirasson of Steele under his robe, who having heard that *Charon* was sent for to come to *Archias*, blamed much our long delay, & whetned us on to go forthwith to the tyrants houles: For in so doing (quoth he) we shall prevent them, by comming suddenly upon them: if not, yet better were it for us, to set upon them without dore, & separate one from another, and not all in one plump, than to stay for them, enclosed all within one parlour, and be there taken by our enemies, like a swarme of bees, and have all our throats cut. In like maner *Theocritus* the diviner, urged us to make haste, saying, that all the signes of sacrifices were good, and presaged happy successe with all security. VVhereupon we began on all hands to take armes, and to prepare our selves: by which time, *Charon* was returned to us, with a merrie and cheerefull countenance: who smiling and looking upon us: Be of good chere (quoth he) my masters and friends, all is well: there is no danger, and our affaire proceedeth well: for *Archias* and *Philippus*, so soone as they heard that I was come, upon their sending for me, being already well cup-shotten, and halfe drunke with wine, so as both their minds and bodies were very farre out of tune; with much adoe they rose from the boord, and came forth to the dore unto me: Now *Charon*, quoth *Archias*, we heare that our banished men lie lurking here within the citie, being secretly and by stealth entred into it. VVhereat I seeming to be much amazed: VVhere (quoth I) are they said to be, and who? That we know not (quoth *Archias*, and that is the cause why we sent for you, to come before us, if haply you have heard any thing of it more certainly. Heereupon I remaining for a while as one somewhat astartied and pensive, comming againe to my selfe, began thus to thinke, that this must needs be some headlesse rumour, and arising from no good ground, nor certeine author; neither was it like to be any one of them that were privy to the complot who had discovered it, because they would not then have beene ignorant of the house where they were assembled, and therefore it could not chuse but be some blinde brute blown abroad through the citie, and come to their eares. So I said unto him, that during the life of *Andarides*, we had heard many flych flying tales, and vaine false rumors that ranne about the city and troubled us. But now (quoth he) *Archias*, I have heard no such thing: howbeit, if it please you to command me, I will enquire and hearken farther into the thing, and if I find any matter of importance, I will come and enforme you of it. It is well said of you (quoth *Philippus*: and it were very good *Charon*, that in these cases you be very inquisitive, and leave nothing unsearched: for why should we be careless and negligent in any thing, but rather it behooveth us to be circumspect, and to looke about us on every side: providence in these cases is very requisite, and good it is to make all sure: and when he had so said, he tooke *Archias* and had him into the parlour, where they be now drinking hard: and therefore my good friends, let us stay no longer; but after we have made our prayers unto the gods, for our good speed, go about our business. *Charon* had no sooner said this, but we praied unto the gods for their assistance, and encouraged one another to the enterprise. It was the very just time, when all men use to be at supper: and the whistling wind arising still more & more, had brought some snow or sleet, mingled with a drizzling raine, so as there was not one person to be seene in the streets as we walked along. Those therefore who were appointed to assaile *Leontides* and *Hippates*, who dwelt neere together, went out in their cloakes, having no other armes or weapons, but each of them their swords, and those were *Pelipidas*, *Democleides*, and *Cephibodorus*: But *Charon*, *Melon*, and others, ordeined to set upon *Archias*, had their breast-plates or deny-cuirasses before them, and upon their heads thicke chaplets, some of firs, others of the pine or pitch tree branches: and part of them were clad in womens apparell, counterfeiting drunken persons, as if they were come in a maske and mummerie with their women. And that which more is, *Archidamus*, fortune also making the beately cowardise and foolish ignorance of our enemies equal to our hardinesse, and resolute preparations, and having diversified and distinguished even from the beginning our enterprise, like a plaie or enterlude, with many dangerous intercurrents, was assitant & ran with us, at the very point and upshot of the execution thereof, presenting unto us, even then a doubtfull & dangerous occurrent, of a most sudden & unexpected accident: for when *Charon* after he had talked with *Archias* & *Philippus*, was returned to the house, and had disposed us in order, for to go in hand with the execution of our

designement; there was brought from hence a letter written by *Archias* the high-priest here among you, unto that *Archias* his old host and friend, which declared unto him (as it should seeme) by all likelihood, the returne of the banished, and the surprize which they were about, the house all where in they were assembled, and all the complices who were of the conspiracy. *Archias* being by this time drenched and drowned in wine, and besides that, transported and past himselfe, with the expectation of the women, whose comming he attended, albeit the messenger that brought the letter, said it contained serious affaires, or great consequence, yet he onely received it, and made no other answer but this: VVhat tellst thou me of serious affaires; we shall thinke of them to morrow; and with that, put the letters under the pillow, whereupon he leaned, calling for the pot againe, and commanding that it should be filled; sending *Philippus* ever and anon to the dore, to see if the women were yet comming. Thus whiles this hope entertained and held the feast, we came upon them, and passed along through the satyrous unto the very hall or parlour, where they were at supper, and there we staid: a while at the dore, eying and viewing every one of them as they sat about the table. Now the sight of those chaplets and garlands which we were upon our heads, and of the womens apparell, which some of us were dressed in, deceived them a little upon our first comming, in such sort as for a while there ensued silence, untill such time as *Melon* first laying hand upon his sword hilt, rushed in to the middes of the place: with that, *Cabirichus* *Cynastus* who was Archon for the time,ooke him by the arme as he passed by, and held him backe, crying out withall: *Philippus*, Is not this *Melon*? but *Melon* shaking him off so, as he left this hold, drew forth his sword withall, and ranne upon *Archias*, who being hardly able to rise, he gave not over, untill he had killed out-right in the place. *Charon* then set upon *Philippus*, whom he wounded in the necke, and notwithstanding that he defended himselfe with the pors that stood about him upon the table, yet *Lysimachus* mounting upon the boord, laid him along on the floore, and there under foot dispatched him. As for *Cabirichus* we spake him faire, and entreated him not to take part with the tyrants, but to joine with us, in delivering our native countrey from tyranny, as he was a sacrosaint magistrate, and consecrated unto the gods for the good and salte of the commonwealth. But being not easily induced to hearken unto reason, and that which was most expedient for him, because he was little better than halfe drunke; he hanging still in doubtfull suspense and perplexitie, arose up on his feet, and presented unto us his javelin, with the head forward, which by the custome of the place, the Provosts with us, ever goe withall: whereupon I caught hold of the javelin in the middes, and held it over my head, crying unto him; to let it goe, and save himselfe; or else he should die for it. In this meane while, *Theopompus* standing on his right side, ranne him through with his sword, saying withall: There lie thou also: together with them whom thou hast flattered and soothed up: for it were not beleeving these, so weare a coronet and garland when *Thebes* is set free, nor to offer any more sacrifice to the gods, before whom thou hast cursed thy country, by making praiers so often for the prospering of her enemies. VVhen *Cabirichus* was fallen downe dead, *Theocritus* who stood by, caught up the sacred javelin, and drew it out of the blood that there was shed. This massacre being done, some few of the servants, who durst interpose themselves, and come betweene for the defence of those purpers, we slew; but as many as were quiet and flattered not, we shut up within a chamber, where men are wont to keepe; being not willing that they should get forth; and goe to publish throughout the city what was done, before we knew how the world went with others.

Thus you heare how this chaire was done. As for *Pelipidas* and his traine, they came to the utmost gate of *Leontidas*, where they knocked as softly, as they slither came gently and with silence, and to one of the servants, who heard them knocke, & demanded who was there, they answered: That they were come from *Archias*, and brought letters unto *Leontidas* from *Calistratus*. The servitor went and told his master so much, who being commanded to set open the gate, unbarr'd and unbolted it; the gates so soone yielded from them all alike, but they rushed in all at once with violence, bare downe the man and laid him along, ran a pace through the court and hall, and so directly passed to the bed chamber of *Leontidas*: who presently suspecting what the matter was, drew his dagger, & pushed himselfe forward to make resistance & to stand upon his defence. Injust he was no doubt & tyrannicall, howbeit otherwise a tall man of his hands, and of a stoutage strong make; yet forgot he to overthrow the lampe, & put out the light, and in the darke to intangle himselfe with those who came to assault him; and so haply to get away from them; but being oyped by them, so soone as ever the doore was open, he stabbed *Cephibodorus* in

the very flank under the short ribs : and then encountering with *Pelopidas* who would have entered second into the chamber, he cried out aloud and called to his servants for helpe : but *Samidas* with others about him kept them backe, and otherwise of themselves they durst not meddle nor hazard their lives to deale with the noblest persons of the city, and those who for strength and valour were knowne to surpass the rest. So there was a cuffing and stife combat betweene *Pelopidas* and *Leontidas*, in the very portall of the chamber dore, which was but narrow, where *Cephisodorus* fell downe in the middt betweene them ready to die, so that others could not come in to succor *Pelopidas* : At the last when our friend *Pelopidas* had received a litle wound in his head, but given *Leontidas* many a one, he overthrew him and slew him upon the body of *Cephisodorus*, who being yet warme and not fully dead, saw his enemy fall, and therewith putting forth 10 his right hand to *Pelopidas*, and bidding all the rest adew, he joyfully yeelded up his breath. When they had dispatched this businesse, they turned immediately from thence to *Hypates* house, and when the doore was likewise set open for them, the killed him also, as he thought to escape, and fled by the roofof the house unto his neighbours. Which done, they returned with speed directly unto us, whom they found abroad at a gallery called *Polytylon*. After we had saluted and embraced one another & talked a litle all together, we went straight to the common goales; where *Phyllidas* having called forth the goaler : *Archias* (quoth he) and *Philippus* command you with all speed to bring your prisoner *Amphibemus* unto them. The goaler considering that it was an unreasonable houre, and withall perceiving that *Phyllidas* in his speeches was not very well staied, but that he was yet chafed and panted still unquietly upon the fresh faw 20 that he had bene at, doubting and suspecting a skirmish : When was it ever scene (quoth he) *o Phyllidas*, that the Polemarchy or chiefe captaines sent for a prisoner at this time of the night? when by you? and what token or watchword bring you from them? As the goaler reasoned thus, *Phyllidas* made no more adoe, but with an horsemans stasse or lance that he had in his hand, ranne him through the sides, and laied him dead on the ground, wicked wretch that he was, whom the next morrow, many a woman trampled under their feet, and spit in his face as he lay. Then brake we the prison dore open, and first called by name unto *Amphibemus*, and afterwards to others; according as each of them was of our acquaintance and familiarity; who hearing and knowing our voices leapt out of their pallets upon their feete, and willingly drew their chaines and irons after them : but such as had their feet fast in the stocks, stretched forth their 30 hands and cried unto us, beseeching they might not be left behinde: and whiles we were busie in setting them loose, many of the neighbours by this time who dwelt neere and perceived what was done, were run forth already into the streets with glad and joyfull hearts. The very women also, as any of them heard ought of their acquaintance, without regard of observing the custome and manner of the Boeotians, ran out of doores one unto another, and demanded of every one whom they met in the street, what newes? And as many of them as light either up *o* their fathers or husbands, followed them as they went, and no man impeached them in so doing : for the pitifull commiseration, the teares, praiers, and supplications, especially of honest and chaste wives, were in this case very effectually, and moved men to regard them. When things were brought to this passe, so soone as we heard, that *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* with other friends, were now 40 assembled within the temple of *Minerva*, we went directly unto them, and thither repaired also many honest citizens and men of quality, flocking still more and more in great frequencie. Now after relation was made unto them how all things sped, & that they were requested to assist us in the performance and execution of that which was behind, and for that purpose to meet all together in the common market place, incontinently they set up a shout, and cried unto the citizens, *Liberty, liberty*, distributing armes and weapons among as many as came to joine with them : which they tooke forth of the temples and halles, being full of the spoiles of all forts won from enemies in times past, as also out of the armourers, furbers, and cutlers shops there adjoining. Thither came *Hippobenedas* likewise with a troupe of friends and servants, bringing those trumpetters with him, who were by chance come to the city against the feast of *Hercules* : and 50 immediately some sounded the alarm in the market place, and others in all parts of the city besides, and all to astonish and affright those of the adverse part, as if the whole city were revolted, and had risen against them : who making a great snoise, for the nonce in the streets, because they would not be defied, put themselves within the castle *Cadmea*, drawing with them those choise soldiers called *Neoptoles*, that is to say, the better, who were wont usually to ward all night and keepe a standing corps de guard about the said castle. Now those who were above in the said

said fort, seeing their owne captaine to run fo disorderly and in great affright, and to make hatt to get in, perceiving also from above, how we were gathered together about the marker place in armes; and no part of the city quiet, but full of tumult, uprores and garboiles, whereof the noise ascended up unto them, durst not adventure to come downe, though they were to the number of five thousand, as fearing the present danger : but pretended for their excuse the absence of *Lyfianoridas* their captaine, who was ever wont to remaine with them, but only that day, which was the cause that afterwards as we have heard, the Lacedaemonians making meanes by a peece of money, to apprehend him in *Corinth*, whether he was retired, and immediately put him to death: but upon composition and safe conduct, they delivered up the castle into our hands, and 10 departed with all the soldiars in it.



OF THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS.

The Summarie.

Lutarch considering in what credit and request Herodotus the Historiographer was, who in many places of his books, which are at this day extant in our hands, describeth divers states and honorable persons of Greece, is minded here in this treatise to arme as it were and prepare the readers against all such false suggestions and imputations : and in the very entry of his discourse, accuseth Herodotus of malice and leasing. For proofe of this challenge he setteth downe certaine markes, whereby a man may discern a 30 slanderous writer from a sage and discreet Historiographer. Which done, he applieth the said markes unto Herodotus, shewing by a number of examples drawn out of his stories and narrations that often times he useth odious words, when as others more milde and gentle were as ready for him to use : that he describeth an evil matter, when as there was no need to make mention thereof; that he taketh pleasure to speake ill & to raile: that among praises, he inserteth the bitter blames of one and the same personage : and in recounting one thing two manner of waies and more, he setteth alwaies in the worse, and imputeth worthy deeds and brave exploits unto disordinate and irregular passions, and so after an oblique manner doth the persons injury. So that this treatise teacheth as well the writers of histories, to looke well about themselves, and stand upon their guard, lest they be esteemed, slanderous, scellish and impudent : as also the readers to carry with them a pure and sincere judgement, for to make their profit 40 by those bookes, which they take in hand to read.

OF THE MALICE of Herodotus

Many men there be, *o Alexander*, whom the stile & phrase of Herodotus the Historiographer (because it seemeth unto them plaine, simple, naturall, and running smoothly upon the matters which he delivereth) hath much deceived : but more there are, who have bene caught and brought into the same error, by his manners and behaviour. For it is not onely extreame injustice, as *Plato* said, to seeme just and righteous, when a man is nothing lesse, but also an act of malice in the highest degree, to counterfeit mildnesse and simplicity, and under that pretence and colour, to be covertly most bitter and malicious. Now for that he sheweth this spight of his against the Boeotians and Corinthians especially, although he spareth not any others whatsoever, I thought it my part and 50 duty

duty doe defend herein the honor of our ancestors in the behalfe of truth, against this onely part of his writings, and no more. For to pursue and goe thorow all other lies and forged tales of his, dispersed in that historie, would require many great volumes. But as *Sophocles* said:

Of eloquence the flattering face,

Prevaleth much and winneth grace,

especially when it meeteth with a tongue which is pleasant, and carrieth such a force, as to overcome among other vices, the malicious nature of an Historiographer. *Philipp* king of *Macedonie* was wont to say unto those Greeks who revolted from his alliance, and sided with *Titus Quintus*, that they had changed their former chains, and given them for others, that were indeed more polished; howbeit longer a faire deale. Even so a man may say, that the malignitie of *Herodotus* is finoothier and more delicate than that of *Theopompus*, but it toucheth neerer to the quicke, and stingeth more; like as the windes are more sharpe and piercing, which blow through a narrow streight or close glade, than such as are spread more at large. I thinke therefore that I shall doe very well, first to describe generally, and as it were in grosse, the traicts and marks as it were of a narration which is not pure, sincere, and friendly, but spitefull and malicious, for to apply the same afterwards to each point that we shall examine, and see whether they doe agree fitly thereto.

First and formost therefore, he that useth the most odious nounes and verbs, when there be others at hand more milde and gentle, for to expresse things done: as for example; whereas he might say, that *Nicias* was very ceremonious, and somewhat superstitiously given; reporteth that he was fanaticall; and chuleth rather to challenge *Cleon* for rash audacitie, and furious madnesse, than for light and vaine speech: surely he carrieth not a good and gentle minde, but taketh pleasure to make a narration in the worst manner.

Secondly, when there is some vice otherwise in a man, which appertaineth not unto the history, and yet the writer catcheth hold thereof, and will needs thrust it into the narration of those affaires which require it not, drawing his historie from the matter, fetching a compasse about, after an extravagant manner, and all to bring in either the infortunitie or unhappy accident, or else some absurd and shamefull act of a man: it is very evident that such an one delighteth in reprochfull and evill language. And therefore contrariwise, *Thucydides*, howsoever *Cleon* committed an infinite number of grosse and foule faults, yet he never traduced him openly for them in his writings. And as touching the buie orator *Hyperbolus*, he glanced at him onely by the way, terming him a naughtie man, and so let him goe. *Philistus* likewise passed over all the outrages and wrongs (many though they were) of *Dionysius* the tyrant, which he offered unto the barbarous nations, so long as they were not interlaced among the affaires of the Greeks. For the digressions & excursions of an history, are allowed, principally for some fables or antiquities. Moreover, he who among the praises of some great personages, thrusteth in some matter tending to reproch & blame, seemeth to incur the malediction of the tragical Poet,

Cursed be thou, that lov'st a roell to have,

Of men's misshaps, who now lie dead in grave.

Furthermore, that which is equippollent and reciprocall thereto, every man knoweth, that the leaving out and passing over quite of some good qualitie, or laudable fact, seemeth not to be a thing reprehensible and subject to account, though done it were maliciously, and the same were left out in some such place as pertained well to the traine of the historie: for to commend a man coldly and after an unwilling manner, favoereth no more of civillitie, than to blame him affectionately; and besides that, it is nothing more civill, it smelleth haply more of malice, and of the twaine is worse.

The fourth signe of a malicious nature in an historian, in my account is this: when one and the same thing is interpreted or reported two waies, or more, to incline unto the harder construction. For permitted it is unto Sophisters and Rhetoricians, either for to gaine their fee, or to winne the name and reputation of eloquence, otherwhiles to take in hand for to defend and adorne the worse cause; because they imprint not deeply any credit or beliefe of that which they deliver: and they themselves doe not deny, that they undertake to prove things incredible, even against the common opinion of men. But he that composeth an historie, doeth his part and devoir, if he writeth that which he knoweth to be true: but of matters doubtful, obscure, and uncerteine, those which are better seeme to be reported more truly alwaies, than the worse. And many there be, who omit quite and overpasse the worse: as for example;

Ephorus

Ephorus having said as touching *Themistocles*, that he was privy to the treason that *Pausanias* plotted and practised, and what he treated with the lieutenants of the king of *Persia*: Howbeit, he contented not (quoth he) nor never could be induced to take part with him: of those hopes, whereto he did flatter him. And *Thucydides* left this matter wholly out of his storie, as not acknowledging it to be true. Again, in matters confessed to have beene done, but yet not known, for what cause, and upon what intention; he that guesseth and casteth his conjecture in the worse part, is naught and maliciously minded: and thus did the comical Poets, who gave out, that *Pericles* kindled the Peloponnesian warre, for the love of the courtisan *Asspasia*, or else for *Phidias* sake, and not rather upon an high minde and contention to take downe the pride of the Peloponnesians, & in no wise to give place unto the Lacedaemonians. For of arts approved and laudable affaires, he that suppoeth and fetherth downe a lewd and naughty cause, and by calumniation draweth men into extravagant suspicions, of the hidden and secret intention of him who performed the act, which he is not able to reprove or blame openly: as they who report of *Alexander* the tyrants death, which dame *Thelbe* his wife contrived, that it was not a deed of magnanimity, nor upon the hatred of wickednesse and vice, but proceeding from the passionate jealousie of a woman: as also those who say; that *Cato Uricensis* killed himselfe, fearing lest *Cesar* would execute him shamefully: these (I say) are envious and spitefull in the highest degree. Semblably, an historical narration smelleth of malice, according as the manner of a worke or act done is related: as if it be put downe in writing, that it was by the means rather of money and corruption, than of vertue & valour, that some great exploit was performed, (as some there were who did not sticke to say as much of *Philip*): or else, that it was executed without any travel and danger, as others gave out of *Alexander* the Great: also not by forecast and wisdom, but by the favour of fortune; like as the envier and ill willer of *Timotheus*, who in painted tables represented the pourtrature of divers cities and townes, that of themselves fell within the compasse of his net and toile, when he lay flat asleepe: evident it is, that it is that it tendeth to the empaing of the glorie, beaurie, and greatnesse of those acts, when they take from them the magnanimity, vertue, and diligence of the authors, and give out they were not done and executed by themselves. Over and besides, those who professedly and directly speake evill of one, incur the imputation of quarrellers, rash-headed and furious persons, in case they keepe not within a meane: but such as doe it after an oblique manner, as if they discharged bullets, or shot arrows at one side from some blinde corner, charging surmises and suspicions; and then to turne behinde and shift off all, by saying, they do not beleieve any such thing, which they desire most of all to be beleieved, howsoever they disclaime all malice and evill will: over and besides their cankered nature, they are steined with the note of notorious impudencie. Next neighbours unto these, are they, who among imputations and blames, adjoine certaine praises: as in the time of *Socrates*, one *Aristoxenus* having given him the termes of ignorant, untaught, dissolute; came in with this afterwards: but true it is that he doeth no man wrong, and is worst to himselfe: for like as they, who will cunningly and artificially flatter otherwhiles, among many and unmeasurable praises, mingle some light reprehensions, joining with their sweet flatteries, (as it were some tart sauce to season them) certaine words frankly and freely spoken: even to the malicious person, because he would have that beleived which he blameth, putteth thereto some litle sprinkling of a few praises. There may be exemplified and numbered many other signes and marks of malice: but these may suffice to give us to understand the nature and intention of this author whom now we have in hand.

First and formost therefore to begin at heavenly wights, and as they say at *Vesta*, to the daughter of *Trachus*, whom all the Greeks thinke to have bene deified and honored with divine honors by the barbarous nations, in such sort as that she hath left her name to manie seas, and noble ports, in regard of her great glory and renowne; and opened the source (as it were) and original beginning of many right noble, most famous and roiall families; this our gentle Historiographer saith, that she yielded her selfe unto certain merchants of *Phoenicia*, to be carried away, for that she having bene deflowered not against her will, by a master of a ship, feared lest she should be spied great with child; and withall believeth the Phoenicians themselves, as if they gave out as much of her. He reports himselfe also to the testimony of the sages and wise men of *Persia*, that the Phoenicians ravished and carried her away with other women: shewing withall directly his opinion a litle after, that the most noble and bravest exploit that ever the Greeks achieved, to wit, the war of *Troy*, was an enterprife begone in folly, for a lewd and naughty woman: for

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it is very apparent quoth he, that these women if they had not bene willing themselves, they had never bene so ravished, and had away as they were. And therefore we may as well say that the gods did foolishly to shew themselves angry and offended, with the Lacedaemonians for the abusing of the daughters of *Seedasus* the Leucitrian; as also to punish *Asus*, for that he forced lady *Cassandra*: for certene it is according to *Herodotus*, that if they had not bene willing, they had never bene deflowered: and yet himselfe saith that *Asifomenes* was taken alive, and caried away by the Lacedaemonians, and afterwards *Philopemen* captaine generall of the Achaeans tasted the same fortune, and *Asifum Regulus* the consill of the Romans, fell likewise into the hands of his enemies: all of them such personages as hardly may be found more valiant and hardy warriors in the world. But what marvell is this, considering that men doe take Leopards, and tygres alive? Now *Herodotus* blameth the poore women, who were by force abused, and defendeth those wicked men who offered them that abuse. Besides, so much affected he is in love unto the Barbarous nations, that he will acquite & cleere *Bufrisides* of that ill name which went off him, for slaying of his guests & sacrificing men, and attributing unto all the Aegyptians by all his testimonies, much godlinesse, religion and justice, returneth upon the Greeks this inhumaine and abhominable cruelty. For in his second booke he writeth that *Menelaus* having received *Helena* at the hands of king *Proteus* his wife, and bene by him honored with great and rich presents, shewed himselfe againe a most unjust and wicked man. For when the winde and weather served him not for to embarke and saile away, he wrought by his report, a most cursed and detestable fact, in taking two of the inhabitants male children of that countrey, and cut them in peeces for sacrifice: by occasion whereof being hated of the Aegyptians, and pursued, he fled directly with his fleet, and departed into *Libya*. For mine owne part, I wot not what Aegyptian hath given out this report of *Menelaus*: but contrariwise I know full well, that in *Aegypt* they retaine still to this day many honors in the memoriall, both of him and also of his wife *Helena*. Moreover this writer holding on still his course, reporteth that the Persians learned of the Greeks, to abuse boies carnally and contrary to kinde. And yet how is it possible that the Persians should learne this vilany and filthinesse of the Greeks, considering that the Persians in manner all doe confesse, that the children were there guiled, before they had ever seene the Greeks sea. Also he writeth, that the Greeks were taught by the Aegyptians, their solemne pompes, festivall processions, and publicke assemblies: likewise to adore the twelve gods: yea & that *Melampus* had learned of the same Aegyptians the very name of *Dionysus*, that is to say, *Bacchus*, who taught it the other Greeks. As touching the sacred mysteries, and secreet ceremonies of *Ceres*, that they were brought out of *Aegypt* by the daughters of *Danaus*: as also that the Aegyptians beate themselves and are in great sorrow, yet will themselves name nothing why they doe so, but remaine close and keepe silence in the religious service of the gods. As touching *Hercules* and *Bacchus* whom the Aegyptians esteeme as gods, and the Greeks very aged men, he maketh mention in no place of this precise observation and distinction: howsoever he saith that this Aegyptian *Hercules*, was reckoned and ranged in the second order of the gods, and *Bacchus* in the third, as those who had a beginning of their effence, and were not eternall: and yet he pronounceth those other to be gods, but unto these, he judgeth that we ought to performe anniverfarie funerals, as having bene sometime mortall, and now canonized demi-gods, but in no wise to sacrifice unto them as gods. After the same manner spake he of *Pan*, overthrowing the most holy and venerable faculties of the Greeks by the vanities and fables which the Aegyptians devised. Yet is not this the worst, nor so intollerable; for deriving the pedigree of *Hercules* from the race of *Perfens*, he holdeth, that *Perfens* was an Assyrian, according to that which the Persians say: But the captaines and leaders of the Dorians (saith he) seeme to be defended in right line from the Aegyptians, and fetch their genealogie and ancestours from before *Dane* and *Arisius*: for as concerning *Euphrosus*, *Isus*, *Argus*, he hath wholly passed over and rejected, striving to make, not onely the other two *Hercules* Aegyptians and Phoenicians, but also this whom himselfe nameth to be the third, a meere stranger from Greece, and to enroll him among Barbarians, notwithstanding that of all the ancient learned men, neither *Homer*, nor *Hesiodus*, ne yet *Archilochus*, *Pisander*, *Stesichorus*, *Alcman*, nor *Pindarus*, do make mention of any *Hercules* an Aegyptian or Phoenician, but acknowledge one alone, to wit, our Boeotian and Argien. And that which more is, among the seven sages, whom he termeth by the name of Sophisters, he will needs beare us downe, that *Thales* was a Phoenician borne, extracted from the ancient flocke of the Barbarians. And in one place, reproaching in some sort the gods, under the vi-

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fard and perfon of *Solon*, he hath these words: O *Craesus*, thou demandest of me as touching humane things, who know full well, that the deitie is envious and full of inconstant inconstituted: where attributing unto *Solon*, that opinion which himselfe had of the gods, he joyneth malice unto impiety and blasphemy. And as for *Pittachus*, using him but in light matters, and such as are of no consequence, he passeth over in the meane while, the most worthy and excellent deed that ever the man did: for when the Athenians and Mitylenians were at warre about the port *Sigaeum*, *Phrynon* the captaine of the Athenians having given defiance, and challenged to combat hand to hand, the hardiest warrior of all the Mitylenians, *Pittachus* advanced forward and presented himselfe to his face for to performe his devoir, where he bare himselfe with such dexterity, that he caught this captaine, as mighty a man as he was and tall of stature, and so entangled him, that he slew him outright. And when the Mitylenians, for this prowesse of his, offered unto him goodly rich presents, he launced his javelin out of his hand as farre as ever he could, and demanded so much ground onely as he raught with that shot. And thereupon, that field, even at this day, is called *Pittaceum*. But what writeth *Herodotus*, when he comes to this place? In lieu of reciting this valiant act of *Pittachus*, he recounteth the flight of *Alcaeus* the Poet, who flung from him his armour and weapons, and for ran away out of the battell: whereby it appeareth, that in avoiding to write of vertuous and valiant acts, but in not concealing vicious and foule facts, he testifieth on their side who say, that envie, to wit, a griefe for the good of another, and joy in other mens harmes, proceed both from one root of malice.

After all this, the Alcemonidae who shewed themselves brave men and generous; and namely, by delivering their countrey from tyranny, are by him challenged for treason: for he saith, That they received *Pisistratus* upon his banishment, and wrought meanes for his returne again, upon condition, that he should espouse and marry the daughter of *Megacles*: and when the maiden said thus unto her mother, Seemy good mother, *Pisistratus* doth not company kindly with me, as he should, and according to the law of nature and marriage; hereupon the said Alcmaeonide tooke such indignation against the tyrant for his pervert dealing, that they chased him into exile. Now, that the Lacedaemonians should taste awell of his malice as the Athenians had done before them, see how he defaceth and tradeth *Othryadas*, a man esteemed and admitted among them above all others, for his valiance: He onely (saith he) remaining alive of those three hundred, ashamed to returne to *Sparta*, when all the rest of that company and confort of his were flaine and left dead in the field, presently overwhelmed himselfe in the place under an heape of his enemies shields reared for a Trophae, and so died: for a little before, he said, that the victory betwene both sides rested doubtfull in even ballance; and now he witnesseth, that through the shame and bathfullnesse of *Othryadas*, the Lacedaemonians lost the day: for as it is a shame to live being vanquished, so it is as great an honor to survive upon a victorie. I forbear now to note and observe, how in describing *Craesus* every where for a foolish, vain-glorious and ridiculous person in all respects, yet nevertheless he saith, that being prisoner he taught and instructed *Cyrus*, a prince who in prudence, vertue and magnanimity surpassed all the kings that ever were. And having by the testimonie of his owne historie, attributed no goodnesse unto *Craesus*, but this onely, that he honoured the gods with great offerings, oblations and ornaments, that he presented unto them; which very lame (as himselfe declareth) was the most wicked and profane act in the world: for whereas his brother *Pantaleon* and he were at great variance and debate, about succession in the kingdom during the life of their father; after that he came once to the crowne, he caught one of the nobles, a great friend and companion of his brother *Pantaleon*, who had before-time bene his adversarie, and within a fullers mill all to beclawed and mangled him with tuckers cards and burling combs, so as he died therewith; and of his money which he did confiscate and seize upon, he caused those oblations and jewels to be made which he sent as a present to the gods. Concerning *Deiotes* the Median, who by his vertue and justice attained to the kingdom, he saith, that he was not such an one indeed, but so hypocrite, and by semblance of justice was advanced to that regall dignitie. But what should I stand upon the examples of Barbarous nations; for he hath ministred matter enough in writing onely of the Greeks. He saith, that the Athenians and many other Ionians, being ashamed of that name, were not only unwilling, but also denied utterly to be called Ionians: also, as many of them as were of the noblest blood, and descended from the very Senate and *Prytaneeum* of the Athenians, begat children of Barbarous women, after they had killed their fathers and former children: by occasion whereof those women made an ordinance among themselves, which they bound

bound with an oath, and ministred the same unto their daughters, never to eat nor drinke with their husbands, nor to call them by their names; and that the Milesians at this day be defended from the said women. And having cleanly delivered thus much under hand, that those onely who celebrated the feast named *Apolutia*, were indeed true Ionians: And all (quoth he) doe keepe and observe that solemnity, save onely the Ephesians and Colophonians. By this flie device he doth in effect deprive these states, of the noble antiquity of their nation. He writeth likewise, that the Cumeans and Mitylenæans, were compacted and agreed withall, for a peece of money, to deliver into the hands of *Cyrus*, *Pachyas*, one of his captaines, who had revolted from him: But I cannot say (quoth he) certainly, for how much, because the just summe is not exactly knowne. But he ought not by his leave to have charged upon any city of *Greece* such a note of infamy, without he had bene better assured thereof. And afterwards he saith, that the inhabitants of *Chios* pulled him, being brought unto them out of the temple of *Athena Polias* that is to say, Tutelar and protectresse of the city, for to deliver him unto the Persians; which the Chians did after they had received for their hire, a peece of land called *Amnes*. Howbeit, *Charon*, the Lampfacinian, a more ancient writer, when he handleth the story of *Pachyas*, taxeth neither the Mitylenæans, nor the Chians, for any such sacriledge: but writeth of this matter, thus word for word: *Pachyas* (quoth he) being advertised that the Persian army approached, fled first to *Mitylene*, and afterwards to *Chios*: and there he fell into the hands of *Cyrus*. Moreover this our author in his third booke, describing the expedition or journey of the Lacedæmonians against *Polyerates* the tyrant, saith that the Samians, both are of opinion and also report, that it was by way of recompence and requital, because they had sent them aid in their warre against *Messene*, that the Lacedæmonians entred into armes and warred upon the tyrant, for to reduce the exiled persons home againe, and restore them to their livings and goods: but he saith, that the Lacedæmonians deny flatly this to have bene the cause: saying it was neither to set the Isle *Samos* at liberty, nor to succour the Samians, that they enterprised this warre: but rather to chastise the Samians, for that they had intercepted and taken away a faire standing cup of gold, sent by them as a present unto king *Cresus*: and besides a goodly cuirace or breastplate, sent unto them from king *Amasis*. And yet we know for certaine, that in all those daies, there was not a city in *Greece* so desirous of honour, nor so infest and deadly bent against tyrants, as *Lacedæmon* was: for what other cuppe of gold, or cuirace was there, for which they chased out of *Corinth* and *Ambracia* the usurping race of the Cypselides; banished out of *Noxos*, the tyrant *Lygdamis*; expelled out of *Athens*, the children of *Pisistratus*; drove out of *Sicyone*, *Aeschines*; exiled from *Thebes*, *Synnachius*; delivered the Phocæans from *Aulis*; and turned *Aristomenes* out of *Miletus*: as for the lordly dominions over *Thessaly*, they utterly ruined and rooted out, which *Aristomedes* and *Angelus* usurped, whom they suppressed and defeated by the meanes of *Leotychidas* their king: But of these things I have written else where more exactly and at large. Now if *Herodotus* saith true, what wanted they of extreame folly and wickednesse in the highest degree, in disavowing and denying a most just and honorable occasion of this warre, to confesse that they made an invasion upon a poorer and miserable nation oppressed and afflicted under a tyrant, and all in remembrance of a former grudge, to be revenged for a small wrong upon a base minde and mechanically avarice. Now haply he had a sling at the Lacedæmonians and gave them a blow with his pen, because in the traine and consequence of the story, they came fo just under it; but the city of the Corinthians, which was cleane out of his way, he had notwithstanding taken it with him and bespurred and dashed as he passed by, with a most grievous slander and heavy imputation. The Corinthians also (quoth he) did favor and second with great affection this voiage of the Lacedæmonians, for to requite an hainous outrage and injury, which they had received before time at the Samians handes: And that was this? *Periander* the tyrant of *Corinth*, sent three hundred young boies, that were the sonnes of the most noble persons in all *Corfu*, to king *Alutes* for to be gueldd. These youths arrived in the Isle *Samos*, who being landed the Samians taught how to sit at humble suppliants within the temple and sanctuary of *Diana*, and let before them for their nourishment certaine cakes made of *Sesam* seed & hony. And this forsooth was it that our trim historiographer calleth fo great an outrage & abuse offered by the Samians unto the Corinthians; for which he saith, the Lacedæmonians also were stirred up and provoked against them, because they had saved the children of Greeks from eviration. But surely he that fasteneth this reproch upon the Corinthians, sheweth that the city was more wicked than the tyrant himselfe. As for him, his desire was to be revenged of the inhabitants of

Corfu,

Corfu, who had killed his sonne among them: but the Corinthians, what wrong received they of the Samians, for which they should in hostile maner set upon them, who opposed themselves and empeached so inhumane and barbarous cruelty to be committed? and namely, that they should revive and raise up againe an old cankred grudge and quarrels, that had lien dead and buried the space of three generations; and all in favour and maintenance of tyranny, which had laine very grievous and unsupportable upon them, and whereof, being overthrowen and ruined as it is, they cease not still to abolish and doe out the remembrance for ever. Loe, what outrage it was, that the Samians committed upon the Corinthians; but what was the revenge and punishment that the Corinthians devised against the Samians? For if in good earnest they tooke indignation and were offended with the Samians, it had bene meet, not to have incited the Lacedæmonians, but to have diverted them rather, from levying warre upon *Polyerates*, to the end that the tyrant not being defeated and put downe, they might not have bene freed nor delivered from tyrannicall servitude. But that which more is, what occasion had the Corinthians to bee angrie with the Samians, who though they desired, yet could not save the Corcyreans children, considering they tooke no displeasure against the Cnicians, who not onely preserved, but also restored them to their parents? And verily the Corcyreans, make no great regard, nor speake ought, of the Samians in this behalfe: many the Cnicians, they remembered in the best maner; for the Cnicians they ordeined honours, privileges, and immunities, and enacted publicke decrees to ratifie and confirme the same. For these Cnicians failing to the Isle of *Samos*, arrived there, drove out of the foresaid temple the guard of *Periander*, tooke the children forth, and brought them safe to *Corfu*, according as *Antenor* the Candiot, and *Dionysius* the Chalcidian in the booke of Foundations have left in writing. Now that the Lacedæmonians undertooke this expedition, not for to be quit with the Samians, and to punish them, but to deliver them tidier from the tyrant, and for to save them; I will beleeve no other testimonie but the Samians themselves. For they affirme, that there is among them now standing, a tombe or monument by them erected at the publicke charges of the citie, for the corps of *Archias* a citizen of *Sparta*, whose memoriall doe honour, for that in the said service he fought valiantly, and lost his life: for which cause the posteritie descended from that man, doe yet unto this day, beare singular affection, and do all the pleasures they can unto the Samians, as *Herodotus* himselfe beareth witnesse. Furthermore, in his fifth booke he writeth, that *Clithenes*, one of the most noble and principall performances of all *Athens*, perswaded the priestresse *Pythia*, to be a false propheteesse, in mooving the Lacedæmonians alwaies by her answers that she gave out, for to deliver the citie of *Athens* from the thirti tyrants: and thus unto a most glorious peece of worke and right just, he adjoine the imputation of so great an impietie, and a damnable device of falshood; and withall, be-reaveeth god *Apollo* of that prophesie which is so good and honest, yea and becoming *Themis*, who also as they say assisteth him in the oracle. He saith also, that *Isagoras* yeilded his wife unto *Clamenes*, for to use her at his pleasure, whensoever he came unto her: and then, as his ordinary manner is, intermingling some praises among blames, because he would be the better beloved: This *Isagoras* (quoth he) the sonne of *Tifander*, was of a noble house; but I am not able to say of what antiquitie before-time his pedigree was; but onely that his kinsfolke and those of his blood, doe sacrifice unto *Jupiter*, surnamed *Carus*. Now I assure you, this our Historian is a proper and pleasant conceited fellow, to send away *Isagoras* thus to the Carians, as it were to ravens, in a mischief. And as for *Aristogiton*, he packeth him away not by a backe doore or posterne, but directly by the broad & open gate, as far as unto *Phanices*; saying, that his first originall came long since from the Gephyrians; but what Gephyrians thou yee: not those in *Enbea*, or in *Eretria*, as some doe thinke: but he saith plainly they be Phoenicians, and that he is so perswaded of them by heare-say. And not being able to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their glory, for delivering the city of *Athens* from the servitude of the thirty tyrants, he goeth about to obliterate quite, or at leastwise in some sort to disgrace and dishonor that most noble act, with as foule a passion, and as villanous a vice: for hee saith, that they repented incontinently, as if they had not well done, by the induction of false and supposed oracles, thus to have chased out of their countrey the tyrants their friends, guests, and allies, who promised to deliver *Athens* into their hands, and to have yeilded the city unto an unthankfull people; and that anon they sent for *Hippias*, as farre as to *Sigæum*, for to reduce him to *Athens*: but the Corinthians opposed themselves, and diverted them, whiles *Soficles* discoursed and shewed

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how many miseries and calamities the citie of *Corinth* had endured whiles *Periander* & *Cypselus* held them under their tyrannicall rule: and yet of all those enormous outrages which *Periander* committed, they could not name any one more wicked and cruell, than that of the three hundred children which he sent away for to be gelded: Howbeit, this man dareth to say, that the Corinthians were moved and provoked against the Samians, who had saved the said youtnes, and kept them from suffering such an indignity, and caried the remembrance thereof for revenge, as if they had done them some exceeding great injurie: so full is his malice and gall of inconstancie, of repugnance and contradiction in all his speeches, which ever and anon is ready to offer it selfe in all his narrations. After all this, comming to describe the taking of the citie *Sardis*, he diminisheth, deformeth, and discrediteth the exploit all that ever he can, being so armed with shamelesse audacitie, that he termeth those shippes which the Athenians set out, and sent to succor the king, and to plague the Ionians, who rebelled against him, the original causes of all mischief, for that they agreed to set at liberty and deliver out of servitude, so many goodly and faire cities of the Greeks, held forcibly under the violent dominion of the barbarous nations. As touching the Eretrians, he maketh mention of them only by the way, & passeth in silence a most woorthy and glorious piece of service, which they performed at that time: for when all *Jonis* was now already in an uprore & hurlyburly, and the kings armada neere at hand, they put out their navie, and in the maine sea of *Pamphylia*, defeated in a navall battell the Cyprians: then returning backe, and leaving their navie in the rode before *Ephesus*, they went by land to lay siege unto the capitall citie of *Sardis*, where they beleagured *Artaphernes* within a castle, into which he was fledde, intending thereby to raise the siege before the citie *Miletus*: which service they put in execution and performed; causing their enemies to remove their campe, and dislodge from thence, in a woonderfull great feare and affright: but seeing a greater number of enemies to presse hard upon them, they returned. Many Chroniclers report the historie in this manner; and among the rest *Isanias Mallores*, in his chronicle of the Eretrians. And verily it would have bene well, if for no other reason, yet after the taking and destruction of their citie, to have added to their act of valour and prowess. Howbeit, this good writer, contrarywise faith, that being vanquished in the field, the Barbarians followed in chase, and pursued them as farre as to their shippes: and yet *Choron* the Lampfacenian, maketh no mention thereof, but writeth thus, word for word: The Athenians (quoth he) put to sea with a fleet of twentie galleies, for to aid the Ionians, and made a voiage as farre as to *Sardis*, where they were masters of all, except the kings fortresse or wall; which done, they returned to *Miletus*. In the sixth booke, our *Herodotus*, after he had related thus much of the Plataeans, that they had yielded and committed themselves to the protection of the Lacedæmonians, who made remonstrance unto them, that they should doe farre better to range and side with the Athenians their neighbours, and able to defend them: he addeth moreover and faith afterwards, not by way of opinion and suspition, but as one who knew it was so indeed, that the Lacedæmonians thus advised and counselled them at that time, not for any good will and loving affection that they bare unto them, but because they were all very well appeared to see the Athenians to have their hands full, and to be matched with the Bæotians. If then *Herodotus* be not malicious, it cannot chuse, but that the Lacedæmonians were very cautious, fraudulent, and fighthead; and the Athenians as blockish and senselesse, not to see how they were thus deluded and circumvented. The Plataeans likewise were thus posted from them, not for any love or honor intended unto them, but because they might be the occasion of war. Furthermore, he is convinced to have falsly devised, and colourably pretended the excuse of the full moone against the Lacedæmonians, which whiles they attended and staid for, he faith, they failed and went not in that journey of *Marathon*, to aid the Athenians: for not only they began a thousand voiaiges, and fought as many battels in the beginning of the moone and new of the moone, but also at this very battell of *Marathon*, which was fought the sixth day of the month *Boedromion*, that is to say, November, they missed very little, but they had arrived in due time: for they came soone enough to finde the dead bodies of those that were slaine in the field, and lying still in the place: and yet thus hath he written of the full moone. It was impossible for them to doe this out of hand, being as they were, not willing to breake the law; for that as yet it was but the ninth day of the month: and they made answer, that they might not set forth, unless the moone were at the full. And thus these men waited for the full moone. But you good fit transerre the full moone into the beginning of the halfe moone or second quarter, confounding

confounding the course of heaven, and the order of daies, yea, and shuffling every thing together. Over and besides, promising in the forefront and inscription of your historie, to write the deeds and affaires of the Greeks, you employ all your eloquence to magnifie and amplify the acts of the Barbarians; and making semblance to be affectionate to the Athenians, yet for all that, you make no mention at all of that solemne pompe and procession of theirs at *Agra*, which they hold even at this day, in the honour of *Ætate*, or *Proserpina*, by way of thanksgiving for the victorie, the feast whereof they do celebrate. But this helpeth *Herodotus* verie much to meet with that improprietie and slander that went of him, namely, that he flattered the Athenians in his storie, for that he had received a great summe of money of them for that purpose: for if he had read this unto the Athenians, they would never have neglected nor let passe that wicked *Philippides*, who went to moove and sollicite the Lacedæmonians to be at that battell, from which himselfe came, and he especially, who as he faith himselfe, within two daies was in *Sparta*, after he had bene at *Athens*, if the Athenians after the winning of the field did not send for the aide of their confederates and allies. But *Dionysius* an Athenian, none of the meanest Chroniclers, writeth, that he received of the Athenians, the summe of ten talents of silver, by virtue of an act that *Antus* propounded.

Moreover, many are of opinion, that *Herodotus* in his narration of the battell of *Marathon*, himselfe marred the whole grace and honour of the exploit, by the number that he putteth downe of them who there were slaine: for he faith, that the Athenians made a way to facilitate unto *Proserpina* or *Diana* surnamed *Agrotæ*, as many yeele-old goats as they flew of the Barbarians: but when after the discomforture and overthrow, they saw that the number of the dead bodies was infinite, they made supplication to the goddesse for to be dispensed for their vow and promise, and to acquit them for five hundred every yeele to be killed in sacrifice for her: But to passe over this, let us see what followed after the battell. The Barbarians (quoth he) with the rest of their shippes drawing backe and retiring into the open sea; and having taken a ship boord those slaves of *Eretria*, out of the Isle where they had left them, doubled the point of *Sunium*, with a full purpose to prevent the Athenians before they could recover the citie. And the Athenians were of opinion, that they were advised thus to do by a feerer complor between them and the Alcæmonide who had appointed and agreed with the Persians to give them a signal, so soone as they were all embarked, by holding up aloft and shewing them a shield as a signe off. And so they fetched a compass about the cape of *Sunium*: And here I am content that he should goe cleare away with this, that he called those prisoners of *Eretria* by the name of slaves, who shewed as much courage and valour in this warre, yea, and as great a desire to win honour, as any Greeks whatsoever, although their vertue sped but ill, and was unworthily afflicted. And lesse account I make also of this, that he defameth the Alcæmonide, of whom were the greatest families and noblest persons of all the citie. But the worst of all is this, that the honour of this brave victorie is quite overthrowen; and the issue or end of so woorthy and renowned a piece of service is come just to nothing in a manner: neither seemeth it to have bene any such battell or so great an exploit, but only a short scuffling or light skirmish with the Barbarians when they were landed, as evil willers, carpers and envious persons give out to deprave the service, if it be so, that after the battell, they fled not when they had cut the cables of their shippes, permitting themselves to the winds, for to carry them as far as possibly might be to *Atira*, but that there was a shield or target lifted up aloft in the aire as a signal unto them of treason, and that of purpose they made faile toward the city of *Athens* in hope to surprize it; and having without any noise in great silence doubled the forehead point of *Sunium*, and were discovered a float, hovering about the port *Phaleræ*, inasmuch as the principall and most honourable personages of the Athenians, being out of all hope to save the citie, betrayed it into their hands: for afterwards they discharged and cleere the Alcæmonide, and attributeth this treason unto others. And herein it is (quoth he) that such a target or shield was shewed. And this he saith so confidently, as if himselfe had seene the thing. But it is impossible that it should be so, in case the Alcæmonians won the victorie cleere: and say it had so bene, the Barbarians never could have perceived it, flying so as they did in great affright and danger, wounded with arrows they were, and shaled both with sword and shot into their shippes, who left the field every man, and fled from the land as fast as ever he could; But afterwards againe, when he maketh semblance to answer in the behalfe of the Alcæmonide, and to refute those asmes which himselfe broched, and charged upon them, I wonder (quoth he) and I can not beleeve the rumour of this imputation, that ever the Alcæmonide, by any compact

compact with the Barbarians, shewed them the signall of a shield, as willing that the Athenians should be in subjection to the Barbarians under *Hippias*. In thus doing, he putteth me in mind and remembrance of a certaine clause running in this manner: Take him you will; and having taken him, let him goe you will. Semblably, first you accuse, and anon you defend: write you do and frame accusatorie imputations against honourable persons; which afterwards you seeme to cancel, discrediting herein (no doubt) and distrustful your selfe: for you have heard your owne selfe to say, that the Alcmaeonidae set up a targuet for a signall to the Barbarians vanquished and lying away; but in relieving them againe and answering in their defence, you shew your selfe to be a slanderous sycophant: for if that be true which you write in this place, that the Alcmaeonidae were worse, or at leastwise, as badly affected to tyrants, as *Callias* the sonne of *Phenippus* and father of *Hippias*, where will you bestow and place that conspiracie of theirs against the common wealth, which you have written in your former books? saying, that they contracted alliance and affinitie in marriage with *Pisistratus*, by meanes whereof, they wrought his returne from exile to exercise tyrannie: neither would they ever have banished him againe, had it not bene that their daughter had complained and accused him, that he used her not according to law of marriage & of nature. Thus you see what confused variations, contradictions and repugnances there be in that imputation and suspicion of the Alcmaeonidae: but in founding out the praises of *Callias* the sonne of *Phenippus*, with whom he joineeth his sonne *Hippias*, who by the report of *Herodotus* himselfe, was in his time the richest man in all *Athens*, he confesseth plainly, that for to insinuate himselfe into the favor of *Hippias*, and to flatter him, without any reason or cause in the world arising out of the matter of the story, he brought *Callias*. All the world knows, that the Argives refused not to enter into that general confederacy and association of the Greeks, requiring onely, that they might not be ever at the Lacedaemonians command, nor forced to follow them, who were the greatest enemies, & those who of all men living hated them most: when it would not otherwise be, he rendereth a most malicious and spitefull cause and reason thereof, writing thus: When they saw (quoth he) that the Greeks would needs compromise them in that league, knowing full well, that the Lacedaemonians would not impart unto them any prerogative to command, they seemed to demand the communion thereof, to the end that they might have some colourable occasion and excuse to remaine quiet and sit still: which he saith, that *Aristoxenus* long after, remembered unto the ambassadors of the Argives, who came unto him at *Susa*, and gave this testimonie unto them, That he thought there was not a city in all *Greece* friended him more than *Argos*. But soone after, as his accustomed maner is, seeming to retract all, and cleanly to cover the matter, he comes in with these words: Howbeit, as touching this point, I know nothing of certainty; but this I wot wel, all men have their faults; and I doe not beleeve, that the Argives have caried themselves woorst of all others: but howsoever (quoth he) I am bound to say that which is commonly received, yet I beleeve not ill; and let this stand thoroughout the whole course of mine historie. For this also is given out abroad, That they were the Argives who solicited and sent for the king of *Persia* to love warre upon all *Greece*; because they were not able in armes to make head against the Lacedaemonians, and cared not what became of them; to avoid the present discontentment and griefe wherein they were. And may not aman very well returne that upon himselfe, which he reporteth to be spoken by an Aethiopian, as touching the sweet odours and rich purple of the Persians? *Deceitfull are the Persian ornaments, deceitfull are their habiliments*. For even so a man may very well say of him: Deceitfull are the *phryges*, deceitfull are the figures of Herodotus his speeches; and

*Grecia melius, Persaeque non tri-
stisuram, sed
etiam opem
habent.*
*Deceitfull are
the Persian orna-
ments, deceitfull
are their habiliments.*

So intricate and tortuous,

so winding quite through,

As nothing found is therein found,

But all turns round about.

And like as painters make their light colours more apparent and eminent, by the shadows that they put about them; even so *Herodotus* by seeming to deny that which he affirmeth, doth enforce and amplify his calumniation so much the more; and by ambiguities and doubtfull speeches, maketh suspitions the deeper. But if the Argives would not enter into the common league with all other Greeks, but held off and stood out upon a jealousy of sovereign command or emulation of vertue and valour against the Lacedaemonians; no man will say the contrary, but that they greatly dishonoured the memorie of their progenitor *Heracles*, and degraded the nobilitie of their race. For better it had bene, and more becoming, for the Siphnians and

Cithnians,

Cithnians, the inhabitants of two little Isles, to have defended the libertie of *Greece*, than by striving thus with the Spartans, and contending about the prerogative of command, to shift off and avoid so many combats and so honourable pieces of service. And if they were the Argives, who called the king of *Persia* into *Greece*, because their sword was not so sharpe as the Lacedaemonians was; and for that they could not make their part good with themselves; what is the reason, that when the said king was arrived in *Greece*, they shewed not themselves openly to band with the Medes and Persians? And if they were unwilling to be seene in the field and campe with the Barbarian king; why did they not, when they staied behinde at home, invade the territory of the Lacedaemonians? why entered they not againe upon the Thurians country, or by some other meanes prevented & impeached the Lacedaemonians? for in so doing, they had bene able greatly to have endamaged the Greeks, namely, by hindring them from coming into the field at *Plataea* with so puissant a power of armed footmen. But the Athenians verily in this service, he highly extolleth and setteth out with glorious titles, naming them, The favours of *Greece*; which had bene well done of him and justly, if he had not intermingled with these praises, many blames and reprochfull termes. Howbeit now, when he saith, that the Lacedaemonians were abandoned of the other Greeks, and neverthelste, thus forsaken and left alone, having undertaken many woorthy exploits, died honourably in the field, foreseeing that the Greeks favouring the Medes, plotted and combined with king *Xerxes*; is it not evident hereby, that he gave not out those goodly words directly to praise the Athenians, but rather, that he commended them, to the end that he would condemn and defame all other Greeks? For who can now be angry and offended with him, for reviling and reproching in such vile and bitter termes the Thebans and Phocaeans continually as he doth, considering that he condemneth of treason (which never was, but as he guesseth himselfe might have so fallen out) even those who were exposed to all perils of death for the liberties of *Greece*? And as for the Lacedaemonians themselves, he putteth a doubt into our heads, Whether they died manfully in fight, or rather yielded? making slight arguments, God wot, and frivolous conjectures, to impair their honour, in comparison of others that fought at *Thermopylae*.

Moreover, in relating the overthrow and shipwreck which hapned to the king of *Persia* fleet, wherein a mighty and infinite masse of money and money worth was cast away: *Aminocles* a Magnesian citizen (quoth he) and sonne of *Creteus*, was mightily enriched; for he met with infinite treasure aswell in coine as in plate both of silver and gold. But he could not passe over so much as this, and let it go, without some biting nip favouring of malice: For this man (quoth he) who otherwise before-time was but poore and needy, by these windfalls and unexpected cheats became very wealthy: but there befell unto him also an unhappy accident, which troubled him and disgraced his other good fortune, for that he killed his owne sonne. For who seeth not, that he inserteth in his historie these golden words of wrecks, and of great treasure found floating or cast upon the sands by the tides of the sea, of very purpose, to make a fit rourme and a convenient place, wherein he might bestow the murder committed by *Aminocles* upon the person of his owne sonne. And whereas *Aristophanes* the Boeotian wrote, that having demanded money of the Thebans, he could receive none of them; and that when he went about to reason and dispute scholastically with the youth of the city in points of learning, the magistrates (such was their rusticitie and hatred of good letters) would not suffer him: other proofe and argument thereof he putteth downe none: but *Herodotus* gave testimonie with *Aristophanes*, whilst those imputations wherewith he chargeth the Thebans, he putteth downe some falsely, others ignorantly, and some againe upon hatred, as one that had a quarrell against them: for he affirmeth, that the Thebans combined and sided with the Medians at the first upon mere necessity, wherein he saith true. And prophesying as it were of other Greeks, as if they minded to betray and forsake the Lacedaemonians, he commeth in afterwards with this shif, that this was not voluntarily and with their good liking, but upon constraint and necessity, because they were surprised city by city, one after another. But yet he alloweth not unto the Thebans the excuse of the same compulsion, albeit they had sent a band of five hundred men under the conduct of captaine *Mnamias*, for to keep the freights of *Tempe*, and likewise unto the passe of *Thermopylae*, as many as king *Leonides* demanded, who onely together with the Thebans stucke to him and remained with him, when he was forsaken of all other, after they saw how he was environed round about on every side. But after that the Barbarous king, having gotten all the Aeneas, was entred upon their confines, and *Demaratus* the Spartan, being in right of

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mutuall hospitalitie friendly affected to *Apaginus* a chiefe upholder and principall pillar of the Oligarchie, or faction of some few, usurping principalltie, wrought so, as that he brought him first acquainted and afterwards into familiar friendship with the Barbarian king, whiles all other Greeks were embarked and at sea, and none seene upon the land to encounter the enemies. By this meanes, at the last driven they were to accept conditions of peace, and to grow into a composition with the Barbarians, studying themselves brought to so hard termes of necessity for neither had they sea at hand, nor a navy at command as the Athenians, neither dwelt they farre off from the heart of Greece in a most remote angle thereof, as did the Lacedaemonians, but were not above one daies journey and an halfe from the Medians roiall campe, and had already encountered in the streight passages with the kings power, assisted onely with the Spartans 10 and Thebians, where they had the worke and were defeated. And yet this our historiographer is so just and equall, that he saith, The Lacedaemonians seeing themselves forsaken and abandoned of all their allies, were faine to give care unto any composition whatsoever, & to accept a venture what was offered: and so being not able to abolish nor utterly blot out so brave and so glorious an act, nor to denie, but that it was achieved; he goeth about to discredit and deface it with this vile imputation and suspition, writing thus: The allies then and the confederats being sent backe, returned into their countreys and obeyed the commandement of *Leonidas*: onely the Thebians and Thebans remained still with the Lacedaemonians: and as for the Thebans, it was full against their willes, for that *Leonidas* kept them as hostages; but the Thebians were willing thereto, for they said, they would never forsake *Leonidas* nor his company. Swereth he not ap- 20 parently herein, that he carrieth a spitefull and malicious minde particularly against the Thebans, whereby not onely he slandereth the city fallily and unjustly, but also careth not so much, as to make the imputation seeme probable, no nor to conceale at leastwise unto few men, that he might not be espied to have bene privie unto himselfe of contradictions: for having written a litle before, that *Leonidas* seeing his confederates and allies out of heart and altogether discouraged to hazard the fortune of the field, commanded them to depart: a litle after, clean contrary he saith, that he kept the Thebans perforce with him and against their wil, whom by all likelihood he should have driven from him, if they had bene willing to stay, in case that he had them in jealousy and suspition, that they tooke part with the Medians: for seeing he would not have those about him who were cowardly affected, what boot was it to keepe among 30 his soldiers men suspected? For being as he was, a king of the Spartans, and capitaine generall of all the Greeks, he had not bene in his right wits nor found in judgement, if he would have staid with him in hostage foure hundred men well armed, when his owne company were but three hundred in all, especially at such a time when as he saw himselfe hardly bested and beset with enemies, who pressed upon him at once, both before and behind. For howsoever before time he had led them about with him as hostages, probable it was that in such an extremity they would either have had no regard of *Leonidas* and so departed from him, or else that *Leonidas* might have feared to be environed by them rather then by the Barbarians. Over and besides, had not king *Leonidas* bene ridiculous and worthy to be laughed at, to bid other Greeks to depart, as if by tarying they should soone after lose their lives: and to forbid the Thebans, to the 40 end that he might keepe them for the behalfe of other Greeks, he I say who was resolved anon to die in the field; for if he led the men about with him in trueth as hostages, or no better than slaves, he never should have kept them still with those who were at the point to perish and be slaine, but rather delivered them unto other Greeks who went from him. Now whereas there remaineth one cause yet, that a man may alledge, why he retained them still with him, for that peradventure they should all die with him, this good writer hath overthrowen that also, in that he writeth thus of the honorable mind & magnanimity of *Leonidas*, word for word in this wise: *Leonidas* (quoth he) casting and considering all these matters in his minde, & desiring that this glory might redound unto the Spartans alone, sent away his friendly allies every one into their 50 owne countries, therefore rather than because they were of different minds & opinions: for exceeding folly it had bene of his part, to keepe his enemies for to be pertakers of that glory, fro which he repelled his friends. It appeareth then by the effects, that *Leonidas* distrusted not the Thebans, nor thought amisse of them, but reputed them for his good and loiall friends: For he marched with his army into the city of Thebes, and at his request obtained that which to no other was ever granted, namely to be lodged all night and sleepe within the temple of *Hercules*, and the next morning related unto the Thebans, the vision which appeared unto him: For he 60

saw as he thought, all the greatest and most principall cities of Greece in a sea, troubled and disquieted with rough windes and violent tempests, wherein they floted and were tossed to and fro. But the city of Thebes surpassed all the rest, for mounted it was on high up to heaven, & afterwards suddenly the sight thereof was lost, that it would no more be seene. And verily these things as a type resembled that which long time after befell unto that city. But *Herodotus* in writing of this conflict, burieth in silence the bravest act of *Leonidas* himselfe, saying thus much barely: They all lost their lives in the straights, about the top of a certaine hill. But it was far otherwise. For when they were advertised in the night that the enemies had invested them round about, they arose and marched directly to their very campe, yea and advanced so far forth as they came 10 within a litle of the kings roiall pavilion, with a full resolution there to kill him, and to leave their lives all about him. And verily downe they went withall before them, killing, slaying and putting to flight, as many as they met, even as farre as to his tent. But when they could not meet with *Xerxes*, seeking as they did for him in so vast and spacious a campe, as they wandered up and downe searching for him with much adoe, at the last hewed in peeces they were by the Barbarians, who on every side in great number came about them. And albeit we will write in the life of *Leonidas*, many other noble acts and worthy sayings of his, which *Herodotus* hath not once touched, yet it shall not be amisse to quote heere also by the way, some of them. Before that he and his noble troupe departed out of Sparta in this journey, there were exhibited solemne funeral games for his and their fakes, which their fathers and mothers stood to behold: 20 So *Leonidas* himselfe, when one laid unto him, That he led forth very few with him to fight a battell: Yea but they are many enough (quoth he) to die there. His wife asked him when he tooke his leave of her, what he had else to say? No more (quoth he) turning unto her but this, that thou marry againe with some good man, and beare him good children. When he was within the vale or passe of *Thermopylae*, and there invironed, two there were in his company of his owne race and family, whom he desired to save: So he gave unto one of them a letter to carry whether he directed it, because he would send him away: but the party would not take it at his hands, saying in great cholar and indignation, I am come hither to fight like a warrior, and not to conveigh letters as a carrier. The other he commanded for to goe with credence, and a mes- 30 sage from him unto the magistrats of Sparta: but he made answer not by word of mouth, but by his deed: for he tooke up his shield in hand and went directly to his place, where he was appointed to fight. Would not any man have blamed another for leaving out these things? But this writer having taken the paines to collect and put in writing the bason and close scoole of *Amasis*, and how he brake winde over it; the coming in of certaine asses which a theefe did drive; the congariy or giving of certaine bottles of wine, and many other matters of such good stuffe; can never be thought, to have omitted through negligence, nor by oversight and forgetfulness, so many worthy exploits, and notable sayings: but even of peevishnesse, malice and injustice, to some. And thus he saith, that the Thebans at first being with the Greeks, fought indeed, but it was by compulsion, because they were held there by force. For it should seeme forthwith, that not only *Xerxes*, but *Leonidas* also, had about him a company that folowed 40 the campe with whips, to scourge those I trow, who lagged behinde, and these good fellows held the Thebans to it, and made them to fight against their willes: And thus he saith that they fought perforce, who might have fled and gone their waies: and that willingly they tooke part with the Medes, whereas there was not one came in to succor them. And a litle after, he writeth, that when others made hast to gaine the hill, the Thebans being disbanded and divided asunder, both stretched forth their hands unto the Barbarians, and as they approached neere unto them, said that which was most true, namely, that they were Medians in heart, and so in token of homage and fealty, gave unto the king water and earth: that being kept by force they were compelled to come into this passe of *Thermopylae*, and could not doe withall, that their king was wounded, but were altogether innocent thereof: By which allegations they went cleave away with 50 their matter: For they had the Theffalians witnesses of these their words and reasons. Lo how this apologie and justification of theirs, had audience among those barbarous outries of so many thousand men, in those confused shouts and dissonant noises, where there was nothing but running and flying away of one side, chasing and pursuit of another: See how the witnesses were depofed, heard and examined. The Theffalians also amid the throng and rout of those that were knocked downe and killed, and over those heapes of bodies which were troden under foot (for all was done in a very gullet and narrow passage) pleaded no doubt very formally for the 60

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Thebans:

Thebans: for that a little before they having conquered by force of armes all Greece, chased them as far as to the city *Thebes*, after they had vanquished them in battell, and slaine their leader and captaine *Lamius*. For thus much passed even at that very time betweene the Thebans and the Theffalians: whereas otherwise there was not so much as civill love and humanity, that appeared by mutuall offices from one to the other. Besides, how is it possible that the Thebans were saved, by the testimony of the Theffalians? For the Barbarous Medes, as himselfe saith, partly killed outright such as came into their hands: and in part whiles their breath was yet in their bodies, by the commandement of *Xerxes*, let upon them a number of the kings markes, beginning first at the captaine himselfe *Leontides*. And yet neither was *Leontides* the generall of the Thebans at *Thermopyle*, but *Anaxander* as *Aristophanes* writeth out of the Annals, and 10 records in the arches of *Thebes*, as touching their soveraigne magistrates: and so *Nicanor* likewise the Colophonian hath put downe in his cronicle: neither was there ever any man before *Herodotus* who knew that *Xerxes* marked & branded in that manner any Theban: for this had bin an excellent plea in their defence against the foresaid calumination, and a very good meanes for this city to vaunt and boast of such markes given them, as if king *Xerxes* meant to punish and plagueas his greatest and most mortall enemies, *Leontides* and *Leontides*. For he caused the one to be scourged, and his body to be hanged up when he was dead; and the other to be pricked whiles he was alive. And this our Historiographer hath used this cruelty which they threw-
ed unto *Leontides* dead, for a manifest proove that the Barbarous king hated *Leontides* in his life time above all men in the world. And in avouching that the Thebans who sided with the 20 Medes at *Thermopyle* were thus branded & marked as slaves, and afterwards, being thus marked, fought eagerly in the behalfe of the same Barbarians before *Platea*, me thinks he may well say as *Hippocles* the feat moriske dancers, unto whom, when at a feast he bestirred his legges, and hopped artificially about the tables, one said unto him, Thou dancst truly. *Hippocles* answered againe, *Hippocles* careth not greatly for the truth. In his eighth booke he writeth that the Greeks being affrighted like cowards, entered into a resolution for to flie from *Artemisium* into Greece: and that when those of *Euboea* besought them to tarry still awhile, untill such time as they might take order how to bestow their wives, children and familie, they were nothing moved at their prayers, nor gave any care unto them, untill such time as *Hemistocles* took a peece 30 of money of them, and parted the same betweene *Eurybiades* and *Admantus* the Pretour or captaine of the Corinthians. And then they staid longer, and fought a navall battell with the Barbarians. And verily *Pindarus* the Poet, albeit he was not of any confederate city, but of that which was suspected and accused to hold of the Medians side, yet when he had occasion to make mention of the battell at *Artemisium*, brake forth into this exclamation:

*This is the place where Athens youth,
sometime as writers say,
Died with their blood, of liberty
the glorious ground worke lay.*

But *Herodotus* contrariwise, by whom some give out that Greece hath bene graced and adorned, writeth that the said victory was an act of corruption, bribery and mere theft, and that the Greeks fought against their wils, as being bought and sold by their captaines, who tooke money therefore. Neither is here an end of his malice. For all men in manner doe acknowledge and confesse, that the Greeks having gotten the upper hand in sea fight upon this coast, yet abandoned the cape *Artemisium*, and yielded into the Barbarians, upon the newes that they heard of the overthrow received at *Thermopyle*. For it had bene no boot nor to any purpose, for to have sitten still there, and kept the sea for the behoofe of Greece, considering that now the warre was hard at their dores within those straights, and *Xerxes*, master of all the Avenues. But *Herodotus* feigneth, that the Greeks, before they were advertised of *Leontides* death, held a counsell and were in deliberation to flie: For these be his words: Being in great distresse (quoth he) 50 the Athenians especially, who had many of their ships, even the one halfe of their fleet shrewdly brused and shaken, they were in consultation to take their flight into Greece. But let us permit him thus to name or to reproch rather this retreat of theirs before the battell: but he termed it before, a flight: and now at this present he calleth it a flight: and hereafter he will give it the name of flight, so bitterly is he bent to use this vile word, flight. But (quoth he) there came to the Barbarians presently after this, in a barke or light pinnace a man of *Ethica*, who advertised them, how the Greeks had quit the cape *Artemisium* and were fledde: which because they could

could not belevee, they kept the messenger in ward and safe custody, and thereupon put forth certaine swift foists in espiall to discover the truth. What say you *Herodotus*? What is it you write? That they fled as vanquished, whom their very enemies themselves after the battell could not belevee that they fled, as supposing them to have had the better hand a great deale? And deserveth this man to have credit given him, when he writeth of one particular person, or of one city apart by it selfe, who in one bare word, spoileth all Greece of the victory? He overthroweth and demolisheth the very Trophae and monument, that all Greece erected. He abolisheth those titles and inscriptions, which they set up in the honor of *Diana*, on the East side of *Artemisium*, calling all this but pride and vaine glory. And as for the Epigram, it ran to this effect.

10 *From Asia land, all sorts of nations flout
When Athens youth, sometime in navall fight
Had vanquished, and all these coasts about
Disperst their fleet, and therewith put to flight
And slaine the host of Medes: Loe heere in sight
What monuments to thee with due respect,
Diana virgin pure, they did erect.*

He described not the order of the battells, and how the Greeks were ranged, neither hath he shewed what place every city of theirs held, during this terrible fight at sea: but in that retrait of their fleet, which he termeth a flight, he saith, that the Corinthians failed foremost, and the Athenians himmost: he should not then have thus troden under foot, and insulted too much over those Greeks, who tooke part with the Medes: he (I say) who by others is thought to be a Thurian borne, and reckoneth himselfe in the number of the Halicarnassians, and they verily being descended from the Dorians, come with their wives and children to make warre against the Greeks. But this man is so farre off from naming and alledging before the streights and necessities whereto those states were driven, who sided with the Medians, that he reporteth thus much of the Medians, how notwithstanding the Phocaeans were their capitall enemies, yet they sent unto them aforehand, that they would spare their country, without doing any harme or damage unto it, if they might receive from them as a reward, fittie talents of silver. And this wrote he as touching the Phocaeans in these very termes: The Phocaeans (quoth he) were the 30 onely men who in these quarters sided not with the Medians, for no other cause as I finde upon mature consideration, but in regard of the hatred which they bare against the Theffalians: for if the Theffalians had bene affected to the Greeks, I suppose the Phocaeans would have turned to the Medes. And yet a little after, himselfe will say, that thirteene cities of the Phocaeans were set on fire, and burnt to ashes by the Barbarian king, their country laid waste, the temple within the citie *Aber* consumed with fire, their men and women both put to the sword, as many as could not gaine the top of the mount *Parnassus*: Neverthelesse he rangeth them in the number of those that most affectionately tooke part with the Barbarians, who indeed, chose rather to endure all extremities and miseries that warre may bring, than to abandon the defence and maintenance of the honour of Greece. And being not able to reprove the men for any deeds 40 committed, he busied his braines to devise false imputations, forging and framing with his pen divers surmises and suspitions against them, not willing that their intentions should be judged by their acts, if they had not bene of the same minde and affection with the Theffalians, as if they would have renounced the treason, because their country was already seized by others. If then, a man, who would goe about to excuse the Theffalians for siding with the Medes, should say, that they were not willing thereto, but for the hatred which they bare unto the Phocaeans, seeng them adhere and allied to the Greeks, therefore they tooke the contrary side, and gave to the Medes, even against their will and judgement: might not he seeme to be an egregious flatterer, who thus in favour of others, searching honest pretences to colour and cover foule facts, perverteth the truth? Yes verily, as I thinke. How then can it otherwise be, but that he 50 shall be taken for a plaine sycophant, who saith; that the Phocaeans followed not the better for vertue, but because they knew the Theffalians were of a contrary minde and judgement? For he doeth not turne and facher this slander and calumination upon others, as his manner is else where to doe, saying, that he heard say, &c. but he affirmeth, that in conferring all things together, himselfe found no other occasion thereof. He ought then to have alledged withall, his presumptions and prooves; whereby he was perswaded, that they who performe all actions seemable to the best, are yet in will and intention all one with the worst. For the occasion

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which

which he alledgeth, to wit, enmitie, is frivolous, and to be laughed at, because neither the enmitie that was between those of *Aegina* and the Athenians; nor that which the Chalcidians bare against the *Ererians*; nor the Corinthians against the Megarians; was a barre to cinch them for joining together in the league of *Greece*, for the defence of common libertie: like as on the contrary side, the Macedonians most bitter and mortall enemies unto the Theſſalians, and those who plagued them most, diverted them not from the confederacie and alliance with the Barbarians. For the publicke perill, covered and hidde their private quarrels: inſomuch as abandoning and banishing their passions, they gave their consent, either to honesty for vertue, or to profit for necessitie. And yet beside this necessitie, wherewith they found themselves overtaken, yea, and forced to submit themselves to the Medes, they returned againe to the Greeks side: and heereof *Leocrates* the Spartane, giveth direct testimonie in their behalle. Yea and *Herodotus* himselfe being forced and compelled thereto, confesseth in the description of the affaires that passed at *Plataea*, that the Phocians sided with the Greeks. And no marvell is it, if he be so rough and violent with such as have beene unfortunate; when as, even those who were present in the action, and hazarded their whole estate for the good of the common-wealth, he transposeth into the ranke of enemies and traitors. For the men of *Xaxus* sent three gallies or shippes of warre to aide the Barbarians in their service: but one of the captaines of those vessels named *Democritus*, perswaded his other two fellows, to turne, and range rather on the Greeks side. See how he can not for his life, praise, but he must withall dispraise: but looke when some particular person is commended, he must needs by and by condemne a whole citie and nation: Witnesse heereof, among ancient writers, *Hellanicus*, and of our moderne authors, *Ephorus*: for the one faith, that the Naxians came to succour the Greekes with fixe gallies, and the other faith with five: yea and *Herodotus* himselfe is convinced to have feigned and falsified this: For the particular chroniclers of the Naxians write, that before time they had repulsed *Meagabates* the lieutenant of the kings, who with two hundred saile arrived at their Isle, & there ridde at anchor: afterwards drave away *Datis* another generall of his, who as he passed by, burnt their cities. And if it be so as *Herodotus* saith elsewhere, that they themselves detroyed their city, by setting it on fire, but the people saved themselves, by flying into the mountaines, had they good cause to send aid unto those, who were the cause of the ruin and destruction of their owne country, and not to joine with them who fought for the common liberty? But that it was not so much to praise *Democritus*, as to blame the Naxians, that he devised this lie, he sheweth evidently by this, that he concealeth and omitteeth to speake of the valiant feats of armes, which at that time captaine *Democritus* exploited, according as *Simonides* shewed by this Epigram.

*Democritus in third place gave
the charge with all his might,
What time as Greeks nere Salamis,
with Medes at sea did fight,
Five shippes of enemies he tooke:
a sixth there chaunc'd to be,
One of the Greeks in Barbarous hands,
and last recovered he.*

But why should any man be angry with him about the Naxians? For if their be any *Antipodes*, as some say there are, who dwell in the other Hemisphere and goe opposit unto us, I suppose that they also have heard of *Themistocles*, and the counsell that he gave unto the Greeks for to fight a navall battell before *Salamis*, who afterwards caused a temple to be built in the Isle of *Mele*, unto *Diana* the wise counsellor, after that the Barbarous king was discomfited. Now this kinde and gentle chronicler of ours, refusing as much as lieth in him to avow this exploit, and to transfer the glory thereof unto another, writeth expressly thus. When things stood upon these termes, as *Themistocles* went a boord into his owne gally, there was a citizen of *Athens* named *Antiphilus*, who demanded of him what they had resolved upon in their counsell? And when he heard that concluded it was to retire with their fleet unto *Isthmus* or the streights, there to fight a battell at sea even before *Peloponnesus*: I say unto you (quoth he) againe that if they remove the navy from *Salamis*, you shall never fight more upon the sea for any country of your owne: for every man will presently returne home to his owne city. And therefore if there be any device and meanes in the world, goe your waies and indevor to breake this resolution, and if it be possible deale so with *Eurybiades*, that he may change his minde and tarry here still: And a little

little after, when he had said that this advice pleased *Themistocles* wondrous much, & that without making any answer at all he went directly to *Eurybiades*, his writeth againe in these very termes: And sitting neere unto him, he relateth what counsell he had heard *Antiphilus* to give, taking it upon himselfe, and addeth more things besides. Thus see you not how in some sort he brings *Themistocles* unto an ill name and opinion of leaudnesse, in that he attributeth unto himselfe a counsell which was none of his owne, but the invention of *Antiphilus*? And afterwards deciding still the Greeks more and more, he saith that *Themistocles* was no such wise man, as to see what was good and expedient, but failed in his foresight, notwithstanding that for his prudence and cunning he caried the surname of *Ulis*. Mary, lady *Artemisia* borne in the same city that *Herodotus* was, without the prompting or teaching of any person, but even of her own head, fortold *Xerxes* that the Greeks could not hold out long, nor make head against him, but would disband and disperse themselves, & every one fle home unto his owne city: Neither it is like (quoth she) if you march with your army by land unto *Peloponnesus*, that they will be quiet and sit still, and take no care to fight at sea for the Athenians: Whereas, Sir, if you make halt to give them a navall battell, I feare me greatly that if your armada receive any foile or damage, it will greatly prejudice your land forces. But here *Herodotus* wanted nothing but his propheticall verses, to make *Artemisia* another *Sibylla*, prophesying of things to come so exactly. Well in regard of this advertisement *Xerxes* gave her commission to carry his children with her to the city of *Ephesus*: for he had forgotten belike, to bring any women with him from his roiall city of *Susa*, in case his children needed a convoy of women to conduct them. But I make no account of such lies as these which he hath devised against us; yet let us onely examine a little what slanders he hath raised upon others. He faith that the Athenians give out, how *Adimantus* the captaine of the Corinthians, when the enemies were at the point of giving the charge, and joining battell, in great feare and astonishment fled, not by shewing the ship backward at the poupe by little and little after a soft manner of retreat, nor yet making way of evasion and escape closely and with silence through his enemies; but hoisting up and spreading full saile, and turning the proes and beake heads about of all his vessels at once. And then there was a fregat or swift pinnace sent out after him, which overtook him about the coasts of *Salamis*, out of which one cried out unto him: What *Adimantus*, doe you flee indeed, and have you abandoned and betrayed the Greeks? And yet they have the better hand, according as they made their prayers unto the gods for to vanquish their enemies. Now this fregat, we must thinke verily came downe from heaven: for what need had he to use any such tragique engine, or fabrick to worke such feats, who every where else surpasseth all the Poets tragical in the world, for lying and vanity. Well *Adimantus* beleieving the said voice, was reclaimed and returned againe to the armada, when all was done, and the businesse dispatched by others to his hands. Thus goes the bruit and speech among the Athenians. But the Corinthians confess not so much, saying that they themselves were the formost who in the vaward gave the first onſet and charged the enemies in this battell at sea: and on their side beare witness all the other Greeks. And thus dealeth this man in many other places: He soweth slanders here and there upon one or other, to the end that he may not misse but light upon some, fall it out as it will, who may appear most wicked. Like as in this place he speedeth very well in his purpose. For if his slander and accusation be beleaved, the Corinthians shall sustaine infamie: if discredited, the Athenians shall beare the dishonor: or if the Athenians have notlied upon the Corinthians, yet himselfe hath spared neither of them, but told a lie of them both. For prooffe hereof, *Thucydides* who bringeth in an embassador of *Athens*, to contest against a Corinthian at *Lacedaemon*, and speake bravely of their owne worthy exploits against the Medes, and namely, of the navall battell of *Salamis*, chargeth upon the Corinthians no matter of treason nor cowardise in abandoning their colours: for there is no likelihood, that the Athenians would have reproched the city of *Corinth* in such termes, considering that they saw it engraven in the third place after the *Lacedaemonians*, and those inscriptions of spoiles which wooon from the Barbarians, were consecrated to the gods. And at *Salamis*, they permitted them to interre and bury their dead neere to the citie side, as who were brave warriors, and had borne themselves most valiantly in that service, with an inscription in Elegick verses to this effect:

*Once (passenger) we dwell in Corinth towne,
Well watered with sea on either side:
And now our bones this Isle of Irenome,*

High

*Flight Salamis, within arie mould doth hide:
Phœnician ships we sunk, that here did ride:
The Medes so stout we slew and Persians brave,
That sacred Greece from bondage we might save.*

But their Cenotaph or imaginary tombe which was erected in *Isthmus*, carieth this Epitaph:
*Loe here we lie, who with our lives set free
All Greece, neere brought to shamefull slavery.*

Likewise over the offerings which *Diodorus* one of the captains of the Corinthian gallies, caused to be set up in the temple of *Latona*, there was this superscription:

*From cruell Medes, these armes which hang in sight,
The mainers of Theodoros won:
And as memorials of their navall fight,
To dame Latona offered them anon.*

Adimant himselfe, whom *Herodotus* evermore doth revile and reproch, saying, That he alone of all the captaines, went away with a full purpose to flie from *Artemisium*, and would not stay untill the conflict; see what honour he had:

*Friend passenger, here lies Sir Adimant
Entomb'd, by whose prowesse valiant,
All Greece is crown'd with freedome at this day,
Which els had bene to thraldome brought for ay.*

For neither is it like that such honour should have beene done unto him after his death, if hee had bene a coward and a traitor; neither would he ever have dared to name one of his daughters *Nausicea*, that is to say, Victorie in battell at sea; another, *Acrothion*, which is as much, as the first fruits of spoiles won from enemies; and a third, *Alexibia*, that is to say, Aide against force: also to give unto his sonne the name of *Arseus*, which signifieth a brave warrior: if he had not won some glory and reputation by worthy feats of armes. Moreover, it is not credible, I will not say, that *Herodotus*, but the meanest and most obscure Carian that is, was ignorant of that glorious and memorable praier which in those daies the Corinthian dames alone of all other Grecian wives made, That it might please the goddesse *Venus* to inspire their husbands with the love and desire to give battell unto the Barbarians. For this was a thing commonly known and divulged abroad, inasmuch as *Simonides* made an Epigram engraven over those their images of brasie, which are set up in the temple of *Venus*, which by report was founded in times past by *Medea*, as some say, to this end, that the herselfe might cease to love her husband; but as others, that *Jason* her husband might give over the love of one *Thetis*. And the said Epigram goeth in this manner:

*These ladies here, whose statues stand in place,
Did whilom praier to goddesse Venus make,
In Greeks behalfe that it might please her grace
Them to incite, the warres to undertake.
Dame Venus then, for those good womens sake
To Median archers expos'd not as a pray
The Greeks, nor would their Citadell betray.*

Such matters as these, he should have written and mademention of, rather than inserted into his historie, how *Aminocles* killed his owne sonne. Over and besides, after he had satisfied himselfe to the full with most impudent imputations which he charged upon *Themistocles*, accusing him, that he ceased not secretly to rob and spoile the Isles, without the knowledge of the other captaines joined in commision with him; in the end, taketh from the Athenians the crowne of principall valiance, and setteth it upon the head of the Aeginets, writing thus: The Greeks having sent the first fruits of their spoiles and pillage unto the temple at *Delphos*, demanded of *Apollo* in generall, whether he had sufficient, and stood content with that portion of the bootie: unto whom he answered, that of all other Greeks, he had received enough, & wherewith he was well pleased: but of the Aeginets not so; at whose hands he required the chiefe prize and honor of prowesse, which they woon at the battell of *Salamis*. Thus you see he fattereth not upon the Scythians, the Persians or Aegyptians his lying tale, which he coggeth and deviseth, as *Aesop* doth upon crows, ravens and apes; but he useth the very person of god *Apollo Pythius*, for to disappoint and deprive the Athenians of the first place in honor, at the battell of *Salamis*; as also

Themistocles

Themistocles of the second, which was adjudged unto him at *Isthmus* or the streights of *Peloponnesus*; for that each captaine there, attributed the highest degree of prowesse to himselfe, and the next unto him: and thus the judgement hereof growing to no end and conclusion, by reason of the ambition of the said captaines, he saith, All the Greeks weighed anchor and departed, as not being willing to conferre upon *Themistocles* the soveraigne honour of the victorie. And in his ninth and last booke, having nothing left to wreake his teene upon, and to discharge his malicious and spitefull stomack, but only the Lacedaemonians, and that excellent piece of service which they performed against the Barbarians before the city of *Platea*, he writeth, That the Lacedaemonians, who aforetime feared greatly, that the Athenians being solicited and perswaded by *Maronissa*, would forsake all other Greeks: now that the Streights of *Isthmus* were murdered up & their country safe enough, they tooke no further care of others, but left them at six and seven, feasting & making holiday at home, deluding the embassadors of the Athenians, and holding them off with delays, and not giving them their dispatch. And how is it then, that there went to *Platea* a thousand and five Spartans, having every one of them seven flotes about him, for the guard of his person? How is it (I say) that they taking upon them the adventure of so great a perill, vanquished and discomfited so many thousands of Barbarians? But hearken what a probable cause hee alledgeth: There was (quoth he) by chance, a man at *Sparta*, named *Chileus*, who came from *Tegen* thither, and sojourned there, for that among the Ephori he had some friends, as betwene whom and him there was mutuall hospitalitie: He it was who persuaded them to bring their forces into the field, shewing unto them that the bulwarke and wall for the defence of *Peloponnesus* would serve in small stead or none, if the Athenians joined once with *Maronissus*; and this was it that drew *Paufanias* forth with his power to *Platea*: so that if some particular businesse haply had kept *Chileus* at home still in *Tegen*, *Greece* had never gotten the victorie. Againe, not knowing another time what to doe with the Athenians: one while he extollet their city on high, and another while he debaseth it as low, toffing it to and fro, saying, that being in question about the second place of honor with the *Tegates*, they made mention of the *Heracidas*, alledging their valiant acts, which before time they had achieved against the Amazones: the sepulchres also of the *Peloponnesians*, who died under the very walls of the castle *Cadmea*; and finally that they went downe to *Marathon* vaunting gloriously in words, and taking great joy that they had the conduct of the left wing or point of the battell. Also a little after, he putteth downe, that *Paufanias* & the Spartans willingly yielded the superiority of command to them, and desired them to take the charge of the right wing themselves, to the end they might confront the Persians, and give them the left; as if they had excused themselves by their disuse, in that they were wont to encounter with the Barbarians. And verily, albeit this is a meere mockerie, to say, that they were unwilling to deale with those enemies, who were not accustomed to fight with them: yet he saith moreover, that all the other Greeks, when their captaines ledde them into another place for to encampe in, so soone as ever their standers marched & advanced forward: The horsemen (quoth he) in generall fled, and would willingly have put themselves within the city *Platea*, but they fledde indeed as fast as to the temple of *Juno*. Wherein he accuseth all the Greeks together of disobedience, cowardise, and treason. Finally, he writeth that there were none but the Lacedaemonians and the *Tegates* who charged the Barbarians; nor any besides the Athenians, who fought with the Thebans depriving all other cities equally of their part in the glory of that so noble an exploit: for that there was not one of them who laid hand to worke, but sitting all still, or leaning upon their weapons hard by, abandoning and betraying in the meane time, without doing ought, those who fought for their safetie, untill that the Philisians, and the Megarians, though long it were first, hearing that *Paufanias* had the upper hand, ranne in with more haste than good speed, and falling upon the cavallerie of the Thebans, where they were presently defatied and slaine, without any great adoe: But the Corinthians (quoth he) were not at this fray, but after the victorie, keeping above on the high ground among the mountaines, by that means met not with the Thebanes horsemen. For the cavallerie of the Thebanes, seeing the Barbarians to fly all in a rout, put themselves forth before them, to make them way, and by this meanes very affectionately assisted them in their flight, and all in recompence and by way of thanksgiving, forsooth, (for so you must take it) for those marks which were given them in their faces, within the streight of *Thermopila*. But in what ranke and place of this battell the Corinthians were raunged, and how they did their devoir, and quit themselves against the Barbarians before *Pla-*

166.

i.e., you may know by that which *Simonides* writeth of them in these verses:

*Amid the host arranged flood,
and in the battell maine,
Those who inhabit Epheira,
waters with many a vaine
Of brackish springs: Men who in seats
of martiall armes excell:
And joyned with them, they that inold
for Glaucus cite awell,
Faire Corinth light: and these their deeds
of prowess to expresse,
A stately gift of precious gold,
did afterwards adresse,
And consecrate to gods above
in heav'ns: and by the same
Much amplified their owne renowne,
and their forefathers fame.*

For this wrote he of them, not by way of a scholasticall exercise, as if he taught a schoole in *Corinth*: nor as one who of purpose made a song or balad in praise of the city, but as a chronicler penning the historie of these affaires in elegiack verses to that effect. But this writer here of ours, preventeth the conviction of a loud lie, lest he might be taken therewith, by those that should demand of him in this manner: How cometh it then to passe that there be so many sepulchres, tombes, graves, and monuments of the dead, upon which the Plateans even to this day doe solemnly celebrate the anniversarie effusions, to the ghosts and soules of those that are departed, in the presence of other Greeks assiant with them? And verily in mine opinion he seemeth yet more shamefully to charge these nations with the crime of treason, in these words following: And these sepulchres or places of buriall which are seene about *Platea*, those I meane which their posteritie and successors, being ashamed of this foule fault, that their progenitors were not at this battell, or came too late, cast up, and raised on high, every man for his part in generall, for the posteritie sake. As for *Herodotus* he is the onely man of all others who hath heard of this absence from the battell, which is reputed treason: But *Paulanias*, *Aristides*, the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians, never knew of those Greeks who made default, and would not be at this dangerous conflict: And yet the Athenians neither impeached the Aeginetes though they were their adversaries, that they were not comprised within the inscription, nor yet charged and convinced the Corinthians for flying from the battell at *Salamis*, considering that *Greece* beareth witness against them. And verily as *Herodotus* himselfe doth testifie, ten yeeres after this warre of the Medes, *Cleades* a citizen of *Platea*, to gratifie and pleasure the Aeginetes as a friend, raised a great mount bearing their name, as if they had bene interred therein. What ailed then the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, or what moved them, being so jealous one of another about this glory as they were, that they had like to have gone together by the eares presently upon the exploit performed, for erecting of a Tropae or monument of victory, not to deprive them of the price of honor, who upon cowardly feare were either away or else fled from the service, but to suffer their names to be written upon the Tropae, Colopes and giantlike statues erected in memoriall of them, allowing them their part in the spoiles and pillage, yea and in the end causing this Epigram or superscription to be engraven upon a publike alter?

*The Greeks in signe of noble victory,
Which they sometimes won of the Persians host,
And to retain the thankfull memory
That they them drove away from Gretian coast,
(So resolute they were or else all had bene lost)
This common alter built to Jupiter
Surnamed hereupon Deliverer.*

How now *Herodotus*, was it *Cleades*, or some other I pray you, who in flatterie of the Greeks, made this Epigram or Inscription? VVhat need had they then to take such paines & trouble themselves in digging the ground in vain, & by casting up of earth raise such mounts & monuments for

for the age to come, when as they might see their glory consecrated and immortalized in these most conspicuous and famous memorials, dedicated to the honor of the gods? And wofully *Paulanias*, when as he intended, as men say to usurpe tyrannicall government, in a certaine oblation which he offered in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delfos*, for this inscription;

*Paulanias the captaine generall
Of all the Greeks: when he had conquered
The Medes in fight, for a memoriall
This monument to Phœbus offered.*

And albeit in some sort he communicated the glory of this execution with the Greeks, whose sovereign captaine he termed himselfe, yet the Greeks being not able to endure it, but utterly mistaking him therefore, the Lacedaemonians above the rest sent their embassadors unto *Delfos*, and caused the said Epigram to be cut out with a chizzell, and in lieu thereof, the names of the cities, as good reason was, to be engraven: And yet what likelihood is there, that either the Greeks should take offence and discontentment for being left out in this inscription, in case they were culpable, and privy to themselves, that they were not with others at the battell? or the Lacedaemonians when they raced out and defaced the name of their general and chiefe commander, cause to be written and engraven their names, who had forsaken and left them in the middelt of danger? For this were a manifest indignity, and most absurd, if when *Socarrus Dipnistus*, and all those that performed the best service in that journey, never grieved nor complained that the Cynthians and Melians had their names recorded in those Tropae, *Herodotus* in attributing the honor of this battell unto three cities onely, should dash all others out, and not suffer their names to stand upon any Tropae or consecrated places: For whereas there were foure battels given then unto the Barbarians, he saith, that the Greeks fled from the cape *Artemisium*: And at the passe or streights of *Thermopyle*, whilost their king and soveraigne captaine exposed himselfe to the hazzard of his life, they kept themselves close at home and the still, taking no thought for the matter, but solemnized their Olympicke games and Carnian feasts.

Moreover when he cometh to distribute the battell at *Salamis*, he speaketh so much of *Artemisa*, that he spendeth not so many words againe, in all the narration of that navall battell, and the issue thereof. Finally as touching the journey of *Platea*, he saith that all other Greeks, fitting idly at their ease, knew nothing of the field fought, before all was done, according as *Pigres Artimifus* being pleasantly disposed to jest, writeth merrily in verse, that there was a battell betweene frogs and mice, wherein they were agreed to keepe silence, & make no noise at the whiles they fought; to the end that no others might take any knowledge thereof: also that the Lacedaemonians were no better warriors nor more valiant than the Barbarians: But their shap was to defeat and vanquish them, because they were naked men and disarmed: For *Xerxes* himselfe being present in person, if they had not bene followed with whips & scourged forward, had never bene able to have made them fight with the Greeks; many in this journey of *Platea*, having changed their hearts and courages (for needs it must be so) they were nothing inferior in boldnesse of heart, strength of body, and resolution to the Greeks; but it was the apparell, which wanting armes upon it, hurt them so much & marred al, for being themselves lightly appointed and in maner naked, they had to deale with the Lacedaemonians that were heavily armed at all pieces. What honor then or great matter of glory could redound unto the Greeks out of these foure battels, in case it be so that the Lacedaemonians encountered naked and unarmed men? And for the other Greeks although they were in those parts present, yet if they knew not of the combat, until the service was done to their hands: and if the tombs honored yearly by the severall cities belonging to them, be empty, and mockeries onely of monuments and sepulchres; and if the trevets and altars erected before the gods, be full of false titles and inscriptions; and *Herodotus* onely knew the truth; and all men in the world besides, who have heard of the Greeks, and were quite deceived by the honorable name and opinion that went of them for their singular prowess and admirable vertues; what is their then to be thought or said of *Herodotus*? Surely that he is an excellent writer, and de painted things to the life: he is a fine man; he hath an eloquent tongue: his discourses are full of grace, they are pleasant, beautiful, and artificiall: and as it was said of a Poet or Musician in telling his tale; how ever he hath pronounced his narration and history not with knowledge and learning, yet surely he hath done it elegantly, smoothly, and with an audible and cleare voice. And these I wis be the things that move delight and doe affect all that reade him. But like as among roses we must beware of the veni-

mous flies *Cantharides*: even so we ought to take heed of detractions and backbiting of his base penning likewise of things deserving great praise, which insinuate themselves and creepe under his smooth stile, polished phrase and figurative speeches: to the end, that ere we be aware we intertaine not, nor foster in our heads, false conceits and absurd opinions of the bravest men and noblest cities of *Greece*.



OF MUSICK.

A Dialogue.

*The persons therein discoursing: O NESICRATES,
SOTERICUS, LYSIAS.*

This treatise, little or nothing at all concerneth the Musicke of many voices according and interlaced together, which is in use and request at this day; but rather appertaineth to the ancient fashion, which consisteth in the accord and consonance of song with the sense and measure of the letter, as also with the good grace of gesture: and by the stile and manner of writing, it seemeth not to be of *Plutarchs* doing.



He wife of that good man *Phocion*, was wont to say, that the jewels and ornaments wherein she joied, were those stratagemes and worthy feats of armes which her husband *Phocion* had achieved: but I for my part may well and truly avouch, that the ornaments not onely of my selfe in particular, but also of all my friends and kind-folke in generall, is the diligence of my schoolmaster and his affection in teaching me good literature. For this we know full well, that the noblest exploits and bravest pieces of service performed by great generals and captaines in the field, can doe no more but onely save from present perill or imminent danger, some small armie, or some onecitie, or haply at the most, one entire nation and countrey; but are not able to make either their fouldiers, or citizens, or their countrey men, better in any respect: whereas on the other side, good erudition and learning, being the very substance indeed of felicitie, and the efficient cause of prudence and wisdom, is found to be good and profitable not onely to one family, city and nation, but generally to all mankind. By how much therefore the profit and commodity ensuing upon knowledge and good letters is greater than that which proceedeth from all stratagemes or martiall feats; by so much is the remembrance and relation thereof more worthy and commendable. Now it fortuned not long since, that our gentle friend *Onesicrates* invited unto a feast in his house, the second day of the Saturnall solemnities, certaine persons very expert and skilfull in Musicke, and among the rest, *Soterichus of Alexandria*, and *Lysias*, one of those who received a pension from him: and after the ordinary ceremonies and complements of such feasts were performed, he began to make a speech unto his company after this manner: My good friends (quoth he) I suppose, that it would not become a feast or banquet, to search at this time what is the efficient cause of mans voice; for, a question it is, that would require better leasure and more fabrictie: but forasmuch as the best Grammarians define voice, to be the bearing or percussion of the aire, perceptible unto the sense of hearing, and because

cause that yesterday we enquired and disputed as touching Grammar, and found it to be an art making profession and very meet, to frame and shape voices according to lines and letters, yea, and to lay them up in writing, as in the treasury and storehouse of memorie; let us now see what is the second science next to it, that is meet and agreeable to the voice: and this I take to be Musicke. For a devout and religious thing it is, yea, and a principall duty belonging unto men, for to sing the praises of the gods, who have bestowed upon them alone this gift of a distinct and articulate voice: which *Homer* also by his testimonie hath declared in these verses:

*Then all day long the Grecian youth
in songs melodious*

*Besought god Phœbus of his grace,
to be propitious:*

*Phœbus I say, who from afarre
doth shoot his arrowes nie,*

*They chaunt and praise; who takes great joy,
to heare such harmony.*

Go to therefore my masters, you that are professed Musicians, relate unto this good company here that are your friends, who was the first inventor of Musicke; what it is that time hath added unto it afterwards; who they were that became famous by the exercise and profession of this science; as also, to how many things and to what, is the said study and practise profitable.

Thus much as touching that which *Onesicrates* our master moved and propounded; whereupon *Lysias* inferred againe, and said: You demand a question, good *Onesicrates*, which hath already beene handled and discussed: for the most part of the Platonique Philosophers, and the best sort of the Peripateticks have employed themselves in the writing of the ancient Musicke, and of the corruption that in time crept into it. The best Grammarians also and most cunning Musicians, have taken great paines and travelled much in this argument; and yet there is no small discord and jarre among them, as harmonically otherwise as they be about these points. *Heracles* in his *Breviary*, wherein he hath collected together all the excellent professors of Musicke, writeth that *Amphion* devised first the manner of singing to the Lute or Citherne, as also the Citharedian poësie; for being the sonne of *Antiope* and *Jupiter*, his father taught him that skill. And this may be proved true, by an olde evidence or record enrolled, and diligently kept in the city *Sigione*, wherein he nameth certaine Priestesses in *Argos*, as also Poets and Musicians. In the same age, he saith, there lived *Linos* also of *Eubœa*, who composed certaine lamentable and dolefull ditties; *Anthes* likewise of *Antheion* in *Bœotia*, who made hymnes; and *Pierius* borne in *Pieria*, who wrote poëmes upon the Muses: he maketh mention besides of *Philommon* a Delphian, who reduced into songs and canticles the nativity of *Latona*, *Diana* and *Apollo*; and he it was who instituted first the quires and dances about the temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*. And as for *Thamyris* a Thracian borne, he reporteth, that of all men living in those daies, he had the sweetest brest, and sung most melodiously, inasmuch as if we may beleve Poets, hee challenged the Muses, & contended with them in singing. It is written moreover, that this *Thamyris* compiled in verse the warre of the Titans against the Gods; as also, that *Demodocus* of *Coryra* was an ancient Musician, who ended a poeme of the destruction of *Troy*, and the marriage betweene *Venus* and *Vulcane*: Semblably, that *Phemus* of *Ithaca* wrote in verse of the returne of those Greeks from *Troy*, who came home againe with *Agamemnon*. Furthermore, it is said, that the stile of those poemes above said, was not loose and in prose, without metrical numbers, but like unto that of *Stesichorus* and other old Poets and song-makers, who first made naked ditties in verse, and afterwards arrayed them with Musickall tunes and notes: for the same author reporteth, that *Terpander* a maker of songs with notes and measures to be sung unto the Lute or Cithern, according to each law and rule of the said measures, adorned both his owne verses and those of *Homer* also, with harmonicall tunes, and sung them accordingly at the solemne games, wherein Musicians sing one against the other for the prize: he affirmeth likewise, that the same *Terpander* was the first who imposed names and termes to those tunes which are to be sung to the foresaid stringed instruments: and in imitation of *Terpander*, *Clonius* first composed songs and set tunes to the fluit and other wind instruments, as also the *Protophides* and others sung at the entrie of sacrifices, and that he was a Poet who made Elegiacke and Hexameter verses; also, that *Polyphemus* the Colophonian, who came after him, used likewise the same poëmes. Now the Metrickall lawes and songs in measures, called in Greeke *Nyctos*, which these Po-

ets, and Musicians used to the pipe, were termed (good *Onesiferates*) in this sort, namely, *Apothetas*, *Elegi*, *Comarchios*, *Schaenon*, *Cepion*, *Dios* and *Trimeles*: but in proceffe of time, were devised others beside, called *Polymnestia*. As for the Musicall lawes or tunes to be sung unto the stringed instrument, they were invented long time before those other belonging to pipes, by *Terpander*; for he beforetime named those of the stringed instruments, *Bæolius*, *Aelius*, *Trochæus*, *Oxyis*, *Cæpion*, *Terpandrius* and *Tetræædius*. Furthermore, the said *Terpander* made certaine proemes or voluntary songs to the Lute, in verse. Now, that the songs or ditties to be sung unto stringed instruments, were composed in olde time of Hexamiter verses, *Timotheus* giveth us to understand; for mingling the first metrical rules in his verses, he sung the Dithyrambick ditty, to the end, that he might not seeme immediately at the first, to breake the lawes of the ancient Musicke. This *Terpander* seemeth to have beene excellent in the art of playing upon the Lute and singing to it; for wee finde upon record in ancient tables written, that foure times together, one after another, he caried the prise away at the Pythian games: and no doubt, of great antiquitie he was. Certes, *Glaucus* the Italian writer, will have him to be more ancient than *Archilochus*; for so he writeth in a certaine treatise as touching the olde Poets and Musicians, saying, that he followed in the second place after those who instituted first songs unto the flute and other pipes. And *Alexander* in his Breviary of the Poets and Musicians of *Phrygia*, recordeth *Olympus* to be the first man who brought into *Greece* the feat and skill of striking the strings of instruments, and besides, those that are called *Idæi Daſylæ*. But *Hyagnis* was the first by his saying, who played upon pipes: after him, his sonne *Marſyas*, and then *Olympus*: also, that *Terpander* imitated *Homer* in verses, and *Orpheus* in song: as for *Orpheus*, it should seeme, that he imitated none, considering that before him there was not one, but those Poets who made ditties and songs to pipes, wherewith the works of *Orpheus* have no resemblance at all. Touching this *Clonæ* a composer of songs and tunes for the pipe, who lived somewhat after the time of *Terpander*, he was a Tegeæan borne, as the Arcadians say, or rather as the Boeotians give out, a Theban. After *Terpander* and *Clonæ*, *Archilochus* is ranged in a third place, howsoever other Chroniclers write, that *Ardalus* the Troezenian ordained the Musicke of pipes before *Clonæ*, as also, that there was one *Polymnestus* a Poet the sonne of *Atleza* Colophonian, who made those tunes and songs which carie the name of *Polymnestos* and *Polymnestæ*. True it is, that those who compiled the tables and records of Musicians, make mention that *Clonæ* devised these two songs or tunes named *Apothetas* and *Schaenias*. And as for the above named *Polymnestus*, *Pindarus* and *Alcman*, both song-makers, made mention of him; and they report besides, that olde *Philonon* of *Delphos* composed some of those songs and tunes to the Lute and Harpe, which be attributed unto *Terpander*. In summe, the song and musicke to the Lute and Harpe, devised by *Terpander*, continued very plaine and simple, unto the daies of *Phrynis*: for in olde time, it was not lawfull to sing voluntary, as now they do at their pleasure, to stringed instruments; nor to transcribe either harmonies or musicall numbers and measures: for according to every long and time, they kept a proper and peculiar tension or stretching of the strings; which is the reason that they be called *Nævæ*, as one would say, Lawes, because it was not lawfull to transgresse in any of these songs or tunes, that severall kinde of tension & stretching the strings, which was usual and ordinary. For after that they had performed those songs which appertained to the pacifying of Gods wrath, they leapt immediately to the Poetrie of *Homer* and of others, at their pleasure, which may evidently appeare, by the proemes and voluntarie tunes of *Terpander*. And verily, about this time, according as *Cæpion* the scholar of *Terpander* reporteth, was first formed that manner of Lute or Cithern which was called *Asia*, for that the Lesbian Minstrels and Musicians, who bordered hard upon *Asia*, used such a forme: and it is said, that *Periclitus* was the last player upon such an instrument, who wan the prise at the Carnian games at *Lacedæmon*, of all those who were Lesbians borne: after whose death ever after, there failed in *Lesbos*, that continual succession of such Musicians. But some there be, who are greatly deceived, to thinke that *Hippanax* was of the same time with *Terpander*: and it seemeth that even *Periclitus* was more ancient than *Hippanax*.

Having thus declared the olde metrical songs and tunes jointly together, of Musicians to stringed instruments and pipes, let us turne now to such as properly concerne those that pertaine to players upon pipes alone: for it is said, that the above-named *Olympus* being a player of the flute and other pipes, and came out of *Phrygia*, let a song to his instrument in the honor and praise of *Apollo*, and the same was called *Polycephalus*: and by report, this *Olympus* descended lineally

lineally from that first *Olympus* the scholar of *Marſyas*, who composed ditties, and set tunes for the worship of the gods: for this *Olympus* being the darling of *Marſyas*, and singularly loved of him, learned likewise of him to play upon the flute and other pipes, and by that meanes brought into *Greece* those harmonical tunes and songs, which at this day the *Greeks* use at the solemne feasts of the gods. Others are of opinion, that the forsaide song or tune *Polycephalus*, is to be ascribed unto *Crates* a scholar of *Olympus*: but *Pratinas* writeth, that this song came from another *Olympus* of later time; and as for that other kinde of song or tune, named *Harmation*, the first *Olympus*, discipule to *Marſyas*, by report, composed it. And some thet be wiffo holde, that *Marſyas* was named *Mæſes*: others say no, and that he was called *Marſyas* onely, beinge the sonne of *Hyagnis*, who first devised the art of playing upon the flute. And that this *Olympus* was the authour of the musicke or tune, named *Harmatias*, appeareth by the table or register of the ancient Poets, collected by *Glaucus*: and by the same, a man may also learne, that *Stesichorus* borne in *Himera*, propoſed to himſelfe for to imitate, neither *Terpander*, nor *Archilochus*, ne yet *Thaletas*, but *Olympus*; using altogether the law of Musicke *Harmatias*, and that forme of measure which is according to *Daſylus*: and that, some say, arifeth from the loud musicke called *Orthios*, but others hold, that it was an invention of the Myſians, for that there were certaine ancient pipers of the Myſians. Moreover, there is another antique song or tune, called *Crædus*, according to which (as *Hippanax* saith) *Mimnermus* plaied: for at the beginning, the minstrels and plaiers of pipes, sung certaine Elegies, reduced into measures and metrical lawes, which appeareth by the tables and registers, that tellife what Musicians they were, that contended at the games of prise, in the festivall Panathenacke ſolemnnities. Moreover, there was one *Sacædas* of *Argos*, a Poet that made songs and elegies or ditties, reduced into measures, for to be sung: and reckoned hee is among the better sort of Poets, and as it appeareth upon record in those registers, hee wanne the best game three times at the Pythian ſolemnnities. And *Pindarus* himſelfe maketh mention of him. And whereas there be three kindes of tunes and measures in Musicke, according to *Polymnestus* and *Sacædas*, to wit, the Prygian, Dorian, and the Lydian, they say, that in every one of them *Sacædas* made a certaine flexion or tune, called Strophe, and taught the Chorus to sing the first according to the Dorian tune; the second after the Phrygian measures; and the third, to the Lydian musicke: and that this manner of song was thereupon called *Trimeres*, by reason of the three changes or parts: Howbeit, in the tables and registers of the auncient Poets, which are to be ſeene at *Sigone*; it is observed and noted, that it was *Clonæ* who devised this melody or musicke *Trimeres*. Now the first manner of musicke, ordeined and instituted in the city of *Sparta*, by *Terpander*, was in ſuch fort. The second was appointed as it is moſt generally received, by *Thaletas* the Gortynian, by *Xenodamus* the Cytherian, *Xenocritus* the Locrian, *Polymnestus* the Colophonian, and *Sacædas* the Argive; as the principall authors and directors: for as these were they who instituted first at *Lacedæmon* the naked daunces called *Gymnopedias*, ſo in *Crete* they ordeined those that were termed *Apodixes*; and in *Argos* the *Endymatias*. As for *Thaletas*, *Xenodamus*, and *Xenocritus*, they were the Poets that composed the songs of victorie, named *Pæanes*: *Polymnestus*, of the Orthian 40 canticles; and *Sacædas* of the elegies. Others say, that *Xenodamus* was the Poet who invented the songs entituled *Hyporchemata*, at the found wherof, folke danced at the feasts of the gods: but he devised not the *Pæanes* aforeſaid, as *Pratinas* did. And even at this day, there is a ſonnet extant of this very ſame *Xenodamus*, which is evidently an Hyporchema; and this kinde of poeſie *Pindarus* useth. Now that there is a difference betweene a *Pæan* and an Hyporchema, the works of *Pindarus* ſufficiently do ſhew, for he hath written as wel the one as the other. *Polymnestus* also made songs and ditties to the flute: and in Orthian canticles, used measures and melody, according as our harmonical Musicians give it out: As for us, we know not the truth, because our ancients have left nothing in writing thereof. There is some doubt also, whether *Thaletas* of *Candia* were a Poet that made *Pæanes*: For *Glaucus* in saying, that he was after *Archilochus*, 50 writeth indeed, that he imitated his songs; but he extended them farther, and made them longer, inserting the measures *Maron* and *Creticus* into his melody, which *Archilochus* never used, nor *Orpheus*, nor yet *Terpander*: for it is said, that *Thaletas* learned this from *Olympus* his playing and piping, and was reputed a good Poet. As touching *Xenocritus* of *Loeres* in *Italy*, it is not yet resolved and for certaine known, that he was a maker of *Pæanes*. Certes, it is confidently said, that he tooke for the ſubject matter and argument of his Poetrie heroicke deeds, inſomuch as ſome terme his arguments *Dithyrambes*. *Glaucus* affirmeth us, that *Thaletas* was

more ancient than *Xenocritus*. And *Olympus* as *Aristotritus* writeth, is reputed by Musicians to have beene the inventor of the Musicke called Euharmonian: for before his time, all Musicke was either Diatonicque, or Chromaticque: and it is conjectured to have beene invented in this manner: For *Olympus* practising the Diatonicque Musicke, and extending his song otherwhiles as farre as to the note Parhypate Diatonicque, sometimes from Paramela, and sometime from Mese, and surpassing Lichenos Diatonicque, observed the sweetnesse and beautie of such an affection, and the composition arising of that proportion, and allowing it to be good; inferred it in the Dorian Musicke: for he touched nothing of that which properly pertained to the Diatonicque or Chromaticque kinde, neither medled he with that which concerned harmony. And these were the beginnings of the euharmonique Musicke: For first of them they put a Spondæus, wherein no division sheweth that which is proper, unlesse a man having an eye unto a vehement Spondæus, will conjecture and say the same to be a kinde of Diatones. But manifest it is, that he will put a falsitie and discord, who thus setteth it downe: A falsitie (I say) in that it is by one Diesis lesse than the tone or note that is next unto the prime, and a discord or dissonance: for that if a man doe set in the power of a Tonieum, that which is proper unto a vehement Spondæus, it will fall out that he shall place jointly together, two Diatonicques, the one simple, and the other compound, for this euharmonique reenforced, and conning thicke upon the Mese, which now adaeis is so much used, seemeth not to be devised by the Poet. Thus may a man soone perceive, if he observe and marke one very well, who plaith upon a pipe after the old manner: For by his good will, the Hemitone in the Mese, will be incompounded. Thus you see what were the first rudiments and beginnings of Euharmoniques: But afterwards the demi-tone, was divided and distracted as well in Lydian as in Phrygian Musicke: and it seemeth that *Olympus* hath amplified and augmented Musicke, because he brought in that which never yet was found, and whereof his predecessors all were ignorant; so that he may very well be thought the Greekish and elegant Musician. Semblably we are to speake of the numbers and measures in Musicke called Rhythmi: for devised there were and found out to the rest, certaine kinds and speciall sorts of Rhythmi, as also there were those who ordeined and instituted such measures and numbers. For the former innovation of *Terpander*, brought one very good forme into Musicke: *Polymnestus* after that of *Terpander* another: which he used, and yet he adhered also to that good forme and figure before. Semblably did *Tibulatas* and *Nacidas*: And these men verily were sufficient in making of these Rhythmi, and yet departed not from that good and laudable forme: But *Crexus*, *Timotheus*, and *Philoxenus*, and those about their age, were overmuch addicted to new devices, and loved novelties, in affecting that figure which in these daies is called *Philanthropon*, that is to say, humane; and *The-mistion*, that is to say, positive. For antiquitie embraced few strings, simplicitie also, and gravity of Musicke. Thus having according to my skill & ability discoursed of the primitive Musicke, and of the first authors who invented it, and by what inventions in proceesse of time it grew to some meane perfection, I will breake off my speech, and make an end, giving leave to our friend *Soterichus* for to speake in his turne, who is a man not onely well studied in Musicke, and as well practised therein, but also thoroughly scene in all other learning, & liberall literature. For mine owne part I am better acquainted with the fingring Musicke & manuell practice than otherwise.

When *Lysias* had thus said, he held his peace: and then *Soterichus* after him began thus: You have heere good *Oneferates* moved and exhorted us to discourse of Musicke, a venerable science, and a profession right pleasing to the gods: and for mine owne part, I greatly approve of my master *Lysias*, as well for his good conceit and knowledge, as for his memorie, whereof he hath given us a sufficient proove, by reciting the authors and inventors of the first Musicke, and the writers also thereof. This will I put you in minde by the way, that in all his proofes he hath reported himselfe, to the registres and records of those who have written thereof, and to nothing else. But I am of a farre other minde, and thinke verily that no earthly man was the inventour of this so great good, which Musicke bringeth with it unto us, but even god *Apollo* himselfe, who is adorned with all manner of vertues. For neither *Marfurus*, nor *Olympus*, ne yet *Hyagnis*, as some doe thinke, devised the use of the flute and pipe, no more than both of the one and the other: the lute or harpe onely was the invention of *Apollo*: for this god devised the play which may easily be knownen by the daunces, and solemnities of sacrifices, which were brought in with the sound of hautboies and flutes, to the honour of that god: according as *Alcæus* among many others, hath left written in one of his hymnes: moreover, his

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very image in the Ile of *Delos* testifieth as much, where he is portraied standing thus; holding in his right hand a bow, and in his left the Graces, and every one of them hath an instrument of Musicke; the one an harpe or lute; another the shaulme or hautboies; and she in the middes a flute or thrill pipe neere unto her mouth. And because I would not have you to thinke, that I have picked this out of mine owne fingers ends; both *Anticles* and *Hister* in their Commentaries, and *Elucidas*, of these things doe quote and alledge as much. As for the image aforesaid, and the dedication thereof, so ancient it is, that by report, it was made and erected in the time that *Hercules* lived. Moreover, the childe that bringeth the lawrell out of the valley of *Tempe* to the cite of *Delphos*, is accompanied with a pipe or plaine of the hautboies: yea and the sacrifices which were wont in old time to be sent from the Hyperboreans into the Ile of *Delos*, went with a sort of hautboies, flutes, pipes, and lutes of stringed instruments about them. And some there be who say more than this, namely, that god *Apollo* himselfe pleased upon the flute and hautboies. And thus writeth *Alcæus* an excellent Poet, and maker of sonnets: And *Corinna* saith furthermore, that *Apollo* was taught by *Mnemos*, for to pipe. See how honourable and sacred every way Musicke is, as being the very invention of the gods. And in olde time they used it with great reverence, and according to the dignitie thereof, like as they did all other such exercises and professions: whereas in these daies men rejecting and diddaining the majestie that it hath, in stead of Musicke, manly, holy and acceptable to the gods, bring that into the theaters, which is effeminate, enervate, broken, puling and deceitfull. And therefore *Plato* in this third booke of his Common-wealth, is offended with such Musicke, and utterly rejecteth the Lydian harmonic, which is meet for mones and lamentations; like as it is said, that the first institution and making thereof was lamentable: for *Aristoxenus* in his first booke of Musicke reporteth, that *Olympus* founded with the hautboies a dolefull and funerall dumble in Lydian Musicke, upon the death of *Pythion*. And others there be who affirme, that *Melampsippus* began first this tune. *Pindarus* in his *Pæans* saith, that this Lydian Musicke began first to be taught at the wedding of *Niobe*: others, that one *Tereus* used first this harmonic, according as *Dionysius Lambus* writeth. The Myxolydian Musicke also, is full of affection, and in that regard meet for tragedies. *Aristoxenus* writeth, that *Sappho* invented first this Myxolydian harmonic, of whom the tragedie makers learned it, and joyned it with the Dorian: for that as the one giveth a certaine dignitie and stately magnificence; so the other mooveth affections: and a tragedy you wot well is mixed of them both: Howbeit, in their rolles and registres, who have written of Musicians, it is said, that *Pythochides*, the plaine of the hautboies, was the first inventor of this Musicke. But *Lysias* referreth the invention thereof to *Lamprocles* the Athenian; who having found and perceived, that the disjunction is not there where in manner all others thinke it is, but toward that which is high and small, made such a forme and figure thereof; as is from Para-mese to Hypate Hypaton. Likewise the Sublydian Musicke, if it be contrary unto the Myxolydian, and in resemblance comming neere unto the Ionique, was by report devised by *Damon* the Athenian: Nowe because of these two harmonies, the one is mournfull and lamentable, the other dissolute and enervate; *Plato* had good reason to reject them both: and therefore he chose the Dorian, as that which is most becoming valiant, sober and temperate men: not I assure you because hee was ignorant (as *Aristoxenus* saith, in his second booke of Musicians and Musicke) that in the other there was some thing good for a common-wealth, and circumpect pollicie: (for *Plato* had much applied his minde unto Musicke, as having beene the scholar of *Draco* the Athenian, & *Metellus* the Agrigentine) but considering as we have said before, that there was more gravity and dignitie in the Dorian Musicke, he preferred the same before the rest. And yet he wist well enough, that *Pindarus*, *Alcæus*, *Simonides*, and *Bacchylides*, had written and set many other Parthenies to the Dorian Musicke: besides Profodies and Pæans also. Neither was he ignorant, that tragical plaints, and dolefull moanes, yea, and amatorious ditties, were composed for to be sung in this Dorian tune. But he stood sufficed and contented with those which were ended to the praise of *Mars* and *Minerva*, and with *Spondæes*; for these are sufficient to forisfie & confirm the minde of a temperate and sober man. Neither was he unskillfull in the Lydian Musicke, nor the Ionian; for he knew well enough that the tragedie used this kinde of melodie. Moreover, all our ancients before time, being not unexpert of all other kinds of Musicke, yet contented themselves with the use of one. For ignorance or want of experience, was not the cause that they ranged themselves into so narrow a strait, & were contented with so few strings: neither are we to thinke that *Ter-*

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pander and *Olympus*, and they that followed their feet; for default of skill and experience, cut off the multiplicitie of strings, and their varietie. Witnesse hereof the Poems of *Terpander*, *Olympus*, and all their followers, and such as tooke their course: for being but simple, and having no more than three strings, yea are they more excellent than those which consist of manie strings, and be full of varietie; in such sort, as no man is able to imitate the manner of *Olympus* and all those who use many strings and varietie, be farre short, and come behinde him. Now that our ancients in old time absteined from the third, in that Spondeiaik kinde, not upon ignorance, they shew sufficiently in the use of striking the strings: for never would they have used the accord and consonance with Pare-hypate, if the use thereof had beene unknowne unto them: but certaine it is, that beauty of affection which is in the Spondeiaik kinde, by the third, was it that led their sense to raise & exalt their note and song to Paranete: and the same reason also there is of Nete: For this verily they used to their stroke of the instrument, to wit, unto Paranete in discord, & unto Mese in accord. But in song they seemed not unto them, proper and fit for the Spondeiaik kinde. And not onely in these, but also in Nete of the Tetrachord conjunct, all used to doe: For in the very stoake of the strings, they disaccorded with Paranete, Paramese, and Lichanos, but in song, they were ashamed thereof, for the very affection that refused thereupon. Moreover, it appeareth manifestly by the Phrygians, that this was not for any ignorance of *Olympus*, or his sectaries: for they used it not onely in fingring, and in the stroke of the stringes, but also in singing at the solemne feasts of the great mother of the gods, *Cybele*, and in some other Phrygian solemmnities. It appeareth also manifestly, by the Hypates, that it was not for ignorance that in the Dorian tunes they forbore this Tetrachord, for incontinently in other tunes they used it: so that it is evident that they did it wittingly but to avoide affection they tooke it out of the Dorique Musicke, honoring the beauty and honesty thereof: as we may observe some such like thing in tragical Poets. For never yet to this very day, did the tragedy use Chromaticke musike, nor rhyme: whereas the citherne or lute, which by many ages is more ancient than the tragedy used it even from the very beginning. And evident it is that Chromais of greater antiquity than is Harmony. For we must account this antiquity, whereby the one is said to be more ancient than another, according to the use & practise of men, because in regard of the nature of these kinds one is not elder than another. If then some one would say, that *Aeschylus* or *Phrynichus* forbore to use Chromaticke Musicke upon ignorance, & for that they knew it not, were he not think you very absurd and much deceived? For the same man might as well say that *Panurates* also was ignorant of this Chromaticke kind, because for the most part he forbore to use it: and yet in some places he used it. So that it was not for want of knowledge, but of set purpose, and upon judgement that he abstained from it. He imitated then, as he saith himselfe, the manner of *Pindarus* and *Simonides*, and in one word, that which the moderne Musicians call the ancient Musicke. The like reason there is of *Tyrtaeus* the Mantinean, of *Andreas* the Corinthian, *Thrasyllus* the Philasian, and of many others whom we know upon good consideration to have absteined from the Chromaticke, from change and multiplicity of stringes, yea and many other things interferred which are in common use, namely rhymes, harmonies, ditties, songs, and interpretations. And not to goe far for proote hereof, *Telephanes* the Megarian was so great an enemy to flutes, fifes, and small pipes, that he would never abide the artificers and pipe-makers so much as to set them to the shawme and hautboies; and for this cause especially, he forbore to come unto the Pythicke or Apollonian games of prize. In summe, if a man will conjecture that if a thing be not used, it is long of ignorance, he might condemne of ignorance many of those who live in these daies; as for example the Dorioneans, because they despise the Antigenidian kinde of Musicke, for that they used it not. To the Antigenidians likewise they might impute ignorance of the Dorian Musicke, for the same cause, as also the minstrels & harpers, as ignorant of the manner of *Timotheus* his Musicke. For they have in manner all betaken themselves to patcheries and fallen to the Poemes of *Polydorus*. On the other side, if a man consider aright, and with experience make comparision betwene that which then was and that which now is, he shall finde that variety and diversitie was in use and request even in those daies also. For the ancient Musicians used in their numbers and measure, their variety, much more diverse & different than now it is. So that we may boldly say that the varietie of rhymes, the difference also and diversitie of strokes was then more variable. For men in these daies love skill and knowledge, but in former times they affected numbers and measures. So that it appeareth plainly that the ancients ab-

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stained from broken Musicke and song, not because they had no skill, but for that they had no will to approve thereof. And no marvel: for many fashions there be in the world and this our life, which are well enough knowne, though they be not practised: many strange they be by reason of disuse, which grew upon occasion that some thing was observed therein, not decent & seemly. But, that it was not for ignorance, nor want of experience, that *Plato* rejected other kinds of Musicke, but onely because they were not becomming such a common wealth of his, we will shew hereafter: and withall that he was expert and skillfull in harmony: For in that production of the soule which he describeth in the booke of *Timaeus*, he declareth what study he had employed in other Mathematicall studies and in Musicke besides, writing after this manner.

Thus in manner (quoth he) did God at the first: And after that, he filled the double and treble intervals, in cutting off one portion from thence, and putting it betwene both of them: in such sort as in everye intervall or distance, there were two moities. Certes, this Exordium or Prooeme, is a sufficient proove of skill and experience in harmonic, according as we will shew hereafter. Three sorts of primitive medieties there be, out of which all other bee drawn, to wit, Arithmetically, Geometrically, and Harmonically. Arithmetically is that which surmounteth, and is surmounted in equal number: Geometrically, in even proportion; and Harmonically neither in reason and proportion nor in number. *Plato* therefore intending to declare harmonically, the harmony of the foure elements of the soule, and the cause why things so divers accorded together: in each intervall hath put downe two medieties of the soule, and that according to musical proportion. For in the accord Diapason in Musicke, two intervals there are betwene two extremities, whereof we will shew the proportion. For the accord Diapason consisteth in a double proportion: as for example, six and twelve, will make a double proportion in number: And this intervall, is from Hypate Mefon, unto Nete Diezeugmenon: Now six and twelve being the two extremities: Hypate Mefon containeth the number of six, and Nete Diezeugmenon that of twelve. It remaineth now, that we ought to take unto these the meane numbers betwene these two extremities; the extreames whereof will be found, the one in proportion Epitritos or sesquitercian, the other Hemiotios, or sesquialterall. And these be numbers eight and nine. For eight is sesquitercian to six and nine, sesquialterall. Thus much as touching one of the extreames. As for the other which is twelve, it is above nine in sesquitercian proportion; and above eight in sesquialterall. These two numbers then, being betwene six and twelve, and the intervall Diapason compounded and consisting of Diatesseron and Diapente, it appeareth that Mese shall have the number of eight, and Paramese, the number of nine: which done there will be the same habitude, from Hypate and Mese, that is from Paramese to Nete, of a disjoint Tetrachord. The same proportion is found also in numbers, for the same reason that is from six to eight, is from nine to twelve, and looke what reason there is betwene six and nine, the same is betwene eight and twelve. Now betwene eight and six the proportion is sesquitercian, as also betwene twelve and nine. But betwene nine and six, sesquialterall, like as betwene twelve and eight. Thus much may serve to shew that *Plato* was well studied and very expert in the Mathematicks.

Now that harmony is a venerable, worthy and divine thing, *Aristotle* the disciple of *Plato* testifieth in these words: Harmony (quoth he) is celestiall, of a beautifull and wonderful nature and more than humane: which being of it selfe divided into foure, hath two medieties, the one arithmeticall, the other harmonicall; and of the parts thereof the magnitudes and extremities are seene according to number and equality of measure: for accords in song are appropriat and fitted in two Tetrachords. These be the words of *Aristotle*: who said that the body of harmony is composed of parts dislike, and accordant verily one with the other, but yet the medieties of the same agree according to reason arithmetically: for that Nete according to Hypate, by double proportion maketh an accord and consonants of Diapason: For it hath as we have before said, Nete of twelve unities, and Hypate of six, & Paramese according with Hypate, in proportion sesquialterall of nine unities. But of Mese, we say, that it hath eight unities: & the principal intervals of Musicke are composed of these: to wit, Diatesseron, which consisteth of a proportion sesquitercian, & of Diapente, which standeth upon a sesquialterall: and Diapason of a duple: For so is preserved the proportion sesquioctave, which is according to the proportion Tonieus. Thus you see how the parts of harmony doe both surmount and also are surmounted of other parts, by the same excess: and the medieties of medieties, as well according to expresse in numbers, as Geometrically puissance. Thus *Aristotle* declareth them to

Hypate

have these and such like powers, namely that Nete surmounteth Mese by a third part, and that Hygate is semblably surmounted of Paramese: in such sort as these excesses, are of the kinde of Relatives, which have relation to another: for they surmount and be surmounted by the same parts. And therefore by the same proportion the two extremes of Mese and Paramese, doe surmount, and be surmounted, to wit scilicet tertian and sesquialterall. And after this sort is this harmonical excess. But the excess of Nete and Mese by arithmetically proportion, sheweth the exuperances in equall part: and even so Paramese in proportion to Hygate: for Paramese surmounteth Mese in proportion sesquioctave: Like as againe Nete is a double proportion of Hygate: and Paramese of Hygate in proportion sesquialterall: and Mese scilicet tertian in regard of Hygate. See then how harmony is composed according to *Aristotle* himselfe, of her parts and numbers. And so verily by him it is composed most naturally of a nature as well finite as infinite: both of even and also of odd, it selfe and all the parts thereof: for it selfe totally and whole is even, as being composed of foure parts or termes: the parts whereof and their proportions, be even, odd, and even not even. For Nete it hath even of twelve unities: Paramese of nine unities: Mese even of eight unities, and Hygate even not even of six unities. So that harmony thus composed both it selfe and the parts thereof one to the other, as well in excess as in proportions, the whole accordeth with the whole and the parts together. And that which more is, the very senses being inserted and ingrafted in our bodies by harmony, but principally those which are celestiall and divine, namely sight and hearing, which together with God give understanding and discourse of reason unto men with the voice and the light, doe represent harmony: yea and the other inferior senses which follow them, in as much as they be senses, are likewise composed by harmony: for all their effects they performe not without harmony, and howsoever they be under them and lesse noble, yet they yeeld not for all that: for even they entering into the body accompanied with the presence of a certaine divinity, together with the discourse of reason, obtaine a forcible and excellent nature. By these reasons evident it is that the ancient Greeks, made great account, and not without good cause, of being from their infancie well instructed and trained up in Musicke: for they were of opinion, that they ought to frame and temper the mindes of young folke unto vertue and honesty by the means of Musicke, as being right profitable to all honest things, and which we should have in great recommendation, but especially and principally for the perillous hazzards of warre: In which case some used the Hautboies, as the Lacedaemonians, who chaunted the song called *Castri-um*, to the said instruments, when they marched in ordinance of battell, for to charge their enemies. Others made their approach, for to encounter and give the first onset, with the noise of the *Zyra* that is to say, the harpe or such like stringed instruments. And thus we finde to have bene the practise of the Candiot for a long time, for to use this kinde of Musicke, when they set forth and advanced forward to the doubtfull dangers of battell. And some againe continue even to our time in the use of Trumpets sound. As for the Argives, they went to wrestle at the solemne games in their city called *Sthenia* with the sound of the Hautboies. And these games, were by report instituted at first in the honor and memory of their king *Danaus*: and afterwards againe were consecrated to the honor of *Jupiter* surnamed *Sthenius*. And verily even at this day, in the Pentathlin games of prize, the manner and custome is to play upon the Hautboies, and to sing along thereto, although the same be not antique nor exquisite, nor such as was wont to be played and sung in times past as that Canticle composed sometime by *Hierax*, for this kinde of combat, and named it was *Endrome*. Well though it be a faint and feeble manner of song, yet somewhat, such as it was, they used with the Hautboies. And in the times of greater antiquity it is said that the Greeks did not so much as know Theatricall Musicke, for that they employed all the skill & knowledge thereof in the service and worship of the gods, & in the institution and bringing up of youth, before any Theater was built in Greece by that people: but all the Musicke that yet was, they bestowed to the honor of the gods and their divine service in the temples, also in the praises of valiant and worthy men: So that it is very probable that these termes Theater afterwards, and *tragedy*, long before were derived of *beos*, that is to say, God. And verily in our daies, Musicke is grown to such an heigh of difference and diversity, that there is no mention made, nor memory remaining of any kinde of Musicke for youth to be taught, neither doth any man set his minde thereto, or make profession thereof: but looke whosoever are given to Musicke, betake them selves wholly to that of Theaters for their delight. But some man may haply say unto me: What good fruit, thinke you that in old time they devised

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no new Musicke and added nothing at all to the former? Yes I wis, I confesse they did adjoine thereto some new inventions, but it was with gravity and decency. For the historians who wrote of these matters, attributed unto *Terpander* the *Ionian* Nete, which beforetime they used not in their songs and tunes: And even so it is said that the *Myxolidien* tune was wholly by him devised to the rest: as also the note of the melody *Orphien*: and the song named *Orthius*, by the *Trochaes*, for founding the al'arme and to encourage unto battell.

And if it be true as *Pindarus* saith, *Terpander* was the inventor of those songs called *Scolia*, which were sung at feasts. *Archilochus* also adjoined those rhymes or Iambicke measures called *Trimeter*: the translation also and change into other number and measures of a different kinde, yea, and the manner how to touch and strike them. Moreover, unto him, as first inventor, are attributed the Epodes, Tetrameter, Iambicks, Procritique and Prosodiaicks; as also, the augmentation of the first, yea, and as some thinke, the Elegie it selfe: over and besides, the intensification of Iambus unto Paean Epibatos, & of the Herous augmented both unto the Prosodiaque & also the Creticke. Furthermore, that of Iambicke notes, some be pronounced according to the stroke, others sung out. *Archilochus* was the man, by report, who shewed all this first, and afterwards, tragicall Poets used the same: likewise it is said, that *Cremus* receiving it from him, transported it to be used at the Bacchanall songs called Didyrambs. And he was the first also, by their saying, who devised the stroke after the song: for that beforetime they used to sing, and strike the strings together. Likewise unto *Polyneestus* is ascribed all that kinde of note or tune which now is called *Hypolydus*, and of him they say, that he first made the drawing out of the note longer, and the dissolution and ejection thereof much greater than before. Moreover, that *Olympus*, upon whom is fathered the invention of the Greeke musicke, that is tied to lawes and rules, was hee who first brought, by their saying, all the kinde of harmonie, and of rhymes or measures, the Prosodiaque, wherein is contained the tune and song of *Mars*; also the *Chorios*, whereof there is great use in the solemnities of the great mother of the gods: yea, and some there be, who make *Olympus* the author also of the measure *Bacchius*. And thus much concerning every one of the ancient tunes and songs. But *Lafus* the harmonian, having transferred the rhymes into the order of Didyrambs, and followed the multiplicitie in voice of hautboies, in using many founds and those diffused and dispersed to and fro, brought a great change into Musicke, which never was before. Semblably, *Melanippides* who came after him, contained not himselfe in that manner of Musicke which then was in use, no more than *Philoxenus* did & *Timotheus*: for he, whereas beforetime unto the daies of *Terpander* the Antifæan, the harpe had but seven strings, distinguished it into many more founds and strings: yea, and the sound of the pipe or hautboies, being simple and plaine before, was changed into a Musicke of more distinct varietie. For in olde time, unto the daies of *Melanippides* a Didyrambicke Poet, the plaiers of the hautboies were wont to receive their salaries and wages at the hands of Poets, for that Poetrie you must thinke, bare the greatest stroke, and had the principal place in Musicke and acting of plaies, so as the Minstrels before said were but their ministers: but afterwards, this custome was corrupted; upon occasion whereof, *Pherecrates* the Comickall Poet bringeth in Musicke in forme and habit of a woman, with her bodie pieceously scoured and mangled all over: and he deviseth besides, that Dame Justice demandeth of her the cause why, and how she became thus misused; unto whom Poëtic or Musicke maketh answer in this wise:

MUSICKE.

I will gladly tell, since that we please to take
You for to heare, and I to answer make:
One of the first, who did me thus displesse
And worke my woe, was *Melanippides*;
He with twelve strings my bodie whips so sore,
That so it is, and looser than before.
Yet was this man unto me tolerable
And not to the my harmes now comparable.
For one of Athick land, *Cynestias* he,
Shame come to him, and cursed may he be,
By making turnes and winding cranks so strange
In all his strophes, and those without shew range

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Of harmony, hath me perverted so,
That where I am, unmet I now do know.
His Dithyrambs are framed in such guise,
That left seeme right, in shield and targuise wife.
And yet of him, one can not truly say,
That cruelly he meant me for to slay.
Phrynis it was who set to me a wrest
(His owne device) that I could never rest:
Where with he diuine winde and writhe so hard,
That I well nere for ever was quite marr'd.
Out of five strings forsooth he would devise
No fewer than twelve harmonies to rise:
Well, of this man I cannot most complaine,
For what he mist, he soone repair'd againe.
Timotheus sweet Lady (out alas)
Hath me undone: Timotheus it was,
Adost shamefully who wrought me all despite,
He hath me torne, he hath me buried quite.

JUSTICE.

And who might this Timotheus be (deere hart)
That was the cause of this thy wofull smart?

MUSICK.

I meane him of Miletus, Pythias
Surname'd, his head and haire so ruddy was.
This fellow brought upon me sorowes more
Than all the rest whom I haue nam'd before.
A sort he of unpleasant quauers brings,
And running points, when as he plaies or sings:
He neuer meets me when I walke alone
Upon the way, but me assailes alone.
Off go my robes, and thus deuested bare
He reawes me with twelve strings, and makes no spare.

Aristophanes also the Comickall Poet maketh mention of *Philoxenus*, and saith, that he brought songs into the dances called Rounds: and in this maner he deviseth, that Musick should speake and complaine:

What with his Exharmonians,
Nigars and Hyperbolians,
And such loud notes, I wot not what,
He hath me stufte so full, as that
My voice is brittle when I speake,
Like adish root that soone will breake.

Seemably, other Comickall Poets have blasoned and set out in their colours, our moderne Musicians, for their absurd curiositie, in hewing and cutting Musicke thus by peace-meale, and mincing it so small. But that this science is of great power and efficacy, as well to set strait and reforme, as to pervert, deprave and corrupt youth in their education and learning, *Aristoxenus* hath made very plaine and evident: for he saith, that of those who lived in his time, *Telestus* the Theban happened when he was yong, to be brought up and instructed in the most excellent kinde of Musicke, and to learne many notable ditties and songs; among which, those also of *Pindarus*, of *Dionysius* the Theban, of *Lamprus*, *Pratinas* and other Lyrickall Poets, singular men in their facultie, and profession of playing cunningly upon the harpe and other stringed instruments. He had learned likewise to found the hautboies passing well, and was sufficiently exercised and practised in all other parts of good literature: but when he was once past the flower and middle of his age, he became so farre rivited and caried away with this Scenickall musicke so full of varietie, that he despised that excellent musicke and poeie wherein he was nourted, & all for to learne the ditties and tunes of *Philoxenus* and *Timotheus*, and principally such of them as had most varietie and novelty: and when he betooke himselfe to compose ditties and set songs,

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making triall what he could do in both kinds, as well in that of *Pindarus* and this of *Philoxenus*, he was able to performe nothing well and to the purpose in that Musicke of *Philoxenus*: the reason whereof, was his excellent education from his infancie. If then a man be desirous to use musicke well and judiciously, let him imitate the olde maner: and yet in the meane while furnishe the same with other sciences, learne Philosophie, as a mistresse to guide and leade; for thee is able to judge what kinde of measures is meet for musicke, and profitable. For whereas three principal points and kinds there be, unto which all musicke is universally divided, to wit, Diatonos, Chroma and Harmonie, he ought to be skillfull in Poetrie, which useth these severall kinds, who commeth to learne Musicke; and withall, he must attaine to that sufficiency, as to know how to expresse and couch in writing his poetickall inventions. First and foremost therefore he is to underit and, that all musickall science is a certaine custome and usage, which hath not yet attained so farre as the knowledge to what end every thing is to be learned by him that is the scholar. Next to this it would be considered, that to this teaching and instruction, there be not yet adjoined presently the enumeration of the measures & maners of musicke. But the most part learne rashly and without discretion, that which seemeth good & is pleasant either to the learner or the teacher as the Lacedemonians in old time, the Mantueans likewise and the Pellenians: for these, making choise of one maner above the rest, or els of very few, which they tooke to be meet for the reformation and correction of maners, use d no other musicke but it: which more evidently may appeare, if a man will enquire and consider, what it is that every one of these sciences taketh for the subject matter to handle: for certaine it is, that the Harmonicke skill containeth the knowledge of intervals, compositions, sounds, notes and mutations of that kinde which is named *Hypomeseon*, that is to say, well besitting and convenient: neither is it possible for it to proceed farther. So that, we must not require nor exact of her, that she should be able to discern whether a Poet hath well, properly and fitly used (for example sake in musicke) the Hyperdorian tune in his entrance; the Mixolydian and the Dorian at his going forth; and the Phrygian or Hypophrygian in the mids: for this pertaineth not at all to the subject matter of the Harmonicke kinde, and hath need of many other things: for he knoweth not well the force of the proprietie. And if he be ignorant of the Chromaticke kinde and Enharmonic, he shall never attaine to have the perfect and absolute power of the proprietie, according to which, the affection of the measures that are made are scene: for this is the office and part of the artificer. And manifest it is, that the voice of the composition called *Systema*, is one thing; and the melody or song which is framed in the said composition, another: which to teach and whereof to treat, pertaineth not to the facultie of the Harmonicke kinde. Thus much also we are to say as touching Rhythme; for no Rhythme will ever come to have in it the power of perfect proprietie: for that alwaies which is said to be proper, is in regard and reference to the affection; whereof we affirme the cause to be either composition or mixtion, or els both together: like as with *Olympus*, the Enharmonic kinde is put in the Phrygian tune, and Pæon mixed with Epibatos: for this affection of the beginning hath it ingendred and brought forth in the song of *Minerva*. For when the melody and rhythm or measure was artificially set to, & the number or rhythm alone cunningly transfused, so as a Trocheus was put in stead of a Pæon. Hereof came the Harmonicke kinde of *Olympus* to be composed. Yet nevertheless, when both the Enharmonic kinde and the Phrygian tune remaine, and beside these, the whole composition also, the affection received a great alteration: for that which is called Harmonie in the song of *Minerva*, is farre different from the affection which is in common use and experience. If then, who is expert and skillfull in Musicke, had withall, the facultie to judge, certaine it is, that such an one would be a perfect workman, and a passing good matter in Musicke. For he who is skillfull in the Dorique musicke, and knoweth not how to judge and discern the proprietie, he shall never know what he doth, nor be able to keepe so much as the affection, considering there is some doubt as touching the judgement of Dorian melodies and tunes, whether they appertaine to the subject matter of Harmonie or no? as some Dorians are of opinion. The like reason there is of all the Rhythmicke skill; for he who knoweth Pæon, shall not incontinently know the property of the use thereof, forasmuch as there is some doubt as concerning the making of Pæonik Rhythmes, to wit, whether the Rhythmetique matter is able to judge with distinct knowledge of them? or whether as some say, it doe not extend so farre? Of necessity therefore it followeth, that there must be two knowledges at the least in him, who would make distinction and be able to judge betwene that which is proper and that which is strange: the one of maners and affections,

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fections, for which all composition is made; the other, of the parts and members of which the composition doth consist. Thus much therefore may suffice, to shew that neither the Harmonique, nor the Rhythmicke, nor any one of these faculties of Musicke, which is named particular, can be sufficient of it selfe alone to judge of the affection, or to discern of other qualities. Whereas therefore, Hermofmenian, which is as one would say, the decent and elegant temperature of voices and founds, is divided into three kinds, which be equall in the magnitudes of compositions, in puiffances of founds, and likewise of Tetrachords; our antients have treated but of one: for those who went before us, never considered, either of Chroma, or Diatono, but only of Enharmonicos, and that only in a magnitude of a composition, called Diapason: for of the Chroma they were at some variance and difference: but they all in manner did accord to say, that there was no more but this Harmonie alone. And therefore he shall never understand that which pertaineth unto the treatise of Harmonie, who hath proceeded to farre as to this only knowledge: but apparent it is that he ought to follow both other particular sciences, and also the total body of Musicke; yea & the mixtions and compositions of the parts: for he that is only Harmonicall, is confined within one kinde and no more. To speake therefore generally and once for all, it behooveth that both outward sense and inward understanding concurre to the judgement of the parts in Musicke: Neither is one to prevent & runne before another, as the senses doe, which are more forward and hafter than their fellows; nor to lagge behinde and follow after, as those senses doe which are slowe and heavy of motion. And yet otherwise in some senses it falleth out upon a naturall inequalitye which they have, that both happen at once, to wit, they draw backe, and halt forward together: wee must therefore cut off these extremities from the sense, if we would have it runne jointly with the understanding: for necessarie it is, that there be alwaies three things at the least met together in sense of hearing, to wit, the found, the time, and the syllable or letter. And come to passe it will, that by the going of the found, will be knowne the proportionable continuities, called Hermofmenon; by the gate of time, the Rhythme, and by the passing and proceeding of the syllable or letter, the dittie: Now when they march altogether, there must needs be an incursion of the sense. This also is evident, that the sense not being able to distinguish and discern every one of these three things, and accompany them severally, impossible it is, that it should know or judge that which is well or amisse, in each of them particularly. First and foremost therefore, we are to take knowledge of the coherence and continuation; for necessarie it is, that there should be in the facultie and power of judging, a certaine continuall order, for as much as good and bad be not determinately in such founds, times, letters or syllables, severed one from the other, but in the continued suite and conherence of them, for there is a certaine mixture or parts which cannot be conjoined in usse. And thus much may suffice for the consequence. After this we are to consider, that men, sufficient otherwise, and skillfull masters in Musicke, are not by and by able to judge: for impossible it is to be a perfect Musician, and a judge withall, of those which seeme to be the parts of total Musicke, as the science and skill of instruments; likewise of song, as also of the exercise of the senses. I mean that which tendeth to the intelligence & knowledge of the well proportioned Hermofmenon, and of Rhythme, Over and besides, of the Rhythmicke and Harmonique treatise, and of the speculation, touching the stroke and the dittie, and what other forever there are besides. But what the causes should be, that it is not possible for one to be a Critick and able to judge, by means of these things by themselves, let us endeavour to search and know. First, by this supposall, That of those things which are proposed unto us for to be judged of, some be perfect, others imperfect: Perfect, for example, every Poetical worke, that is either chaunted, or plaied upon the pipe, or founded on the lute and stringed instruments; or else the interpretation or elocution of the said Poemes, which they call *ephebra*: as is the noise of the pipe, or of the voice, and such like: Imperfect, as those which tend heereto, and are for them ordained, as by the parts of that which is called interpretation. Secondly, by Poetic or fiction, whereof the cause is alike; because a man may as well judge if hee heare the minstrell play or sing, whether his pipes accord or no, and whether his dialect or dittie be cleere, or contrariwise obscure; for each of these is a part of the foresaid interpretation of pipes, not the end it selfe, but that which respecteth the end; for the affection of the interpretations shall be judged heerby, and by all such causes, whether they be well fitted & accommodate to the Poeme composed, which the agent hath taken in hand to treat of, to handle, to expresse and interpret. Semblable is the reason also of the affections and passions, which are signified

*Here with I say, he pass'd his time,
this was his hearts delight,
He sung withall the praise in hymne
of many a valiant knight.*

Note heereby and learne (quoth *Homer*) what use we ought to make of Musicke: for he sung unto the lute, the noble exploits of brave men; and the glorious acts of woorthies and demigods: a thing that full well befecmed *Achilles* the sonne of most righteous *Peleus*. Over and besides, *Homer* teaching us the proper and convenient time of using Musicke, found out an exercise, both profitable and pleasant for a man at leisure, and not occupied otherwise in his affaires. For *Achilles* being a martiall man of action, yet for the anger that he had conceived against *Agamemnon*, had no hand in the perils and hazards of warre: *Homer* thought therefore that it became very well this heroique and hardy knight, to whet his courage by these excellent songs, to the end that he might be provided and ready against that fallie and skirmish which soone after he undertooke: and this no doubt he performed very well, by calling to remembrance the doubty deeds and feats of armes achieved by others in times past. Such verily was the ancient Musicke, and for this purpose it served. For we doe heare that both *Heracles* made use of Musicke, and also *Achilles*, with many other valourous knights, whom *Chiron* that most sage and learned master and bringer up of youth taught, who was a teacher not of Musicke onely, but of justice beside and Physicke. In summe, a man of wisdom and sound judgement; will thus deeme, that good sciences are not to be blamed, if haply they be not well used, but impute all the fault unto them that abuse the same. And therefore if any one from his childhood, shall be well instructed and trained up in Musicke, and withall employ his labour and diligence therein, he will receive and approve that which is honest and commendable: blame also he will and reject the contrary: not in musike onely, but in all things else: and such a one will decline all dishonest and unworthy actions, and thus reaping from musike the greatest and best contentment that can be, he may benefit exceeding much, as well himselfe as his whole countrey, using no word nor deed unseemely, but observing at all times and in every place, that which is befitting, decent, temperate and elegant. Moreover, that cities and states best governed by policie and good lawes, have alwaies had a speciall regard of generous and good musike, many and sundry testimonies may be alledged: and namely, a man may very well cite to this purpose *Terpander*, who suppressed in times past, the great sedition and civill discord that was in *Lacedemon*: *Thales* also the Candiote, who went as it is said, by the commandment and oracle of *Apollo*, to *Lacedemon*, and there cured the citizens and delivered them from that great pestilence, which reigned in that citie, and all by the means of musike, as writeth *Plutarchus*. *Homer* also himselfe saith, that the plague which afflicted the Greeks, was by musike staied and appeased:

*Then all day long, the Grecian youth
in songs melodious,
Besought god Phœbus of his grace,
to be propitious:
Phœbus I say, who from a farr
doth shoot his arrowes nie
They chaunt and praise, who takes great joy,
to heare such harmonie.*

with these verses as with Corollarie, good master I will conclude this my discourse of Musicke, and the rather, because you first by the very same verses commended unto us the force and power of Musicke: for in very truth, the principall and most commendable worke thereof, is thanksgiving unto the gods, and the acknowledgement of their grace and favour: the second, and that which next followeth, is a sanctified heart, a pure, consonant and harmonical estate of the soule. When *Soterichus* had said: Thus you have (quoth he) my good master heard us discourse of Musicke round about the boord as we sit. And verily *Soterichus* was highly admired for that which he had delivered: for he shewed evidently both by his voice and vilage, how much he was affected unto Musicke, & what study he had employed thereto. Then my master: Over and above other things, this also I commend in you both, that you have kept your owne course and place, the one as well as the other. For *Zylas* hath furnished our feast with those things which are proper and meet for a Musician, who knoweth onely to handle the lute or harpe

harpe, and hath no farther skill than manual practise. *Soterichus* also hath taught us whatsoever concerneth both the profit and also the speculation thereof, yea and withall comprehendeth therein the power and use of Musicke, whereby he hath mended our fare and feasted us most sumptuously. And I suppose verily that both of them, have of purpose and that right willingly, left thus much unto me, as to draw Musicke unto feasts and banquets: neither will I condemne them of timidity, as if they were ashamed so to doe: For if in any part of mans life, centres in such feasts and merry meetings it is right profitable. For according as good *Homer* saith:

*Both song and dance, delight afford,
And things that well besee the boord.*

Neither would I have any man to inferre hereupon, that *Homer* thought Musicke good for nothing else but to delight and content the company at a feast: considering there is in those verses couched and hidden a more deepe and profound meaning. For he brought Musicke to those times and places wherein it might profit and helpe men most. I meane the feasts and meetings of our ancients: and expedient it was to have her company there, for that she is able to divert and temper the heat and strength of wine, according as our *Aristoxenus* also else where saith: Musicke (quoth he) is brought in thither, because that whereas wine is wont to pervert & overturne as well the bodies as the minds of those who take it immoderately, Musicke by that order, symmetry, and accord which is in it, reduceth them againe into a contrary temperature, and dulcet all. And therefore *Homer* reporteth that our ancients used Musicke as a remedy to helpe, at such a time. But that which is principall and maketh Musicke above all things most venerable, you have my good friend let passe and omitted. For *Pythagoras*, *Archias*, *Plato*, and all the rest of the old Philosphers doe hold that the motion of the whole world, together with the revolution of the starres, is not performed without Musicke: For they teach that God framed all things by harmonie. But to prosecute this matter more at large, this time will not permit: and besides it is a very high point and most Musically to know in every thing how to keepe a meane and competent measure. This said, he sung an hymne, and after he had offered a libation of wine unto *Saturne*, and to all the gods his children, as also to the Muses, he gave his guests leave to depart



OF THE FORTVNE OR VERTUE OF K. Alexander.

The Summarie.

In this treatise and that which followeth, framed both in forme of a declamation, *Plutarch* magnificeth *Alexander*, a praise worthy prince for many good parts that were in him: wherein he sheweth also, that we ought to attribute unto vertue and not to fortune, those brave exploits which he performed. By fortune, he meaneth that course of the affaires in this world, whereby it falleth out many times that the wisest men are not so alwaies most happy and best advanced. To proove therefore, that *Alexander* was endued with exquisite qualities for execution of those enterprises which by him were achieved after wordes and brought to an end, he compareth him in the beginning of this treatise, with the kings of Persia raised up to their greatness by fortune: and then sheweth, that *Alexander* being an excellent Philosopher, we ought not to wonder or be astonished if by his vertue he saw the end of many things which the most fortunate princes of the world durst never take in hand and begin. Now the better to set out the excellencie of this Philosophy of *Alexander*, he compareth his scholars with the disciples of *Plato* and *Socrates*:

deeds. And yet *Pythagoras* never writ ought, nor *Socrates*, nor *Arceflaus*, no nor *Carnedes*: who all, no doubt, were most renowned Philosophers: neither were they imploied and occupied in so great warres, in reducing Barbarous kings to civillity, or in founding and building great cities, among savage nations: neither travelled they through the world visiting lawlesse and cruell people, to teach them to live peaceably and in order, who had never heard of peace or of lawes: but these great and famous personages, for all the leisure and rest that they had from imployments and busie affaires, left all writing for Sophisters onely. How came it then, that they were reputed Philosophers? Surely it arose either upon their sayings which they delivered, or the manner of life that they led, and the actions which they did, or else the doctrine which they taught. Let us now therefore judge of *Alexander* also accordingly, by the fame: for it will be found and scene by the words which he said, the deeds that he wrought, and the lessons which he taught, that he was some great Philosopher: and in the first place, if you thinke good, consider (which at first sight may seeme most strange and wonderfull) what disciples *Alexander* had; and compare them with the scholars of *Plato* or of *Socrates*. These men taught those, who were of quick wit, and spake the same language that they did; and if they had nothing else, yet understood they at leastwise the Greeke tongue: howbeit for all this, many of their auditours and disciples there were whom they could never perswade to their rules and precepts: but such as *Critias*, *Alcibiades* and *Cleophphon*, rejected and shoke off all their doctrine, as the bitte of a bridle, and turned another way. Whereas, if you marke and consider the discipline of *Alexander*, you shall finde, that he taught the Hyrcanians to contract mariage and live in wedlocke; the *Arachosians* to till the ground and follow husbandrie; the *Sogdians* he perswaded to nourish their aged fathers, and not to kill them; the *Perfians* to reverence and honour their mothers, and not to marry them as they did before. O the admirable Philosophie of this prince! by means whereof, the *Indians* adore and worship the gods of *Greece*: the *Scythians* burye their dead and eate them not. We wonder at the powerfull and effectfull speech of *Carnedes*, for that he knew how to make *Clitomachus*, named before *Asdrubal*, and a *Carthaginian* borne, to conforme himselfe to the *Greekes* fashions and language. Wee admire the emphaticall gift of *Zeno*, who was able to perswade *Dionenes* the *Babylonian*, to give himselfe to the studie of Philosophie. But while *Alexander* conquered *Asia*, and reduced it to civillitie, *Homer* was read ordinarily: the fonnies of the *Perfians*, *Sufians*, and *Gedrosians*, chaunted the tragedies of *Enripides* and *Sophocles*. As for *Socrates*, condemned hee was and put to death by the *Athenians*, at the sute of sycophants and promoters, who enformed against him, that he had brought into *Athens* new gods: whereas by the means of *Alexander*, the inhabitants of *Bactra* and the mountaine *Caucasus*, even at this present, adore the gods of *Greece*. *Plato* hath left in writing one forme of policie and government of common-wealth, but he could never perswade so much as one man to use and follow it, so harsh and austere it was found to be. But *Alexander* having founded above three score and ten cities among the barbarous nations, and sowne throughout all *Asia*, the mysteries, sacrifices, and ceremonies of Divine service which were used in *Greece*, reclaimed them from their savage and brutish life. And verily, few there be among us, who read and peruse the lawes of *Plato*: whereas there be infinit thousands and millions of men, who have used, and doe at this day practise those of *Alexanders*: ordering: and such nations were much more happy whom he conquered and subdued, than they that escaped his puissance. For these had never any person who eased and delivered them out of their miserable life, but the other were forced by the conqueror to lead a blessed life; in such sort, as that which *Themistocles* sometime said, when being banished out of *Athens*, and fled to the king of *Perfia*, at whose hands having received rich gifts, and the donation besides of three cities which paid him yeerely tribute, one for bread, another for wine, and the third for his meat and other viands; he spake thus unto his fonnies: Oh, how had we bene undone, if we had not bene undone! The fame may more justly be verified of those who were then subdued by *Alexander*: Never had they bene civilized, if by him they had not bene vanquished and brought under his subjection: there had bene no citie *Alexandria* built in *Aegypt*, no *Seleucia* in *Mesopotamia*; no *Prophthasia* in the *Sogdians* countrey; no *Bucephalia* among the *Indians*; neither should the mountaine *Caucasus* have had nere unto it the citie *Hellas*, inhabited and peopled: by the means of which cities, their rude bestiality being first staied and held under, by little and little was extinct, and by custome of the better, changed the woofe. To conclude therefore, if Philosophers stand most upon this point, and beare themselves aloft, for that

that they are able to dulce and reforme rude maners, and not polished before by any doctrine. And if it be scene that *Alexander* hath altered and brought into order an infinite number of wilde nations, and beastly natures; good reason there is, that he should be esteemed an excellent Philosopher.

Moreover, that pollicie and forme of government so highly esteemed, which *Zeno* the first founder of the Stoicks sect devised, tendeth to this one principall point, that we who are men; should not live divided by cities, towns & divers countries, separated by distinct laws, rights, & customs in severall, but thinke all men our fellow citizens, & of the same country: also that there ought to be but one kind of life, like as there is but one world, as if we were all of the same flocke
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10 under one heidman, feeding in a common pasture. *Zeno* hath set this downe in writing, as a very dreame & imaginarie Idea, of a common-wealth well governed by Philosophicall lawes; but *Alexander* hath put that in reall execution and practise, which the other had figured and drawn out in words: for he did not as his master *Aristotle* gave him counsell to doe: namely, to cary himselfe toward the *Greekes* as a father; and toward the *Barbarians* as a lord: likewise, to have regard and care of some, as of his friends and kinsfolke; but to make use of others, as if they were brute beasts or plants, and no better: for in so doing, he should have pestered his dominions and empire with banishments; which are evermore the secret seeds of warre, of factions and sidings most dangerous: but taking himselfe to be sent downe from heaven, as a common reformer, reconciler, and governour of the whole world; such as he could not draw to accord
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20 and agreement, by reason and speech, he compelled by force of armes, and so from every side reduced all into one; causing them to drinke round (as one would say) of one and the same cup of amitie and good fellowship, wherein he tempered and mixed together, their lives and maners, their marriages and fashions of life, commanding all men living to thinke the whole earth habitable, to be their countrey; his campe their citadell and castle of defence; all good men to be their kinsfolke and allies; all leud persons, strangers and aliens. He commanded them moreover, to distinguish *Greekes* and *Barbarians*, not by their mantle, round targer, cimeter turbans, or high crowned chaplets; but to marke and discern *Greece* by vertue; *Barbarie* by vice: in reputed all vertuous folke *Greekes*, and all vicious persons *Barbarians*: to thinke also their habitiments and apparell common, their tables common, their marriages besides and
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30 manner of life common, as being united all, by the mixture of bloud and communion of children. *Demaratus* verily the *Corinthian*, one of the friends that used to give intertainment to king *Philip*, when he saw *Alexander* in the citie of *Susa*, greatly rejoiced thereat, in so much as for very joy of heart, the teares ranne downe his cheeks, and he brake forth into these words: That the *Greekes*, before departed out of this life, were deprived of exceeding contentment and hearts delight; in that they had not scene *Alexander* sitting upon the regall throne of *Darius*. For mine owne part verily, I would not repute them very happy, for seeing such a sight as that, considering it is the gift of fortune, and as much as that befalleth ordinarily to meaneer kings; but I assure you, much pleasure could I have taken, if I had beheld those goodly and sacred espousals, when under the roofe of one pavilion, seeled all over, and wrought with gold, he entertained at once, all at one common feast and table, a hundred *Perfian* Brides, married to an hundred *Bridegroones* of *Greece* and *Macedonie*: at which solemnitie himselfe being crowned with a chaplet of flowers, was the first that began to sing the nuptial song *Hymeneus*, as a
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40 canticle of generall amitie, when two of the greatest and most puissant nations of the world came to be joined in alliance together by marriage, being himselfe spouse unto one, but the maker of all their marriages, yea, and the common father and mediator to them all, being the means of that knot and conjunction. For willingly I would have said; O barbarous, senselesse and blockish *Xerxes*, that tookest so great paines, and all to no purpose, about making a bridge over *Hellepont*. For after this manner should wise kings and prudent princes, conjoinne *Europe* and *Asia* together, not with wood and timber; not with boates and barges, nor with those
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50 linkes and bonds which have neither life nor mutuall affection; but by lawfull love, by chaste and honest wedlocke, by communication also of children, to unite and associate two nations together. To this comely ornament *Alexander* had an eie, when he would not admit the habitiments and robes of the *Modes*, but the attire and apparell of the *Perfians*, as being farre more sober, modest and decent than the other: for rejecting & casting aside that outlandish, ununsall pompeous and tragical excesse in the barbarous habit, to wit, the copped turban *Tiara*, the side and superfluous purple mantell *Candys*, their wide breeches and slacke sloppes *Anaxyridas*; he

he wore himselfe a certaine kinde of robe, composed partly of the Macedonian, and in part of the Persian habit, according as *Erasosthenes* hath written. As a Philosopher he made use of things indifferent, neither good simply, nor ill: and as a gracious ruler and courteous king, he wanted the love and heart of those whom he had subdued, by gracing and honouring upon his owne person their apparell: to the end that they should continue fast unto him, and firme in loialtie; loving the Macedonians as their naturall lords, and not hating them, as tyrannizing enemies. For it would have bewraied a foolish minde, and withall disdainfull and proud, to have made great account of a selfe-coloured homely mantell, and withall, to have taken offence at a rich coate, embroidered all over with purple; or contrariwise, to have had this in admiration, and the other in contempt; like unto some infant or little childe, keeping still precisely to that apparell, which the custome of the country as a nurse or foster-mother hath once put on: whereas we see, that huntsmen who use to chooseth deere, are wont to clad themselves with the skinned and hides of those wilde beasts which they have taken; as for example, of flagges and hinds: fowlers also, that lie for to catch birds, cast upon themselves, gabardines, and coates of fetherworke, or beset with wings and feathers. Those who weare red clothes, beware how they come in the way of bulls: and such as be clothed in white, are as careful not to be seene of elephants; for that these beasts fare as though they were wood and mad at the sight of such colours. Now if so great a king as *Alexander* was, minding to tame warlike nations, like unto wilde beasts, or to dulce and keepe them gentle, who were so fierce and untractable, used those robes and habilliments which were proper, usuall, and familiar to them; and all to gaine their hearts by little and little, mollifying by that means the fiercenesse of their courage, pacifying their displeasure, and dulcing their grimme and austeritie: would any man blame or reprove, and not rather honour and admire his politicke wisdom, in that with a little change and altering of his garments, he had the dexteritie and skill to gaine all *Asia*, and lead it as he would, making himselfe, thus by his armour, master and lord of their bodies; and by his apparell alluring and winning their hearts. And yet these men commend *Aristippus* the Philosopher, and discipule of *Socrates*, for that one while wearing a poore, thinne and three-bare cloke, and another while putting on a rich mantell of tissew wrought and died at *Mileum*, he knew how to keepe *decorum*, and decently to behave himselfe, as well in the one garment as the other: meane while, they blame and condemne *Alexander*, in that as he honored the habit of his owne country, so he disdained not the apparell of another, which he had conquered by armes, intending thereby to lay the ground-worke & foundation of greater matters: for his desire and purpose was not to over-runne and waste *Asia*, as a captaine and ring-leader of a rabble of thieves and robbers would doe, nor to sacke and racke, harry and worrie it, as the praile and booty of unexpected and unhoped for felicity: like as afterwards *Anniball* did by *Italy*; and before time, the *Trierians* delt by *Ionia*; and the *Scythians* by *Asia*, who made havocke and waste as they went: but as one, who meant to range all the nations upon earth, under the obedience of one and the same reason, and to reduce all men to the same policie, as citizens under government of a common-weale, therefore thus he composed and transformed himselfe in his raiment and habit. And if that great God, who sent the foule of *Alexander* from heaven to earth below, had not so suddenly called it away againe unto himselfe; peradventure there had bene but one law to rule and overlooke all men living, the whole world haply had bene governed by one and the same justice, as a common light to illustrate all places: whereas now, those parts of the earth, which never had a sight of *Alexander*, remaine in the shadow of darkness, as destitute of the very light of the sunne: and therefore the very first project of his expedition and voiage sheweth, that he carried the minde of a true Philosopher indeed, who aimed not at the gaining for himselfe daintie delights, and costly pleasures, but intended to procure and compass a universall peace, concord, unitie and societie of all men living one with another.

In the second place consider we his words and sentences; for that in other kings and potentates also, their napers and intentions of their minde, are principally bewraied by their speeches. *Antigonus* the elder, when a certaine Sophister upon a time presented and pronounced unto him certaine commentaries and treatises which he had composed as touching justice: Good fellow (quoth he) thou art a foole, to come and preach unto one of justice, when thou seest me bending mine ordinance against the cities of other princes, and battering their wals as I do. *Darius* also the tyrant was wont to say, that we should deceive children with dyes and cockal bones,

bones, but beguile men with othes: And upon the tombe of *Sardanapalus* was engraven this epitaph:

*What I did eat and drinke, I have:
the parts alforemaine
Which lady Venus did vouchsafe,
all else I count but vaine.*

Who can denie, but that by the last of those speeches and apophthegmes, sensuall lust and voluptuousnesse was authorized; by the second, Atheisme and impietie; and by the first, injustice and avarice? Now if you take away from the sayings of *Alexander* his roiall crowne and diademe, the addition of *Jupiter Ammon* whose sonne he was stiled to be, and the nobility of his birth, certes you would say they were the sage sentences of *Socrates*, *Plato* or *Pythagoras*. For we must not stand upon the brave titles and proud inscriptions which Poets have devised to be imprinted or engraven upon his pictures, images and statues, having an eye and regard not to shew the modestie, but to magnifie the puissance of *Alexander*: as for example;

*This image here that stands in braise so bright,
Of Alexander is the portraict right:
Up toward heaven he both his eyes doth cast,
And unto Jove seemes thus to speake at last:
Mine is the earth, by conquest I it hold:
Thou Jupiter in heaven mayst be bold.*

And another:

*Of Jupiter that heavenly God of might,
The sonne am I (Great Alexander might.)*

These were the glorious titles which glavering Poets I say, in flattery of his fortune fathered upon him. But if a man would recount the true apophthegmes indeed of *Alexander*, he may do well to beginne first at those which he delivered in his childhood: for being in footmanship the swiftest of all other young lads of his age, when his familiar play-feloes and mates were in hand with him very earnestly to runne a course at the Olympian games for a prise, he demanded of them againe, whether he should meet with kings there for his concurrents in the race: and when they answered, No: Then were the match (quoth he) not equally nor indifferently made, wherein if I have the worste, a king shall be foiled; and if I gaine the victorie, I shall but conquer private persons. When his father *Philip* chanced in a battell against the *Triballians* to be runne thorow the thigh with a lance; and albeit, that he escaped danger of death, yet was much grieved and dismayed to limpe and halt thereupon as he did: Be of good cheere good father (quoth he) and go abroad hardly in the fight of the whole world, that at every step you tread and set forward, you may be put in minde of your valour and vertue. How say you now, proceed not these answers from a Philosophicall minde? and shew they not an heart, which being ravished with a divine instinct and ardent love of good and honest things, careth not for the defects of the bodie? for how greatly thinke you joyed and gloried he in the wounds that he received in his owne person, who in every one of them bare the testimony and memoriall of some nation subdued, some battell won, of some cities forced by assaile, or of some kings that yielded to his mercie? Certes, he never tooke care to cover and hide his scars, but carried them about him, and shewed them where ever he went, as so many marks and tokens engraved, to testifie his vertue and prowess. And if at any time there grew some comparison, either by way of serious disputation in points of learning, or in table talk, as touching the verses of *Homer*, which of them were best: when some seemed to commend this verse, others that, he would evermore preferre this, above all other:

*ἀνδρείος, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς, κρατερεὶ τ' ἀνδρῶν.
A prince right good and gracious,
A knight withall most valourous.*

And making this account, that the praise which another had given to king *Agamemnon* beforetime, stood for a law unto himselfe; inso much, as he would say, that *Homer* in that one verse had recommended the vertue of *Agamemnon*, and prophesied the prowess of *Alexander*. And therefore, so often as he passed over the Streight of *Hellepont*, his manner was to goe and visit *Troy*, where he represented unto his owne minde, the woorthy feats of armes which those brave princes and noble worthies performed, who fought there. And when one of that country pro-
mised

mis'd to bestow upon him in free gift, if he would accept it, the harpe of *Paris*: I have no need (quoth he) of it, for I have already, that of *Achilles*: to the sound whereof he was wont to his recreation,

*He praises for to sing and chant,
Of dowie knights and valiant:*

whereas this here of *Paris*, warbled a wanton and feminine harmony, to which he used to sing fonnets and balads of Love.

Now most certaine it is, that to love wisdom, and to have in esteeme, sages and learned persons is an infallible signe of a philosophicall spirit. And this was in *Alexander*, if ever in any other prince: for what kinnesse and affection he caried to his tuteur and master, *Aristotle*, also, that hee did as great honour unto *Anaxarchus* the skillfull Musician, as to no favourite and familiar friend the like; I have already shewed elsewhere. The first time that ever *Pyrro* the Elian talked and conferred with him, hee gave unto the man tenne thousand pieces of golde. Unto *Xenocrates* one of *Plato*'s disciples, he sent a present of fittie talents. And as most historiographers doe report, he made *Oneferimus*, one of *Diogenes* his scholars, his admittall at sea. And himselfe meeting upon a time with *Diogenes* at *Corinth*, where he communied with him, he so woundred at his manner of life, and had his gravitie in such admiration, that many a time after, in speaking of him, he would say: Were I not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*: which was as much to say, as thus: I could willingly employ my whole life and spend my time at my booke and in contemplation, but that I am determined to be a Philosopher in deed and action. 20 He said not: If I were not a king, I could finde in mine heart to be *Diogenes*: nor, If I were not rich, and one that loved to go gay and in sumptuous robes, &c. For he never in his life preferred fortune before wisdom; nor the purple mantle of estate, or the roiall diademe, before a scrip and a poore threadbare Philosophers cloake; but simply this was his saying: Were I not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*: that is to say, Had I not proposed to my selfe to joyne together in mutuall societie, Barbarous nations with the Greeks, and by travelling in voiage throw the earth, to polish and make civill what savage people soever I find, searching from one end of the world to another, and visiting all the coasts of the sea, to joine *Macedonie* unto the Ocean, to low as it were, *Greece* in all parts, and to spread thoroughout all nations peace and justice, yet would I not sit still in delights, and take my pleasure, but imitate the simplicity and frugality of *Diogenes*. 30 But now pardon me, I pray thee, *Diogenes*: I follow *Hercules*, I take the way of *Persius*, I tread the trace of god *Bacchus*, my stocke-father and author of my race and progeny; I would gladly, that the Greeks might once more dance with victory among the Indians, and reduce into the memory and remembrance of those mountainer and savage nations who dwell beyond the mountaine *Caucasus*, the joylie feasts and merriments of the Bacchanales. And even there, by report, there be those who follow a certaine strict, austere, and naked profession of wisdom, called thereupon Gymnosophists, holy men, living according to their owne lawes, devoted altogether to a contemplative service of God, making lesse account of this life than *Diogenes* doth, and living more barely, as having no need at all of bagges and wallet; for, no provision make they of victuals, because the earth furnisheth them alwaies with that which is new and fresh to their hand: the rivers afford them drinke; the leaves falling from trees and the greene grasse of the earth together, serve for their beds: by my means shal they know *Diogenes*, and *Diogenes* them. I must also alter the stamp of the coine, and in stead of a Barbarian marke, signe it after the Greeke manner and according to their common wealth. Well, thus much of his words and sayings: come we now to his deeds. And doe they seeme to cary before them the blinde rashnesse and temerity of Fortune, and bare force of armes and violences of the hand? or rather, of the one side, great prowesse and justice; on the other side, much clemency and lenity, together with good order and rare prudence, of one managing all things by sober, discrete and considerate judgement? Certes, I am not able to say and discern in all his acts thus much, as to pronounc, That this was a deed of valour; that, of humanity; and another, of patience or continence: but every exploit of his, seemeth to have been mingled and compounded of all vertues in one, to confirme the famous sentence and opinion of the Stoicks, That every act, a wife man doth effect by all vertues jointly together. True it is indeed, that in each action there is one vertue or other, eminent and predominant alwaies above others; but the same inciteth and directeth the rest to the same end: and even so we may see in the acts of *Alexander*. That as his martiall valour is humane, so his humanitie is valourous; his bounty is thrifty, his liberality frugal;

frugal; his choler soone appeased, his heat quickly cold; his loves temperate, his pastimes not idle; and his travels not without their solace and recreation; who, evermore tempered feasts with austere, military expeditions with games, masks and sports; who, interlaced among his sieges of cities, warlike exploits and executions, festiwall Bacchanales, wedding and nuptiall songs of *Hymenaeus*: Who was there ever, greater enemy to those that doe wrong; or more mercifull and gracious to the afflicted? Who ever caried himselfe more heave to stiffe-necked and obstinate perlofs; and more friendly againe, to humble suppliants? And here in this place it comes into my minde, for to alledge and cite the saying of king *Paris*, who being brought prisoner before king *Alexander*, and perswaded by him, in what manner he wished that he should use him: Roially (quoth he) *Alexander*. And when *Alexander* replied againe, and asked what he had els to say: Nothing, quoth *Paris*; for in that one word [Roially] is comprised all. And even so me thinks, that in all the actions of *Alexander*, a man may use this for a reffrein or fa-burden, All Philosophically. For this in deed containeth all. He was enamoured of *Roxane* the daughter of *Oxiathres*, by occasion that he saw her to dance with a good grace among other captive ladies: howbeit, he would not force her, nor offer any violence to her dishonour; but espoused her for his wife: wherein he did as a Philosopher. When he saw his enemy *Darius* lying dead, with many an arrow and dart sticking in his body, he neither sacrificed to the gods, nor founded the triumph for joy, that so long a war by his death was come to an end; but taking the mantle from his owne shoulders, cast it over the dead corps, as if he would thereby have covered 20 and hidden the wofull destiny of a king: And this also was done like a Philosopher. He received one day a letter of secrets from his owne mother, which whiles he perused, it chanced that *Hephæstion* also sitting at that time by him, read it simply together with him, and thought nothing, *Alexander* debarred him not; onely he tooke the signet from his owne finger, set it to his mouth, feeling as it were his silence, by the faith that he owed unto a friend. See how herein he shewed the part of a Philosopher: for if these be not Philosophicall acts, I know not what els be. *Socrates* was well enough content, that faire *Alcibiades* should lie with him; but *Alexander*, when *Philoxenus* his lieutenant generall over the sea coasts of *Asia*, wrote unto him, that there was a yong boy within his government in *Ionia*, for sweet favour and beauty incomparable, demanding of him by his letters to know his pleasure, whether he should send the said youth unto 30 him; he wrote sharply unto him, in this wise: What hast thou known by me, most leaud and wicked varlet as thou art, that thou shouldest presume thus to allure and entice me with such pleasures? *Xenocrates* we have in admiration, for turning backe a present of fifty talents, which *Alexander* sent unto him; and shall we not wonder as well at the giver? shall we not thinke, that he made as small account of money, who gave so liberally, as he who refused it? *Xenocrates* had no need of riches, professing as he did Philosophy; but *Alexander* had use therefore, even in regard of Philosophy, because he might exercise his liberality in bestowing the same so bountifully upon such persons. We honour the remembrance of those, who have left behinde them testimonies of their contempt of death: and how often thinke you, hath *Alexander* delivered as much, when he saw the darts and arrows flying so thicke about his eares, and himselfe pressed 40 hard upon by the violence of enemies? We are perswaded verily, that there is in all men whatsoever, some light of sound judgement, for that nature herselfe frameth them to discern that which is good and honest: but a difference there is betwene the common fort and Philosophers, for that Philosophers excell the rest in this, that their judgements be more firme, seled and resolute in dangers than others; whereas the vulgar sort are not armed and fortified beforehand with such deepe impressions and resolutions as these:

etis amor et desit, &c.

*The best presage by augury and bird-sight,
Is, in defence of country for to fight.*

Again:

*This full accounts all men must make,
By death one day their end to take.*

But the occurrences and occasions of perils presented unto them, doe breake their discourse of reason; and the imaginations of dangers imminent, doe drive out all counsell and considerate judgement. For feare doth not only maske and astonish the memory, as *Thucydides* saith, but also driveth out every good intention, all motions and endeavors of well doing: whereas Philosophy bindeth them fast with cords round about, that they cannot stirre.

The end of
this treatise
is lost.

OF



OF THE FORTVNE OR VERTUE OF K. Alexander.

10

The second Oration.

The Summarie.

Putatch doth prosecute in this declamation, the argument and discourse begun in the former: the some whereof is this, that the vertue of Alexander surmounted his fortune, which was alwaies in maner contrary unto him. But before that he entrench into this matter he opposeth unto the sufficiency and singular parts of this prince, the base demeanour and brutish wilny of certaine other kings and potentates, adjoyned together and besides thus much, that al his exercises and imployments are proofes every one of his haughty courage and magnanimity. Then discouseth he particularly, in what account and reputation good workemen were with Alexander, and what his selfe conceit was of his owne workes in comparison of theirs. Afterwards he commeth to shew, that if Alexander be considered from his very first beginning to his last end, he will be found, to be the very handy worke of valour and fortitude. In proceeding forward, he saith, that fortune received more honor by Alexander than he by her. The which is verified by considering the state of his armie, after his death. Upon this, he entrench into a common place of many greatnesse, which serveth to cleere and illustrate the former points and matters handled. And by the consideration of the evill carriage and government of many other princes, as by a foile, he giveth a most beautifull lastre unto the vertues of Alexander, which he describeth in particular. This done, he answereth those, who object that fortune raised Alexander to that greatnesse. And so give the mightier force and weight to the reasons by him produced, he disputeth against fortune her selfe: wherein he examineth his severall exploits, wherein as vertue is evidently scene to accompany and assist, so fortune to oppose her selfe and resist him. And this doth he particularize at large. After this digression, he commeth againe to his precedent matter, and bringeth out new proofes of the vertue and magnanimity of this mighty Monarch, even from his youth unto his dying day; comparing him as a Paragon, with the wisest Sages, and most valiant warriors both of Persia and of Greece.

Shewing also that he surpassed them all, in comineny, liberality, piety, prudence, justice, beneficence and valour. For the last point, he relateth the great jeopardy wherein

Alexander was plunged one time among the rest, out of which, vertue caused

him to retire safe as it were, in despite of fortune: which is the very

conclusion of this treatise, confirming the principall intention of our labour, which is to prove that the fore-

said grandeur of Alexander ought not to

be ascribed unto fortune, but to vertue.



O F

THE FORTUNE OR vertue of K. Alexander.

The second Oration.



Ve forgot yesterday (as it should seeme) among other matters to say, that the age wherein Alexander lived was in this respect happy, for that it brought forth many excellent arts, and as many great and singular wits: or rather it may be said, that this was not so much the good fortune of Alexander, as of those cunning artificers and rare spirits, to have for their witness & spectator such a personage, who both knew best how to judge truly of good workmanship, and also was most able to reward the same as liberally. And verily to this purpose reported it is, that sometime after, in the age ensuing, when Archestratus a fine headed Poet and a pleasant, lived in great want and penury, for that no man made any reckoning of him to his desert, there came one unto him and said: Had it beene thy hap Archestratus to have lived in the daies of Alexander, he would for every vertue of thine have bestowed upon thee either Cyprus or Phenice. Certes for mine owne part thus I conceive of it, that the artificers and workemen living in that age, became so famous and excellent not so much under Alexander and by Alexander. For it is the good temperature of the weather and subtilty of the ambient airc, that causeth abundance and plenty of fruits: but the gracious countenance, the favor, honor, bounty and humanity of a prince, is it that provoketh and stirreth up good arts, yea and advanceth excellent wits: whereas contrariwise all the same languisheth, decayeth, is extinguished and perisheth cleane by the envie, avarice, spary pinching, and peevish frowardnesse of rulers and those in authority. And heere I must call to minde the report that goeth of Dionysius the tyrant, who heering one day a famous minstrell playing pasing well upon the lute and as sweet singing thereto, said openly, that he would bestow upon him for a reward a talent of silver. The morrow after comes this musician to call for the money according to promise: unto whom Dionysius made this answer: Sirha (quoth he) yesterday as I tooke contentment by thee so long as I heard thee play and sing, so I am sure I did thee a pleasure againe in the hope of this promise: thou wert paid therefore presently for the delight which thou gavest me, by the joy that thou receivedst from me: goe thy waies therefore, thou hast thy reward already. Alexander, the tyrant of Persia (whom indeed I should call by this addition onely [tyrant] and not steine and contaminate so good a name as Alexander, by styling therewith so wicked a wretch: this tyrant I say, whiles he beheld one day an excellent plaiar acting in a tragcedy, was so much moved with a certaine tickling delight comming upon him, that his heart began to relent even upon a tender commiseration and pitie: whereupon he suddenly left the cheater, made haste away, & went faster than an ordinary pace until he was out of sight, saying withall, that it were a great indignity for him to be fenee for to weepe and fied teares, in compassion of the miseries and calamities of queene Hecuba or lady Polyxena, who every day caused so many citizens and subjects throats to be cut. This monstrous tyrant was so much grievously bent, that he went within a litle of punishing that excellent actour most grievously, because he had mollified his hard heart and made it melt like a peece of iron in the furnace. Archelaus king of Macedonie seemed to be not very free of gift, whereupon Timotheus the musician singing to the harpe, would oftsoones glaunce at him, and iterate this pretty coffe as the foot of his long;

This earth-bred metall, silver bright,

Thou' praise fit, as your whole delight.

But Archelaus met with him, extempore againe, and replied not unwittily, in this wise;

And thou as faine would'st silver have,

And dost as shamelesly it crave.

As for a king of the Scythians, having taken prisoner in warre, that famous minstrell Ismenias, commanded him to sound upon his flute or pipe, whiles he sat at dinner. Now when all the company besides wondered at this excellent musick, and applauded him for his good playing,

Ppppp.

* ditto

* ditto

he

he himselfe sware a great oath, that he tooke more pleasure to heare his horse neigh, so unmusicall were his eares and so farre removed from the Mules: so much also was his minde set upon the stable and manger, fitter indeed to heare asses bray than horses neigh. What honour then or advancement may a cunning artisan, or so absolute a master in musicke hope for at the hands of such kings? Certes no more than from those who would seeme themselves to be skilful, yea and dare contend with professeurs in the sufficiencye of their arte: and therefore upon envie or malice seekte to overthrow and deprave those that indeed be excellent artists. Such an one was *Dionysius* abovenamed (whom heere I must bring in againe) who caused the Poet *Philoxenus* to be cast into the prison or dungeon called *Latomie*, that is to say, the Quarries, because when *Dionysius* had put into his hands a tragedy of his owne making, commanding him to review and correct the same, he dashed it out and interlined it all from the beginning to the end. And even *Philip* also king of *Macedonie*, for that late it was ere he gave his minde to musicke, was in this behalfe unlike himselfe and not answerable to his greatesse otherwise. Howbeit upon an opinion that he had of his owne skill that way, he would needs (as the report goes) enter into disputation with a professed musician and plaier of instruments, and argue about the strokes and stops, points and notes and such like termes, yea and seeme forsooth to controule him in his owne art; whereat the minstrell smiling pleasantly upon him: God forbid sir (quoth he) that you a king, should ever be so unfortunate and at so low an eb, as to have more skill in these matters than I. But *Alexander* knowing full well what things he should be a spectator and auditour of, as also what he ought himselfe to practise and execute with his owne hand, studied continually to be expert and accomplished in feates of armes, endeavouring, as the Poet *Aeschylus* saith,

Most manfully his standing, good to make:

And terribly to force his foete quake.

And this indeed was the hereditarie art which he received by succession from his auncestors the *Acacidae*, and *Hercules*: as for other sciences, he honored them in other men, without any emulation at all for their profession: and as he highly commended any excellency or grace therein, so for no pleasure & delight that he tooke thereby, was he easily surprized with any affect for to follow the same. In his time there flourished two noble Tragedians above the rest *Thesphalus* and *Athenodorus*; who when they contended one against another for the prise, who could act the better, the kings of *Cyprus* desired the charges belonging to this solemne spectacle, 30 and pageants; but the principall and most renowned capitaines, were judges to decide the quarrell. In the end, when *Athenodorus* was declared victour; *Alexander* who stood better affected to *Thesphalus*: I would I had (quoth he) lost the one halfe of my kingdome, so I had not seene *Thesphalus* take the foile: howbeit, he neither expostulated with the umpiers, nor complained of their judgement; for howsoever he thought that himselfe ought in other respects to outgoe all, yet he was to yeeld and give place to justice. Among Comedians in those daies, there was one *Lycon* a Scaphean: this actor in playing his part before him in a comedie, had interlarded handfomly a verse, wherein he seemed cleanly to crave some reward: *Alexander* laughed 40 at the conceit of the fellow, and gave him ten tallents. Many excellent harpers there were, and plaiers of the lute, and one *Arifonitus* among others, who in a certaine battell running in to rescue and succour him, fought manfully, and there was slaine, and fell dead at his foot: *Alexander* hereupon caused his statue to be made in bras, and to be set up in the temple of *Apollo Pythius* holding a lute in the one hand, and a lance in the other. In so doing he not onely honored the man, but also Musicke, as being an art which breedeth animosities in mens hearts, filling those with a certaine ravishment of spirit and courageous heart to fight valiantly, who are naturally framed and bred up to action: for even himselfe one day, when *Antigenides* sounded the battell with his flute, and singing thereto a militarie song, called *Harmation*, was thereto so much moved, and set in such an heat by his warlike tune, that he started out of the place where he sat, and caught up the armes that hung up thereby, ready to brandish them and to fight, bearing witness thereby to the Spartans, chaunting thus:

Sweetly to play on Lute and Harpe;

To sing thereto as pleasantly:

Be seeme those that love at Harpe,

To fight it out right valiantly.

There lived also in the time of *Alexander*, *Apelles* the Painter, and *Lyfippus* the Imager: the former of these two, painted *Alexander* holding a thunderbolt in his hand, but so exquisitely

to the life, and so like unto himselfe, that it was a common saying; Of two *Alexanders*, the one, king *Philips* sonne, was invincible; the other of *Apelles* drawing, was inimitable. As for *Lyfippus*, when he had cast the first image of *Alexander*, with his face up toward heaven; expressing thereby the very countenance of *Alexander*, who was wont so to looke, and withall, to turne his necke somewhat at one side; there comes me one and setteth over it this epigram, alluding very prettily to the said portraiture:

This image heere that stands in brasse all bright,

The portraict is of Alexander, right;

up toward heaven, he both his eyes doth cast,

And unto Jove, seemes thus to speake at last:

'Thou Jupiter in heav'n maist well be hold:

Mine is the earth, by conquest I it hold.

And therefore *Alexander* gave commandement, that no other brasse foundr, should cast his image, but only *Lyfippus*: for he alone it was (as it should seeme) that had the fear to represent his naturall disposition in bras, and to expresse his vertue answerable to the lineaments and proportion of his shape. As for others, howsoever they might be thought to resemble the bending of his necke, the cheerefull cast & amiable volubility of his quick eie; yet could they never observe and keepe that virilitie of visage and lion-like looke of his. In the ranke of other rare workmen, may be ranged a famous Architect, named *Stasiderus*, who would not seeme to busie himselfe in making any thing, that was either gallant & pleasant, or delectable and gracious 20 to the eie; but intended some great matter, and such a piece of worke, and of that argument, as would require no lesse than the riches and treasure of a king to furnish and set forth. This fellow comes up to *Alexander*, being in the high countries and provinces of his dominion, where before him he found fault with all his images, as well painted, and engraven, as cast and pourtrayed any way; saying, they were the hand-works of base minded and mechanicall artificers: But I (quoth he) if it may please your majestie, know how, and doe intend to found and establish the similitude of your roiall person, in a matter that is living and immortal, grounded upon eternal roots, the weight and ponderositie whereof is immoveable, and can not be shaken: For the mountaine *Athos* (quoth he) in *Thracia*, whereas it is greatest, and riseth to a most conspicuous height; where the broad plaines and high tops are proportionate 30 to it selfe every waie; having in it, members, lims, joints, distances, and intervals, resembling for all the world, the forme of mans body, may be wrought and framed so, as it would serve verie well both to be called, and to be indeed, the statue of *Alexander*, and worthy his Greatnesse: the foote and base whereof, shall touch the sea; in one of the hands comprehending and holding a great citie peopled and inhabited by an infinit number of men: and in the right, a running river, with a perpetuall current, which it poweth as it were out of a great pot into the sea: as for all these petty images and puppets made of gold, bras, and ivory; these wodden tables with pictures, away with them all, as little paltrey portraicts, which may be bought and sold, these stollen and melted, defaced and matted. *Alexander* having heard the man speake, 40 highly praised him, as admiring his haucie minde, his bold courage, the conceit of his extraordinary invention: Good fellow (quoth he) let *Athos* alone, and permit it to stand a Gods name, in the place where it doth, and never alter the forme of it: it sufficeth that it is the monument of the outrageous pride, insolent vanitie and folly of one king already: and as for me, the mountaine *Caucasus*, the hills *Emodus*, the river *Tanais*, and the Caspian sea, shall be the images and statues to represent my acts. But set the case I pray you, that such a piece of worke had beene made & finished as this great architect talked of: is there any man thinke you, seeing it in that forme, disposition, and fashion, that would thinke it grew so by chance & adventure? No I warrant you. What say we now to his image called *Ceremphoros*, that is to say, the thunder-bolt-bearer? what say we to another named *Phidias*, that is to say, leaning upon a lance? Can not 50 the greatnesse & majestie of such a statue be performed by fortune, without the artificiall hand of man, howsoever it conferre and allow thereto great store of gold, bras, ivory, and all manner of rich & precious matter? and shall we thinke it then possible, that a great personage, nay rather the greatest that ever the world saw, was made & perfected by fortune without vertue? and that it was fortune onely who made for him that provision of armes, of money, of men, cities, and horses: all which things, bring perill to those that know not how to use them well; and neither honour and credit, nor puissance, but rather argue their febleness and impuissance. For

Ppppp 2

Antiphones

Antiphones said, very well and truly, that we should wish unto our enemies all the good things in the world, save only valour and fortitude: for by that means they be not theirs who are in present possession of them, but become theirs who are the conquerors. And th is is the reason men say, that nature hath set upon the head of an Hart for his defence, the most heartlesse and cowardly beast that is, woonderfull hornes for bignesse, and most dangerous by reason of their sharpe and branching knagges: teaching us by this example, that bodily strength and armour, serveth them in no stead, who have not the courage and resolution to stand their ground and fight it out. And even thus we see, that fortune many times by heaping upon heartlesse cowards, and wiselesse fooles, a great estate of riches and dominion, which they know not how to wield, and wherewith they discredit themselves, doeth honour and grace vertue, as upon which onely dependeth all the puillance, all the worship, glory, and reputation of men: for if as *Epicharmus* saith,

The minde it is that seeth cleare:

And it is the minde that eke doeth beare.

then all the rest are blinde and deafe, which be void of reason: for the senses seeme verillie to have their proper and peculiar functions. Now, that the minde is all in all, that the minde is available in all things, that the minde disposeth every thing in good order, that it is the minde which conquereth, which ruleth & reigneth over all; & whatsoever beside, blind, deafe, & without life, do hinder, depresse, and dishonor the possessors thereof, if vertue be away, may be proved and exemplified by the experience and course of worldly affaires: for by the same puillance and command, *Semiramis* being but a woman, rigged and manned armadoes at sea, leaved and armed maine battels of land forces, built *Babylon*, scoured and conquered all the coast of the red sea, subdued and brought to her obedience the Arabians and Aethiopians: whereas *Sardanapalus*, a man borne, sat within house at home, carding and spinning purple, tumbling and lying along, wallowing among a sort of concubines: and when he was dead, they made for him a statue in stone, dauncing by himselfe alone after the Barbarian fashion, and knocking (as it were) with his fingers over his head, like an antique, with this epigram set over it:

Eat, drinke, the wanton lecher play,

For nothing els is sought, I say.

Crates the Philosopher seeing upon a time within the temple of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphi*, the image of *Phryne* the curtisan, shined all in golde, cried out: Behold heere stands the triumphant *Trophæe*, over the loose and lascivious life of the Greeks. But whosoever beheldeth the life or sepulture, whether you will (for in mine opinion there is no difference) of *Sardanapalus*, he may well and truly say to the *Trophæe* of fortunes goods. What then? shall we suffer fortune after *Sardanapalus* to meddle with *Alexander*, and to challenge unto herselfe any part of his mightinesse and puillance? That were no reason at all: for what gave she ever unto him more than other kings have received at her hands? whether it were armour, horses, weapons, monie, soldiers, and a guard about their persons? Well, let her by these means make *Aridæus* great if she can; let her magnifie (I say) by these means *Amasis*, *Ochus*, *Oarxes*, *Tigranes* the Armenian, and *Nicomedes* the Bithynian: of whom the one, to wit, *Tigranes*, 40 slung downe his crowne and diadem at the feet of *Pompeius*, and shamefully lost his kingdome, as a pray or echeat fallen into his enemies hand: the other, namely *Nicomedes*, having shaven his head, and wearing a cap upon it, declared himselfe thereby, to be an enfranchised vassall of the Romans? What? Say we then, that fortune maketh men cowards, fearfull, and base minded? Surely, it were no reason to impute cowardise upon infortunie, no more than to attribute valour and wisdom to prosperitie. But well and truly may one say, that fortune herselfe was great, in regard of her lord and master *Alexander*: for in him she was glorious, invincible and magnanimous; not proud nor insolent, but full of clemencie and humanitie: no sooner was the breath out of his body, but presently her power, that is to say, his armie and forces, as *Leofhenes* said wandering up and downe stragling and running upon it selfe, resembled that 50 fame *Cyclops Polyphemus*, who after his cie was out of his head, went groping all about, putting forth his hands before him, but not knowing where to lay them: For even the greatnesse of her puillance, after he was once dead, went to and fro, wandering it wist not where, and stumbling ever and anon, wanting a directour and governour, as in time of Anarchie, when there is no soveraigne ruler knownen: or rather it might be compared unto dead bodies when the life is newly departed out of them. For like as the parts are not knit together, nor hold one to another

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any longer, but fall away one from the other, and loosely withdraw themselves apart: even so the armie of *Alexander* after it had lost and forgone him, did no more but sprunt, part, struggle and strive for life, tosse and tumble to and fro, under the *Perdicæes*, the *Meleagers*, the *Seleuci*, the *Antegoni*, and I wot not whom, like unto some small vital spirits, yet remaining hot and beating within the arteries heere and there disorderly, and now and then like intermittent pulses, untill such time as at the last it grew to putrification and corruption in manner of a dead carcase, and engendered wormes crawling within it: I meane such base kings, degenerate rulers & captains who had no generosity nor heart in them. Certes, *Alexander* himselfe in his lifetime rebuking *Hephestion* when he quarrelled with *Craterus*, taunted him & tooke him up in this wise: What power 10 haist thou of thy selfe? what couldest thou do, and where wouldest thou be, if a man should take *Alexander* from thee? Semblably, I will not sticke to say thus unto the fortune of that time: What is thy greatnesse? what is thy glory? where is thy puillance? where is thine invincible power, if one should bereave thee of *Alexander*? That is as much to say, as if one should deprive thine armes & weapons, of skill and experience to use them; thy riches, of liberality; thy sumptuousity and magnificence, of temperance; thy fights & combats, of resolute valor; thy victories and superiorities, of mildenesse and lenity. Make any other great if thou canst, who bestowest not his goods bountifully, who in the forefront of the battell hazzardeth not his owne person first before his armie, who honoreth not nor regardeth his friends, who taketh no pittie of his enemies captive, who is not in his pleasures continent, in his occasions & affaires vigilant, in his 20 victories soone pacified and easie to be compounded with, and last of all, who in his prosperity and good successe is not kind and courteous. How can a man possibly be great, what power and authority fo ever he have, if he be foolish, vicious, & wicked withal: for in one word, take yertie from a man otherwise fortunate, he is every way meane and of base account; meane in his gifts & donations, by reason of nigardise; meane in his travels, in regard of his cowardice and tenderne meane in the fight of the gods, because of his superstition; meane among good men, for his envie; meane with valiant warriors, in respect of his timorousnesse; and meane in the conceit of honest women, considering his disoloute voluptuousnesse. For like as unskillfull workemen who set little statues upon great bases and large pedestals, shew thereby the smalnesse of their statues so much the more: even so when fortune raiseth up a man of base minde into high 30 place and to an estate wherein he is to be scene of the whole world, he discovereth his wants, the discrediteth and dishonoreth him the rather, waving and shaking every way through his levitie. So that, by this we must confesse, that greatnesse lieth not in the bare possession, but in the well using of good things: For many times it falleth out that very infants even from their cradle, inherit the realmes and seignories of their fathers; like as *Charillus* did, whom *Lycurgus* his uncle brought in his swadling bands into the common hall *Phiditium*, where the lords of *Sparta* were wont to dine together, set him in the roiall throne, and in the stead of himselfe, declared and proclaimed him king of *Lacedæmon*. Now was not this babe for all this, great: but he rather might be accounted a great person, who rendering unto the new borne infant his fathers honor due unto him, would not intervert and derive it upon himselfe, and fo defraud his nephew thereof. As for *Aridæus*, who could make him a great man, whom differing indeed 40 nothing from a babe, *Atelenger* swaddled indeed and enwrapped onely within a purple robe and roiall mantell of estate, and so entalled him in the throne of *Alexander*: wherein he did very well, to give the world to understand within a few daies after, how men reign by vertue; and how by fortune: for he subrogated in the place of a true prince that managed the empire indeed, a very counterfeit plaier and actor of a kings part; or to speake more truly, he brought a mute and dumbe diadem to walke through the world for a time, as it were upon a stage. The comicall * Poet said:

A very woman may well a burden beare,

If first a man upon her doe it reare.

50 But a man may contrariwise say, that a filly woman or a yong child may take up, yea and charge upon the shoulders of another, a seignory, a realme, a great estate and empire, as *Bagoas* the Eunuch tooke and laid upon *Oarxes* and *Darius* the kingdome of the Persians. Mary when as one hath taken upon him a mighty power and dominion, to beare, to wield & manage the same, and not under the weight and heavy load of affaires belonging thereto, to be overwhelmed, bruised, or wrested awry: that is the act of a man endued with vertue understanding and courage, such an one as *Alexander* was: howsoever some there be who reproch him that he loved wine to

Pppp 3

well

* *Aristoph.*

well and would be drunke. But this great gift he had, that in his important affaires he was sober, neither was he drunke and overfeene, nor ever forgot himselfe and grew to any outrage, for all the puiffance, authority and liberty that he had: whereof others when they had some part and little taft, could not hold and containe themselves: For

*Ne sooner are their purfes fust
With come: or they to honor brought,
But they anon with pride are paff,
And foon bewray that they be naught:
They kicke, they winfe, they fting and prance,
Ne one may ftand fafely in their way,
If fortune once their houle advance
Some unexpected power to fway.*

Clytus for having funke three or foure galleies of the Greeks, nere the Ifle *Amorgus*, would needs be ftiled with the name of *Neptune*, and a three tined mace caried before him. *Demetrius*, upon whom fortune had bestowed a little skirt or lappet (as it were) which he tare from *Alexanders* dominion, was well content to heare himselfe called *Jupiter* *the emulckins*, that is to fay, the vawter. Cities sent unto him not embaffadors, but *Theores*, forsooth, that is to fay, efpecial perfons depured for to confult with the gods: and his anfwers to them, must be termed (I would not elfe) Oracles. And *Lysimachus* who held the coasts of *Thracia*, which was but the border or edge of *Alexanders* kingdom, grew to that heighth of furiy pride & intollerable arrogancy, that he would breake out into thefe words: Now the Bizantines come to doe homage unto me, feeing how I reach and touch the skie with my lance. At which fpeech of his, *Pafides* ftanding by, could not forbear, but fay unto the company: Let us be gone my mafters, with all fpeed, left this man bore an hole in heaven with the point of his lance. But what fhould we fpeake more of thefe perfons? who might be allowed in fome fort to cary an hauty minde and beate their heads aloft, in regard of *Alexander*, whose fouldiers they were? feeing that *Clearchus* the tyrant of *Heraclea*, caried upon his fcepter as his device, the refemblance of lightning, and one of his fonnnes he named *Zeus*, that is to fay, a thunderbolt. And *Dennis* the yonger, called himselfe the fonne of *Apollo*, in a certeine Epigram to this effect:

*Doris the Nymph, by Phœbus did conceive,
And from them both my birth I do derive.*

And in truth, *Dennis* the elder, the naturall father of this man, who put to death ten thoufand of his owne citizens and fubjects (if not more) who for very envie betraied his owne brother into the hands of his enemies; who had not the patience to ftay for his owne mothers death; an aged woman, and who by the courfe of nature would have died within few daies after, but fmothered and ftopped her breath; who alfo himselfe wrote in a tragedy of his owne making,

*For why? know this, that lordly tyranny
The mother is of wrong and villany.*

yet forsooth, of three daughters which he had, named one *Arete*, that is to fay, Vertue; another, *Sophofyne*, that is to fay, Temperance; and a third, *Dicaofyne*, that is to fay, Juftice. Some there were, who needs would be furnamed *Euergeta*, that is to fay, Benefactors; others, *Soteres*, that is to fay, Savours. Some called themselves *Callinici*, that is to fay, Victorious; others, *Atagali*, that is to fay, Great. And yet as glorious additions as they caried in their ftiles, who is able to exprefse in words, their marriages following thicke one in the necke of another, fpending the long day continually, like a fort of ftallions among a number of women, as if they had beene a ftud of fo many mares; their unkind abufing of faire boies, their violent rapes and enforcements of yong damofels, their drumming and tabouring with a fort of effeminate & womanlike wantons, their dice playing in the day time, their piping and founding the flute in open Theaters, their nights fpend in fuppers, and whole daies in long dinners? But *Alexander* gat up, and fat to his dinner by the breake of day, and went not to fupper before it was late in the evening; he drank and made good chere when he had firft facrificed to the gods; he plaied at dice with *Atiches*, one time, whiles he had a rever upon him; his pastimes and recreations were, to travel and march upon the way, and withall, to learne how to fhoot an arrow, how to lounce a dart, how to mount a chariot nimbly, and difmount againe with facility. *Roxane* he efpoufed and wedded, only for pure love, and to content his fancy and affection; but *Statira* the daughter of *Darius* he tooke to wife upon pollicy, becaufe the ftate of his kingdom and affaires required fuch

fuch a match; for expedient it was, thus to mix and unite two nations together. As for other ladies and women of *Persia*, he went as farre beyond them in chafteity and continence, as he did the *Persian* men in valour and fortitude; for he never would fo much as fee one of them againft her will; and thofe whom he faw, he leffe regarded than fuch as he never fceie upon: and whereas otherwife to all perfons he was courteous and popular, to fuch onely as were faire and beautifull he fhewed himselfe ftange, and ufed them in fome fort proudly. As touching the wife of *Darius*, a lady of fuprarping beauty, he would not endure fo much as one word that tended to the praife thereof; yet when the fce was dead, he performed her funerals with fo fumptuous and princelike obfequies, he mourned and bewailed her death fo piteoufly, that as his kindneffe in that behalfe made the world miftrufte and fufpect his chafteity, fo his bountifull countenance incurred the obloquy and imputation of injuftice. And verily, *Darius* was at the firft mooved to conceive jealousie and a finifter opinion of him that way, confidering he had the woman in his hands, and was besides, a gallant and yong prince: for he alfo was one of them, who were perfwaded that *Alexander* held the tenure of his mighty dominion and monarchy, by the goodneffe and favour of Fortune; but after he knew the truth once, upon diligent fearch and inquisition by all circumftances into the thing: VVell (quoth he) the *Persians* ftate I perceive is not utterly overthrowen, neither will any man repure us plaine cowards and effeminate perfons, for being vanquifhed by fuch an enemy: for mine owne part, my firft wifh and principall praier unto the gods is, that they would vouchsafte me fortunate fucceffe, and at the laft an happy victory of this warre, to the end that I may fupmount *Alexander* in beneficence; for an earneft defire I have and an emulation, to fhew my felfe more milde and gracious toward him, than he is to me ward: but if all be gone with me and my houle, then, O *Jupiter* the protectour of the *Persians*, and ye other tutelur gods and patrons of kings and kingdoms, fuffer not any other but him, to be enthronifed in the roiall feat of *Cyrus*. Certes, this was a very adoption of *Alexander*, that paffed in the prefence and by the testimony of the gods. See what victories are achieved by vertue.

Afcrib now (if you will) unto Fortune, the journey of *Arbels*, the battell fought in *Cilicia*, and all other fuch like exploits performed by force of armes: let it be, that the fortune it was of warre which thooke the city of *Tyrrus*, and made it quake before him, and opened *Aegypt* unto him; grant, that by the helpe of Fortune *Halicarnaffus* fell to the ground, and *Miletus* was forced and won; that *Mazæus* abandoned the river *Euphrates*, and left it difurnished of garifons; and that all the plaines about *Babylon* were overfped with dead bodies: yet it was not Fortune that made him temperant, neither was he continent by the means of Fortune; Fortune it was nor, that kept and preferved his foules within a fortrefle inexpugnable, fo as neither pleasures could it furprife and captivate, nor lufts and flefhly defires wound or touch. And thefe were the very means whereby he vanquifhed and put to flight the perfon of *Darius* himselfe. All the reft were, the difcomfiture of his great barbe-horfes, the overthrow and loffe of his armour, skirmifhes, battels, murders, executions, mafacres and flights of his men. But the great foile and defaiture indeed, moft confefled, and againft which leaft exception can be taken, was that wherein *Darius* himselfe was overthrowen; namely, when as he yielded unto the vertue of *Alexander*, to his magnanimity, fortitude and juftice, admiring that heart of his, invincible of pleasure, unconquered by travels, and in gratuities and liberality immachable. For in shields and fpeares, in pikes and targuets, in fhouts and alarines, in giving the charge and in buckling together with the clattering of armour, right hardie and undaunted, as well as he, were *Tarrius* the fonne of *Dinomenes*, *Antigones* of *Pellen*, and *Philotas* the fonne of *Parmenio*: but againft tickling pleasures, againft the attractive allurements of women, againft flattering filver and golde, they were no better, nor had more rule of themselves than flaves and captives. For *Tarrius* at what time as *Alexander* undertooke to pay all the debts of the *Macedonians*, and to make fatisfaction unto all thofe who had lent them any money, falfly belied himselfe, faying, he was in debt; and withall fuborned and brought forth a certeine ufurer, to the verie table where this difcharge was made, who tooke it upon him, that he was a creditor of his. And afterwards when *Tarrius* was detected and convicted hereof, he had made himselfe away for very fhame and compunction of heart, but that *Alexander* being advertifed thereof, pardoned his faulty, yea and permitted him alfo to keepe the filver ftill, that he had difburfed for his counterfeite debt; calling to minde, how at what time as his father *Philip* laid fiege to the citie *Perinthus*, the laid *Tarrius* in a skirmifh was fhoot into the eie, and would not fuffer the fame to be dressed, nor the shaft to be plucked

plucked forth, before the enemies were put to flight. *Antigenes* causing himselfe to be enrolled, and his name registred among others who were sent backe againe from the campe into *Macedonie*, by occasion of sicknesse or maine, whereby they were not serviceable: being found afterwards to aile nothing, but to counterfeit sicknesse, who otherwise was a good souldior, and carried the marks of many a scarre in his body to be seene, offended *Alexander* hereby; and when the king demanded the reason, why he had so done; he confessed by and by, that he was in love with a young woman named *Tessippa*, whom he purposed to follow and accompanie, being minded to goe to the sea-coast, for that he could not find in his heart to be far from her. Then *Alexander* asked him, to whom the wench appertained, & who was to be dealt with, for to make her faire. *Antigenes* answered, she was her owne woman, & of free condition: Why then (quoth *Alexander*) let us perswade her to tary still by faire promises & good gifts; for in no wise force her we may. So easie was he to pardon and beare with love, in any other rather than in himselfe. The first cause of the infortunate fall of *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio*, was in some sort his owne intemperance: for there was a young woman borne in the citie of *Pella*, named *Antigona*, who in the faceage of the citie of *Danaisium*, was taken prisoner among other captives, and indeed had bene thither brought before by *Antrophrades*, who surpris'd her at sea, as she sailed frō the coast of *Macedonie*, toward the Isle *Namotrace*: faire she was, & wellfavoured to see to; and so far had she entangled *Philotas* with her love, after he came once to be acquainted with her, that being aman otherwise as hard as iron, and Steele to the very backe, she had so mollified and made him pliable, that in the mids of his pleasures, poore man he, was not master of himselfe and his owne heart, but lying open unto the woman, revealed many secrets unto her, and let fall foolish words in her hearing: For what had that *Philip* beene (would he sometimes say) but for *Parmenio*? and what were this *Alexander* heere, without *Philotas*? what would become of his high addition, *Jupiter Ammonius*, where were those dragons of his, if we were not well pleased with him? *Antigona* told these speeches unto another woman one of her familiar friends; and she reported them againe to *Craterus*: *Craterus* brought *Antigona* herselfe secretly unto *Alexander*: and verily *Alexander* touched not her body, but abstained from her: howbeit, by her means, founding *Philotas*, & comming within him, he discovered fully what he was: yet in seven yeeres space and more, he never either at any feast where he dranke wine liberally, & was thought others hiles to be drunke, made he shew of this suspition conceived of him, or in his anger, being of nature halstie and cholericke; or to his friend *Hephastion*, unto whom he was wont to disclose all, and make partaker otherwise of his secrets: for one day by report, having opened a letter of secrets, sent from his owne mother, as he read it to himselfe, *Hephastion* held his head close to, and read it gently together with him; neither had he the heart to forbid him: onely after he had suffred him to read it through, he tooke the signet from his owne finger, set it to his mouth, as it were to seale up his lips, that he should say nothing. But if a man should goe about to relescate at large all the notable examples, whereby it might be proved that this prince used the greatnesse of his power exceeding well, and as most worthily became a kings his strength and voice would faile him: for say, that by the goodnesse and favour of Fortune he became great: yet greater he is, in that he used his fortune aright, and wisely as he should: and the more that a man extolles his good fortune, the more doeth he amplify that vertue of his, for which he was worthy of such fortune.

But now it is high time that I should proceed to the beginning of his growth, and the first entry of his mightie power: wherein I consider and looke every way about me, what act of fortune is therein, whereby men should suppose and maintaine, that *Alexander* arose to such greatnesse? How now? Tell me I beseech you for the love of God, placed she him in the regal throne of *Cyru*, without drawing a sword, without striking one stroke, without bloodshed, without wounds, without a field fought, or expedition of armes made? by the neighing (forth) of an horse, as sometime she did by that first *Darius*, the sonne of *Histaspes*? or was it some kinde husband wonne by the flattering perswasion of his wife, that crowned him king? so like as the same *Darius* made *Xerxes* king, induced by his wife *Amestris*; or haply the roiall diadem came of it selfe to his very gates, as it came unto *Parsus*, by the meanes of *Bagoas* the eunuch; who did no more for it, but change and put off his lackies mandilion, put himselfe presently into the roiall robe, and set upon his head the pointed turban, named *Cydrus*: or all on a sudden, beyond all expectation, by the fortunate fall of a Ior, and the meere benefit of fortune, he became the monarch of the whole earth; like as at *Athens* their officers Theismother, and

and Archontes are created by lotterie. But would you know how men come to be kings by the meanes of Fortune? This one example will tell you. The race of the *Heraclides*, descending lineally from *Hercules*, out of which they were wont at *Argos* from time to time to elect their kings, chanced to faile, and be utterly extinct: whereupon, when they had sent out to the oracle of *Apollo*, for to demand and enquire what to do in this case; this answer was made, That an eagle should direct them what was to be done. Some few daies after, an eagle was seene soaring aloft in the aire, and at length to settle upon the house of one named *Aegon*: and thus was *Aegon* declared for their king. Will you have another? He who reigned for the time in the citie *Paphos*, was found to be wicked, unjust, violent, and a great oppressour of his people: whereupon *Alexander* deposed him from his regal state and dignities; and when he had so done, sought for another to rule in his stead, out of the house & familie of the *Cinyrades*, which was thought in manner to be worne out, and utterly extinct: howbeit, advertised hee was, that there remained of that race no more but one obscure and poore man, of whom there was no reckoning in the world made; and he dwelt in a certeine garden unregarded, where he lived in verie meane estate. Presently he sent forth to seeke for this man: they who were put in commission heereabout, found him there indeed, watering certeine beds of leeks, and such like worts and pot-herbs: The man was wonderfully troubled and affrighted to see these souldiers come toward him, and especially when they saide that he must come and speake with *Alexander* the king: this was he brought unto him, in a simple thin linnen wastecote, and presently proclaimed king of *Paphos*, received the purple roiall robe, and was reckoned in the number of those who are called the kings Minions: and his name was *Abynnus*. Lo how Fortune makes men kings, onely by altering their robes, by permutation of their names, and changing their copies a little, all on a sudden; quickly in a trice, with great facilitie, beyond all hope; and without any expectation at all. Come now unto *Alexander*, what great matter did he ever attain unto without his desert? what hapned unto him without the sweat of his browes, nay without the effusion of his blood? what had he gratis, that he paid not for? what got he, that did not cost him paines and travell? Drunke he hath of rivers steined and coloured with blood; passed he hath over them upon bridges made of dead bodies; for very hunger he hath beene glad to eat of grasse and greene herbes, the first hee could finde growing; he hath with much digging and searching, discovered nations buried under deepe snow, and cities lying in caves within the ground: failed he hath upon seas, warring and fighting against him: and traveling over the dry sands of the *Gedrosians* and *Arachosians*, he saw trees and plants growing within the sea, before any upon the land. Now if a man might be allowed to addresse his speech unto Fortune, as unto some person in the defence of *Alexander*, might not one say unto her? When and where was it, that thou ever madest way for the affaires of *Alexander*? what fortresse wanne he through thy favour, without the losse of blood? what citie or towne didst thou cause to be yeilded unto him without a garrison? or what army, without their weapons? where found he ever through thy grace any kings sluggish and slothfull; any captaine carelesse and negligent; any warder or porter of the gates drowsie and sleepe? nay, he never met with river that had faire passable, winter that was tolerable, or Summer that was not painfull and irksome. Goethy waies, goe, to *Antiochus* the sonne of *Selenus*; to *Artaxerxes* the brother of *Cyru*; to *Plolomaeus Philadelphus*: These were they, whom their fathers in their life time declared heires apparent, yea, and crowned them kings: these wonne fields and battels, for which never eie shed teare: these kept holiday continually: these celebrated festivall solemnities daily in theaters, with all manner of pompes and goodly fights: every one of these reigned in all prosperitie, untill they were very aged: whereas *Alexander* (if there were nothing else) lo how his body is wounded and piteously mangled, from the crowne of his head, to the sole of his foot, gashed heere, thrust in there, drie beaten, bruised and broken with all manner of hostile weapons,

With lance and spear, with sword most keene,

With stones that bigge and massie beene.

At the river *Granicus*, his helmet or morion was cleft with a curtelace, as farre as to the haire of his head: before the towne of *Gaza* he was shot into the shoulder with a dart: in the *Maragandians* countrey his shin was wounded with a javelin, in so much as the greater bone thereof was broken and shattered, that it came out at the wound: in *Eircania* he gave a knocke with a great stone behinde in his necke, which thooke his head so, as that his eie-sight was dimmed thereby, so as for certeine daies, he was afraid that he should have beene blinde for ever: in a skir-

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with the Affians, his ancle was wounded with an Indian dart: at what time when he saw it to bleed, he turned unto his flatterers and parasites, and shewing them the place, smiled and said: This is very bloud indeed,

*And not that humour, say all what you will,
Which from the gods most blessed doth descend.*

At the battell of Issus his thigh was pierced with a sword, even by king *Darius* himselfe, as *Chares* writeth, who came to close with him at hand fight. And *Alexander* himselfe writing simply and the plaine truth to *Antipater*, I my selfe also caught a stab with a short sword in my thigh, but thanked be God (quoth he) I had no great hurt thereby either at the present or afterwards. Fighting against the Mallians he was wounded with a dart two cubits long, that being driven through his cuirace entred in at his brest and came out againe at his necke, according as *Aristobolus* hath left in writing. Having passed over the river *Tanais* for to march against the Scythians, when he had defeated them in battell, he followed the chafe and pursued them on horsebacke for a hundred and fifty stadia, notwithstanding all the while he was troubled with a fore laske or flux of the belly. Now truly fortune, much beholden is *Alexander* unto thee for advancing his estate: Is this thy making of him great, by suffering him thus to be pierced through on every side? Here is a faire upholding of him indeed to lay open thus all the parts of his bodie: cleane contrary to that which *Minerva* did unto *Menelaus*, who with her hand turned aside all the shot of the enemies, and made them light upon his armour where it was most fure and of the best proofe, to wit, upon his cuirace, his bawdricke or belt, or upon his helmet; and by that means brake the force of the stroke before it could come to the bare bodie, so as all the harme it could do, was but a little to rafe the skin and let out some smal shew and a few drops of blood: but thou contrariwise, hast exposed his naked and unarmed parts and those most dangerous to be wounded, causing the shot to enter so farre as to goe through the very bone, environing and hemming in his body round, besetting his eyes and feet, impeaching him for chasing his enemies, diverting the traine of his victories, and overturning all his hopes. Certes I am of this opinion, that there never was king who had fortune more adverse & a throwder stepdame than he; although he hath bene curst, envious and spitefull enough to many besides: for whereas he hath fallen upon others violently like a thunderbolt or shot of lightning, whom he hath cut off and destroyed right out at once; he malice and hatred unto *Alexander* hath bene cankered obdurate and implacable even as it was before him unto *Hercules*. For what Typhons or monstrous Giants of prodigious stature hath he not raised up as concurrents to fight with him? What enemies hath not the fortified and furnished against him with infinite store of armes, with deepe rivers, with prerupt and craggy rocks, or with extraordinary strength of most savage beasts? Now if the courage of *Alexander* had not bene undaunted, and the same arising from exceeding great vertue, firmly grounded and settled thereupon to encounter fortune, how could it otherwise have bene, but the same should have failed and given over, as being wearied and toiled out with setting so many battells in array, arming his soldiers so daily, laying siege so many times unto cities and townes, chasing and pursuing his enemies so often, checked with so many revolts and rebellions, crossed so commonly with infinite treasons, conspiracies and insurrections of nations troubled with such a sort of stiffe necked kings who shooke off the yoke of allegiance? and in one word, while he conquered *Bactra*, *Macedonia* and the Sogdians, among faithlesse and trecherous nations who waited alwaies to spie some opportunity and occasion to do him a displeasure, & who like to the serpent *Hydra*, as fast as one head was cut off, put forth another, and so continually raised fresh and new warres? I shall seeme to tell you one thing very strange and incredible, howbeit most true: Fortune it was and nothing but fortune by whose maligne and crosse aspect, he went very neere of losing that opinion that went of him, namely, that he was the sonne of *Jupiter Ammon*. For what man was there ever extract and descended from the seed of the gods, who exploited more laborious, more difficult and dangerous combats? unless it were *Hercules* againe the sonne of *Jupiter*? And yet one outrageous and violent man there was who set him a worke, enjoining him to take fell lions, to hunt wilde bores, to chase away ravenous fowles, to the end that he should have no time to be employed in greater affaires while he visited the world, namely, in punishing such as *Ammon*, and in representing the ordinary murders which that tyrant *Bustris* and such like committed upon the persons of guests and travellers. But it was no other thing than vertue alone that commanded *Alexander* to enterprise and exploit such a peece of worke as befecomed to great a king and one derived from

from a divine race: the end whereof was not a masse of gold to be carried along after him upon ten thousand camels backs, nor the superfluous delights of *Media*, nor sumptuous and delicate tables, nor faire and beautifull ladies, nor the good and pleasant wines of *Calistonia*, nor the dainty fish of *Hyrcania* out of the Caspian sea: but to reduce the whole world to be governed in one and the same order, to be obedient to one empire, and to be ruled by the same manner of life. And verily this desire was inbred in him, this was nourished and grew up with him from his very fancie. There came embassadors upon a time from the king of *Persia* to his father *Philip*, who at the same time was not in the country but gone forth: *Alexander* gave them honorable intertainment very courteously as became his fathers sonne: but this especially was observed in him, that he did not aske them childish questions as other boies did, to wit, about golden wines trailed from one tree to another, nor of the pendant gardens at *Babylon* hanging above in the aire, ne yet what robes and sumptuous habiliments their king did weare? But all his talke and conference with them was concerning matters most important for the state of an empire: inquisitive he was, what forces and power of men the king of *Persia* could bring out into the field and maintaine; in what ward of the battell the king himselfe was arranged when he fought a field: much like unto that *Ulysses* in *Homere*, who demanded of *Dolon* (astouching *Hector*)

His martiall armes, where doth he lay?

His horses, tell me, where stand they?

Which be the readiest and shortest waies for those who would travel from the coasts of the Mediterranean sea up into the high countries: in so much as these strangers, the embassadors wondered exceedingly and said: Now surely this child is the * great king, and ours the rich. No sooner was his father *Philip* departed this life, but presently his heart served him to passe over the straits of *Helle Spont*, and being already fed with his hopes, and forward in the preparation and provision of his voiage, he made what speed he could to set foot in *Asia*. But see heere how fortune crossed his desires: the averted him quite and drew him backe againe, raising a thousand troubles and busie occasions to stay & hinder his intended course. First the caused those barbarous nations bordering and adjoining upon him, to rise up in armes, and thereby held him occupied in the warres against the Illyrians and Triballians: by the means whereof he was haled away as farre as to *Seythia* and the nations inhabiting along the river *Danubie*, who diverted him cleane from his affaires intended in the high provinces of *Asia*. Howbeit having overrunne these countries and dispatched all difficulties with great perils and most dangerous battells, he set in hand againe with his former enterprise, and made haste to his passage & voiage a second time. But lo, even there also fortune excited the city of *Thebes* against him, and laid the warre of the Greeks in his way to stop his expedition, driving him to extreme streights and to a very hard exigent, by fire and sword to be revenged of a people that were his owne countrymen, and of the same kindred and nation, the issue whereof was most grievous and lamentable. Having exploited this, he crossed the seas at the last, furnished with provision of money and victuals as *Phylarchus* writeth: to serve for thirty daies and no longer, or as *Aristobolus* reporteth having onely seventy talents of silver to defray the whole charges of the voiage. For of his owne demaine and possessions at home, as also of the crowne revenues, he had bestowed the most part upon his friends and followers: onely *Perdiccas* would receive nothing at his hands, but when he made offer to give him his part with the rest, demanded thus of him: But what reserve you for your selfe, *Alexander*? VVho answered, My hopes. Why then (quoth he) I will take part thereof: for it is not reason that we should receive your goods, but wait for the pillage of *Darius*. And what were those hopes of *Alexander*, upon which he passed over into *Asia*? Surely not a power meassured by the strong wals of many rich & populous cities, nor fleets of ships sailing through the mountaines, nor whips and fetters, testifying the folly and madnesse of barbarous princes, who thought thereby to punish and chastise the raging sea. But for externall means without himselfe, a resolution of prowess in a small power of armed men well trussed and compact together, an emulation to excell one another among young men of the same age, a contention and strife for vertue and glory in those that were his minions about him: But the great hopes indeed and most assured were in his owne person, to wit, his devout religion to Godward, the trusty confidence and affiance that he had in his friends, frugality, continence, bounty, contempt of death, magnanimity and resolution, humanity, courtesie, affable intertainment, a simple nature, plaine without plaits, not fained and counterfayt, constancie in his counsell, celerity in his execution, sovereignty and priority in honor, and a resolute purpose to accomplish any

* For the king of Persia was called king.

any honest duty and office. For *Homer* did not well and decently, to compose and frame the beautifull personage of *Agamemnon*, as the patterne of a perfect prince out of three images, after this manner,

*For eyes and head, much like he was in sight
To Iove, who takes in lightning such delight:
God Mars in waist and loines resembled he:
In brest compar'd to Neptune he may be.*

But the nature of *Alexander* (in case that God who made or created him, formed and compounded it of many vertues) may we not well and truly say, that he endued with the courageous spirit of *Cyrus*, the sober temperance of *Agesilaus*, the quick wit and pregnant conceit of *The- mistocles*, the approved skill and experience of *Philip*, the valourous boldnesse of *Brasidas*, the rare eloquence and sufficiency of *Pericles* in State matters and politicke government? For to speake of those in ancient times, more continent he was and chaste, than *Agamemnon*, who preferred a captive concubine before his owne espoused and lawfull wife; as for *Alexander*, he abstained from those women whom he tooke prisoners in warre, and would not touch one of them before he had wedded her: more magnanimous than *Achilles*, who for a little money yeelded the dead corps of *Hector* to be ranfommed; whereas *Alexander* defraied great summes in the funerals and interring of *Darius* bodie. Again, *Achilles* tooke of his friends, for the appeasing of his choleric gifts and presents after a mercenary manner: but *Alexander* enriched his very enemies, when he had gotten the victorie. More religious he was than *Dionides*, a man who was evermore ready to fight against the gods: whereas he thought that all victory & happy successe came by the grace and favour of the gods. Deerer he was to his neere kinsfolke and friends, and more entirely beloved than *Ulysses*, whose mother died for sorrow and griefe of heart: whereas when *Alexander* died, his very enemies mother, for kinde affection and good will died with him for company. In summe, if it was by the indulgence of Fortune, that *Solon* established the common-wealth of *Athens* so well at home, that *Miltiades* conducted the armies so happily abroad; if it was by the benefit and favour of fortune, that *Aristides* was so just: then farewell vertue for ever; then is there no worke at all effected by her; but only it is a vaine name and speeche that goeth off her, passing with some shew of glorie and reputation thorow the life of man; feined and devised by these prating Sophisters, cunning Law-givers and Statists. Now if every one of these persons, and such like, was poore or rich, feeble or strong, foule or faire, of long life or short, by the means of fortune; againe, in case each of them shewed himselfe a great captain in the field, a great politician or wise law-giver, a great governour and ruler in the city and common-wealth, by their vertue and the direction of reason within them; then consider (I pray you) what *Alexander* was in comparison of them all: *Solon* instituted at *Athens*, a generall cutting off and cancelling of all debts, which he called *Seisachtheia*, which is as much to say, as a discharge of burdens; but *Alexander* out of his owne purse paid all debts in the name of debtors, due unto their creditors. *Pericles* having imposed a tax and tribute upon the Greeks, with the money raised by that levie, beautified the citadell or castle of *Athens* with temples and chapels; whereas *Alexander* sent of the pillage and treasure which he gat from the Barbarians, to the number of tenne thousand talents into *Greece*, with commandement to build therewith sacred temples to the honour of the gods. *Brasidas* was a great name and reputation of valour among the Greeks, for that he passed from one end to another thorow his enemies campe, pitched along the sea side before the towne *Merlion*: but that wonderfull leape that *Alexander* made into a towne of the *Oxydrakes*, which to them that heare it, is incredible, and to as many as saw it, was most fearefull; namely, at what time as he cast himselfe from the battlements of the walles among his enemies, ready to receive him with pikes, with javelins, with darts and naked swords; whereto may a man compare, but unto a very flash of lightning breaking violently out of a cloud, and being carried with the winde lighteth upon the ground, resembling a spirit or apparition resplendent all about with flaming and burning armours? inso much as at the first sight, men that saw it were so affrighted, as they ran backward and fled: but after that they beheld it was but one man setting upon many, then they came againe, and made head against him. Here Fortune shewed (no doubt) many plaine and evident proofs of her speciall good will to *Alexander*; namely, first when she put him into an ignoble, base and barbarous towne, and there included him fast enough within the walles thereof; then, after that those without made haste to releue him, and reared their scaling ladders against the walles for to get over and come unto him,

him, she caused them all to breake & fall in pieces, whereby she overthrew and cast them downe who were climed halfe way up: againe, of those three onely whose hap it was to mount up to the top before the ladders brake, and who flung themselves desperately downe, and stood about the king, to guard his person, she fell upon one immediately and killed him in the place, before he could do his master any service: a second, overwhelmed with a cloud of arrows and darts, was for neere death, that he could do no more, but onely see and feeble. All this while, the Macedonians without, ranne to the walles with a great noise and outcry, but all in vaine, for artillerie they had none, nor any ordinance or engines of battery; onely they laied at the walles with their naked swords and bare hands: and so earnest they were to get in, that they would have made 10 way with their very teeth, if it had beene possible. Meane while, this fortunate prince, upon whom Fortune attended at an inch, ready now to accompany and defend him, you may be sure, as at all times els, was taken and caught as a wilde beast within toiles, abandoned and left alone, without aide and succour, nor wis to win the city of *Susa* or of *Babylon*, nor to conquer the province of *Bactra*, nor to seize upon that mighty body of king *Perus*: for of great and renowned attempts, although the end alwaies prove not happy, yet there can recound no infamy. But to say a truth, Fortune was on his behalfe so sightfull and envious, but on the other side, so good and gracious to the Barbarians, so adverse I say she was to *Alexander*, that she went about as much as lay in her, to make him not onely lose his life and body, but also to forfeit his honour and glory: for if he had beene left lying dead along the river *Euphrates*, or *Hydaspes*, it had beene 20 no great defaite and indignitie: neither had it beene so dishonorable unto him, when he came to joine with *Darius* hand to hand, if he had beene massacred among a number of great horses, with the swords, glawes, & battle-axes of the Persians fighting for the empire: no, nor when he was mounted upon the wals of *Babylon*, if he had taken the foile and bene put by his great hope of forcing the city: for in that sort, lost *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* their lives; and their death was rather an act of vertue, than an accident of infortunie, whiles they gave the attempt to execute to great exploits, and to gaine so worthy a prise. But as touching fortune, which now we examine and consider; what piece of worke effected she? In a Barbarous countrey farre removed, on the further side of a river, within the walles of a base village in comparison, to thrust up and enclose the king and soveraigne lord of the earth, that he might perish there shamefully by 30 the hands & rude weapons of a multitude of Barbarous rascals, who should knocke him downe with clubs and staves, and pelt him with whatsoever came next hand; for wounded he was in the head with a bill that clove his helmet quite thorow, and with a mighty arrow which one discharged out of a bow, his brest-plate was pierced quite thorow, whereof the steele that was without his bodie weighed him downe heavily: but the yron head which stucke fast in the bones about one of his paps, was foure fingers broad and five long. And to make up the full measure of all mischiefs, whiles he defended himselfe right manfully before, and when the fellow who had shot the foresaid arrow adventured to approach him with his sword, to dispatch him outright with a dead thrust, him he got within, and with his dagger gave him such a stabbe, as he laied him 40 long and killed him out of hand: but see the malice of Fortune, there runnes me forth out of a milhouse or backhouse thereby, another villaine with a pisse, and coming behinde him, gave him such a fouse upon the very necke bone, that he was astonished therewith, and there lay along in a swoone, having lost his sight and other senses for a time. But vertue it was that assisted him, which gave both unto himselfe a good heart, and also unto his friends strength, resolution and diligence to succour him: for *Lymnaeus*, *Ptolemeus*, and *Leonnatu*, with as many besides, as either had climbered over the walles or broken thorow, came in and put themselves betweene him and his enemies: they with their valour were to him in stead of a wall and rampier; they for meere affection and love unto their king, exposed their bodie, their forces and their lives before him, unto all dangers whatsoever. For it is not by fortune, that there be men who voluntarily present themselves to present death; but it is for the love of vertue; like as bees having 50 drunke (as it were) the amatorious potion of naturall love and affection, are alwaies about their king, and stick close unto him. Now say there had beene one there without the danger of thot, to have seen this sight at his pleasure, would not he have said, that he had beheld a notable combat of fortune against vertue? wherein the Barbarians by the helpe of fortune prevailed above their desert; and the Greeks by means of vertue resisted above their power: and if the former get the better hand, it would be thought the worke of fortune and of some maligne and envious spirit; but if these becomee superior, vertue, fortitude, faith and friendship should cary away the honour

honour of victory; for nothing els accompanied *Alexander* in this place. As for the rest of his forces and provisions, his armies, his horses and his fleets, fortune set the wall of this vile towne betweene him and them. Well, the Macedonians in the end defeated these Barbarians, beat the place downe over their heads, and rased it quite, and buried them in the ruins and fall thereof. But what good did all this to *Alexander* in this case? Caried he might well be and that speedily away out of their hands, with the arrow sticking still in his bosome; but the war was yet close within his ribbes, the arrow was set fast as a spike or great naile, to binde as it were the cuirace to his bodie; for, who so ever went about to plucke it out of the wound, as from the root, the head would not follow withall, considering it was driven so fure into that solid breist bone which is over the heart; neither durst any faw off that part of the steile that was without, for feare of shaking, cleaving & cracking the said bone by that means so much the more, and by that means cause exceeding and intolerable paines, besides the effusion of much bloud out of the bottoem of the wound: himselfe seeing his people about him a long time uncerteine what to doe, set in hand to hacke the shaft a two with his dagger, close to the superficies of his cuirace aforesaid, and so to cut it off cleane; but his hand failed him, and had not strength sufficient for to do the deed, for it grew heave and benumbed with the inflammation of the wound: whereupon he commanded his chirurgians to set to their hands boldly and to feare nought, incouraging (thus hurt as he was) those that were found and unwounded, chiding and rebuking some that kept a weeping about him and benomed him; others he called traitours, who durst not helpe him in this distresse; he cried also to his minions and familiars, Let no man be timorous and cowardly for me, no not though my life lie on it: I shall never be thought and beleaved not to feare dying, if you be affraid of my death.

I suspect this to be an abrupt breach of this Oration, and not a perfect conclusion.



OF ISIS AND OSIRIS. 30

The Summarie.



He wisdom and learning of the *Aegyptians* hath bene much recommended unto us by ancient writers, and not without good cause: considering that *Aegypt* hath bene the source and fountaine from whence have flowed into the world arts and liberal sciences, as a man may gather by the testimony of the first Poets and philosophers that ever were: But time, which consumeth all things, hath bereft us of the knowledge of such wisdom: or if there remaine still with us any thing at all, it is but in fragments and peeces scattered here and there, whereof many times we must divine or gesse, and that is all. But in recompence thereof, *Plutarch*, a man carefull to preserve all goodly and great things, hath by the means of this discourse touching *Isis* and *Osiris* maintained and kept entire a good part of the *Aegyptians* doctrine: which he is not content to set downe literally & there an end, but hath adjoined thereto also an interpretation thereof, according to the mystical sense of the *Isake* priests: discovering in few words an infinite number of secrets hidden under ridiculous & monstrous fables in such sort, as we may call this treatise a commentary of the *Aegyptians* Theologie and Philosophy. As for the contents thereof, a man may reduce it into three principall parts: In the first, which may serve instead of a preface, he yeeldeth a reason of his enterprise, & upon the consideration of the rature, costume, continence and abstinence of *Isis* priests, there is an envie made to the rehearse all of the fable concerning *Isis* & *Osiris*. But before he toucheth it, he sheweth the reason why the *Aegyptians* have thus darkly enfolded their divinity, which done, he cometh to decipher in particular the said fable, relating it according to the bare letter: which is the second part of this booke. In the third he expoundeth the fable it selfe: and first discovereth the principles of the said *Aegyptian* Philosophy, by a sort of temples, sepulchers and sacrifices. Afterwards having refuted certaine contrary opinions, he speaketh of *Demons*, ranging *Isis*, *Osiris* and *Typhon*

Typhon in the number of them. After this Theologicall exposition, he considereth the fable according to naturall Philosophy, meaning by *Osiris* the river *Nilus* and all other power of moisture whatsoever: by *Typhon*, *Drinisse*: and by *Isis* that nature which preserveth and governeth the world. Where he maketh a comparison betweene *Bacchus* of Greece and *Osiris* of *Aegypt*, applying all unto naturall causes. Then expoundeth he the fable more exactly and in particular manner, conferring this interpretation thereof with that of the *Stoicks*: whereupon he doth accommodate and fit all to the course of the *Moone*, as the growth and decrease of it, to the rising also and inundation of *Nilus*; making of all the former opinions a certaine mixture, from whence he draweth the explication of the fable. By occasion hereof, he entrencheth into a disputation as touching the principles and beginnings of all things, setting downe twaine, and alledging for the proove and confirmation of his speech, the testimony of the ancient *Magis* and *Philosophers*: which done he entrencheth into a discourse of *Osiris*, *Isis* and *Typhon*, referring and reducing all into *Physicks* and *Metaphysicks*, with a certaine conference or comparison of *Platoes* doctrine with that of the *Aegyptians*, which maketh him take in hand a particular treatise of matter, forme, the idea, of generation also and corruption. Having thus examined and discussed the *Aegyptians* Theology & Philosophy, he ariseth to the more hidden & secret mysteries of the *Isake* priests, & then descendeth againe to the consideration of naturall causes, especially of the estate of the *Moone*, and drawing compendiously into one word, all his precedent discourse, he declareth what we ought to understand by *Isis*, *Osiris* and *Typhon*. Consequently he adjoineeth three observations, to make this treatise more pleasant and profitable: with drawing thereby the reader and plucking him backe both from superstition and *Atheisme*. Then having commended the *Greeks* for being taint with the same folly that the *Aegyptians* were addicted to, he broacheth many opinions concerning the transformation of the *Pagans* gods into sundry sorts of beasts; discovering thereby the dotage and foolery arising from this argument and matter most corruptly understood; and stretching the same yet further he rendereth a reason of this honour which the *Aegyptians* did to such creatures: whereupon he would not have us in any wise to rest, but rather to looke into the divinity represented by them. And for an end he entrencheth into an allegoricall discourse of the habiliments, perfumes, and divers other sacred consecrations made every day in the temple of *Isis*: but more especially he treateth of one named *Cyphi*: wherein there be to the number of sixteene ingredients: which composition they use in their very drinke, observing therein as in all the rest of their superstitions, a million of ceremonies, whereof he doth particularize especially in the third part of this discourse, even to the very end thereof. All the premises being reduced to their right use, do shew the vanity of men abandoned and given over to their owne senses: and prove that all their sufficiency is nothing but blockish folly, and their intelligence a darke and mirke night, when the brightnesse and light of Gods word doth forsake them. For the more apparence they have both of celestiall and also human wisdom, the more appeareth their blinde superstition: in such sort as in stead of resting upon the creature they remaine fixed upon the creatures, and have a longing and languishing desire after discourses void of true instructions and consolations: which ought to incite so much the more all Christians to make great account of the effectfull grace offered unto them in the meditation and practise of true Philosophy as well naturall as divine.

OF ISIS AND OSIRIS. 40



En that are wise, or have any wit in them (*o Clea*) ought by praier to crave all good things at the hand of the gods: but that which we most wish for, and desire to obtaine by their means, is the very knowledge of them, to farre forth as it is lawfull for men to have: for that there is no gift either greater for men to receive, or more magnificall and beleeeming the gods to give, than the knowledge of the truth: for God bestoweth upon men all things else, whereof they stand in need, but this he reserveth to himselfe, and keepeth for his owne use. Neither is the godhead and divine power in this regard counted happie and blessed, because it possesseth a great quantity of gold or silver, nor puissant in respect of thunder and lightning, but for prudence and wisdom. And verily of all those things which *Homer* hath well delivered, this simply is the best and most elegant speech, when as touching *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, he saith thus:

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The

*The selfe same parents they both had,
one native soile them bred,
But Jupiter the elder was,
and had the wiser head.*

whereby he affirmeth, that the preeminence and rule of *Jupiter*, being the elder, was more venerable, sacred and fuller of majestie; for his knowledge and wisdom. And of this opinion I assure you am I, that the beatitude and felicitie of eternall life, which *Jupiter* enjoyeth, consisteth herein, that he is ignorant of nothing that is done: as also, that immortalitye if it be despoiled of the knowledge and intelligence of all things that be, and are done, is not life indeed, but bare time. And therefore we may very well say, that the desire of deitie and divinity is all one with the love of truth, and especially of that truth which concerneth the nature of the gods; the study whereof, and the searching after such science, is as it were a profession and entrance into religion, yea, and a worke more holy than is the vow or obligation of all the chastity & purity in the world, or than the cloister or sanctuary of any temple whatsoever: right acceptable also is this * goddesse whom you serve, considering that she is most wife, & full of knowledge, according as the very derivation of her name doth imply, that skill & cunning appertaineth unto her more than to any other: for *Isis* is a meere Greeke word; like as *Typhon* also the very adversary and enemie opposite unto this goddesse, as one puffed up and swollen by his ignorance and error, dissipating, defacing, and blotting out the sacred word and doctrine, which this goddesse collecteth, composeth, and delivereth unto those who are initiated and professed in this divine religion, by a continuall precise observance of a sober and holy life, in abstaining from many meats, in depriving themselves of all fleshly pleasures, for to repress lust and intemperance; and in being acquainted long before to abide and endure within temples and churches, hard and painfull services performed unto the gods: of all which abstinences, paines, and sufferances, the end is the knowledge of that first prince and lord, who is apprehended onely by intelligence and understanding, whom the goddesse exhorteth to search and seeke after, as conversing and companying with her. And verily, the name of her temple, doth manifestly promise an intelligence or knowledge of that which is, for *Isis* it is called, which is as much to say, as * *clairvoyance* or *vision*, for that, if we enter into that sacred place and holy religion of this goddesse, with reason and devotion, as we ought to doe, we shall attaine to the understanding of all things whatsoever. Moreover, many have written, that she is the daughter of *Mercurie*, others of *Prometheus*, of which twaine, the one is reputed the author of wisdom and providence, and the other, namely *Mercurie*, the inventor of Grammar and Musicke. And heereupon it is, that in the city *Hermopolis*, they call the former of the Muses, both *Isis* and also Justice; as being wisdom herselfe, (according as hath elsewhere bene said) and shewing divine things to them who are justly furnamed *Hierophori*; and *Hierosteli*, that is to say, religious, and wearing the habits of holinesse and religion. And these be they that cary in their minde, and keepe enclosed as within a box or casket, the holy doctrine of the gods, pure and clesed from all superstition and affected curiositie: who also of that opinion which is held of the gods, declare some things which are obscure & darke, others also which be cleere and lightsome; like as be those, which are reported as touching their holy and religious habit. And therefore whereas the religious priests of *Isis*, after they be dead, are thus clad with these holy habiliments; it is a marke and signe witnessing unto us, that this sacred doctrine is with them, and that they be departed out of this world into another, and carie nothing with them but it: for neither to wear a long beard, nor to put on a frize rugge and course gabardine (dame *Clea*) makes a Philosopher; no more doth the surplice and linnen vestment or shaving, an *Isiaque* priest. But he indeed is a priest of *Isis*, who after he hath seene and received by law and custome, those things which are shewed and practised in the religious ceremonies about these gods, searcheth and diligently enquireth, by the means of this holy doctrine, and discourse of reason, into the truth of the said ceremonies. For very few there be who among them, who understand and know the cause of this ceremony, which is of all other the smallest, and yet most commonly observed; namely, why the *Isiaque* priests shave their heads, and wear no haire upon them; as also wherefore they goe in vestments of Line? And some of them there be, who care not at all for any knowledge of such matters: yet others say, they forbore to put on any garments of wooll, like as they doe to eat the flesh of those sheepe which carie the said wooll, upon a reverence they beare unto them: semblably, that they cause their heads to be shaven in token of dole and sorrow: likewise

* *Isis*.

* Importing the knowledge of that which is.

wife that they weare surplices and vestments of linnen, in regard of the colour that the flower of line or flaxe beareth, which resembleth properly that celestiall azure skie that environeth the whole world. But to say a truth, there is but one cause indeed of all: for lawfull it is not for a man who is pure and cleane, to touch any thing (as *Plato* saith) which is impure and uncleane. Now it is well known, that all the superfluities and excrements of our food and nourishment, be foule and impure, and of such be engendered and grow, wooll, haire, shagge and nailes: and therefore a meere ridiculous mockerie it were, if when in their expiatorie sanctifications and divine services, they cast off their haire, being shaven and made smooth all their bodies over, they should then be clad and arraigned with the superfluous excrements of beasts: for

10 we must thinke that *Hesiodus* the Poet when he writeth thus,

*At feast of gods and sacred merriment,
Take heed with knife, thy nailes thou do not pare,
To cut I say, that dry dead excrement,
From lively flesh of fingers five, beware.*

teacheth us, that we ought first to be cleanned and purified, then to solemnise festivall holidays, and not at the very time of celebration and performance of holie rites and divine service, to use such clesing and ridding away of superfluous excrements. Now the herbe Line groweth out of the earth which is immortall, bringeth forth a frute good to be eaten, and furnisheth us wherewith to make a simple, plaine, and slender vestment, which sitteth light upon his backe that weareth it, is meet for all seasons of the yeere; and of all others, (as men say) least breedeth lice or vermine; whereof I am to discourse else where. Now these *Isiaque* priests so much abhorre the nature and generation of all superfluities and excrements, that they not onely refuse to eat most part of pulse, and of flesh meats, mutton and porke, for that sheepe and swine breed much excrement, but also upon their daies of sanctification and expiatorie solemnities, they will not allow any salt to be eaten with their viands; among many other reasons, because it whereth the appetite, and giveth an edge to our stomacke, provoking us to eat and drinke more liberally: for to say as *Aristagoras* did, That salt was by them reputed uncleane, because when it is congealed and grown hard, many little animals or living creatures, which were caught within it, die withall, is a very foolerie. Furthermore, it is said, that the *Aegyptian* priests have a certeine pit or well apart, out of which they water their bull or beefe *Apis*: and be very precise in any wife not to let him drinke of *Nilus*, not for that they thinke the water of that river uncleane, in regard of the crocodiles which are in it, as some be of opinion (for contrariwise, there is nothing so much honored among the *Aegyptians* as the river *Nilus*) but it seemeth that the water of *Nilus* doth fatten exceeding much, and breed flesh over fast, and they would not in any case that their *Apis* should be fat, or themselves grosse and corpulent: but that their soules might be clothed with light, nimble, and delicate bodies; so as the divine part in them should not be oppressed or weighed downe, by the force and ponderosities of that which is mortall. In *Heliopolis*, which is the cite of the Sunne, those who serve and minister unto their god, never bring wine into the temple, as thinking it not convenient in the day time to drinke in the sight of their lord and king: otherwise the priests drinke thereof, but spariely: and besides many purgations and expiations they have, wherein they abstaine wholly from wine; and during those daies, they give themselves wholly to their studies and meditations, learning and teaching holy things: even their very kings are not allowed to drinke wine their fill, but are flinted to the gage of a certeine measure, according as it is prescribed in their holy writings, and those kings also were priests, as *Hesiodus* writeth. And they began to drinke it after the daies of king *Pammenichus*; for before his time they dranke it not at all, neither made they libaments thereof unto their gods, supposing it not acceptable unto them; for they rooke it to be the verie blood of those giants which in times past warred against the gods; of whom after they were slaine, when their blood was mixed with the earth, the vine tree sprang; and this is the cause, say they, why those who be drunke, lose the use of their wit & reason, as being full of the blood of their progenitors. Now that the *Aegyptian* priests both hold and affirme thus much, *Eudoxus* hath delivered in the second booke of his *Geographie*. As concerning fishes of the sea, they doe not every one of them abstaine from all indifferently; but some forbore one kind, & some another: as for example, the *Oxyrynchites* will eat of none that is taken with an hooke; for adoring as they doe, a fish named *Oxyrynchos*, they are in doubt and feare lest the hooke should be uncleane, if haply the said fish swallowed it downe with the baite. The *Sienites* will

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not

not touch the fish Phagrus, for it should seeme that it is found, what time as *Nilus* begins to flow; and therefore the said fish by his appearing, signifieth the rising and inundation of *Nilus*, whereof they be exceeding ioyous, holding him for a certaine sure messenger. But the priests abstaine from all fishes ingenerall: and whereas upon the ninth daie of the first moneth, all other inhabitants of *Aegypt*, feede upon a certaine broiled or roasted fish before their dores; the priests in no wise taste thereof; many they burne fishes before the gates of their houses; and two reasons they have: the one holy, fine and subtile, which I will deliver hereafter: as that which accordeth and agreeth very well to the sacred discourses as touching *Osiris* and *Typhon*: the other plaine, vulgar and common, represented by the fish, which is none of the viands that be necessary, rare and exquisit, according as *Homer* beareth witness, when he brings to not in the Phigians delicate men & loving to feed daintily, nor the Ithacians, Islanders, to eat fish at their feasts: nor not the mates and fellow travellers with *Ulysses*, during the time of their long navigation and voyage by sea, before they were brought to extreame necessity. To be briefe, the very sea it selfe they thinke to be produced a part by fire; without the bounds & limits of nature, as being no portion nor element of the world, but a strange excrement, a corrupt superfluity and unkinde maladic: For nothing absurd and against reason, nothing fabulous and superstitious, (as some untuly thinke) was inferred or served as a sacred signe in their holy ceremonies, but they were all makes grounded upon causes and reasons morall, and the same profitable for this life, or else not without some historicall or naturall elegancy. As for example, that which is said of the onion; for that *Diclys* the foster father of *Isis*, fell into the river of *Nilus*, and was there drowned, as he was reaching at onions and could not come by them, it is a mere fable and carieeth no sense or probability in the world: but the truth is this, the priests of *Isis* hate the onion and avoid it as a thing abominable, because they have observed, that it never groweth nor thriveth well to any bigesse but in the decrease and waine of the Moone: Neither is it meet and fit for those who would lead an holy and sanctified life, or for such as celebrate solemne feasts and holidayes, because it provoketh thirst in the former; and in the other causeth teares, if they feed thereupon. And for the same reason they take the fow to be a prophane and unclean beast, for that ordinarily the goeth a brimming and admitteth the bore, when the Moone is past the full: and looke how many drinke of her milke, they breake out into a kinde of leprosie or drie skurfe all over their bodies. As touching the tale which they inferre, who once in their lives doe sacrifice a fow when the Moone is in the full, and then eat her flesh: namely that *Typhon* hunting and chasing the wilde swine at the full of the Moone, chanced to light upon an arke or coffin of wood, wherein was the body of *Osiris* which he dismembred and threw away by peece meale, all men admit not thereof, supposing that it is a fable as many others be, misheard and misunderstood. But this for certaine is held, that our ancients in old time so much hated and abhorred all excessive delicacy, superfluous and costly delights and voluptuous pleasures, that they said within the temple of the city of *Thebes* in *Aegypt* there stood a square colunne or pillar, wherein were engraven certaine curses and execrations against their king *Amnis*, who was the first that turned and averted the Aegyptians quite from their simple and frugal manner of life, without money, without sumptuous fare & chargeable delights. It is said also that *Techmis* is the father of *Nochoreus*, in an expedition or journey against the Arabians, when it chanced that his cariages were far behind and came not in due time to the place where he incamped, was content to make his supper of whatsoever he could get, & so to take up with a very small and simple pittance, yea and after supper to lie upon a coule and homely pallet, where he slept all night very soundly and never awoke: whereupon, he ever after loved sobriety of life & frugality, & cursed the foresaid king *Amnis*: which malediction of his being by the priests of that time approved, he caused to be engraven upon the pillar abovesaid. Now their kings were created either out of the order of their priests, or else out of the degree of knights and warriors; for that the one estate was honored and accounted noble for valour, the other for wisdom and knowledge. And looke whomsoever they chose from out of the order of knighthood, presently after his election he was admitted unto the colledge of priests, and unto him were disclosed and communicated the secrets of their Philosophy, which under the vail of fables and darke speeches couched and covered many mysteries, through which the light of the truth in some fort though dimly appeare. And this themselves seeme to signifie and give us to understand, by setting up ordinarily before the porches and gates of their temples, certaine Sphinxes: meaning thereby, that all their Theologie containeth under ænigmaticall and covert words, the secrets

of wisdom. In the cite of *Sais*, the image of *Minerva* which they take to be *Isis*, had such an inscription over it, as this: I am all that which hath beene, which is, and which shall be, and never any man yet was able to draw open my vail. Moreover many there be of opinion, that the proper name of *Jupiter* in the Aegyptians language is *Amoun*, of which we have in Greeke, derived the word *Ammon*: whereupon we surname *Jupiter*, *Ammon*: but *Manetho* who was an Aegyptian himselfe of the cite of *Schenna*, suppoeth that by this word is signified, a thing hidden, or occultation: and *Hecataeus* the Abderite affirmeth, that the Aegyptians used this terme among themselves, when they called one unto another, for it was a vocative word; and for that they imagined the prince and soveraigne of the gods to be the same: that *Pan*, that is to say, an universall nature, and therefore unseene, hidden and unknown, they praised and besought him for to disclose and make himselfe known unto them, by calling him *Amoun*. See then, how the Aegyptians were very strict and precise, in not profaning their wisdom; nor publishing that learning of theirs which concerned the gods. And this the greatest Sages and most learned clerkes of all *Greece* do testifie, by name, *Solon*, *Thales*, *Plato*, *Eudoxus*, *Pythagoras*, & as some let not to say, *Lycargus* himselfe; who all travelled of a deliberate purpose into *Aegypt*, for to confer with the priests of that country. For it is constantly held that *Eudoxus* was the auditor of *Chonopheus* the priest of *Memphis*, *Solon* of *Senchis* the priest of *Sais*, *Pythagoras* of *Oenopheus* the priest of *Helopolis*. And verily this *Pythagoras* last named, was highly esteemed among those men, like as him selfe had them in great admiration, in so much as he of all others seemed most to imitate their manner of mysticall speaking under covert words, & to involve his doctrine and sentences within figurative & ænigmaticall words: for the characters which are called Hieroglyphicks in *Aegypt*, be in manner all of them, like to these precepts of *Pythagoras*: Eat not upon a stool or chaire; Sit not over a bushell; Plant no date tree; Stirre not the fire in the house, nor rake into it with a sword. And me thinks, that whereas the Pythagoreans call unitie, *Apollo*, *Tiro*, *Diana*; the number of seven, *Minerva*; and the first cubique, *Neptune*; this resemblance very neare, that which the Aegyptians consecrate & dedicate in their temples, and agree with that which they both do & write. For their king and lord *Osiris*, they depaint and portray by an eie and a cepter: and some there be, who make this interpretation of the name *Osiris*, as if it signified, having many eies, for that *Os* in the Aegyptian tongue, betokeneth many, and *Isis*, an eie. As for heaven, they describe by a young countenance, by reason of the perpetuity thereof, whereby it never waxeth old. An eie they set out by an heart, having under it an hearth with fire burning upon it. In the city of *Thebes* there stood up certaine images without hands, resembling Judges; and the chiefe or President among them, was blindfolded or hoodwinked, to give us to understand, that justice should neither be corrupted with bribery, nor partiall and respective of persons. In the signet or scale ring of their martiall and militarie men, there was engraven the portraiture of the great flie called the Beettill, because in that kinde there is no female, but they be all males: they blow or cast their seed in forme of a pellet or round ball, under dung; which they prepare to be a place, not for their food more, than for their brood. Whencever therefore you shall heare the Aegyptians tell tales of the gods, to wit, of their vagrant and wandering perigrinations, or of their dismembers, and other such like fabulous fictions, you must call to minde, that which we have before said; and never thinke that they meane any such thing is or hath beene done according to that literal sense: for they do not say, that *Mercurie* properly is a dog, but forasmuch as the nature of this beast is to be wary, watchfull, vigilant and wise, able to distinguish by his taking knowledge and semblance of ignorance, a friend and familiar from an enemy and stranger: therefore (as *Plato* saith) they attributed and likened him to the most eloquent of all the gods. Neither doe they thinke, when they describe the Sunne, that out of the barke of the tree *Lotus* there ariseth a babe new borne; but in this wise doe they represent unto us the Sunne rising, giving thus much to understand covertly, that the light and illumination of the Sunne proceedeth out of the waters of the sea: for even after the same manner the most cruell and terrible king of the Persians, *Ochus*, who put to death many of his nobles and subjects, and in the end slew their beise Apis, and eat him at a feast together with his friends, they called The sword; and even at this day, in the register and catalogue of their kings, he goeth under that name; not signifying thereby his proper substance, but to expresse his hard and fell nature, and his mischievous disposition, they compared him to a bloody instrument and weapon made to murder men. In hearing then and receiving after this manner, that which shalbe tolde unto you as touching the gods after an holy and religious manner, in doing also and observing

ving alwaies diligently the accustomed rites ordeined for the sacred service of the gods, and be-
 lieving firmly, that you can not performe any sacrifice or liturgy more pleasing unto them,
 than to study for to have a sound and true opinion of them: by this meane you shall avoid fu-
 perstition, which is as great a sinne as impietie and Atheisme. Now the fable of *Isis* and *Osiris*,
 is as briefly as may be, by cutting off many superfluous matters that serve to no purpose, deli-
 vered in this wise: It is said, that dame *Rhea*, at what time as *Saturne* lay secretly with her, was epi-
 ded by the Sunne, who cursed her; and among other maledictions, praied that she might not be
 delivered, nor bring forth child, neither in any moneth nor yeere: but *Mercurie* being in amou-
 red of this goddesse, companied likewise with her; and afterwards, as he played at dice with the
 Moone and won from her the seventieth part of every one of her illuminations, which being all
 put together, make five entire daies, he added the same unto the three hundred and threecore
 daies of the yeere; and those odde daies the Aegyptians do call at this present, the daies of the
 Epact, celebrating and solemnizing them as the birthdaies of their gods: for that when the full
 time of *Rhea* was expired, upon the first day of them was *Osiris* borne; at whose birth a voice
 was heard, That the lord of the whole world now came into light: and some say, that a cer-
 teine woman named *Pamyle*, as she went to fetch water for the temple of *Jupiter* in the city of
Thebes, heard this voice, commanding her to proclaime aloud, That the Great King and Bene-
 factor *Osiris* was now borne: also, for that *Saturne* committed this babe *Osiris* into her hands
 for to be nourished, therefore in honour of her there was a festival day solemnized, named there-
 upon *Pamylia*, much like unto that which is named *Phallophoria*, unto *Priapus*. On the second 20
 day she was delivered of *Aroueris*, who is *Apollo*, whom some likewise call the elder *Orus*. upon
 the third day she brought forth *Typhon*, but he came not at the just time nor at the right place,
 but brake thorow his mothers side, and issued forth at the wound. On the fourth day was *Isis*
 borne, in a watery place called *Panhygra*. And the fifth day she was delivered of * *Nephtis*, who
 of some is named also *Telente* and *Venus*; others call her *Nice*. Now it is said, that the con-
 conceived *Osiris* and *Aroueris* by the Sunne, *Isis* by *Mercurie*, *Typhon* and *Nephtis* by *Saturne*,
 which is the cause that the kings reputed the third of these intercalary daies to be defaetious
 and dismall, dispatched no affaires thereupon, neither did they cherish themselves by meat and
 drinke or otherwise, until night: that *Nephtis* was honoured by *Typhon*; that *Isis* and *Osiris*
 were in love in their mothers bellie before they were borne, and lay together secretly and by 30
 stealth; and some give out, that by this meane *Aroueris* was begotten and borne, who by the
 Aegyptians is called *Orus* the elder, and by the Greeks, *Apollo*. Well, during the time that *Osiris*
 reigned king in *Aegypt*, immediately he brought the Aegyptians from their needy, poore and
 savage kinde of life, by teaching them how to sow and plant their grounds, by establishing good
 lawes among them, and by shewing how they should worship and serve God. Afterwards, he
 travelled thorowout the world, reducing the whole earth to civility, by force of armes least of
 all, but winning and gaining the most nations by effectual remonstrances & sweet perswasion
 couched in songs, and with all manner of Musicke: whereupon the Greeks were of opinion, that
 he and *Bacchus* were both one. Furthermore, the tale goes, that in the absence of *Osiris*, *Typhon*
 stirred not, nor made any commotion, for that *Isis* gave good order to the contrary, and was of 40
 sufficient power to prevent and withstand all innovations; but when he was returned, *Typhon*
 conspired a conspiracy against him, having drawn into his confederacy seventy two com-
 plices, besides a certeine queene of *Aethiopia*, who likewise combined with him, and her name was
Alo. Now when he had secretly taken the just measure and proportion of *Osiris*'s body, he caused
 a coffer or hutch to be made of the same length, and that most curiously and artificially wrought
 and set out to the eies, he tooke order, that it should be brought into the hall, where he made a
 great feast unto the whole company. Every man tooke great pleasure with admiration, to be-
 holde such a singular exquisite piece of worke; and *Typhon* in a meriment, stood up and promised
 that he would bestow it upon him, whose body was meet & fit for it: hereupon, all the company
 one after another assayed whose body would fit it; but it was not found proportionate nor of a 50
 just size to any of all therett: at length, *Osiris* gat up into it, and laied him there along; with
 that, the conspiratours ran to it, and let downe the lidde and cover thereof upon him, and partly
 with nailes, and partly with melted lead which they powred aloft, they made it sure enough; and
 when they had so done, caried it forth to the river side, and let it downe into the sea, at the verie
 mouth of *Nilus* named *Taniticus*; which is the reason, that the said mouth is even to this day
 odious and execrable among the Aegyptians, inasmuch as they call it *Cataphysion*, that is to
 say,

* Or Nephtis.

say, Abominable, or to be spit at. Over and besides, it is said, that this fall out to be done upon
 the seventeenth day of the moneth named *Athy*, during which moneth, the Sunne entereth in-
 to the signe *Scorpio*, and in the eight and twentieth yeere of *Osiris*'s reigne: howbeit, others af-
 firme, that he lived in deed, but reigned not so long. Now the first that had an inkling and in-
 telligence of this hainous act, were the Panes and Satyres inhabiting about *Chemis*, who began
 to whisper one unto another, &c. to talke thereof; which is the reason, that all sudden tumults and
 troubles of the multitude and common people, be called Panique affrights. Moreover, it fol-
 loweth on in the tale, that *Isis* being advertised hereof, immediately cut off one of the tresses of
 her haire, and put on mourning weeds in that place which now is called the city *Copris*; in re-
 membrance thereof; howsoever others say, that this word *Copris*, betokeneth Privation, for
 that *Isis* in Greeke, signifieth as much as to deprive. In this dolefull habit she wandred up and
 downe in great perplexity to heare tidings of *Osiris*, and whomsoever she met withall, she failed
 not to enquire of them; and she missed not so much as little children playing together, but as-
 ked them, whether they had seene any such coffer: at length, the sight of those children who
 had seene it indeed, and they directed her to the mouth of the river *Nilus*, where the complices
 and associats of *Typhon* had let the said vessell into the sea. And ever since that time, the Aeg-
 yptians are of opinion, that young children have the gift of revealing secrets, and they take all
 their words which they passe in play and sport, as omens and prefiges, but especially within the
 temples, what matter soever it be that they prattle of. Moreover, when *Isis* understood that *Osiris*
 was left in love with her sister *Nephtis*, thinking she was *Isis* and so carnally companied with her,
 and withall, found a good token thereof, to wit, a chaplet or garland of Melilot which he had left
 with *Nephtis*, she went for to seeke her babe (for presently upon the birth of the infant, for feare
 of *Typhon* she hid it) and when with much ado and with great paines taken, *Isis* had found it, by
 the meane of certeine hounds which brought her to the place where he was, she teared and
 brought it up, in such sort, as when he came to some bigneffe, he became her guide and squire,
 named *Anubis*, who also is said to keepe the gods, like as dogs guard men. After this, she heard
 newes of the forefaid coffer; and namely, that the waves of the sea had by tides cast it upon
 the coast of *Byblus*, where, by a billow of water it was gently brought close to the foot of a shrubbe
 or plant called * *Erice*: now this *Erice* or Tamarix in a small time grew to faire, and spread
 forth so large and big branches withall, that it * compassed, enclosed and covered the said coffer
 all over, so as it could not be seene. The king of *Byblus* wondering to see this plant so big, caused
 the branches to be lopped off, that covered the forefaid coffin not seene, and of the trunk or
 body thereof, made a pillar to sustaine the rooffe of his house: whereof *Isis* by report being ad-
 vertised by a certeine divine spirit or winde of flying fame, came to *Byblus*, where the far her
 downe by a certeine fountaine, all heave and in distresse, pitiously weeping to herselfe
 neither spake she a word unto any creature, only the Queenes waiting maids and women
 that came by, she saluted and made much of, plaiting and broiding the tresses of their haire
 most exquisitely, and casting from her into them a marvellous sweet and pleasant sent
 from her body, whiles she dressed them. The queene perceiving her women thus curiously and
 trimly set out, had an earnest desire to see this stranger, aswell for that she yielded such an odo-
 riferous smell from her body, as because she was so skillfull in dressing their heads: so she sent for
 the woman, and being grown into some familiar acquaintance with her, made her the nurse
 and governess of her young sonne: now the kings name himselfe was *Aleaxander*, and the
 queenes, *Apharte*, or rather *Safo*, or as some will have it, *Xenomanus*, which is as much to say in
 the Greeke tongue, as *Athenais*. And the speech goes, that *Isis* suckled and nourished this in-
 fant, by putting her finger in stead of the breast-head or nipple, into the mouth thereof; also,
 that in the night season she burnt all away that was mortall of his body: and in the end, was her-
 selfe metamorphized and turned into a swallow, flying, and lamenting after a moaning manner
 about the pillar aforefaid, until such time as the queene observing this, and crying out when she
 saw the body of her child on a light fire, bereaved it of immortality. Then *Isis* being discovered
 to be a goddesse, craved the pillar of wood: which she cut downe with facility, and rooke from
 underneath the trunk of the Tamarix or *Erice*, which she anointed with perfumed oile; and
 enwrapped within a linnen cloth, and gave it to the kings for to be kept: whereof it cometh,
 that the Byblians even at this day reverence this piece of wood, which lieth consecrate within
 the temple of *Isis*. Furthermore, it is said, that in the end the * light upon the coffer, over which
 she wept and lamented so much, that the youngest of the kings sonnes died for very pitty of her; but

* Erice.

* Or some
such shrub.* Some trans-
late this, as if
the ark were
inclosed with-
in the trunk
of the plank.

* Xenomanus.

but she herselfe accompanied with the eldest of them, together with the coffer, embarked, tooke sea & departed. But when the river *Phaedrus* turned the wind somewhat roughly, about the dawning of the day, *Isis* was so much displeased and angry, that she dried it quite. And so soone as she came unto a solitary place, where she was by herselfe alone, she opened the coffer, where finding the corps of *Osiris*, she laid her face close to his, embraced it and wept. Herewith came the child softly beside and espied what she was doing: whom when she perceived, she looked backe; casting an untoward eye, and beheld him with such an angry aspect, that the poore infant not able to endure so terrible a looke, died upon it. Some say it was not so; but that he fell into the sea, in manner aforesaid; and was honored for the goddesse sake, and that he is the same whom the Aegyptians chaunt at their feasts, under the name of *Maneros*. But others give out, that this child was named *Palestinus*, and that the city *Pelusium* was built in remembrance of him by the goddesse *Isis* and so tooke the name after him; and how this *Maneros* whom they so celebrate in their songs, was the first inventour of musick. Howbeit others there are againe, who affirme, that this was the name of no person, but a kinde of dialect or language, proper and agreeable unto those who drinke and banquet together, as if a man should say, In good houre and happily may this or that come. For the Aegyptians were wont ordinarily to use this terme *Maneros* in such a sense: like as no doubt the drie skeletons or dead corps of a man which they used to carie about and shew in a bierre or coffin at the table, was not the representation or memoriall of this accident which befell unto *Osiris*, as some doe imagine, but served as an admonition to put the guests in minde to be merry and take their pleasure and joy in those things that were presents for that soone after they should be like unto it. This I say was the reason that it was brought in at their feasts and merry meetings. Furthermore when *Isis* was gone to see her sonne *Horus* who was fostered and brought up in the city *Butus*, and had laid the foresaid coffer with *Osiris* body out of the way, *Typhon* fortun'd as he hunted in a cleere moone-shine night to meet with it, and taking knowledge of the body, cut it into foureteen peeces and flung them heere and there one from another: which when *Isis* understood, she searched for them in a bote or punt made of papyr reed, all over the moores and marshes: whereof it comes that the Crocodiles never hurt those who saile or row in vessels made of that plant, whether it be that they are afraid of it, or reverence it for this goddesse sake I know not. And thus you may know the reason, why there be found many sepulchres of *Osiris* in the country of *Aegypt*, for ever as she found any peece of him, she caused a tombe to be made for it: others say no: but that she made many images of him, which she left in every city, as if she had bestowed among them his very body indeed: to the end that in many places he might be honored: and that if haply *Typhon* when he sought for the true sepulchre of *Osiris* (having vanquished and overcome *Horus*) many of them being reported and shewed, he might not know which was it, and so give over seeking farther. Over and besides, the report goes, that *Isis* found all other parts of *Osiris* body but onely his privy member, for that it was immediately cast into a river and the fishes named *Lepidotus*, *Phagrus* and *Oxyrynchus* devoured it: for which cause *Isis* detesteth them above all other fishes: but in stead of that natural part, she made a counterfeite one, called *Pballus*, which she consecrated: and in the honor thereof the Aegyptians hold a solemne feast. After all this it followeth in the fable, that *Osiris* being returned out of the infernal parts, appeared unto *Horus*, for to exercise, instruct and traine him against the battell: of whom he demanded what he thought to be the most beautifull thing in the world: who answered, To be revenged of the wrong and injury which had bene done to a mans parents. Secondly, what beast he thought most profitable to goe into the field withall: unto whom *Horus* should make answer, The horse: whereat *Osiris* marvelled, and asked him why he named the horse and not the lion rather: Because (quoth *Horus*) the lion serveth him in good sted, who stands upon his owne guard and defense onely and hath need of aid: but the horse is good to defeat the enemy quoth, to follow him in chace and take him prisoner. When *Osiris* heard him say so, he tooke great pleasure and contentment heerein, judging hereby that his sonne was sufficiently appointed and prepared to give battell unto his enemies. And verily it is said that among many that daily revolted from *Typhon* and sided with *Horus*, even the very concubine of *Typhon* named *Theris* was one, who came to him: and when a certaine *serpent followed after and pursued her, the same was cut in peeces by the guard about *Horus*: in remembrance whereof at this very day they bring forth a certaine cord, which likewise they chop in peeces. Well, they say the battell continued many daies: but in the end *Horus* had the victory: As also that *Isis* having *Typhon* prisoner fast bound in her hands,

killed

* *Ophis*.

killed him not: but loosed him and let him goe: which *Horus* notable to endure with patience, laid violent hands upon his mother, and plucked from her head the royal ornament that she had thereon: in stead whereof, *Mercury* set one a morion made in manner of a cowes head. Then *Typhon* called *Horus* judiciously into question, charging him that he was a bastard; and by the helpe of *Mercury* who pleaded his cause, he was judged by the gods, legitimate: who also in two other battels vanquished *Typhon*. And more than all this, the tale saith, that *Isis* after death, was with child by *Osiris*, by whom she had *Heliotomus* and *Harporates* who wanted his nether parts. Thus you see what be in manner all the principall points of this fable, setting aside and excepting those which are most execrable, to wit, the dismembing of *Horus* and the beheading of *Isis*.

Now, that, if any there be who hold and affume such fables as these touching the blessed and immortal nature, whereby especially we conceived in our minde the deity, to be true and that such things were really done or hapned so indeed,

We ought to sin upon their face

And curse such mouths with all disgrace.

as *Aschylus* saith, I need not say unto you, for that you hate and detest those things alreadye of your selfe, who conceive so barbarous and absurd opinions of the gods. And yet you see how well, that these be not narrations like unto old wives tales, for vaine and foolish fictions, which Poets or other idle writers devise out of their owne fingers ends; after the manner of *Solders*, which of themselves without any precedent, & subject matter, spin their threads, weave and stretch out their webbes: for evident it is that they containe some difficulties and the memorials of certaine accidents. And like as the Mathematicians say; that the rainbow is a representation of the Sunne, and the same distinguished by sundry colours; by the refraction of our eye-sight against a cloud: even so this fable, is an apparence of some doctrine or learning, which doeth reflect and send backe our understanding, to the consideration of some better truth; much after the manner of sacrifices, wherein there is mingled a kinde of senseable dole; and sorrowfull heavinesse. Semblably, the making and disposition of temples, which in some places have faire open Isles and pleasant allies open over head; and in other dark caves, gullies, and shrouds under the earth, resembling properly caves, sepulchres, or chancel vaults; where in they put the bodies of the dead; especially the opinion of the Osirians: for albeit the bodie of *Osiris*, be said to be in many places; yet they name haply *Abidos* the towne, or *Atemphis* a little citie, where they affirme that his true body lieth, in such sort, as the greatest and welthiest persons in *Aegypt* usually doe ordeine and take order, that their bodies be interred in *Abidos*, to the end they may lie in the same sepulchre with *Osiris*: and at *Atemphis* was kept the Beefe *Apis*, which is the image and figure of his soule, and they will have his body also to be there. Some likewise there be, who interpret the name of this towne; as if it should signifie the haven and harbour of good men: others, that it becometh the tombe of *Osiris*: and there is before the gate of the citie, a little Isle, which to all others is inaccessible, and admitted no entrance, inasmuch, as neither fowles of the aire will there light, nor fishes of the sea approach thither: onely at one certaine time, the priests may come in, and there they offer sacrifices, and present oblations to the dead; where also they crowne and adorne with flowers the monument of one *Mediphie*, which is overhadowed and covered with a certaine plant, greater and taller than any olive tree. *Eudoxus* writeth, that how many sepulchres soever there be in *Aegypt* wherein the corps of *Osiris* should lie, yet it is in the citie *Abidos*; for that it was the countrey and place of his nativite: so that now there is no need to speake of *Taphosiris*, for that the very name it selfe saith enough, signifying as it doeth, the sepulture of *Osiris*. Well, I approve the cutting of the wood, and renting of the linnen, the effusions also and funeral libations there performed, because there be many mysteries mingled among. And so the priests of *Aegypt* affirme, that the bodies not of these gods onely, but also of all others, who have bene engendered; and are not incorruptible, remaine among them where they honoured and revered; but their soules became starres, and shine in heaven: and as for that of *Isis*, it is the same which the Greekes call *Cyon*, that is to say, the dogge-starre, but the Aegyptians saith: that of *Orus* is *Orian*, and that of *Typhon*, the Beare. But whereas all other cities and states in *Aegypt* contribute a certaine tribute imposed upon them, for to pourtray, draw and paint such beasts as are honored among them, those onely who inhabit the countrey *Thebais*; of all others give nothing thereto, being of opinion, that no mortall thing, subject to death, can be a god: as for him alone, whom they call *Cneph*, as he was never borne, so shall he never die. Whereas therefore

fore many such things as these, be reported and shewed in *Aegypt*, they who think, that all is
 no more but to perpetuate and eternize the memorie of marvelous deeds and strange accidents
 of some princes, kings, or tyrants, who for their excellent vertue & mighty puissance, have ad-
 joined to their owne glory, the authoritie of deitie, unto whom, a while after, there befell cala-
 mities, & heerein a very cleanly shift, and expedite evasion, transferring handliously from the
 gods unto men, all finifter infamie that is in these fable, and helpe themselves by the testimo-
 nies which they finde and read in histories: for the *Aegyptians* write, that *Mercurie* was but
 small of stature, and slender limmed: that *Typhon* was of a ruddy colour; *Orus* white; *Osiris* of a
 blackish hew, as who indeed were naturally men. Moreover, they call *Osiris*, captain of generall
 10 *Canaan* pilot or governor of a ship, after whose name they have named a starre: and as for
 the shippe which the Greeks name *Argo*, they hold that it was the very resemblance of *Osiris*
 ship, which for the honour of him, being numbred among the starres, is, to situate in heaven,
 as that it mooveth and keepeth his course not farre from that of *Orion*, and the *Cyon* or dogge-
 starre; of which twaine, the one is consecrate unto *Horus*, the other to *Isis*. But I feare me, that
 this were to stirre and remove those sacred things which are not to be touched and medled
 withall, and as much as to fight against, not continuance of time onely and antiquitee, as *Stim-
 nides* saith, but also the religion of many sorts of people and nations, who are long since posses-
 sed with a devotion toward these gods: I doubt (I say) I left in dooing they faile not to transfer
 to great names as these out of heaven to earth, and doo geve verene and misse but a little to
 overthrow and abolish that honour and believe, which is ingenerate and imprinted in the hearts
 20 of all men, even from their very first naturie: which were even to set the gates wide open for
 a multitude of miscreants and Atheists, who would bring all divinity to humanity, and deitie to
 mans nature; yea and to give a manifest overture and libertie for all the impostures and juggling
 caters of *Euenus* the Mellesian, who having himselfe coined and devised the originals of fa-
 bles, grounded upon no probability nor subject matter, but even against the course of reason
 and nature, spread and scattered abroad throughout the world all impietie, transmuting and
 changing all those whom we repute as gods, into the names of admirals; captaines generall,
 and kings, who had lived in times past, according as they stand upon record by his saying, writ-
 ten in golden letters, within the citie * *Pancho*, (which never Grecian nor Barbarian faw
 himselfe faw) as having failed unto the countreies of the *Pancho*ians and *Triphlyans*; nati-
 30 ons forthwith that neither are, nor ever were in this world. And yet verily, a great name there
 goeth among the *Assyrians*, of the woorthly and renowned acts of *Semiramis*: as also in
Aegypt of *Sesoftris*. As for the *Phrygians*, even at this day they terme noble exploits and ad-
 mirable enterprises, by the name *Manica*, of one of their ancient kings, whom they called
Manke, who in his time was a most prudent and valiant prince, and whom others named *Ma-
 ldes*, *Cyrus* led the Persians, and *Alexander* the Macedonians, with conquest still and victorie,
 from one end of the world in maner to another: and yet for all these brave acts, no otherwise re-
 nowned they are, nor remembered, but onely for pusill and good killings: and say, there were
 haply some of them who upon an overweening and high conceit of themselves, helped for-
 ward with youth, and want of experience, as *Plato* saith, and whose mindes were puffed up and
 inflamed with pride and vain-glory, tooke upon them the surnames of gods, and had temples
 founded in their names, yet this glory of theirs lasted but a while, and soon after being conde-
 40 mned by the posterity, of vantage and arrogant together, with impietie and injustice,

*Were quickly gone, like smoke which mounting hie,
Into the air, doth vanish by and by.*

and now as fugitive flaves that may be brought backe againe where ever they be found, they are
hailed and pulled away from their temples and altars, and nothing remaineth for them but their
tombs & sepulchurs: & therefore that oldking *Antigonus*, when a certaine Poet named *Her-
modotus*, in his verses called him the founne of the Sun, yea, & a god, Vell quoth he, my grooms
that daily voideth my close stooke, knowes no such matter by me. *Lyffippus* also the Imagier did
very well to reprove *Apelles* the painter, for that, when he drew the picture of *Alexander*, hee
portraied him with lightning in his hand; whereas *Lyffippus* put in his hand a lance, the glory
and renowne whereof, as due and proper unto him, yea, and befuturing his person indeed, no
time nor age should ever be able to abolish. In which regard, I hold better with them who thinke
that the things which be written of *Tryphon*, *Osirus*, and *Iffir*, were no accidents or passions inci-
dent to gods or to men; but rather to some great Demons: of which minde were *Pythagoras*,

* Or, Pan-
chazans.

* Or, P:
chazans.

5; nativ 20

nd 40

ger did so

Plaso,

Plato, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus, following herein the opinions of the ancient Theologians; who hold, that they were farre stronger than men, and that in *puissance* they much firmour'd our nature: but that divinitie which they had, was not pure and simple; but they were compounded of a nature corporall and spirittual, capab^{le} of pleasure, of griefe, and other passions and affections, which accompanying these mutations, trouble some more, others lesse. For in these Demons, there is like, as also among men, a diversity and difference of vice and of vertue. For the acts of Giants and Titans, so much chaunted in every Greeke song, the abominable deeds likewise and practises of one *Sauron*, the resistance also of *Python* against *Apollo*, the fownds of *Bacchus*, and the wanderings of *Ceres*, diffire in no respect from the accidents of *Osiris* and *Typhon*, and of all other such like fabulous tales, which every man may heare as much as he list: as also whatsoever lying covered and hidden under the vail of mystical sacrifices and ceremonies, is kept close not uttered nor shewed to the vulgar people, is of the same sort. And according hereto, we may heare *Homer* how he calleth good men, and such as excell others diversly, one while *best men*, that is to say, like unto the gods; otherwhile, *artificial*, that is to say, comparable to the gods: sometimes *their own good figures*, that is to say, having their widome and counsell from the gods. But the denomination or addition drawn from the Demons, he useth commonly as well to the good as the bad; indifferent to valiant persons and to cowards: to a timorous and fearfuld soldier thus:

Δακνόντε χάδον ἐλθὲ, τὴν διαβάζεαι ὅπως,
ἀργαίως.

Dæmonian, *approch thou neare:*

The Greeks why dost thou so much feare?

On the other side, of an hardy foldior:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπίστυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,

When he the charge in field the fourth time gave,
Like to some Demon he did himselfe behave.

And againe, in the woorse sense,

Δαιμονίη, τί νυ τὲ Πείαμος, Πειαμοίο τὲ πῶδες, &c.

* Daemonian, what is that great offence,
Which Priam and his sonnes committed haue
Against thee, for to make thy iust pretence,
In wrathful tearmes upon them thus to raine,
And them no grace and mercy to vouchsaue,
Nor rest, untill thou see'st the stately towne,
Of Ilion destroyed and raised downe?

Giving us hereby thus much to understand, that the Dæmons have a mixt nature, and a will or affection which is not equal, nor alwaies alike. And hereupon it is, that *Plato* verily attributeth unto the Olympian and celestiall gods, all that which is dexterous and odde: but unto the Dæmons, whatsoever is sinister and even. And *Xenocrates* holdeth, that those daies which be unlucky and difafore, those festive solemnities likewise, which have any beatings or knocking and thumping of brefts, or fasting, or otherwise any cutted speeces and filthy words, are not meet for the honour & worship either of gods or of good Dæmons: but he supposeth that there be in the aire about us, certaine natures great & puissant; howbeit, threwd, malicious and unlofsible, which take some pleasure in such matters: and when they have obtained and gotten so much to be done for their sake, they goe about no farther mischief, nor wait any shrewder turnes: whereas contrariwise, both *Hesiodus* calleth the pure and holy Dæmons, such also as be the good angels and keepers of men.

*Givers of wealth and opulence, as whome
This regall gift and honour doth become.*

30 And *Plato* also termeth this kinde of Daemons or angels *Mediocrall*, that is to say, expofitors or interpreters, and miniftriall, having a middle nature betweene gods and men, who as mediators, prefent the prayers and petitions of men heere unto the gods in heaven; and from thence tranfmit and convey unto us upon earth, the oracles and revelations of hidden and future things, as alfo their donations of goods and riches. As for *Empedocles*, he faith, that thefe Daemons or fiends, are punifhed and tormented for their finnes and offences which they have committed, as may appeere by thefe his verses:

* That is to say, wicked or curst *Jupiter*, to *Minerva*.

Rrrrr

For

For why? the power of aire and skie,
did to the sea them chace:
The sea them cast up, of the earth,
even to the outward face:
The earth them sends unto the beames,
of never-tired Sunne,
The Sunne to aire, whence first they came,
doth sling them downe anon:
Thus posted to and fro, twist seas
beneath, and heav'ns above,
From one they to another passe:
nor one yet doth them love.

untill such time as being thus in this purgatory chastised and clesned, they recover againe that place estate and degree which is meet for them and according to their nature. These things and such like for all the world they say are reported of *Typhon*, who upon envy and malice committed many outrages; and having thus made a trouble and confusion in all things, filled sea and land with wofull calamities and miseries, but was punished for it in the end. For *Isis* the wife and sister of *Osiris* in revenge, plagued him in extinguihing and repressing his fury and rage; and yet neglected not the the travels and paines of her owne which she endured, her trudging also and wandering to and fro, nor many other acts of great wisdom and prowesse suffered 20 the to be buried in silence and oblivion: but inserting the same among the most holy ceremonies of sacrifices, as examples, images, memorials and resemblances of the accidents hapning in those times, she consecrated an enigmment, instruction and consolation of piety and devout religion to godward, as well for men as women afflicted with miseries. By reason whereof the of her husband *Osiris* of good Demons were transfused for their vertue into gods, like as afterwards were *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who in regard thereof, and not without reason, have honours decreed for them both of gods and also of Demons intermingled together, as those who in all places were puissant, but most powerfull both upon and also under the earth. For they say that *Sarapis* is nothing else but *Pluto*, and *Isis* the same that *Proserpina*, as *Archeanax* of *En-* 30 *bura* and *Heraclitus* of *Pontus* tellise and he thinketh that the oracle in the city *Canobus*, is that of father *Diu* or *Pluto*. King *Ptolemæus* surnamed *Soter* that is to say, saviour, caused that huge statue or colosse of *Pluto* which was in the city *Sinope*, to be taken from thence; not knowing, nor having seene before of what forme and shape it was, but only that as he dreamed he thought that he saw *Serapis*, commanding him withall speed possible to transport him into *Alexandria*. Now the king not knowing where this statue was, nor where to finde it, in this doubtfull perplexity related his vision afore said unto his friends about him, and chanced to meet with one *Sophonis* a great traveller and a man who had bene in many places, and he said that in the city of *Sinopelie* had seene such a statue as the king described unto them. Whereupon *Ptolemæus* sent *Soteles* and *Dionysius*, who in long time, and with great travell, and not without the especiall grace of the divine providence, stole away the said colosse and brought it with them: 40 Now when it was cometo *Alexandria* and there seene, *Timotheus* the great Cosinographer and Antiquary, and *Marechion* of the province *Sebenitis*, guessed it by all conjectures to be the image of *Pluto*, and namely by *Cerberus* the hel-dog and the dragon about him, perswading the king that it could be the image of no other god but of *Serapis*. For it came not from thence with that name; but being brought into *Alexandria*, it tooke the name *Serapis*, by which the Aegyptians doe name *Pluto*. And yet *Heraclitus* verily the Naturalist faith, that *Hades* and *Dionysius*, that is to say, *Pluto* and *Bacchus*, be the same. And in truer when they are disposed to play the fooles and be mad, they are carried away to this opinion. For they who suppose that *Hades*, that is to say, *Pluto*, is said to be the body and as it were the sepulcher of the soule, as if it seemed to be foolish and drunken all the while she is within it, me thinks they doe allegorize but very baldly. And better it were yet to bring *Osiris* and *Bacchus* together, yea and to reconcile 50 *Sarapis* unto *Osiris*, in saying that after he hath changed his nature, he became to have this denomination. And therefore this name *Sarapis* is common to all, as they know very well who are professed in the sacred religion of *Osiris*. For we ought not to give care and credit to the bookes and writings of the Phrygians, wherein we finde, that there was one *Charopos* the daughter of *Hercules*, and that of *Isis* a sonne of *Hercules* was engendred *Typhon*: neither yet to make

make account of *Phylarchus* who writeth, that *Bacchus* was the first, who from the Indians drave two beestes, whereof the one was named *Apis*, and the other *Osiris*: That *Sarapis* is the proper name of him who ruleth and embelisheth the universall world, and is derived of the word *Sais*, in which some say, signifieth as much as to beautifie and adorne. For these be absurd titles delivered by *Phylarchus*: but more monstrous and senselesse are their absurdities who write, that *Sarapis* is no god, but that it is the coffin or sepulcher of *Apis* that is so called: as also that there be certain two leaved brazen gates in *Memphis*, bearing the names of *Lethe* & *Cocytus*, that is to say, oblivion and wailing, which being set open when they interre and bury *Apis*, in the opening make a great found and rude noise: which is the cause that we lay hand upon every copper or 10 brazen vessell when it resoundeth so, to stay the noise thereof. Yet is their more apparence of truth and reason in their opinion, who hold that it was derived of these verbes *σάω*, and *σάω*, which signifieth to move, as being that which moveth the whole frame of the world. The priests for the most part hold, that *Sarapis* is a word compounded of *Osiris* and *Apis* together, giving this exposition withall and teaching us, that we ought to beleve *Apis* to be an elegant image of the soule of *Osiris*. For mine owne part, if *Sarapis* be an Aegyptian name, I suppose rather that it betokeneth joy and mirth: And I ground my conjecture upon this, that the Aegyptians ordinarily call the feast of joy and gladnesse termed among the Athenians *Charmolyne*, by the name of *Sais*. For *Plato* himselfe faith, that *Hades* which signifieth *Pluto*, being the sonne of *Aidos*, that is to say, of shamefastnesse and reverence, is a milde and gracious god to 20 those who are toward him. And very true it is, that in the Aegyptians language, many other proper names are significant and carry their reason with them: as namely that infernall place under the earth, into which they imagine the soules of the dead doe descend after they be departed, they call *Amenthes*, which terme is as much to say, as taking and giving; but whether this word be one of those, which in old time came out of *Greece* and were transported thither, we will consider and discusse better hereafter: Now for this present let us prosecute that which remaineth of this opinion now in hand. For *Osiris* and *Isis* of good Demons were translated into the number of the gods: And as for the puissance of *Typhon* oppressed and quelled, howbeit panting as yet at the last gaspe and striving as it were with the pangs of death, they have certain ceremonies and sacrifices, to pacify and appease. Other feasts also there be againe on the 30 contrary side wherein they insult over him, debate and defame him what they can: In so much as men of a ruddy colour they deride & make of them a laughing stocke. And as for the inhabitants of *Coptos*, they use at a certaine feast to throw an asse headlong downe from the pitch of an high rocke, because *Typhon* was ruddy and of a red asses colour. The Busritants and Lycopolites forbear to sound any trumpets, because they resemble the braying of an asse: and generally they take an asse to be an uncleane beast and demonically, for the resemblance in hiew that it hath with him: and when they make certaine cakes in their sacrifices of the moneths, *Pappi* and *Phaophi*, they worke them in pailtry with the print upon them of an asse bound. Also in their solemne sacrifice to the Sun, they command as many as will be there to worship that god, not to wear any brooches or jewels of gold about their bodies, nor to give any meat or pro- 40 vander unto an asse what need soever he have thereof. It seemeth also, that the Pythagoreans themselves were of opinion, that *Typhon* was some fiend or demonical power: for they say that *Typhon* was borne in the even number of six and fifty: againe, that the triangular number or figure, is the puissance of *Pluto*, *Bacchus* and *Mars*: of the quadrangle, is the power of *Rhea*, *Venus*, *Ceres*, *Vesta*, and *Juno*: that of twelve angles belongeth to the might of *Jupiter*: but that of fifty six angles is the force of *Typhon*, as *Endoxus* hath left in writing. But the Aegyptians supposing that *Typhon* was of a reddish colour, doe kill for sacrifice unto him, kine and oxen of the same colour, observing withall so precisely, that if they have but one haire blacke or white, they be not sacrificeable: for they thinke such sacrifices not acceptable, but contrariwise displeasing unto the gods, imagining they be the bodies which have received the soules of leaud and wicked 50 persons, transformed into other creatures. And therefore after they have cursed the head of such a sacrifice, they cut it off and cast it into the river, at least waies in old time: but now they give it unto strangers. But the oxen which they meane to sacrifice indeed, the priests called *Sphragiste*, that is to say, the sealers, come & make it with their seale, which as *Cassor* writeth, was the image of a man kneeling, with his hands drawn backe and bound behinde him, and having a sword set to his throat: Semblably they use the name of an asse also, as hath bene said, for his uncivill rudenesse and insolency, no lesse than in regard of his colour, wherein he resembleth

Typhon; and therefore the Aegyptians gave unto *Ochus* a king of the Persians, whom they hated above all others as most cursed and abominable, the surname of asse: whereof *Ochus* being advertised and saying withall, This asse shall devour your oxen, caused presently their beefe *Apis* to be killed and sacrificed, as *Dion* hath left in writing. As for those who say, that *Typhon* after he had lost the field, fled six daies journey upon an asse backe, and having by this meanes escaped, begat two sonnes, *Hieroglyphus* and *Judans*, evident it is herein that they would draw the story of the Jewes into this fable. And thus much of the allegorickall conjectures which this tale doth afford. But now from another head, let us (of those who are able to discourse somewhat Philosophically and with reason) consider first and foremost such as deale most simply in this behalfe. And these be they that say, like as the Greeks allegorize that *Saturne* is time, *Juno* the aire, and the generation of *Vulcan*, is the transmutation of aire into fire; even so they give out that by *Osiris* the Aegyptians meane *Nilus*, which lieth and keepeth company with *Isis*, that is to say the earth: That *Typhon* is the sea, into which *Nilus* falling loseth himselfe, and is dispatched heere and there, unless it be that portion thereof, which the earth receiveth and where-by it is made fertile. And upon the river *Nilus* there is a sacred lamentation, even from the daies of *Saturne*: wherein there is lamenting, how *Nilus* springing and growing on the left hand, decayeth and is lost on the right: For the Aegyptians doe thinke, that the east parts where the day appeareth, be the forefront and face of the world, that the North part is the right hand & the South part the left. This *Nilus* therefore, arising on the left hand, and lost in the sea on the right hand, is said truly to have his birth and generation in the left side, but his death and corruption in the right. And this is the reason why the priests of *Aegypt* have the sea in abomination, and terme salt the some and froth of *Typhon*. And among those things which are interdicted and forbidden this is one, that no salt be used at the boord: by reason whereof they never salute any pilots or sailors, for that they keepe ordinarily in the sea, and get their living by it. This also is one of the principall causes, why they abhorre fishes; in such sort as when they would describe hatred, they draw or portray a fish like as in the porch before the temple of *Athena* within the city *Sai*, there was portrayed and engraven, an infant, an old man; after them a falcon or some such hauke, and close thereto a fish, and last of all a river-horse: which Hieroglyphicks, doe symbolize and signifie thus much in effect. O all yea that come into the world and goe out of it: God hateth thamelesse injustice. For by the hauke they understand God, by the fish hatred, and by the river-horse impudent violence and vilany, because it is said that he killed his father, and after that, forceth his owne mother and covereth her. And semblably it should seeme, that the saying of the Pythagoreans, who give out that the sea is a tear of *Saturne*, under covert words doe meane, that it is impure and uncleane. Thus have I bene willing by the way to alledge thus much, although it be without the traine of our fable, because they fall within the compasse of a vulgar and common received history. But to returne to our matter: the priests as many as be of the wiser and more learned sort, understand by *Osiris*, not onely the river *Nilus*, and by *Typhon* the sea: but also by the former, they signifie in one word and simply, all vertue and power that produceth moisture and water, taking it to be the materiall cause of generation, and the nature generative of feed: and by *Typhon* they represent all desiccative vertue, all heat of fire & drie nesse, as the very thing that is fully opposit and adverse to humidity: and hereupon it is, that they hold *Typhon* to be red of haire and of skin yellow: and by the same reason they willingly would not encounter or meet upon the way men of that hew, no nor delight to speake unto such. Contrariwise they feigne *Osiris* to be of a blacke colour, because all water, causeth the earth, clothes and cloudes to appeare blacke with which it is mingled. Also the moisture that is in young folke maketh their haire blacke; but grised hoariness, which seemeth to be a pale yellow, cometh by reason of sciccy into those who be past their flower, and now in their declining age: also the Spring time is greene, fresh, pleasant, and generative: but the latter season of Autumne, for want of moisture, is an enemy to plants, and breedeth diseases in man and beast.

To speake also of that oxen or beefe named *Amenis*, which is kept and nourished in *Heliopolis* at the common charges of the city, consecrated unto *Osiris*, and which some say, was the fire of *Apis*; blacke he is of haire, and honored in a second degree after *Apis*. Moreover, the whole land of *Aegypt* is of all others exceeding blacke, such a blacke I meane, as that is of the cie, which they call *Chemia*, and they liken it to the heart; for hote and moist it is, and inclineth to the left and South parts of the earth, like as the heart lieth most to the left side of a man. They asseme

affirme also, that the Sunne and Moone are not mounted upon chariots, but within barges or boates continually do moove and saile as it were round about the world; giving us thereby covertly to understand, that they be bred and nourished by moisture. Furthermore, they thinke, that *Homer* (like as *Thales* also) being taught out of the Aegyptians learning, doth hold and set downe this position, That water is the element and principle that engendereth all things: for they say, that *Osiris* is the Ocean, and *Isis*, *Tethys*, as one would say, the nourish that sucketh and feedeth the whole world. For the Greeks call the ejaculation or casting forth of natural seed, *Arrele*, like as the conjunction of male and female *Zuavola*; likewise *epet*, which in Greeke signifieth a son, is derived of the word *epet*, that is to say, water, and *epet* betokeneth also to raine. Moreover, *Bacchus* they surname *Hyes*, as one would say, the lord and ruler of the moist nature; and he is no other than *Osiris*. Furthermore, whereas we pronounce his name *Osiris*, *Hellanicus* putteth it downe *Hyris*, saying, that he heard the very priests themselves of *Aegypt* to pronounce it so. And thus verily calleth he the said god in every place, not without good shew of reason, having regard unto his nature and invention. But that *Osiris* is the same god that *Bacchus*, who should in all reason better know than your selfe (*ô Clea*) considering that in the city of *Delphi* you are the mistress and lady Prioreesse as it were of the religious Thyans, and from your infancy have bene a votary and Nun consecrated by your father and mother to the service of *Osiris*. But if in regard of others, we must alledge testimonies, let us not meddle with their hidden secrets; howbeit, that which the priests do in publicke when the inter *Apis*, having brought his corps in a boat or punt, differeth not at all from the ceremonies of *Bacchus*: for, clad they be in stags skinnies, they carry javelins in their hands, they keepe a loud crying, and shaking of their bodies very unquietly, much after the manner of those who are transported with the fanaticall and sacred fancy of *Bacchus*. And what reason els should there be, that many nations of *Greece* portray the statue of *Bacchus* with a bulles head? and the dames among the Elians in their prayers and invocations do call unto him, beseeching this god to come unto them with his bulles foot? yea, and the Argives commonly surname *Bacchus*, *Buzenes*, which is as much to say, as the sonne of a Cow, or engendered by a bull: and that which more is, they invocate and call upon him out of the water with sound of trumpets, casting into a deepe gulf, a lance, as to the Porter, under the name of *Pylaeochus*. Their trumpets they hide within their javelins, called *Thyrri*, according as *Socrates* hath written in his books of sacred ceremonies. Moreover, the *Titanical* acts, and that whole, enter and sacred night, accord with that which is reported as touching the dismembred of *Osiris*, and the resurrection or renovation of his life: in like manner, those matters which concerne his buriall. For the Aegyptians shew in many places the sepulchres of *Osiris*: and the Delphians thinke, they have the bones and reliques of *Bacchus* among them, interred and bestowed neere unto the oracle: and his religious priests celebrate unto him a secret sacrifice within the temple of *Apollo*, when the Thyades who are the Priestesses begin to chaunt the sonnet * *Lienites*. Now that the Greeks are of opinion, that *Bacchus* is the lord and governour, not of wine liquor onely, but also of every other nature which is moist and liquid, the testimony of *Pindarus* is sufficient, when he saith thus: *Bacchus*

Taking the charge of staves that grow,
Doth cause them for to bud and blow:
The verdure fresh and beauty pure
Of lovely fruits he doth procure.

And therefore it is, that those who serve and worship *Osiris* are streightly forbidden and charged, not to destroy any fruitfull tree, nor to stop the head of any fountain. And not onely the river *Nilus*, but all water and moisture whatsoever in generally, they call the effluence of *Osiris*: by reason whereof, before their sacrifices they carry alwaies in procession a pot or pitcher of water, in honour of the said god.

They describe also a king and the Southern or meridionall climat of the world, by a fig tree leafe, which fig leafe signifieth the imbibition and motion of all things: and besides, it seemeth naturally to resemble the member of generation. Also, when they solemnize the feast called *Pamylia*, which as before hath bene said, was instituted in the honour of *Prisapus*, they shew and carry about in procession an image or statue, the gentill member whereof, is thrice as bigge as the ordinary: for this god of theirs is the beginning of all things; and every such principle, by generation multiplieth it selfe. Now, we are wont moreover to say, Thrice, for many times; as to wit, a finite number for an infinite; as when we use the word, *Tripliciter*, that is to say, Thrice

Rrrrr 3

happy,

One of the
surnames of
Bacchus.

happy, for most happy; and Three bonds, for infinite; unless peradventure this ternary or threefold number was expressly and properly chosen by our ancients. For the nature of moisture being the principle that engendred all things, from the beginning hath engendred these three elements or primitive bodies, Earth, Aire and Fire. For that branch which is set unto the fable, to wit, that *Typhon* slung the genital member of *Osiris* into the river, that *Isis* could not finde it, but caused one to be made to resemble it, and when she was provided thereof, ordeined that it should be honoured and caried in a solemne pompe; tendeth to this, for to teach us, that the generative and productive vertue of god, had moisture at the first for the matter, and by the meanes of the said humidity, was mixed with those things that were apt for generation. Another branch there is yet, growing to this fable, namely, that one *Appis* brother to the Sunne, warred against *Jupiter*; that *Osiris* aided *Jupiter* and helped him to defeat his enemies; in regard of which merit he adopted him for his sonne, and named him *Dionysus*, that is to say, *Bacchus*. Now the Mithology of this fable, as it evidently appeareth, accordeth covertly, with the trueth of Nature: for the Aegyptians call the winde, *Jupiter*, unto which nothing is more contrary, than siccity and that which is dry: and that is not the Sunne, although some confanguinity it hath unto it: but moisture comming to extinguish the extremity of that driness, fortifieth and augmenteth those vapors, which nourish the wind and keepe it in force. Moreover, the Greeks consecrate the Ivie unto *Bacchus*, and the same is named among the Aegyptians, *Chenosis*, which word, (as they say) signifieth in the Aegyptian tongue, the plant of *Osiris*: at leastwise *Ariston* who enrolled a colonie of the Athenians, affirmeth that he light upon an epistle of *Anaxarchus*, wherein he found as much; as also, that *Bacchus* was the sonne of a water nymph, *Naias*. Other Aegyptians also there be, who hold, that *Bacchus* was the sonne of *Isis*, and that he was not called *Osiris*, but *Asaphes*, in the letter *Alpha*, which word signifieth prowess or valour. And thus much giveth *Hermes* to understand, in his first booke of Aegyptian acts; where he saith also, that *Osiris* by interpretation, is as much, as *flour or mightie. Heere I forbear to alledge *Atanasas*, who referreth and ascribeth unto *Epaphus*, *Bacchus*, *Osiris*, and *Sarapis*. I overpasse *Anticlistes* likewise, who affirmeth, that *Isis* was the daughter of *Prometheus*, and married unto *Bacchus*. For the very particular properties that we have said were in their feasts and sacrifices, yeld a more cleere evidence and prooffe, than any allegations of witnesses whatsoever. Also they hold, that among the starres, the dogge or *Sirius* was consecrate unto *Isis*, the which starre draweth the water. And they honour the lion, with whose heads and having the mouth gaping and wide open, they adorne the dores and gates of their temples, for that the river *Nilus* tieth

So loose as in the circle Zodiacke,

The Sunne and Leo signe, encounter make.

And as they both hold and affirme, *Nilus* to be the effluence of *Osiris*; even so they are of opinion, that the body of *Isis* is the earth or land of *Aegypt*; and yet not all of it, but so much as *Nilus* overfloweth, and by commixtion maketh fertile and fruitfull: of which conjunction, they say that *Orus* was engendred, which is nothing else but the temperature and disposition of the aire, nourishing and maintaining all things. They say also, that this *Orus* was nourished within the mores nere unto the citie *Burns*, by the goddesse *Latona*: for that the earth being well drenched and watered, bringeth forth and nourisheth vapors, which overcome, extinguish, and repress (nothing so much) great siccity and driness. Furthermore, they call the marches and borders of the land, the confines also of the coasts which touch the sea, *Nephtys*: and this is the reason why they name *Nephtys*, *Talent*, that is to say, small or last; and say that he was married unto *Typhon*. And when *Nilus* breaketh out and overrunneth his banks so, as he approcheth these borders, this they call the unlawfull conjunction or adultery of *Osiris* with *Nephtys*, the which is known by certaine plants growing there, among which is the *M-lilot*: by the seed whereof, saith the tale, when it was shedde and left behinde, began *Typhon* to perceive the wrong that was done unto him in his marriage. And hereupon they say, that *Orus* was the legitimate sonne of *Isis*, but *Annibis* was borne by *Nephtys* in bastardie. And verily in the succession of kings they record *Nephtys* married unto *Typhon*, to have bene at first barren. Now if this be not meant of a woman, but of a goddesse, they understand under these enigmatical speeches, a land altogether barren and fruitfull, by reason of hardnesse and stiffe soliditie. The lying in wait of *Typhon* to surpris *Osiris*, his usurped rule and tyranny, is nothing else but the force of driness, which was very mightie, which dissipated also and spent all that humidity

ditie that both engendred and also encrease *Nilus* to that heighth. As for that queene of *Aethiopia*, who came to aid & assist him, she brokeneth the Southerly winds coming from *Aethiopia*: for when these have the upper hand of the Etesian winds, which blow from the North, and drive the cloudes into *Aethiopia*, and so hinders those showers and gluts of raine which power out of the clouds, and make the river *Nilus* to swell: then *Typhon*, that is to say, drouth, is said to winne the better, and to burne up all; and so having gotten the mastery cleane of *Nilus*, who by reason of his weaknesse and feeblenesse, is driven in, and forced to retire a contrary way, he chafeth him, poore and low into the sea. For whereas the fable saith, that *Osiris* was thus fast within an arke or coffer, there is no other thing signified thereby, but this departure backe of the water, and the hiding thereof within the sea: which is the cause also, that they say *Osiris* went out of sight in the moneth *Athyris*, and was no more seene; at what time as when all the Etesian winds are laid and given over to blow, *Nilus* returneth into his channell, leaving the land discovered and bare. And now by this time as the night groweth longer, the darknesse encrease, like as the force of the light doth diminish and is impaired: and then the priests among many other ceremonies, testifying their sadnesse and heave cheere; bring forth and shew a beefe with golden hornes, whom they cover all over with a fine vail of blacke silke, thereby to represent the heavy dole and mourning of the goddesse for *Osiris*: (for thus they thinke, that the said beefe is the image of *Osiris*: and the vestment of blacke afore said, testifying the earth, doth signifie *Isis*) and this shew exhibit they foure daies together; to wit, from the seventh unto the tenth following: And why? Foure things there be for which they make demonstration of griefe & sorrow: the first is the river *Nilus*, for that he seemeth to retire and faile: the second are the North-windes, which now are hushed and still; by reason of the Southern winds, that gaine the mastery over them: the third is the day, for that now it waxeth shorter than the night: and last of all, the discovering and nakednesse of the earth, together with the destituting of trees, which at the very same time begin to shed and lose their leaves. After this, upon the nineteenth day at night, they goe downe to the sea side, and then the priests vested in their sacred Stoles and habits, carie forth with them, a consecrated cheft, wherein there is a vessell of gold, into which they take and powre fresh and potable water; and with that, all those who are present set up a note and shout, as if they had found *Osiris* againe: then they take a piece of fatty and fertile earth, and together with the water, knead and worke it into a paffe, mixing therewith most precious odors, perfumes and spices, whereof they make a little image in forme of the Moone croissant, which they decke with robes and adorne, shewing thereby evidently that they take these gods to be the substance of water and earth.

Thus when *Isis* had recovered *Osiris*, nourished *Orus*, and brought him up to some growth, so that he now became strengthened & fortified by exhalations, vapors, mists and cloudes, *Typhon* verily was vanquished, howbeit, not slain, for that the goddesse, which is the ladie of the earth, would not permit & suffer, that the power or nature which is contrary unto moisture, should be utterly abolished: only she did slacken and let downe the vehement force thereof, willing that this combat and strife should still continue; because the world would not have bene entier and perfect, if the nature of fire had bene once extinct & gone. And if this goe not currant among them, there is no reason and probability, that any one should project this assertion also, namely, that *Typhon* in times past overcame one part of *Osiris*: for that in olde time, *Aegypt* was sea: whereupon it is, that even at this day, within the mines wherein men dig for metall, yea, and among the mountaines, there is found great store of sea fish. Likewise, all the fountaines, welles and pits (and those are many in number) carry a brackish, saltish and bitter water, as if some remnant or residue of the olde sea were reserved, which ranne thither. But in proceesse of time, *Orus* subdued *Typhon*, that is to say, when the seasonable raine came, which tempered the excessive heat, *Nilus* expelled and drave forth the sea, discovered the champion ground, and filled it continually more and more by new deluges and inundations, that laid somewhat still unto it. And hereof, the daily experience is presented to our eyes; for we perceive even at this day, that the overflows and rising of the river, bringing new mud, and adding fresh earth still by little and little, the sea giveth place and retireth: and as the deepe in it is filled more and more, so the superfluities rise higher, by the continual helthes that the Nile casts up; by which meane, the sea runneth backward: yea, the very Isle *Pharos*, which *Homer* knew by his daies to lie farre within the sea even a daies falling from the continent & firme land of *Aegypt*, is now a very part thereof: not for that it remooved and approached neerer and neerer to the land; but because the sea which

which was betwene, gave place unto the river that continually made new earth with the mudd that it brought, and so maintained and augmented the maine land. But these things resemble very neere, the Theologicall interpretations that the Stoicks give out: for they holde, that the generative and nutritive Spirit, is *Bacchus*; but that which striketh and divideth, is *Hercules*; that which receiveth, is *Ammon*; that which entrencheth and pierceth into the earth, is *Ceres* and *Proserpina*; and that which doth penetrate farther and passe thorow the sea, is *Neptune*. Others, who mingle among naturall causes and reasons, some drawn from the Mathematicks, and principally from Astrology, thinke that *Typhon* is the Solare circle or sphere of the Sunne; and that *Osiris* is that of the Moone; inasmuch as the Moone hath a generative and vegetable light, multiplying that sweet and comfortable moisture which is so meet for the generation of living creatures, of trees and plants: but the Sunne having in it a pure fry flame indeed without any mixture or rebatement at all, heateth and drieth that which the earth bringeth forth, yea, and whatsoever is verdant and in the flower; inasmuch, as by his inflammation he causeth the greater part of the earth to be wholly desert and inhabitable, and many times subdueth the very Moone. And therefore the Egyptians evermore name *Typhon*, *Seth*, which is as much to say, as ruling lordly, and oppressing with violence. And after their fabulous manner they say, that *Hercules* fitting as it were upon the Sunne, goeth about the world with him; and *Mercurie* likewise with the Moone: by reason whereof, the works and effects of the Moone resemble those acts which are performed by eloquence and wisdom: but those of the Sunne are compared to such as be exploited by force and puissance. And the Stoicks say, that the Sunne is lighted and set on fire by the Sea, and therewith nourished: but they be the fountains and lakes which send up unto the Moone a milde, sweet and delicate vapour. The Egyptians saie, that the death of *Osiris* happened on the seventeenth day of the moneth, on which day better than upon any other, he is judged to be at the full: and this is the reason why the Pythagoreans call this day, *The obstruction*, and of all other numbers they most abhorre and detest it: for whereas sixteene is a number quadrangular or foure-square, and eightene longer one way than another; which numbers only of those that be plaine, happen for to have the ambient unities, that environ them equal to the spaces contained and comprehended within them; seventene, which falleth betwene, separateth and disjoineeth the one from the other, and being cut into unequal intervals, distracteth the proportion lesquidative. And some there be who say, that *Osiris* lived, others that he reigned, eight and twenty yeeres: for so many lights there be of the Moone, and so many daies doth the tyme about her owne circle: and therefore in those ceremonies which they call *The sepulture of Osiris*, they cut a piece of wood, and make a certaine coffin or case in manner of the Moone croissant, for that as she approacheth neere to the Sunne, she becommeth pointed and cornered, untill in the end she come to nothing, and is no more scene. And as for the dismembred of *Osiris* into foureteen pieces, they signifie unto us under the covert vail of these words, The daies wherein the said planet is in the wane, and decreaseth even unto the change, when she is renewed againe. And that day on which the first appeareth, by passing by and elcaping the raies of the Sunne, they call an imperfect good: for *Osiris* is a doer of good: and this name signifieth many things, but principally an active and beneficial power, as they say: and as for the other name *Omphis*, *Hermes* saith, that it betokeneth as much as a benefactor. Also, they are of opinion, that the risings and inundations of the river *Nilus*, answer in proportion to the course of the Moone; for the greatest heigh that it groweth unto in the countrey *Elephantine*, is eight and twenty cubits; for so many illuminations there be, or daies, in every revolution of the Moone: and the lowest gage about *Mendes* and *Xois*, fixe cubits, which answereth to the first quarter: but the meane betwene, about the city *A Memphis*, when it is just at the full, cometh to foureteen cubits, correspondent to the full Moone. They holde moreover, *Apisto* to be the lively image of *Osiris*, and that he is ingendred and bred at what time as the generative light descendeth from the Moone and toucheth the Cow desirous of the male: and therefore *Apisto* resembleth the formes of the Moone, having many white spots obscured and darkened with the shadowes of blacke. And this is the reason, why they solemnize a feast in the new Moone of the moneth *Phamenoth*, which they call *The ingresse or entrance of Osiris to the Moone*; and this is the beginning of the Spring season: and thus they put the power of *Osiris* in the Moone. They say also, that *Isis* (which is no other thing but generation) lieth with him; and so they name the Moone, Mother of the world; saying, that she is a double nature, male and female: female, in that she doth conceive and is replenished by the Sunne: and male, in this regard, that she

she sendeth forth and sprinkleth in the aire, the seeds and principles of generation: for that the drie disemperature and corruption of *Typhon* is not alwayes superior, but often times vanquished by generation, and howsoever tied it be and bound, yet it riseth fresh againe, and fighteth against *Orus*, who is nothing els but the terrestriall world, which is not altogether free from corruption, nor yet exempt from generation. Others there be, who would have all this fiction covertly to represent no other thing but the eclipses: for the Moone is eclipsed, when she is at the full directly opposit to the Sunne, and cometh to fall upon the shadow of the earth: like as they say, *Osiris* was put into the chest or coffer above said. On the other side, she seemeth to hide and darken the light of the Sunne, upon certaine thirtieth daies, but yet doth not wholly abolish the Sunne, no more than *Isis* doth kill *Typhon*: but when *Nephthys* bringeth forth *Anubis*, *Isis* putteth herselfe in place: for *Nephthys* is that which is under the earth and unseen; but *Isis*, that which is above, and appeareth unto us: and the circle named *Horizon*, which is common to them both, and parteth the two hemispheres, is named *Anubis*, and in forme resembleth a dogge: for why? a dogge seeth aswell by night as by day: so that it should seeme, that *Anubis* among the Egyptians hath the like power that *Proserpina* among the Greeks, being both terrestrial and celestia. Others there be, who thinke, that *Anubis* is *Saturne*, and because he is conceived with all things, and bringeth them forth, which in Greeke the word *sew* signifieth, therefore he is furnamed *Kuon*, that is to say, A dogge. So that there is some hidden and mystical secret in it, that causeth some, even still to reverence and adore A dogge: for the time was, when more worship was done unto it in *Aegypt*, than to any other beast; but after that *Cambyses* had killed *Apis* cut him in pieces, and flung the same heere and there, no other creature would come neere to taste thereof, save the dogge onely; whereupon he lost that prerogative and preeminence to be more honoured than other beasts. Others there are, who would have the shadow of the earth, which causeth the Moone to be eclipsed when the entrench into it, to be named *Typhon*. And therefore me thinks, it were not amisse to say, that in particular there is not any one of these expositions and interpretations perfect by it selfe and right, but all of them together carry some good construction: for it is neither drought alone, nor winde, nor sea, yet darkness; but all that is noisome and hurtfull whatsoever, and which hath a speciall part to hurt and destroy, is called *Typhon*. Nether must we put the principles of the whole world into bodies that have no life and soule, as *Democritus* and *Epicurus* doe: nor yet set downe for the workman and framer of the first matter, a certaine reason and providence, without quality (as do the Stoicks;) such a thing as hath a subsistence before and above all, and commandeth all: for impossible it is, that one sole cause, good or bad, should be the beginning of all things together; for God is not the cause of any evil, and the coagmentation of the world bendeth contrary waies, like as the composition of alure or bow, as *Heraclitus* saith, and according to *Euripides*,

Nashings can be by themselves good or bad.

That things do well, a mixture must be had.

And therefore this opinion so very ancient, is descended from Theologians and Law givers unto Poets and Philosophers, the certaine author and beginning whereof, is not yet known: howbeit, so firmly grounded in the persuasion and beliefs of men, that hard it is to suppress or abolish the same; so commonly divulged not onely in conferences, disputations, and ordinary speeches abroad, but also in the sacrifices and divine ceremonies of gods service, in many places, as well among the Barbarians as Greeks, to wit, that neither this world steth and waver at adventure, without the government of providence and reason, nor reason onely it is that guideth, directeth, and holdeth it (as it were) with certaine helmes or bits of obedience, but manie things there be confused and mixed, good and bad together: or to speake more plainly, there is nothing heere beneath that nature produeth and bringeth forth, which of it selfe is pure and simple: neither is there one drawer of two tummes, to disperse and distribute abroad the affaires of this world, like as a taverne or vintner doeth his wines or other liquors, brewing and tempering one with another. But this life is conducted by two principles and powers, adverse one unto another; for the one leadeth us to the right hand directly, the other contrariwise turneth us aside and putteth us backe: and so this life is mixt, and the verie world it selfe, if not all throughout, yet at leastwise, this beneath about the earth, and under the Moone, is unequall, variable, and subject to all mutations that possibly may be. For if nothing there is, that can be without a precedent cause, and that which of it selfe is good can never minister cause of evil; necessarie it is, that nature hath some peculiar cause and beginning by it selfe,

selfe, of good as well as of bad. And of this opinion are the most part of the ancients, and those of the wisest sort. For some thinke there be two gods as it were of a contrary mystery & profession; the one, author of all good things, and the other of bad, Others there be who call the better of them god; and the other Dæmon, that is to say, diuell, as *Zoroastres* the Magician did, who by report, was five thousand yeeres before the warre of *Troy*. This *Zoroastres* (I say) named the good god *Oromazes*, and the other *Arimanius*. Moreover, he gave out, that the one resembled light, more than any sensible thing else whatsoever: the other darknesse and ignorance: also that there is one in the middes betweene them, named *Mithres*: (and hereupon it is, that the Persians call an intercessor or mediator, *Mithres*.) He teacheth us also to sacrifice unto the one of them, for petition of good things, and for thanksgiving: but to the other, for to divert and turne away sinister and evill accidents. To which purpose they used to stampe in a mortar a certaine herbe which they call *Onomi*, calling upon *Pluto* and the darknesse: then temper they it with the blood of a wolfe which they have killed in sacrifice: this done, they carie it away, and throw it into a darke corner, where the Sunne never shineth? For this conceit they have, that of herbes and plants, some appertaine unto the good god, and others to the evill dæmon or diuell. Semblably, of living creatures, dogs, birds, and land urchins, belong to their good god: but those of the water, to the evill fiend. And for this cause they repute those very happie, who can kill the greatest number of them. Howbeit these Sages and wise men report many fabulous things of the gods: as for example, that *Oromazes* is engendered of the clearest and purest light, and *Arimanius* of deepe darknesse: also that they warre one upon another. And the former of these created fixe other gods, the first of Benevolence; the second of Verity; the third of good discipline and publike Law; and of the rest behinde, one of Wisdome, another of Riches; and the sixth, which also is the last, the maker of joy for good and honest deeds. But the * later produceth as many other in number, concurrents as it were and of advese operation to the former above named. Afterwards when *Oromazes* had augmented and amplified himselfe three times, he remooved as farre from the Sunne, as the Sunne is distant from the earth, adorning and embellishing the heaven with starres: and one starre above the rest he ordeined to be the guide, mistress, and overseer of them all, to wit, *Sirius*, that is to say, the Dogge-starre. Then, after he had made foure and twentie other gods, he enclofed them all with in an egge. But the other, brought forth by *Arimanius*, who were also in equall number, never ceased untill they had pierced and made a hole unto the said smooth and polished egge: and so after that, evill things became mingled pel-mell with good. But there will a time come predestined fatally: when this *Arimanius* who brings into the world plague and famine, shall of necessity be rooted out and utterly destroyed for ever, even by them; and the earth shall become plaine, even, and uniforme: neither shall there be any other but one life, and one commonwealth of men, all happie and speaking one and the same language. *Theopompus* also writeth, that according to the wise *Magi*, these two gods must for three thousand yeeres, conquer one after another, and for three thousand yeeres be conquered againe by turnes: and then for the space of another three thousand yeeres, levie mutuall warres, and fight battels one against the other, whiles the one shall subvert and overthrow that which the other hath set up: untill in the end *Pluto* shall faint, give over, and perish: then shall men be all in happie estate, they shall need no more food, nor cast any shadow from them; and that god who hath wrought and effected all this, shall repose himselfe, and rest in quiet, not long (I say) for a god, but a moderate time as one would say for a man taking his sleepe and rest. And thus much as touching the fable devised by the *Magi*. But the Chaldeans affirme that of the gods, whom they call Planets or wandring starres, two there be that are beneficiall and doers of good; two againe mischievous and workers of evill; and three which are of a meane nature and common. As for the opinion of the Greeks, concerning this point, there is no man I suppose ignorant thereof: namely, that there be two portions or parts of the world, the one good, allotted unto *Jupiter Olympius*, that is to say, Celestiall; another bad, appertaining to *Pluto* infernall. They fable moreover, and feigne, that the goddesse *Harmonia*, that is to say, Accord, was engendered of *Melus* and *Venus*: of whom, the one is cruell, grim, and quarrellous; the other mild, lovely, and generative. Now consider the Philosophers themselves, how they agree herein: For *Heraclitus* directly and diversly nameth warre, the Father, King, and Lord of all the world; saying, that *Homer* when he wisheth and praith,

Both out of heaven and earth to banish warre,

That

That god and men, no more might be at jarre.

wilt not how (ere he was aware) he cursed the generation and production of all things, which indeed have their effence and being by the sight and antipathic in nature. He was ignorant that the Sunne would not passe the bounds and limits appointed unto him; for otherwise the furies and cursed tongues which are the ministresses and coadjutresses of justice would finde him out. As for *Empedocles*, he saith, that the beginning and principle which worketh good, is love and amity, yea, and otherwhiles is called *Harmonie* by *Metrops*: but the cause of evill,

Malice, hatred, cankred fight, Quarrell, debate, and bloody fight.

- 10 Come now to the Pythagoreans, they demonstrate and specifye the same by many names: for they call the good principle, One, finite, permanent or quiet, straight or direct, odde, quadrat or square, right and light some: but the bad, twaine, infinite, moving, crooked, even, longer one way than another, unequall, left and darke, as if these were the fountaines of generation. *Anaxagoras* calleth them the minde or understanding and infinity. *Aristotle* termeth the one some, the other privation. And *Plato* under darke and covert termes hiding his opinion, in many places calleth the former of these two contrary principles, *The Same*, and the later, *The other*. But in the bookes of his lawes, which he wrote when he was now well steeped in yeeres, he giveth them no more any obscure and ambiguous names, neither describeth he them fynbolically and by ænigmaticall and intricate names, but in proper and plaine termes, he saith, that this worke is not moved and managed by one sole cause, but haply by many, or at leastwise no fewer than twaine: whereof the one is the creatour and worker of good, the other opposite unto it and operative of contrary effects. He leaveth also and alloweth a third cause betweene, which is neither without soule nor reasonlesse ne yet unmoovable of it selfe, as some thinke, but adjacent and adherent to the other twaine, howbeit enclining alwaies to the better, as having a desire and appetite thereto, which it pursueth and followeth, as that which hereafter we will deliver shall shew more manifestly, which treatise shall reconcile the Aegyptian Theologie with the Greeks Philosophy, and reduce them to a very good concordance: for that the generation, composition, and constitution of this world is mingled of contrary powers, howbeit the same not of equal force: for the better is predominant: but impossible it is that the evill should utterly
- 30 ly perish and be abolished, so deeply is it imprinted in the body & so far inbred in the foule of the universall world, in opposition alwaies to the better, and to warre against it. Now then, in the foule, reason and understanding, which is the guide, and mistress of all the best things, is *Osiris*. Also in the earth, in the windes, in water, skie and the starres, that which is well ordeained, stayed, disposed and digested in good sort, by temperate seasons and revolutions, the same is called the defluxion of *Osiris*, and the very apparent image of him: Contrariwise, the passionate, violent, unreasonablen, brutish, rash and foolish part of the foule, is *Typhon*: Semblably in the bodily nature, that which is extraordinarily adventitious, unholysome & diseased, as for example, the troubled aire and tempestuous indispositions of the weather, the obscuration or eclipse of the Sunne, the defect of the Moone and her occultation, be as it were the excursions, deviations
- 40 out of course, and disparations: and all of them be *Typhons*; as the very interpretation of the Aegyptian word signifieth no lesse: for *Typhon*, they name *Seth*, which is as much to say, as violent and oppressing after a lordly manner. It importeth also many times reversion, & otherwhiles an insultation or supplantation. Moreover some there be who say, that one of *Typhons* familiars friends was named *Beban*. But *Manerhos* affirmeth, that *Typhon* himselfe was called *Beban*, which word by interpretation is as much as cohibition, restraint or impeachment, as if the puissance and power of *Typhon* were to stay and withstand the affaires that are in good way of proceeding, and tend as they should doe, to a good end. And hereupon it is that of tame beasts they dedicate and attribute unto him, the most grosse and indocible of all others, namely an asse: but of wilde beasts the most cruell and savage of all others, as the crocodiles and river-horses. As for the asse, we have spoken before of him. In the city of *Mercury*, named *Hermopolis*, they shew unto us the image of *Typhon*, portrayed under the forme of a river-horse, upon whom stithen an hauke, fighting with a serpent. By the foresaid horse they represent *Typhon*: and by the hauke, the power and authority which *Typhon* having gotten by force, maketh no care oftentimes, both to be troubled and also to trouble others by his malice. And therefore when they solemnize a sacrifice, the seventh day of the moneth *Tybi*, which they call the coming of *Osiris* out of *Phœnicia*, they devise upon their halowed cakes for sacrifice, a river-horse, as if he

were

* That is to say, *Arimanius*.

* Of Isis.

* Of Osiris.

were tied and bound. In the city of *Apollo* the manner and custome confirmed by law was, that every one must eat of a crocodile: and upon a certaine day they have a solemn chafe and hunting of them, when they kill as many of them as they can, and then cast them all before the temple: and they say, that *Typhon* being become a crocodile hath escaped from *Orus*: attributing all dangerous wicked beaſts, all hurtfull plants and violent paſſions unto *Typhon*, as if they were his workes, his parts or motions. Contrariwise they portray and depaint unto us *Osiris*, by a ſepter and an eie upon it: meaning by the eie foreſight and providence, by the ſepter authority and puiſſance: like as *Homer* nameth *Jupiter* who is the prince, lord and ruler of all the world, *Hypatos*, that is, ſoveraigne, and *Meſſor*, that is, foreſeeing: giving us to underſtand, by ſoveraigne, his ſupreme power, by foreſeeing his prudence and wiſdome. They repreſent *Osiris* alſo many times by an hawk, for that he hath a wonderfull cleere and quicke ſight, her flight alſo is as ſwift, and ſhe is wont naturally to ſuſtaine her ſelfe with very little food. And more than that (by report) when the ſliech over dead bodies unburied, ſhe caſteth mould and earth upon their eies. And looke whenſoever ſhe ſliech downe to the river for to drinke ſhe ſetteth up her ſethers ſtraight upright, but when ſhe hath drunke ſhe laieth them plaine and even againe, by which it appeareth that ſafe ſhe is and hath eſcaped the crocodile: For if the crocodile leiſe upon her and catch her up, her pennache abideth ſtiſſe and upright as before. But generally throughout whereſoever the image of *Osiris* is exhibited in the forme of a man, they portray him with the naturall member of generation ſtiſſe and ſtraight, prefiguring thereby the generative and nutritive vertue. The habitment alſo, wherewith they clad his images is bright, ſhining like fire: For they repute the * Sunne to be a body repreſenting the power of goodneſſe, as being the viſible matter of a ſpirituall and intellectuall ſubſtance. And therefore their opinion deſerveth to be rejected who attribute unto *Typhon* the ſphere of the Sunne, conſidering that unto him properly appertaineth nothing that is reſplendent, healthfull and comfortable, no diſpoſition, no generation or motion which is ordered with meature or digeſted by reaſon: But if either in the aire or upon the earth there be any unſeaſonable diſpoſition of windes, of weather, or water, it hapneth when the primitive cauſe of a diſordinate and indeterminate power cometh to extinguiſh the kinde vapours and exhalations. Moreover in the ſacred hymnes of *Osiris*, they invoke and call upon him who lieth at repoſe hidden within the armes of the Sunne. Alſo upon the thirtieth day of the month *Epphi*, they ſolemnize the feaſt of the nativity or birth of *Orus* eies: at what time as the Sunne and Moone be in the ſame direct line: as being perſwaded that not onely the Moone but the Sunne alſo is the eie and light of *Horus*: Likewise upon the twenty eight day of the month *Phaſi* they celebrate another feaſt of the Sunnes baſons or ſlaves, and that is after the *Acquinox* in Autumne, giving covertly thereby to underſtand that the Sunne hath need of an appuy or ſupporter to reſt upon and to ſtrengthen him, becauſe his heat beſinneth then to decay and languish ſenſibly, his light alſo to diminiſh and decline obliquely from us. Moreover about the ſolſtice or middle of winter, they carry about his temple ſeven times a cow: and this proceſſion is called the ſeeking of *Osiris*, or the revolution of the Sunne, as if the goddeſſe then deſired the waters of winter: And ſo many times they doe it, for that the courſe of the Sunne, from the Winter ſolſtice unto the Summer ſolſtice is performed in the ſeventh month. It is ſaid moreover, that * *Horus* the ſonne of *Isis* was the firſt who ſacrificed unto the Sun, the fourteenth day of the month, according as it is written in a certaine booke touching the nativity of *Horus*: howſoever every day they offer incenſe and ſweet odors to the Sunne three times: Firſt at the Sunne riſing, Roſin ſecondly about noone, Myrrh: and thirdly at the Sunne ſetting, a certaine compoſition named Kiphi. The myſticall meaning of which perfumes and odors I will hereafter declare: but they are perſwaded that in all this they worſhip and honor the Sunne. But what need is there to gather and collect a number of ſuch matters as theſe? ſeeing there be ſome who openly maintaine that *Osiris* is the Sunne, and that the Greeks call him *Sirus*, but the article which the Egyptians put before, to wit, [O] is the cauſe that ſo much is not evidently perceived: as alſo that *Isis* is nothing elſe but the Moone: and of her images thoſe that have hornes upon them, ſignifie no other thing but the Moone croiſſant: but ſuch as are covered and clad in blacke, betoken thoſe daies wherein ſhe is hidden or darkened, namely, when ſhe runneth after the Sunne: which is the reaſon that in love matters they invoke the Moone. And *Eudoxus* himſelfe ſaith, that *Isis* is the preſident over amatorious folke. And verily in all theſe ceremonies there is ſome probability and likelihood of truth. But to ſay that *Typhon* is the Sunne, is ſo abſurd, that we ought

ought not ſo much as give eare to thoſe who affirme ſo. But returne we now to our former matter. For *Isis* is the feminine part of nature, apt to receive all generation, upon which occaſion called ſhe is by *Philo*, the nurse and *Pandebes*, that is to ſay, capable of all: yea and the common ſort name her *Myrianymia*, which is as much to ſay, as having an infinite number of names, for that ſhe receiveth all formes and ſhapes, according as it pleaſeth that firſt reaſon to convert and turne her. Moreover, there is imprinted in her naturally, a love of the firſt and principall eſſence, which is nothing elſe but the ſoveraigne good, and it ſhe deſireth, ſecketh, and purſueth after. Contrariwise, the ſliech and repelleth from her, any part that diſportion that proceedeth from ill. And howſoever ſhe be the ſubject matter, and meet place apt to receive as well the one as the other, yet of it ſelfe, enclined ſhe is alwaies rather to the better, and applieth herſelfe to engender the ſame, yea, and to diſtinate and ſow the diſtinations and ſimilitudes thereof, wherein ſhe taketh pleaſure and rejoiceth, when the matter conceived and is great therewith, ready to be delivered. For this is a repreſentation and deſcription of the ſubſtance engendered in matter, and nothing elſe but an imitation of that which is. And therefore you may ſee it is not beſides the purpoſe, that they imagine and deviſe the ſoule of *Osiris* to be eternall and immortall: but as for the body, that *Typhon* many times doth teate, mangle and aboliſh, that it cannot be ſcene: and that *Isis* goeth up and downe, wandring hither and thither, gathering together the diſperſed pieces thereof, ſo that which is good and ſpirituall, by conſequence is not any waies ſubject to change and alteration; but that which is ſenſible and ſubſtanciall, doth 20 yeeld from it ſelfe certaine images, admitting withall, and receiving ſundry proportions, formes, and ſimilitudes, like as the prints and ſtamps of ſcales ſet upon waxe, doe not continue and remaine alwaies, but are ſubject to change, alteration, diſorder and trouble; and this ſinne was chaſed from the ſuperior region, and ſent downe hither, wher it fighteth againſt *Horus* whom *Isis* engendered ſenſible, as being the very image of the ſpirituall and intellectuall world. And hereupon it is, that *Typhon* is ſaid to accuſe him of baſtardie, as being uſurper pure and ſincere, like unto his father, to wit, reaſon, and underſtanding: which of it ſelfe is ſimple; and not medled with any paſſion: but in the matter adulterate and degenerate, by the reaſon that it is corporall. Howbeit, in the end the victorie is on *Mercurius* ſide, for ſee is the diſcouſe of reaſon, which teſtifieth unto us, and ſheweth, that nature hath produced this world materiall metamorphozed to the ſpirituall forme: for the nativity of *Apollo*, engendered betwene *Isis* & *Osiris*, whiles the gods were yet in the belly of *Rhea*, ſymbolizeth ſuch much, that before the world was evidently brought to light and fully accompliſhed, the matter of reaſon, being found naturally of it ſelfe rude and imperfect, brought forth the firſt generation: for which cauſe they ſay, that god being as yet lame, was borne and begotten in darkeneſſe, whom they call the elder *Horus*. For the world yet it was not, but an image onely and deſigne of the world, and a bare fantaſie of that which ſhould be. But this *Horus* here is determinate, deſinit and perfect, who killeth not *Typhon* right out, but taketh from him his force and puiſſance that he can doe little or nothing. And hereupon it is, that by report in the eie *Coptus*, the image of *Horus* holdeth in one hand the generall member of *Typhon*: and they ſay beſides, that *Mercurius* having bereft him of his ſinewes, made thereof ſtrings for his harpe, and ſo uſed them. Hereby they teach, that reaſon framing the whole world, ſet it in tune, and brought it to accord, framing it of thoſe parts which before were at jarre and diſcord: howbeit removed not, nor aboliſhed altogether the pernicious and hurtfull nature, but accompliſhed the vertue thereof. And therefore it is, that it being feeble and weak, wrought alſo (as it were) and intermingled or interlaſed with thoſe parts and members which be ſubject to paſſions and mutations, cauſeth earthquakes and tremblings, exceſſive heates, and extreme chineſſe, with extraordinarie windes in the aire, beſides thunder, lightning and fire tempeſts. It importeth moreover the waters and windes, infecting them with peſtilence, reaching up and bearing the head aloft, as ſate as to the Moone, obſcuring and darkning many times even that which is by nature cleane 50 and ſhining. And thus the Egyptians do both thinke and ſay, that *Typhon* ſometimes frooke the eie of *Horus*, and another while plucked it out of his head and devoured it, and then afterwards delivered it againe unto the Sunne. By the ſtriking aforeſaid, they inſeane anigmatically the wane or decreaſe of the Moone monthly: by the totall privation of the eie, they underſtand her eccliſe and defect of light: which the Sunne doth remedy by reillumination of her ſtraight waies, as ſoone as ſhe is gotten paſt the ſhade of the earth. But the principall and more divine nature is compoſed and conſiſteth of three things, to wit, of an intellectuall nature, of

Sift

matter,

matter, and a compound of them both, which we call the world. Now, that intellectuall part, *Plato* nameth *Idea*, the pattenne also of the father: for matter, he termeth it another, nurse, a foundation also and a plot or place for generation: and that which is produced of both, he is wont to call the issue and thing procreated. And a man may very well conjecture, that the Egyptians compared the nature of the whole world, especially to this, as the fairest triangle of all other. And *Plato* in his books of policy or common-wealth, seemeth also to have used the same, when he composeth and describeth his nuptiall figure: which triangle is of this sort; that the side which maketh the right angle, is of three, the basis of foure, and the third line called *Hypotenusa* of five, equivalent in power to the other two that comprehend it: so that the line which directly falleth plumb upon the base, must answer proportionably to the male; the base to the female, and the *Hypotenusa* to the issue of them both. And verily, *Osiris* representeth the beginning and principle: *Isis* that which receiveth; and *Horus* the compound of both. For the number of three is the first odde and perfect; the quaternarie is the first square or quadrate number, composed of the first even number, which is two; and five resembleth partly the father, and in part the mother, as consisting both of two and three. And it should seeme also that the very name *Uas*, which is the universall world, was derived of *Uas* that is to say, five, and so in Greeke *πεντας*, in old time signified as much as to number: and that which more is, five being multiplied in it selfe, maketh a quadrate number, to wit, twentie five, which is just as many letters as the Egyptians have in their alphabet, and so many yeeres *Apis* also lived. And as for *Horus*, they used to call him *Kaimin*, which is as much to say, as scene, for that this word is sensible and visible. *Isis* likewise is sometime called Mouth, otherwhiles *Athyri* or *Methyr*. And by the first of these names, they signifie a Mother: by the second, the faire house of *Horus*, like as *Plato* termeth it to be the place capable of generation: the third is compounded of Full and the cause: for Matter is full of the world, as being married and keeping companie with the first principle, which is good, pure, and beautifullly adorned. It should seeme haply also, that the Poet *Hesiodus*, when he saith, that all things at the first, were Chaos, Earth, Tartarus and Love, groundeth upon no other principles than those, which are signified by these names, meaning by the Earth *Isis*; by Love *Osiris*; and by Tartarus *Typhon*, as we have made demonstration. For by *Chaos* it seemeth that he would understand some place & receptacle of the world. Moreover, in some sort these matters require the fable of *Plato*, which in his booke entituled *Symposium*, *Socrates* inferred, namely, wherein he setteth downe the generation of Love: saying that *Penia*, that is to say, povertie, desirous to have children, went and lay with *Poros*, that is to say, riches, and slept with him, by whom she conceived with childe, and brought forth Love; who naturally is long and variable; and begotten of a father who is good, wife, and al-sufficient; and of a mother who is poore, needy, and for want, desirous of another, and evermore seeking and following after it. For the foresaid *Poros*, is no other, but the first thing amiable, desirable, perfect and sufficient. As for *Penia*, it is matter, which of it selfe is evermore bare and needy, wanting that which is good, whereby at length she is conceived with childe, after whom she hath a longing desire, and evermore ready to receive somewhat of him. Now *Horus* engendred betweene them (which is the world) is not eternall, nor impassible, nor incorruptible, but being 40 evermore in generation, he endevoreth by vicissitude of mutations, and by periodical passion, to continue alwaies young, as if he should never die and perish. But of such fables as these we must make use, not as of reasons altogether really subsisting: but so, as we take out of each of them, that which is meet and convenient to our purpose. When as therefore we say Matter, we are not to rely upon the opinions of some Philosophers, and to thinke it for to be a bodie without foule, without qualitie, continuing in it selfe idle, and without all action whatsoever: for we call oyle the matter of a perfume or ointment; and gold the matter of an image or statue, which notwithstanding is not voide of all similitude: and even so we say, that the very foule and understanding of a man, is the matter of vertue and of science, which we give unto reason, for to bring into order, and adorne. And some there were, who affirmed the minde or understanding to be the proper place of formes, and as it were, the expresse mould of intelligible things: like as there be Naturalists who hold, that the seed of a woman hath not the power of a principle serving to the generation of man, but standeth in stead of matter and nourishment onely: according unto whom, we also being grounded heerein, are to thinke that this goddesse having the fruition of the first and chiefe god, and conversing with him continually, for the love of those good things & vertues which are in him, is nothing adverse unto him, but loveth him

him as her true spouse and lawfull husband: and like as we say, that an honest wife who enioieth ordinarily the company of her husband, loveth him nevertheless, but hath still a minde unto him; even so giveth not the over to be enamoured upon him, although she be continually where he is, and replenished with his principall and most sincere parts. But when and where as *Typhon* in the end thrusteth himselfe betweene, and setteth upon the extreme parts, then and there he seemeth to be sadde and heavy, and thereupon is said to mourne and lament, yea and to seeke up certeine reliques and pieces of *Osiris*, and ever as he can finde any, he receiveth and arraieth them with all diligence, and as they are ready to perish and corrupt, the carefully tendeth and keepeth them close, like as againe he produceth and bringeth forth other things to light of her selfe. For the reasons, the *Idea*, and the influences of God which are in heaven and among the starres, doe there continue and remaine; but those which be disseminate among the sensible and passible bodies, in the earth and in the sea, diffused in the plants and living creatures, the same dying and being buried, doe many times revive and rise againe fresh by the meanes of generations. And hereupon the fable saith thus much more, that *Typhon* cohabith and lieth with *Neptolys*, and that *Osiris* also by stealth and secretly, keepeth companie with her: for the corruptive and destroying power, doeth principally possesse the extreme parts of that matter which they name *Neptolys* and death: and the generative & preserving vertue, conferreth into it little seed, & the same weak and feeble, as being marred and destroyed by *Typhon*: unless it be so much as *Isis* gathereth up & saveth, which the also nourisheth & maintaineth. But in one word, & to speake more generally, he is still better, as *Plato* & *Aristotle* are of opinion: for the naturall puissance to engender & to preserve, moveth toward him as to a subsistence and being: whereas that force of killing & destroying moveth behind, toward non subsistence: which is the reason, that they call the one *Isis*, that is to say, a motion animate and wife; as if the word were derived of *ἴσως*, which signifieth to move by a certeine science and reason, for a barbarous word it is not. But like as the generall name of all gods and goddeses, to wit, *Theos*, is derived of *θεῖος*, that is to say, of visible, and *θεῖος* of *θεῖος*, that is to say, of running; even so, both we and also the Egyptians have called this goddesse *ἰσως*, and *Isis*, of intelligence and motion together. Semblably *Plato* saith, that in old time, when they said *Isis*, they meant *Osia*, that is to say, sacred; like as *Noesis* also and *Phronesis*, quasi *σοφία*, that is to say, the siting and motion of the understanding, being caried and going forward: and they imposed this word *ἰσως* to those who have found out and discovered goodnesse and vertue: but contrariwise, have by reprochfull names noted such things as impeach hinder and stay the course of naturall things, binding them so, as they can not go forward, to wit, *ἡσυχία*, vice, *ἀρετή*, indigence, *δουλοῦ*, cowardice, and *αἰδία*, griefe, as if they kept them from *ἡσυχία*, or *ἡσυχία*, that is to say, free progresse and proceeding forward. As for *Osiris*, a word it is composed of *ὅσις* and *ἰσως*, that is to say, holy and sacred; for he is the common reason or *Idea*, of things above in heaven, and beneath: of which, our ancients were wont to call the one fort, *ἰσως*, that is to say, sacred; and the other, *ἡσυχία*, that is to say, holy: The reason also which sheweth celestiall things, and such as move upward, is called *Ambis*, and otherwhiles *Hermanabis*; as if the one name were meet for those above, and the other for them beneath: whereupon they sacrificed unto the former a white cocke, and to the other a yellow or 40 offashon colour; for that they thought those things above, pure, simple and shining; but those beneath, mixed of a medley colour. Neither are we to marvell, that these termes are dignified to the fashion of Greeke words; for an infinite number of more there be, which have bene transported out of Greeke with those men who departed from thence in exile, and there remaine untill this day as strangers without their native country: whereof some there be which cause Poetry to be slandered, for calling them into use, as if it spake barbarously, namely, by those who terme such Poeticall and obscure words, *Glottus*. But in the books of *Hermes* or *Mercurie*, so called, there is written by report, thus much concerning sacred names, namely, that the power ordeined over the circular motion and revolution of the Sunne, the Egyptians call *Horus*, and the Greeks *Apollo*: that which is over the wind, some name *Osiris*, others *Sarapis*, & some againe 50 in the Aegyptian language *Sathi*, which signifieth as much as conception or to be with childe: and thereupon it is, that by a little deflexion of the name, in the Greeke tongue that Canicular or Dogge starre is called *ἰσως*, which is thought appropriate unto *Isis*. Well I wote, that we are not to strive as touching names, yet would I rather give place unto the Egyptians about the name *Sarapis* than *Osiris*; for this is a meere Greeke word, whereas the other is a stranger: but as well the one as the other signifieth the same power of Divinity. And heereunto accordeth

the Aegyptian languages; for many times they terme *Isis* by the name of *Minerva*, which in their tongue significth as much, as I am come of my selfe. And *Typhon*, as we have already said, is named *Seth*, *Babon* and *Jmy*, which words betoken all, a violent stay and impeachment, a contrariety and a diversion or turning aside another way. Moreover, they call the loadstone or Sederitis, the bone of *Horus*; like as iron, the bone of *Typhon*, as *Manethos* is mine author: for as the iron seemeth otherwise to follow the said loadstone, and suffereth it selfe to be drawn by it, and many times for it againe, returneth backe and is repelled to the contrary: even so, the good and comfortable motion of the world endued with reason, by perswasive speeches doeth convert, draw into it, and mollifie that hardnesse of *Typhon*: but otherwhiles againe, the same returneth backe into it selfe, and is hidden in the depth of penurie and impossibility. Over and besides, *Eudoxus* saith, that the Aegyptians devise of *Jupiter* this fiction, that both his legs being fo grown together in one, that he could not goe at all, for very shame he kept in a desert wilderness: but *Isis*, by cutting and dividing the same parts of his body, brought him to his sound and upright going againe. Which fable giveth us covertly thus to understand, that the understanding and reason of God in it selfe going invisibly, and after an unseen manner, proceedeth to generation by the means of motion. And verily, that brazen Timbrel which they founded and rung at the sacrifices of *Isis*, named *Sistrum*, sheweth evidently, that all things ought ^{to be}, that is to say, to besetle and shake, and never cease moving, but to be awakened and raised, as if otherwise they were drowie, lay asleepe and languished: for it is said, that they turne backe and repulse *Typhon* with their Timbrels aforesaid, meaning thereby, that whereas corruption doth bind and stay nature, generation againe unbindeth and setteth it a worke by the means of motion. Now the said *Sistrum* being in the uppert part round, the curvature and *Abiss* thereof comprehendeth foure things that are stirred and moved: for that part of the world which is subject to generation and corruption, is comprehended under the sphere of the Moone, within which all things move and alter by the means of the foure elements, Fire, Earth, Water and Aire, upon the *Abiss* or rundle of the *Sistrum* toward the toppes, they engrave the forme of a cat with a mans face; but beneath, under those things which are shaken, one while they engrave the visage of *Isis*, another while of *Nephthys*; signifying by these two faces, nativity and death: for these be the motions and mutations of the elements. By the cat, they understand the Moone, for the variety of the skin, for the operation and worke in the night season, and for the fruitfulness of this creature: for it is said, that at first the beareth one kiting, at the second time two, the third time three, then foure, after wards five, and so to seven; so that in all the brings forth 28, which are the daies of every Moone. And howsoever this may seeme fabulous, yet for certaine it is true, that the appuls or fights of these cats are full and large when the Moone is at full; but contrariwise, draw in and become smaller as the Moone is in the wane. As for the visage of a man, which they attribute unto the cat, they represent thereby the witty subtilty and reason about the mutations of the Moone. But to knit up all this matter in few words, reason would, that we should thinke neither the Sunne nor the water, neither earth nor heaven to be *Isis* or *Osiris*; no more than exceeding drouth, extreme heat, fire and sea, is *Typhon*: but simply, whatsoever in such things is out of measure & extraordinary either in excess or defect, we ought to attribute it unto *Typhon*: contrariwise, all that is well disposed, ordered, good and profitable, we must believe it to be the worke verily of *Isis*, but the image, example and reason of *Osiris*: which if we honour and adore in this sort, we shall not sinne or do amisse: and that which more is, we shall remove and stay the unbelieve and doubtfull scrupulosity of *Eudoxus*, who asked the reason, why *Ceres* had no charge and superintendence over Love matters, but all that care lay upon *Isis*, and why *Bacchus* could neither make the river *Nilus* to swell and overflow, nor govern and rule the dead: for if we should alledge one general and common reason for all, we deeme these gods to have bene ordeined for the portion and dispensation of good things, and whatsoever in nature is good and beautifull, it is by the grace and means of these deities; whilst the one yieldeth the first principles, and the other receiveth and * distributeth the same: by which means we shall be able to satisfie the multitude, and meet with those mechanall and odious fellows; whether they delight in the change & variety of the aire, according to the seasons of the yere, or in the procreation of fruits, or in feednesse and tillings, appropriating and applying thereto what hath bene delivered of these gods; wherein they take pleasure, saying, that *Osiris* is interred, when the seed is covered in the ground; that he reviveth and riseth againe to light, when it becometh to sprout. And hereupon it is said, that *Isis* when she perceiveth herselfe to be concei-

* *Isis* ¹⁵⁰⁷²⁰,
some reade,
Isis ⁰¹⁷²⁰,
that is to say,
perisisteth,

ved and with childe, hangeth about her necke a preservative the sixth day of the moneth *Phaophi*, and is delivered of *Harpoerates* about the Solstice of Winter, being as yet imperfect, and come to no maturity in the prime of the first flowers and buds: which is the reason that they offer unto her the first fruits of Lentils new sprung, and solemnize the feast and holidays of her childbirth and lying in after the Aequinox of the Spring: for when the vulgar hear these things, they rest therein, take contentment, and beleieve it straightwaies, drawing a probability for beleefe, out of ordinary things which are daily ready at hand. And verily, herein there is no inconvenience, if first and formost they make these gods common, and not proper and peculiar unto the Aegyptians, neither comprise *Nilus* only and the land which *Nilus* watereth, under these names, nor in naming their Meeres, Lakes and Lotes, and the nativity of their gods, deprive all other men of those great gods, among whom there is neither *Nilus*, nor *Batus*, nor *Memphis*; yet nevertheless acknowledge and have in reverence the goddesses *Isis* and other gods about her, of whom they have learned not long since to name some with the Aegyptian appellations: but time out of minde they knew their vertue and power, in regard whereof they have honoured and adored them. Secondly, which is a faire greater matter, to the end they should take heed and be affraid, lest ere they be aware, they dissolve and dissipate these divine powers in rivers, winds, sowing, plowing and other passions and alterations of the earth; say they do, who holde, that *Bacchus* is wine, *Vulcan* the flame of fire, and *Proserpina* (as *Clement* said in one place) the spirit that bloweth and pierceth thorow the fruits of the earth. A Poet there was, who writing of reapers and mowers, said:

What time young men their hands to Ceres put,

And her with hooks and sithes by piecemeale cut.

And in no respect differ they from those, who thinke the sailes, cables, cordage and anchor, are the pilot; or that the thred and yarne, the warpe and woofe, be the weaver; or that the goblet and potion cup, the Pufane or the Mede and honied water, is the Physician. But verily in so doing, they imprint absurd and blasphemous opinions of the gods, tending to Atheisme and impiety, attributing the names of gods unto natures and things senselesse, livelesse and corruptible, which of necessity men use as the need them, and can not chuse but make and destroy the same. For we must in no wise thinke, that these very things be gods; for nothing can be a god which hath no soule, and is subject to man and under his hand: but thereby we know, that they be gods who give us them to use, and for to be perdurable and sufficient: not these in one place, and those in another, neither Barbarians nor Greeks, neither Meridionall nor Septentrionall; but like as the Sunne and Moone, the heaven, earth and sea, are common unto all, but yet in divers places called by sundry names: even so of one and the same intelligence that ordereth the whole world, of the same providence which dispenseth and governeth all, of the ministeriall powers subordinate over all, sundry honors and appellations according to the diversity of lawes have beene appointed. And the priests and religious, professed in such ceremonies, use mysteries and sacraments, some obscure, others more plaine and evident, to traine our understanding to the knowledge of the Deity: howbeit, not without perill and danger; for that some missing the right way, are fallen into superstition; and others avoiding superstition as it were a bogge or quagmire, have run before they could take heed, upon the rocke of impiety. And therefore, it behoveth us in this case especially to be inducted by the direction of Philosophy, which may guide us in these holy contemplations, that we may woorthily and religiously thinke of every thing said and done; to the end, that it befall not unto us as unto *Theodoros*, who said, that the doctrine which he rendered and reached out with the right hand, some of his scholars received and tooke with the left; even so, by taking in a wrong sense and otherwise than is meet and convenient; that which the lawes have ordeined touching feasts and sacrifices, we grossly offend. For, that all things ought to have a reference unto reason, a man may see and know by themselves: for celebrating a feast unto *Mercurie* the nineteenth day of the first moneth, they eat hony and figges, saying withall, this Mot, *Sweet is the truth*. As to that Phylactery or preferative, which they saime *Isis* to wear when she is with childe, by interpretation it significth, A true voice. As for *Harpoerates*, we must not imagine him to be some young god, and not come to ripe yeeres, nor yet a man: but that he is the superintendant and reformer of mens language as touching the gods, being yet new, imperfect, and not distinct nor articulate; which is the reason, that he holdeth a scale-ying before his mouth, as a signe and marke of taciturnity and silence. Allo in the moneth *Atefori*, they present unto him certaine kinds of Pushe,

Stiff 3

saying

saying withall, The tongue is Fortune : The tongue is Dæmon. Now of all plants which *Aegypt* bringeth forth, they consecrate the Peach tree unto him especially, because the fruit resembleth an heart, and the leafe a tongue : For of all those things which naturally are in man, there is nothing more divine than the tongue and speech, as touching the gods principally, neither in any thing commeth he neerer unto beatitude : and therefore I advise and require every man who repairth hither and commeth downe to this Oracle, to entertaine holy thoughts in his heart, and to utter seemly words with his tongue, whereas the common sort of people in their publicke feasts and solemne processions doe many ridiculous things, notwithstanding they proclaime and pronounce formally by the voice of the Crier and Bedil in the beginning of such solemnities, to keepe silence or speake none but good words : and yet afterwards they cease not but to give out most blasphemous speeches and to thinke as basely of the gods. How then shall men behave and demean themselves in those heavy and mournfull sacrifices from whence all mirth and laughter is banished : if it be not lawfull either to omit any thing of the accustomed and usuall ceremonies, or to confound and mingle the opinions of the gods with absurd and false suspitions ? The Greeks doe many fablelike things unto the Aegyptians even in manner at the very same time : For at *Athens* in the feast called *Theopropia* to the honor of *Ceres*, the women doe fast, sitting upon the ground : And the Bæotians make a rising and removing of the houses of *Athens*, naming this feast *κρηνη*, that is to say, odious : as if *Ceres* were in heaviness and sorrow for the descent of her daughter *Proserpina* into hell : and this is that moneth wherein the starres called *Pleiades* appeare, and when the husbandmen begin to sow, which the Aegyptians name *Athy*, the Athenians *Panepion*, and the Bæotians *Damatrios*, as one would say *Ceresidis*. And *Theopompus* writeth, that the people inhabiting westward, doe both thinke and also call the Winter *Saturne*, the Summer *Venus*, and the Spring *Proserpina* : and that of *Saturne* and *Venus* all things be engendered. The Phrygians also imagining that God sleepe in Winter, and lieth awake in Summer ; thereupon celebrate in the one season, the feast of lying in bed and sleeping ; in the other of exprorection or waking, and that with much drinking & belly chere. But the Paphlagonians say, that he is bound and kept in ward as a prisoner during Winter, & in the Spring enlarged againe and set at liberty when he beginneth to stir and move. Now the very time giveth us occasion to suspect, that the heavy countenance & austerity which they shew, is because the fruits of the earth be the hidden : which fruits our ancients in times past never thought to be gods, but the profitable and necessary gifts of the gods, availing much to live civilly, and not after a savage and beastly manner. But at what time of the yeere as they saw the fruits from the trees to fall and faile at once ; and those which themselves had sown, with much ado, by little and little opening and cleaving the earth with their owne hands and fo covering and hilling the same, without any assured hope what would betide thereupon, and whether the same would come to any prooffe and perfection or no, they did many things like unto those that commit dead bodies to the earth, and mourne therefore. Moreover, like as we say, that he who buieth the bookes of *Plato*, buieth *Plato* : and who is the actor of *Menedrius* comedies, is said to act and play *Menedrius* : Semblably they did not spare and forbore to give the names of the celestiall gods unto their gifts and inventions, honouring the same with all reverence, for the use and need they had of them. But they who come after taking this grossely and foolishly, and upon ignorance unskillfully returning upon the gods the accidents of their fruits ; not onely called their presence and fruition, the nativity of the gods ; and their absence or want of them, the death and departure of the gods ; but also beleev'd so much and were perswaded fully so : In such wise, as they have filled themselves with many absurd, leand and confused opinions of the said gods. And yet verily, the error and absurdity of their opinions they had evidently before their eyes presented by *Xenophanes* the Colophonian, or other Philosphers after him, who admonished the Aegyptians, that if they reputed them gods, they should not lament for them : and if they mourned, they should not take them for gods : as also that it was a ridiculous mockery, in their lamentations to pray unto them for to produce new fruits and bring them unto perfection for them, to the end that they might be consumed againe, & lamented for. But the case stands not so for they bewaile the fruits that are gone and spent, but they pray unto the gods the authors and givers thereof, that they would vouchsafe to bestow upon them new, and make them grow in supply of those which were perished & lost. Right well therefore was it said of the Philosphers, that those who have not learned to heare and take words aright, receive also and use the things themselves amisse

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as for example, the Greeks who were not taught nor accustomed to call the statues of brasie and stone or painted images, the statues and images made to the honor of the gods, but the gods themselves : and afterwards were so bolde, as to say, that *Lachares* depolled and stripped *Minerva* out of her clothes, and that *Dionysius* the tyrant polled *Apollo* who had a perreuke or bush of golden haire ; also that *Jupiter Capitolinus* during the civill warres was burnt and consumed with fire. And thus they see not, how in so doing they draw & admit false and erroneous opinions which follow upon such manner of speeches. And herein the Aegyptians of all other nations, have faulted most, about the beasts which they honor & worship. For the Greeks verily in this point both beleve and also speake well, saying that the dove is a bird sacred unto *Venus*, the dragon to *Minerva*, the raven or crow to *Apollo*, and the dog to *Diana*, according to that which *Euripides* said ;

The goddesse Diana shining by night,

In a dogs portraict will take much delight.

But the Aegyptians, at least wise the common sort of them, worshipping and honoring these very beasts as if they were gods themselves, have not onely plectered with laughter and ridiculous mockery their Leiturgie and divine service, (for ignorance and folly in this case is the least sinne of all others) but also there is crept into the midst of men a strong opinion, which hath so farre possessed the simple and weaker sort, as that it bringeth them to mere superstition. And as for such as be of more quicke and witty capacity, and who besides are more audacious, those it driveth headlong into beastly cogitations and Arthificall discourses : And therefore I hold it not amisse, cursorily and by the way to annexe hereto such things as carry some probability and likelihood with them. For to say, that the gods for feare of *Typhon* were turned into these creatures, as if they thought to hide themselves within the bodies of the blacke flookes called *Abides*, of dogges and haukes, passeth all the monstrous wonder and fictions of tales that can be devised. Likewise to hold, that the foules of those who are departed, so many as remaine still in being, are regenerate againe only in the bodies of these beasts, is as absurd and incredible as the other. And as for those who will seeme to render a civill and politicke reason heretofore some give out that *Osiris* in a great expedition or voiage of his, having divided his armie into many parts (such as in Greeke are called *καρα* and *δυναι*, that is to say, bands and companies) he gave unto every of them for their severall ensignes the portraictures and images of beasts : and each band afterwards honored their owne & had in reverence as some holy and sacred thing. Others affirme, that the kings who succeeded after *Osiris*, for to testify their enmities went forth to battell, carrying before them, the heads of such beasts made in gold and silver, upon their armes. Some there be againe, who alledge, that there was one of these their subtle and fine-headed kings, who knowing that the Aegyptians of their owne nature were lightly disposed, ready to revolt and given to change and innovations, also that by reason of their great multitude, their power was hardly to be restrained and in manner invincible, in case they joined together in counsell and drew jointly in one common line, therefore he sowed among them a perpetuall superstition, which gave occasion of diffention and enmity among them that never could be appeald : For when he had given commandement unto them, for to have in reverence those beasts which naturally disagreed and warred together, even such as were ready to eat and devour one another, whiles every one endeavored alwaies to succor and maintaine their owne, and were moved to anger if any wrong or displeasure were done to those which they affected ; they fell together themselves by the eares ere they were aware and killed one another, for the enmity and quarell which was betweene those beasts whom they adored, and so fostered mutual and mortal hatred. For even at this day, of all the Aegyptians the *Lycopolitans* onely, eat mutton, because the wolfe whom they adore as a god is enemy unto sheepe. And verily in this our age, the *Oxyrinchites*, because the **Cynopolites*, that is to say, the inhabitants of the city **Cynopolis*, who wor-
eat the fish named *Oxyrinchos*, that is to say, with the sharpe becke, whensoever they can entrap ship the dog,
do catch adogge, make no more ado but kill him for a sacrifice and eat him when they have done. Upon which occasion having levied warre one against the other, and done much mischief reciprocally, after they had beene well chastised and plagued by the Romans, they grew to attonement and composition. And for as much as many of them doe say, that the foule of *Typhon*, departed into these beasts, it seemeth that this fiction importeth thus much, that every brutish and beastly nature, commeth and proceedeth from some evill demon, and therefore to pacifie him that he doe no mischief, they worship and adore these beasts. And if peradventure

there

ture there happen any great drowght or contagious heat which causeth pestilent maladies or other unusual and extraordinary calamities, the priests bring forth some of those beasts which they serve and honor in the darke night, without any noise in great silence, menasing them at the first and putting them in fright. Now if the plague or calamity continue still, they kill and sacrifice them, thinking this to be a punishment and chastisement of the said evil demon, or else some great expiation for notable finnes and transgressions. For in the city verily of *Lithya*, as *Manethos* maketh report, the manner is to burne men alive, whom they called *Typhonij*: whose ashes when they had boulded through a tamise, they scattered abroad, untill they were reduced to nothing: But this was done openly at a certaine time in those daies which are called *Cynades* or *Canicular*. Many the immolation of these beasts, which they accounted sacred, was performed secretly and not at a certaine time or upon prefixed daies, but according to the occurrences of those accidents which happened. And therefore the common people neither knew nor saw ought, but when they solemnize their obsequies and funerals for them, in the presence of all the people they shew some of the other beasts and throw them together into the sepulcher, supposing thereby to vex and gall *Typhon*, and to repress the joy that he hath in doing mischief. For it seemeth that *Apsu* with some other few beasts was consecrated to *Osiris*: howsoever they attribute many more unto him. And if this be true, I suppose it importeth that which we seele and search all this while, as touching those which are confessed by all, and have common honors; as the foresaid storke *Ibis*, the hauke and the *Babian* or *Cyncecephalus*, yea and *Apsu* himselfe, for so they call the goat in the city *Mendes*. Now their remaineth the utility and symbolization hereof: considering that some participate of the one, but the most part of both. For as touching the goat, the sheepe and the *Ichneumon*, certaine it is, they honor them for the use and profit they receive by them: like as the inhabitants of *Leunos* honor the birds called *Corydali*, because they finde out the locusts nests and quash their eggs. The *Thessalians* also have the storke in great account, because whereas their country is given to breed a number of serpents, the said storke when they come, kill them up all. By reason whereof they made an edict, with an intimation, that whosoever killed a storke should be banished his country. The serpent *Apsu* also, the wezill and the fie called the bettill, they reverence, because they observe in them I wot not what little slender images (like as in drops of water we perceive the resemblance of the Sunne) of the divine power. For many there be even yet, who both thinke and say, that the male wezill engendreth with the female by her care, and that the bringeth forth her young at the mouth: which symbolizeth as they say, and representeth the making and generation of speech. As for the beetils, they hold, that throughout all their kinde there is no female, but all the males doe blow or cast their seed into a certaine globus or round matter in forme of bals which they drive from them and roll to and fro contrary waies, like as the Sunne, when he moveth himselfe from the west to the east, seemeth to turne about the heaven cleane contrary. The *Apsu* also they compare to the planet of the Sunne, because he doth never age and wax old, but moveth in all facility, readinesse and celerity without the meanes of any instruments of motion. Neither is the crocodile set so much by among them; without some probable cause: For they say that in some respect he is the very image representing god: as being the onely creature in the world which hath no tongue: for as much as divine speech needeth neither voice nor tongue:

*But through the path of justice walks
with still and silent pace:
Directing right all mortal things,
in their due time and place.*

And of all beasts living within the water, the crocodile onely (as men say) hath over his eyes a certaine thinne filme or transparent webbe to cover them, which cometh downe from his forehead in such sort, as that he can see and not be seene: wherein he is conformable and like unto the sovereignty of all the gods. Moreover looke in what place the female is discharged of her spawne, there is the utmost marke and limit of the rising and inundation of *Nylus*: for being not able to lay their eggs in the water, and afraid withall to sit far off, they have a most perfect and exquisite foresight of that which will be; inasmuch as they make use of the rivers approach when they lay: and whilst they sit and cove, their eggs be preserved drie, and are never drenched with the water. A hundred eggs they lay, in so many daies they hatch, and as many yeeres live they, which are longest lived: And this is the first and principall number

that they use who treat of celestiall matters. Moreover, as touching those beasts which are honored for both causes, we have spoken before of the dogge: but the *Ibu* or blacke storke, besides that it killeth those serpents whose pricke and sting is deadly, she was the first that taught us the use of that evacuation or cleansing the body by clistere, which is so ordinarie in Physicke: for perceived she is to purge, cleanse, and mundifie her selfe in that sort: whereupon the most religious priests, and those who are of greatest experience, when they would be purified, take for their holy water to sprinkle themselves with, the very same out of which the *Ibu* drinketh, for the never drinks of empoisoned and infected water, neither will she come neere unto it. Moreover, with her two legges standing at large one from the other, and her bill together, she maketh an absolute triangle with three even sides, besides the varietie and speckled mixture of her plume, consisting of white feathers and blacke, representeth the Moone when she is past the full. Now we must not marvell at the Egyptians, for pleasing and contenting themselves in such slight representations and similitudes, for even the Greeks themselves as well in their pictures as other images of the gods, melted and wrought to any mould, used many times such resemblances: for one statue in *Creta* they had of *Jupiter* without eares, because it is not meant for him who is lord & governour of all, so have any instruction by the hearing of others. unto the image of *Pallas*, *Phidias* the Imager set a dragon; like as to that of *Venus* in the city of *Elys* a *Tortoise*: giving us by this to understand, that maidens had need of guidance and good custodie, and that married woman ought to keepe the house and be silent. The three-forked mace of *Neptune*, signifieth the third place, which the sea and element of water holdeth, under heaven and aire; for which cause they called the sea *Amphitrite*, and the petie sea gods *Tritons*. Also the Pythagoreans have highly honored the numbers and figures Geometrical, by the gods names: for the triangle with three equal sides, they called *Pallas*, borne out of *Jupiter*'s braine, and *Triangena*, for that it is equally divided with three right lines, from three angles drawn by the plumb. One or unitie they named *Apollo*,
As well for his persuasive grace;
as plaine simplicitie;
That doeth appeere in your full face,
and this is unitie.

Two, they termed *Contention* and *Boldnesse*: and three *Justice*. For whereas to offend and be offended, to doe and to suffer wrong, come the one by excesse, and the other by defect, just remaineth equally betwene in the middes. That famous quaternarie of theirs, named *Tetractys*, which consisteth of foure nines, and amounteth to thirtie fixe, was their greatest oth, so rise in every mans mouth, & they called it the *World*, as being accomplished of the first foure even numbers, and the first foure odde, compounded into one together. If then the most excellent and best renowned Philosophers, perceiving in things which have neither body nor soule, some type and figure of deitie, have not thought it good to neglect or despise any thing herein, or passe it over without due honour, I suppose we ought much lesse so to doe in those properties and qualities which are in natures sensitive, having life, and being capable of passions and affections, according to their inclinations and conditions. And therefore we must not content our selves and rest in the worshipping of these and such like beasts, but by them adore the divinitie that shineth in them, as in most cleere and bright mirrors, according to nature, reputed them alwaies as the instrument and artificial workmanship of God, who ruleth and governeth the universall world: neither ought we to thinke, that any thing void of life, and destitute of sense, can be more woorthy or excellent than that which is endued with life and senses; no not although a man hung never so much gold or a number of rich emerauds about it: for it is neither colours nor figures, nor polished bodies, that deitie doth inhabit in: but whatsoever doeth not participate life, nor is by nature capable thereof, is of a more base and abject condition than the very dead. But that nature which liveth and seeth, which also in it selfe hath the beginning of motion and knowledge of that which is proper and meet, as also of that which is strange unto it, the same (I say) hath drawn some influence and portion of that wise providence, whereby the universall world is governed, as *Heraclitus* saith. And therefore the deitie is no lesse represented in such natures, than in works made of brasse and stone, which are likewise subject to corruption and alteration, but over and besides, they are naturally void of all sense and understanding. Thus much of that opinion, as touching the worship of beasts, which I approve for best.

Moreover

Moreover the habilliments of *Isis* be of different tinctures and colours: for her whole power consisteth and is employed in matter which receiveth all formes, and becometh all manner of things, to wit, light, darknesse, day, night, fire, water, life, death, beginning and end. But the robes of *Osiris*, have neither shade nor varietie, but are of one simple colour, even that which is lightsome and bright. For the first & primitive cause is simple; the principle or beginning, is without all mixture, as being spiritual & intelligible. Whereupon it is that they make shew but once for all of his habilliments, which when they have done they lay them up againe and bestow them safe and keepe them so straightly, that no man may see or handle them: whereas contrariwise they use those of *Isis* many times: For that sensible things be in use, and seeing they are ready and ever in hand, and be subject evermore to alternative alterations, therefore they be laid abroad and displayed, for to be seene often. But the intelligence of that which is spirituall and intellectuall, pure, simple, and holy, shining as a flash of lightning, offereth it selfe unto the soule but once, for to be touched and seene. And therefore *Plato* and *Aristotle* call this part of Philosophie *Emptie*, for that those who discourse of reason, have passed beyond all matters subject to mingled & variable opinions, leape at length to the contemplation of this first principle, which is simple, and not materiall: and after they have in some sort attained to the pure and sincere truth of it, they suppose that their Philosophy as now accomplished is come to finall perfection. And that which the priests in these daies are very precise and wary to shew, keeping it hidden and secret with great care and diligence, allowing nor so much as a sight thereof secretly & by the way: also that this god reigneth & ruleth over the dead, and is no other 20 than he whom the Greeks name *Hades* and *Pluto*: the common people not understanding how this is true, are much troubled; thinking it very strange that the holy & sacred *Osiris* should dwell within or under the earth, where their bodies lie who are thought to be come unto their finall end. But he verily is most farre removed from the earth, without staine or pollution, pure and void of all substance or nature, that may admit death or any corruption whatsoever. Howbeit the foules of men, so long as they be heere beneath clad within bodies and passions, can have no participation of God, unless it be to much onely as they may attaine unto the intelligence of, by the study of Philosophy, and the same is but in manner of a darke dreame. But when they shall be delivered from these bonds, and passe into this holy place, where there is no passion, nor passible forme: then, the same god is their conductour and king: then they cleave 30 unto him, as much as possible they can: him they contemplate and behold without fatietie: desiring that beautie, which it is not possible for men to utter and expresse: whereof according to the old tales, *Isis* was alwaies enamoured: and having pursued after it untill she enjoined the same, she afterwards became replenished with all goodnesse and beautie that there may be engendered. And thus much may suffice for that sense and interpretation which is most beleeving the gods. Now if we must besides speake as I promised before, of the incense and odors which are burnt every day: let a man consider first in his minde and take this with him, that the Aegyptians were men evermore most studious in those matters which made for the health of their bodies, but principally in this regard, they had in recommendation those that concerned the ceremonies of divine service in their sanctifications and in their ordinary life, and conversation; 40 wherein they have no lesse regard unto holiness than to holiness: For they thinke it neither lawfull nor becomming to serve that essence which is altogether pure, every way found and unpolluted, either with bodies or soules corrupt with inward forces and subject to secret maladies. Seeing then, that the aire, which we most commonly use, and within which we alwaies converse, is not evermore alike disposed nor in the same temperature: but in the night is thickened and made grosse, whereby it compresseth and draweth the body into a kind of ladsnesse and pensiveness, as if it were overcast with darke mists and waighed downe: so soone as ever they be up in a morning, they burne incense by kindling *Rosin*, for to cleanse and purifie the aire by this rarefaction and subtilization, awaking as it were and raising by this means, the inbred spirits of our bodies which were languishing and drowne: for that in this odor there is a forcible 50 vertue which vehemently striketh upon the senses. Again, about noone, perceiving that the Sunne draweth forcibly out of the earth by his heat, great quantity of strong vapours, which be intermingled with the aire, then they burne myrrh: For the heat of this aromaticall gum and odor is such, as that it dissipeth & dispatcheth whatsoever is grosse, thicke and muddy in the aire. And verily in the time of pestilence Physicians thinke to remedy the same by making great fires, being of this opinion, that the flame doth subtiliate and rarefie the aire: which

which it effecteth no doubt the better in case they burne sweet wood, as of the Cypresse trees, of Junepere, or * Pitch tree. And heereupon reported it is that the Physician *Aetion*, when there reigned a grievous plague at *Athen*, was a great name and reputation, by causing good fires to be made about the sicke persons: For he saved many by that means. And *Aristotle* writeth that the sweet scents and good smells of perfumes, ointments, flowers and fragrant meadows, serve no lesse for health than for delight and pleasure. For that by their heat and mildnesse they easily dissolve and open the substance of the braine, which naturally is cold and as it were congealed. Again, if it be so that the Aegyptians call myrrh, in their language *Bal*, which if a man interpret signifieth as much as the dissolving and chasing away of idle talke and ravings 10 this also may serve for a testimonie to confirme that which we say. As for that composition among them named *Cyphi*, it is a confection or mixture receiving fixteene ingredients. For there enter into it, hony, wine, raisins, cyperous, rosin myrrh, aspalathus & fesceli. Moreover, the sweet rush *Schenos*, Bitumen, Mosse, and the docke: Besides two sorts of the juniper berries, the greater & the lesse, Cardamomum and Calamus. All these speeches are compounded together not at a venture and as it cometh into their heads: but there be read certaine sacred writings unto the Apothecaries and Perfumers, all the while that they mix them. As for this number; although it be quadrate, and made of a square, and onely of the numbers equal, maketh the space contained within equal to his circumference, we are not to thinke that this is any way materiall to the vertue thereof: but most of the simples that goe to this composition being 20 aromaticall, cast a pleasant breath from them and yeeld a delectable and holisome vapour, by which the aire is altered: and withall, the body being moved with this evaporation, is gently prepared to repose; and taketh an attractive temperature of sleepe, in letting slacke and unbinding the bonds of cares, wearinesse and sorrows incident in the day time, and that without the helpe of surfer and drunkenesse: polishing and smoothing the imaginative part of the braine which receiveth dreames in manner of a mirror, causing the same to be pure and neat, as much or rather more, than the sound of harpe, lute, viole, or any other instruments of musike; which the Pythagoreans used for to procure sleepe, enchanting by that device, and dulcing the unreasonable part of the soule which is subject to passions. For sweet odors, as they doe many times excite and stirre up the sense when it is dull and beginneth to faile: so contrariwise they make 30 the same as often drowne and heavy, yea and bring it to quietnesse, whilst those aromaticall smells by reason of their smoothnesse are spread and diffused in the bodie: According as some Physicians say, that sleepe is engendered in us, when the vapour of the food which we have received, creepeth gently along the noble parts and principall bowels, and as it toucheth them, causeth a kinde of tickling which letteth them asleepe. This *Cyphi* they use in drinke, as a composition to season their cups and as an ointment besides: for they hold, that being taken in drinke, it scowreth the guttes within and maketh the belly laxative: and being applied outwardly as a liniment, it mollifieth the bodie. Over and above all this, *Rosin* is the worke of the Sunne: but Myrrh they gather by the Moone light, out of those plants from which it doth distill: But of those simples whereof *Cyphi* is compounded, some there be which love the night better, as many I meane as be nourished by cold winds, shadows, dewes, and moisture. For the brightness and light of the day is one and simple: and *Pindarus* saith that the Sunne is seene 40 through the pure and solitarie aire: whereas the aire of the night is a compound and mixture of many lights and powers, as if there were a confluence of many seeds from every starre running into one. By good right therefore they burne these simple perfumes in the day as those which are engendered by the vertue of the Sunne: but this being mingled of all sorts and of divers qualities, they set on fire about the evening, and beginning of the night.





OF THE ORACLES THAT HAVE CEASED TO GIVE ANSWERE.

The Summarie.



The spirit of error hath encouraged adivies and assisted the best he can, to maintaine his power and dominion in the world, having after the revolt, and fall of Adam bene furnished with instruments of all sorts to tyrannize over his slaves: in which number we are to range the oracles and predictions of certaine daies or times in many places by his instigation; by means whereof this sworne enemy to the glory of the true God, hath much prevailed. But when it pleased our heavenly father to give us his sonne for to be our Saviour, who descending from heaven to earth, took upon him our humane nature, whereby he sustained the paine and punishment due for our finnes, to deliver us out of hell, and by vertue of his merits, to give us entrance into the kingdome of heaven, the truth of his grace being published and made known in the world by the preaching of the Apostles and their faithfull successors; the Diuell and his angels, who had in many parts and places of the world abused and deceived poore idolaters, were forced to acknowledge their Sovereigne, and to keepe silence, and suffer him to speake unto those whom he meant to call unto salvation, or els to make them unexcusable, if they refused to heare his voice. This cessation of the Oracles put the priests and sacrificers of the heathens to great trouble and wonderfull perplexitie, in the time of the Romane Emperours: whiles some imputed the cause to this, others to that. But our author in this Treatise discouers upon this question, shewing thereby, how great and lamentable is the blindness of mans reason and wisdom, when it thinketh to attaine unto the secrets of God. For all the speeches of the Philosophers, whom he bringeth in here as interlocutors, are mere tales and fables devised for the nonce, which every Christian man of any meane judgement will at the first sight condemne. Yet thus much good there is in this discourse, that the Epicureans are here taxed and condemned in sundry passages. As touching the contents of this conference, the occasion thereof ariseth from the speech of Demetrius and Cleombrotus, who were come unto the Temple of Apollo: for the one of them having rehearsed a wonder as touching the Temple of Jupitcr Ammon, moveth thereby a further desire of disputation: but before they enter into it, they continue still the former speech, of the course and motion of the Sunne. Afterwards, they come to the maine point, namely, Why all the Oracles of Greece (excepting that onely of Lebadaia) ceased? To which demand, Planetiades a Cynique Philosopher answereth, That the wickednesse of men is the cause thereof. Ammonius contrariwise attributeth all unto the warres which had consumed the Pilgrims that used to resort unto the said Oracles. Laoptius propoeth one opinion, and Cleombrotus inferring another of his, fall into a discourse in a common place as touching Demons, whom he verily raungeth betwene gods and men, disputing of their nature, according to the Philosophie of the Greeks: Then he prooveth, that these Demons have the charge of Oracles, but by reason that they departed out of one countrey into another, or died, these Oracles gave over. To this purpose he telleth a notable tale as touching the death of the great Pan, concluding thus, that seeing Demons be mortall, we ought not to wonder at the cessation of Oracles. After this, Ammonius confuteh the Epicureans, who holde, That there be no Demons. And upon the confirmation of the former positions, they enter together into the examination of the opinions of the Epicureans and Platonists, concerning the number of the worlds, to wit, whether they be many or infinit? growing to this resolution after long dispute, that there be many, and namely, to the number of five. Which done, Demetrius reviving the principall question, moveth also a new one, Why the Demons have this power to speake by Oracles? Unto which there be many and divers answers made, which determine all in one Treatise according to the Platonists Philosophie, of the principall, effeient and finall cause, of those things that are effected by reason, and particularly of divinations and predictions:

predictions: for which, he maketh to concurre, the Earth, the Sunne, Exhalations, Demons, and the Soule of man. Now all the intention and drift of Plutarch groweth to this point, that the earth being incited and moved by a naturall vertue, and that which is proper unto it, and in no wise divine and praiseworthy, hath brought forth certaine powers of divination: that these inspirations breathing and arising out of the earth, have touched the understandings of men with such efficacy, as that they have caused them to foresee future things as farre off and long ere they hapned; yea, and have addeffed and framed them to give answers both in verse and prose. Item, that like as there be certaine grounds and lands more fertile one than the other, or producing some particular things according to the divers and peculiar proprietie of eeb: there be also certaine places and tracts of the world endued with this temperature, which both ingender and also incite these Enthusiasticke and divining spirits. Furthermore, that this puissance is meer divine indeed; howbeit, nor per seuerall eternall immovable, nor that which is for ever perdurable: but by proceffe and succession of time, doth diminish and decay by little and little, untill at length through age it consume to nothing. Semblably, that this great number of spirits are not engendered incessantly, neither proceed they forward or retire booke continually; but this vertue of the earth moveth of its selfe in certaine revolutions, and by that means is encheafed and puffed up: and after that in time it hath gathered abundance of new vapours, it filleth the caves and holes so full untill they discharge & send them up againe. Whereupon if commeth to passe, that the exhalations stored in the said caves, and desirous to issue forth, after that they have bene beaten backe againe, violently assault the foundations, and stirre the temples built upon them, in such sort as being shaken as it were by earthquakes, move or lisse in one place than another, according to the overtures and passages made for the exhalation, they finde issue through the streights, brake forth with forcible violence, and so produce these Oracles. In summe, the intention and minde of Plutarch is to prove, that the beginning, proceffe and end of these Oracles proceed all from naturall causes, to wit, the exhalations of the earth. Wherein he is fully and greatly deceived, considering that such Oracles in Greece have bene inspired by the diuell, who hath kept an open shop there of imposture, deceit, and the most horrible seducements: that can be devised. For mine owne part, I impute this whole discourse of Plutarch unto the ignorance of the true God, the very mother of this disguise, which bringeth forth this present treatise, saved by the Pagans, for to darken the resplendent light of that great King of the world and his truth: which hath disveiled and brought to nothing all the subtill devices of Satan, who triumphed over all Greece by the means of his Oracles. Thus after large discourses upon these matters, Plutarch concludeh the whole disputation: the conclusion whereof he enricheh with an accident that befell unto the Prophetesse of Delphi: where a man may evidently see the imposture and fraud of diuels and of malicious spirits (and those be the Demons which Plutarch would designe) and their horrible tyranny over men destitute of Gods grace.

OF THE ORACLES THAT have ceased to give answers.



Here goeth a tale, my friend Terentius Prius, that in times past certaine Eagles, or els Swannes, flying from the utmost ends of the earth opposit one unto the other, toward the mids thereof encountered & met together at the very place where the temple of Apollo Pythius was built, even that which is called Omphalos; that is to say, the Navill. And that afterwards, Epimenides the Phaeitian being desirous to know whether this fable was true, sought unto the Oracle for to be resolved: but having received from the god a doubtfull and uncerteine answer; by reason thereof, made these verses:

Now sure in mids of land or sea,
there is no Navill such;
Or if there be, the gods it know:
men must not see so much.

And verily the god Apollo chastised and punished him well enough, for being so curious as to search into the triall or proove of an olde received tale, as if it had bene some antique picture. But true it is, that in our daies, a little before the solemnity of the Pythique games, which were

Tccc

held

* There is to
by England.

held during the magistracy of *Callistratus*, there were two devout & holy personages, who coming from the contrary ends of the earth, met together in the city of *Delphi*: the one was *Demetrius* the Grammarian, who came from as far as * *Britaine*, minding to returne unto *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, the city of his nativity; and the other, *Cleombrotus* the Lacedæmonian, who had travelled and wandered long time in *Aegypt* within the Troglodytique province, and failed a good way up into the Red sea, not for any traffique or negotiation of merchandise, but only as a traveller that desired to see the world and to learne new fashions abroad. For having wherewith sufficiently to mainteine himselfe, and not caring to gather more than might serve his owne turne, he employed that time which he had, this waies, and gathered together a certaine history, as the subject, matter and ground of that Philofophy, which propofed for the end thereof (as he himselfe said) Theologie. This man having not long before bene at the temple and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, made semblance as if he wondered not much at any thing that he saw there; only he reported unto us a strange thing, worth the observation, and better to be considered of, which he learned of the Priests there, as touching the burning lampe that never goeth out: for by their saying, every yeere it spendeth lesse oyle than other. Whereby they gather certainly (quoth he) the inequality of the yeeres, whereby the later is evermore shorter than the former: for great probability there is, that seeing lesse oyle is consumed, the time also is in proportion so much lesse. Now when all the company there present made a wonder heereat, *Demetrius* among the rest made a very jest of it, and said it was a mere mockery to search into the knowledge of matters so high, by such flight and small presumptions: for this was not, as *Aleam* 20 said, to paint a lion by measure of his claw or paw, but to move and alter heaven, and earth, and all the world, by the conjecture only of a weike and lampe; yea, and to overthrow at once all the Mathematicall sciences. It is neither so nor so, good sir, quoth *Cleombrotus*; for neither the one nor the other will trouble these men. For first, they will never yeeld and give place unto the Mathematicians in the certitude of their proofs; for sooner may the Mathematicians misreckon the time, and misse in their calculation and accounts, in such long motions and revolutions so farre remote and distant, than they faile in the measure of the oyle which they observe continually and make most precisely, in regard of that which they see so strange and against all discourse of reason. Again, not to grant and allow (o *Demetrius*) that petie things may many times serve for signes and arguments of great and important matters, would hinder and prejudice many artes, considering that it is as much as to take away the proofs from many demonstrations, conclusions and predictions. And verily, even you that are Grammarians, will seeme to verifie and avow one point which is not of the least consequence: namely, that those heroique princes and Worthies, who were at the Trojane warre, used to shave their haire, and keepe their skin smooth with the rasour; because forsooth in reading of *Homer* you meet with some place where he maketh mention barely of the rasour. Semblably, that in those daies men used to put forth their money upon usury, for that in one passage the said Poet writeth thus:

Where as my debt is neither new nor small:

But as daies come and goe, it grows withall.

Meaning by the verbe *grows*, that his debt did grow unto him by the interest for use. Further, 40 more, because ever and anon the same *Homer* attributeth unto the night, the epithet *dark*, which significeth Quicke and sharpe; you Grammarians are much affected to this word, saying: He understandeth thereby, that the shadow of the earth being round, groweth point-wise or sharp at the end, in manner of a cone or pyramid. And what is he, who standing upon this point, that small things may not be the proofes and signes of greater matters; will approve this argument in Physicke: namely, that when there is a multitude of spiders scene, it doeth prognosticate a pestilent Summer: or in the Spring season, when the leaves of the olive tree resemble the crows feet? Who (I say) will ever abide to take the measure of the Sunnes body, by clepsidres or water-dials, with a gallon or pinte of water? or that a tyle-formed tablet, making a sharpe angle by the plumb, enclining upon a plaine superficies, should shew the just measure of the elevation of pole from the Horizon, which alwaies is to be scene in our Hemisphere? Lo, what the priests and prophets in those parts may alledge and say. And therefore we ought to produce some other reasons against them, in case we would mainteine the course of the Sunne to be constant and unvariable, as we hold here in these countries. And not of the Sunne onely, (cried out with a loud voice *Ammonius* the Philosopher, who was then in place) but also of the whole heaven, which by this reckoning cometh in question. For if it be granted, that the yeeres

yeeres decrease: the race of the Sunne which he runneth betweene the one Tropique and the other, must of necessity be cut shorter, and that it taketh not up so great a part of the Horizon, as the Mathematicians set downe; but that it becometh shorter, and lesse according as the Southern or Meridionall parts be contracted, and gather alwaies toward the Septentrionall and Northerne. Whereupon it will ensue that our Summer will be shorter, and the temperature of the aire by consequence colder; by reason that the Sunne turneth more inwardly, and describeth greater parallels, or equidistant circles, than those be about the Tropicks, at the longest and shortest daies of the yeere. Moreover, this would follow hereupon, that the Gnomons in the dials at *Syene* in *Aegypt*, will be no more shadowlesse at the Summer Tropike 10 or Solstice: and many of the fixed starrs will runne under one another; some also of them will be forced for want of roome to runne one upon another, and be huddled pell-mell together. And if they shall say, that when other starrs hold their owne, and keepe their ordinary courses, the Sunne onely observeth no order in his motions, they cannot alledge any cause that should so much as hasten his motion alone among so many others as there be, but they shall trouble and disquiet most of those things which are scene evidently above: and namely, those generally which happen unto the Moone in regard of the Sunne. So that we shall have no need of those, who observe the measures of oyle, for to proove the diversitie of the yeeres; because the eclipses both of the Moone and Sun will sufficiently shew if there be any at all, for that the Sun shall many times meet with the Moone, and the Moone reciprocally fall as often within 20 the shadow of the earth: so as we shall need no more to display and discover the vanity and falsitie of this reason. Yea, but I my selfe (quoth *Cleombrotus*) have scene the said measure of oyle, for they shewed many of them unto me; and that of this present yeere when I was with them, appeared to be much lesse than those in yeeres past. So that *Ammonius* made answer in this wise: And how is it that other men who adore the inextinguible fires, who keepe and preserve the same religiously for the space of an infinit number of yeeres, one after another, could not as well perceive and observe so much? And say that a man should admit this report of yours to be true, as touching the measures of the oyle: were it not much better to ascribe the cause thereof unto some coldnesse or moisture of the aire; or rather contrariwise to some driness and heat, by reason whereof, the fire in the lampe being enfeebled is not able to spend so much nutriment, and therefore hath no need thereof? For I have heard it many times affirmed by some: 30 That in Winter the fire burneth much better, as being more stronger & more joyned, by reason that the hear thereof is drawn in, more united and driven closer by the exterior cold: whereas great heats and droughts doe weaken the strength thereof, so as it becometh faint, loose, and rawe without any great vehemencie and vigour; nay, if a man kinde it against the Sunne, shine, the operation of it is lesse, hardly catcheth it hold of the wood or fawell, and more slowly consumeth it the same. But most of all, a man may lay the cause upon the oyle it selfe; for it goeth notwithstanding reason to say, that in old time the oyle was of lesse nutriment, and stood more upon the watrish substance than now it doth, as pressed out of olives which grew upon young trees: but afterwards being better concocted, and riper in the fruit, coming of plants 40 more perfect and fully grown in the same quantity, was more effectuell, and able longer to nourish and mainteine the fire. Thus you see how a man may save and save that supposition of the Ammonian priests, although it seeme very strange and wonderfully extravagant. After that *Ammonius* had finished his speech: Nay rather (quoth I) *Cleombrotus*, I beseech you tell us somewhat of the oracle: for there hath gone a great name, time out of minde of the deity resident there; but now it seemeth that the reputation thereof is cleane gone. And when *Cleombrotus* made no answer hereunto, but held downe his head, and cast his eyes upon the ground: There is no need (quoth *Demetrius*) to demand or make any question of the oracles there, when as we see the oracles in these parts to faile, or rather indeed (all have one or two) brought to nothing. This rather would be enquired into, what the cause should be, that generally they 50 all doe cease? For to what purpose should we speake of others, considering that *Baonia* it selfe, which heretofore in old time refoinded and rung againe with oracles; now is quite void of them, as if the springs and fountaines were dried up, and a great sicckie and drought of oracles had come over the whole land? For there is not at this day, goe throughout all *Baonia* (unless it be onely in *Lebadia*) one place where a man may, would he never be faine, draw any divination, what need soever he hath of any oracle: for all other parts are either mure, or altogether desolate and forlorne. And yet in the time of the Medes warre, the oracle of *Ptois Apollo*

was in great request, and that of *Amphiaras* was in no lesse reputation; for both the one and the other was sought unto. And in that of *Pion Apollo* when the priest or prophet who served in the oracle, used the Aeolian language, and made answer unto those who were sent thither from the Barbarians, inasmuch as none of the assistants understood one word: this Enthusiasm or divine inspiration, covertly gave thereby thus much to understand, that these oracles pertained nothing unto the Barbarians, neither were they permitted to have the ordinary Greeke language at their command. As for that of *Amphiaras*, the servant who was thither sent, falling a sleepe within the sanctuary, thought as he dreamed, that he saw and heard the minister of the god, as if with his word and voice he seemed at the first to drive him out, and command him to depart forth of the temple, saying, that his god was not there; but afterwards to thrust him away with both his hands: but in the end, seeing that he staid still, tooke up a great stone, and therewith smote him upon the head. And verily all this answered just to that which afterwards befell, and was a very prediction and denunciation of a future accident: for *Mardonius* was vanquished not by the king himselfe, but by the Tutor and lieutenant of the king of Lacedaemon, who at that time had the conduct and command of the Grecks armie; yea and with a stone felled to the ground, according as the Lydian servant aforesaid imagined in his sleepe that he was smitten with a stone. There flourished likewise about the same time the Oracle of *Tegyris*, where the report goeth that the god *Apollo* himselfe was borne: and verily two rivers there are that runne neere one to the other, whereof the one some at this day call *Phenix*, that is to say, the date tree; the other *Elaea*, that is to say, the olive tree. At this Oracle, during the time of the Medes warre, when the prophet *Echecrates* there served, god *Apollo* answered by his mouth, that the Grecks should have the honour of the victory in this warre, and continue superior. Also in the time of the Peloponnesiack warre, when the Delians were driven out of their Island, there was brought unto them an answer from the Oracle at *Delphi*; by virtue whereof, commanded they were, to search and seeke out the place where *Apollo* was borne, and there to performe certaine sacrifices; wherat, when they marvelled, and in great perplexity demanded againe, whether *Apollo* were borne any where else, but among them: the prophetesse *Pythia* added moreover & said: That a crow should tell them the place. Whereupon these deputies who were sent unto the Oracle, in their retourne homeward chanced to passe through the city *Cheronea*, where they heard their hostesse in whose house they lodged, talking with some passengers and guests (who were going to *Tegyris*) astouching the Oracle; and when they departed and tooke their leave, they saluted her and bad her farewell in these termes: Adieu dame *Cornice*, for that was the womans name, which signifieth as much as Crow. By this means they understood the meaning of the aforesaid Oracle or answer of *Pythia*: and so when they had sacrificed at *Tegyris*, not long after they were restored and returned into their native countrey. Moreover, there were other apparitions besides of Oracles, more fresh and later, than those which we have alledged; but now they are altogether ceased: so that it were not amisse, considering that we are met neere unto *Apollo Pythia*, for to enquire into the cause of this so great change & alteration. As we thus communed & talked together, we were now by this time gone out of the temple, to farre as to the very gates of the Gnidian hall: and when we were entred into it, we found those friends of ours sitting there within, whom we desired to meet withall, and who attended our coming. Now when all the rest were at leisure, and had nothing else to doe (being at such a time of the day) but either to anoint their bodies, or else looke upon the champions and wrestlers, who there exercised themselves; *Demetrius* after a smiling manner began and said:

What? were I best to tell some lie,

Or make report of truth shall I?

It seemeth as farre as I can perceive, that you have in hand no matter of great consequence: for I saw you sitting at your ease, and it appeareth by your cheerefull and pleasant looks, that you have no busie thoughts hammering in your heads. True it is indeed (quoth *Heraclio* the Megarian) for we are not in serious argument & disputation about the verbe *Caduceus*, whether in the Future tense it should lose one of the two *Lamdaes*; neither reason we about these two comparatives *Zeus* and *Sidon* (that is to say, Worse and better) of what Positives they should come nor of what Primitives these two Superlatives *Zeus* and *Sidon* (that is to say, Worst and best) be derived: For these questions & such like, are those that make men knit and bend their brows: but of all other matters we may reason and Philosophize well enough and quietly, without making

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any furrowes in our foreheads, and looking with an austere and soure countenance for the matter upon the companie present with us. Why then (quoth *Demetrius*) admit and receive us into your societie; and together with us, entertaine the question also, which erewhile was moved among us, being as it is, meet for this place, and in regard of god *Apollo*, pertinent unto us all as many as we be; but I beseech you of all loves, let us have no spurning nor knitting of brows whiles we reason upon the point. Now when we were set intermingled one with another, and that *Demetrius* had propounded the foresaid question, immediately *Diadmus* the Cynique Philosopher, surnamed *Planitades*, started up, and stood upon his feete; and after he had stamped with his staffe twice or thrice upon the floore, cried out in this manner: O God! Come you hither with this question indeed, as if it were a matter too hard to be decided, and had need of some long and deepe inquisition? for a great marvell no doubt it is, if seeing so much sinne and wickednesse is spread over the face of the whole world at this day, not onely shame and just indignation or Nemesis (according as *Hesiodus* prophesied before) have abandoned mans lite; but also the providence of God being dislodged and carrying away with it all the Oracles that be, is cleane departed and gone for ever? But contrariwise I will put forth unto you another matter to be debated of: namely, how it comes to passe, that they have not rather already given over every one? and why *Hercules* is not come againe, or some other of the gods, and hath not long since plucked up and caried away the three-footed table and all, being so full ordinarily of shamefull, vilanous and impious demands, propofed there daily to *Apollo*: whiles some preferre matters unto him as a Sophister, to trie what he can say; others aske him concerning treasure hidden; some againe would be resolved of succession in heritages, and of incestuous and unlawfull marriages? Inasmuch as now *Pythagoras* is manifestly convinced of error and lesing, who said, that men were then best, and excelled in goodnesse, when they presented themselves before the gods: for such things as it would well befeme to hide and conceale in the presence onely of some ancient personage (I meane the foule maladies and passions of the foule) the same they discover and lay abroad naked before *Apollo*. And as he would have gone forward still, and prosecuted this theme, both *Heraclio* plucked him by the cloke, and *Iaso* (who of all the company was most familiar & inward with him) Peace (quoth I) my good friend *Planitades*, and cease to provoke *Apollo* against you: for a cholerick and testie god he is, and not milde and gracious; but according as *Pindarus* said very well:

Most mild he is, and though he misse, To bee

Most kinde to men, and full of lenitie.

And were he either the Sunne, or the lord and father of the Sunne, or a substance beyond all visible natures, it is not like and probable, that he would disdain to speake any more unto men at this day living, of whose generation, nativity, nourishment, being, and understanding, he is the cause and author: neither is it credible, that the divine providence, which is a good, kinde, and tender mother, produceth and preserveth all things for our use, should shew herselfe to be malicious, in this matter onely of divination and prophesie; and upon an old grudge and rancor, to bereave us of that which at first she gave us, as if too sooth even then when Oracles were rife in all parts of the world, there was not in fo sight a multitude of men, the greater number of wicked. And therefore make *Pythick* true (as they say) for the while with vice and wickednesse, which you are ever wont to chaffice and rebuke in all your speeches, and come and sit downe heere by us againe, that together with us you may search out some other cause of this generall eclipse and cessation of Oracles, which now is in question: but withall remembre that you keepe this god *Apollo* propitious, and moove him not to wrath and displeasure.

But these words of mine wrought so with *Planitades*, that without any word replying, out of the dores he went his waies. Now when the company fat still for a prety while in great silence, *Ammonius* at length directing his speech to me: I beseech you (quoth he) *Lamprias*, take better heed unto that which we doe, and looke more neerely into the matter of this our disputation, to the end that we cleere not the god altogether, and make him to be no cause at all that the Oracles doe cease. For he who attributeth this cessation unto any other cause than the will and ordinance of God, giveth us occasion to suspect him also, that he thinketh they never were nor be at this present by his disposition, but rather by some other meanes: for no other cause and puissance there is, more noble, more mighty, or more excellent, which might be able to destroy and abolish divination, if it were the worke of God. And as touching the discourse that *Lamprias* made, it please me never a whit: neither can I approve thereof, as well for

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other

other causes, as for that he admitteth a certaine inequality and inconstance in the god. For one while he maketh him to detest and abhorre vice, and another while to allow and accept thereof: much like unto someking or tyrant rather, who at one gate driveth out wicked persons, and receiving them in at another doth negotiate with them. But seeing it is so, that the greatest worke which can be sufficient in it selfe, nothing superfluous, but fully accomplished every way is most becoming the dignity and majesty of the gods, let this principle be supposed and laied for a ground, and then a man in mine opinion may very well say, that of this generall defect and common fearcy of men, which civill seditions and warres before time have brought generally into the world, *Greece* hath felt the greatest part: inasmuch as at this very day, hardly is all *Greece* able to make three thousand men for the warres, which are no more in number than one city in times past (to wit, *Megara*) set forth and sent to the battell of *Plataea*: and therefore, whereas the god *Apollo* in this our age hath left many oracles, which in ancient time were much frequented, if one should inferre hereupon and say, that this argueth no other thing but that *Greece* is now much depopulate & dispeopled, in comparison of that which it was in old time, I would like well of his invention, and furnish him sufficiently with matter to discourse upon. For what would it boot, and what good would come of it, if there were now an Oracle at *Tegyra* as sometime there was, or about *Pionia*? whereas all the day long a man shall peradventure meet with one, and that is all, keeping and feeding cattell there. And verily it is found written in histories, that this very place of the Oracle where now we are, which of all others in *Greece* is for antiquity right ancient, and for reputation most noble and renowned, was in times past for a great while desert and unfrequented; nay unaccessable altogether, in regard of a most venomous and dangerous beast, even a dragon which haunted it. But those who write this, doe not collect hereupon the cessation of the Oracle aright, but argue cleane contrary: for it was the solitude and infrequency of the place that brought the dragon thither, rather than the dragon that caused the said desert solitariness. But afterwards when it pleased God, that *Greece* was fortified againe and replenished with many cities, and this place well peopled and frequented, they used two Prophetesses, who one after the other in their course descended into the cave and there sat; yea and a third there was besides chosen, as a suffragane or assistant to sit by them and helpe if need were: but now there is but one Prophetesse in all, and yet we complain not; for the onely is sufficient for all comers that have any occasion to use the Oracle. And therefore we are in no wise to blame or accuse the god: for that divination and spirit of prophesie which remaineth there at this day, is sufficient for all, and sendeth all suiters away well contented, as having their full dispatch and answer for whatsoever they demand. Like as therefore *Agamemnon* in *Homer* had nine Helots or Criers about him, and yet hardly with them could he containe and keepe in order the assembly of the Greeks being so frequent as then it was; but now within these few daies you shall see here the voice of one man alone able to resound over the whole Theater, and to reach unto all the people their contained: even so, we must thinke, that this divination and spirit of prophesie in those daies used many organs and voices to speake unto the people, being a greater multitude than now there be. And therefore we should on the other side rather wonder, if God would suffer to run in vaine like waste water, this propheticall divination: or to resound againe, like as the desert rocks in the wide fields and mountains ring with the resonance and echoes of heard-mens hollaying, and beasts bellowing. When *Ammonius* had thus said, and I held my peace, *Cleombrotus* addressing his speech unto me: And grant you indeed (quoth he) thus much, that it is the god *Apollo*, who is the author and overthrower also of these Oracles? Not so, answered I, for I maintaine and hold, that God was never the cause of abolishing any Oracle or divination whatsoever: but contrariwise, like as where he produceth and prepareth many other things for one use and behoofe, nature bringeth in the corruption and utter privation of some; or to say more truly, matter being it selfe privation, or subject thereto, avoideth many times and dissolveth that which a more excellent cause hath composed: even so I suppose there be some other causes, which darken and abolish the virtue of divination, considering that God bestoweth upon men many faire & goodly gifts, but nothing perdurable & immortall: in such sort as the very workes of the gods do die, but not themselves, according as *Sophocles* saith. And verily the Philosophers and naturalists, who are well exercised in the knowledge of nature and the primitive matter, ought indeed to search into the substance, property and puillance of Oracles, but to reserve the originall and principall cause for God, as very meet and requisite it is that it should be. For very foolish and childish it is that

the god himselfe, like unto those spirits speaking within the bellies of possessed folkes, such as in old time they called *Eugaitrimithi*, and *Eurycles*, and be now termed *Pythons*, entered into the bodies of Prophets, spake by their mouths, and used their tongues and voices as organs and instruments of speech: for he that thus intermedleth God among the occasions and necessities of men, maketh no spare as he ought of his majesty, neither carieth he that respect as is meet, to the preservation of the dignity and greatness of his power and vertue. Then *Cleombrotus*: You say very well and truly (quoth he:) but for as much as it is a difficult matter to comprise and define in what manner, and how farre forth, and to what point we ought to employ this divine providence: in my conceit, they who are of this minde, that simply God is cause of nothing at all in the world, and they againe, that make him wholly the author of all things, hold not a meane and indifferent course, but both of them misse the very point of decent mediocrity. Certes as they say passing well, who hold that *Plato* having invented and devised that element or subject, upon which grow and be engendered qualities, the which one while is called the primitive matter, and other while nature, delivered Philosophers from many great difficulties: even so me thinks, they who ordained a certaine kind by themselves of *Dæmons* betweene god and men, have afoiled many more doubts and greater ambiguities by finding out that bond and linke (as it were) which joineth us and them together in society: Were it the opinion that came from the ancient Magi and Zoroastres, or rather a Thracian doctrine delivered by *Orpheus*; or els an Aegyptian or Phygian tradition, as we may conjecture by seeing the sacrifices both in the one country and the other: wherein, among other holy and divine ceremonies, it seemeth there were certaine dolefull ceremonies of mourning and sorrow intermingled, favouring of mortality. And verily of the Greeks, *Homer* hath used these two names indifferently, terming the Gods *Dæmons*, and the *Dæmons* likewise Gods. But *Hesiodus* was the first who purely & distinctly hath set downe four kinds of reasonable natures, to wit, the Gods: then the *Dæmons*, and those many in number and all good: the *Heroes* and Men; for the *Demi-gods* are ranged in the number of those Heroicke worthies. But others hold, that there is a transmutation alwell of bodies as soules: and like as we may observe, that of earth is ingendered water, of water aire, and of aire fire, whiles the nature of the substance still mounteth on high: even so the better soules are changed, first from men to *Heroes* or *Demi-gods*, and afterwards from them to *Dæmons*, and of *Dæmons* some few after long time, being well refined and purified by vertue, came to participate the divination of the gods. Yet unto some it befalleth, that being not able to holde and conteine, they suffer themselves to slide and fall into mortall bodies againe, where they lead an obscure and darke life, like unto a smoaky vapour. As for *Hesiodus*, he thinketh verily, that even the *Dæmons* also, after certaine revolutions of time, shall die: for speaking in the person of one of their Nymphs called *Naiades*, covertly and under enigmati-call termes he designeth their time, in this wise:

Nine * ages of men * in their flower, doth live
The * ruling Crew: foure times the Stags surmount
The life of Crowses: so Ravens doth nature give
At threefold age of Stags, by true account:
One Phoenix lives as long as Ravens nine:
But you faire Nymphs, as the daughter verily
Of mighty Jove and of nature divine,
The Phoenix yeeres ten fold do multiply.

But they that understand not well, what the Poet meaneth by this word *ages*, make the totall sum of this time to amount unto an exceeding great number of yeeres. For in truth it is but one yeere and no more. And so by that reckning, the whole ariseth in all to nine thousand and seven hundred and twenty yeeres just; which is the very life of the *Dæmons*. And many Mathematicians there be, by whose computation it is lesse. But more than so *Pindarus* would not have it, so when he saith, that the Nymphs age is limited equal to trees; whereupon they be named *Hymadryades*, as one would say, living and dying with Oakes. As he was about to say more, *Demetrius* interrupted his speech, and taking the words out of his mouth: How is it possible, quoth he, *Cleombrotus*, that you should make good and maintaine, that the Poet called the age of man, a yeere onely and no more? for it is not the space either of his flower and best time, nor of his olde age, according as some reade it in *Hesiodus*: for as one reads *αἰδῶν*, that is say, flourishing; so, another readeth *γῆρας*, that is to say, aged. Now they that would have it to be

* αἰδῶν.
* αἰδῶν.
* γῆρας,
or crying.

αἰδῶν.

Heracles, put downe for the age of man, thirty yeeres, according to the opinion of *Heracles*, which is the very time that a father hath begotten a sonne able to beget another of his owne: but such as follow the reading that hath *Pythagoras*, attribute unto the age of man an hundred and eight yeeres, saying that foure and fifty is the just moiety or one halfe of a mans life: which number is composed of an unitie; the two first plaines, two squares, and two cubiques: which numbers *Plato* also tooke to the procreation of the soule which he describeth. But it seemeth verily, that *Hesiodus* by these words covertly did signifie that generall conflagration of the world; at what time, it is very probable, that the Nymphs together with all humours and liquid matters shall perishe:

*Those Nymphs I meane, which many a tree and plant
In forests faire and goodly groves do haunt,
Or neere to springs and river streames are scene,
Or keepe about the meadows gay and Greene.*

Then *Cleombrotus*: I have heard many (quoth he) talke hereof, and I perceive very well how this conflagration which the Stoicks have devised, as it hath crept into the Poems of *Heracles* and *Orpheus*, and so perverted their verses: so it hath seized upon and caught hold of *Hesiodus*, and given a perverse interpretation of him as well as of others. But neither can I endure to admit this conflagration and end of the world, which they talke of, nor any such impossible matters; and namely, those speeches as touching the life of the Crow and the Stag or Hinde, which yeeres, if they were summed together, would grow to an excessive number. Moreover, a yeere containing 10 in it the beginning and the end of all things which the seasons thereof doe produce, and the earth bring forth, may in mine opinion not imperiently be called *year*, that is to say, the age of men: for even your selves confesse, that *Hesiodus* in one passage called mans life *year*. How say you, is it not so? Then *Demetrius* avowed as much. This also (quoth *Cleombrotus*) is as certaine, that both the measure, and also the things which be measured, are called by one and the same name: as it appeareth by *Coryla*, *Chenix*, *Amphora* and *Medimnus*. Like as therefore we name Unitie, a number, which indeed of all numbers is the least measure and beginning only of them: (semblably, *Hesiodus* termed Yeere the age of man, for that with it principally we measure his age, and so communicate that word with the thing that it measureth: as for those numbers which they make, there is no singularity at all or matter of importance in them as touching 30 the renowned numbers indeed. But the number of 9720 hath a speciall ground and beginning, as being composed of the foure first numbers arising in order from one and the same, added together or multiplied by foure, every way arise to fortie. Now if * these be reduced into triangles five times, they make the just summe of the number before named. But as touching these matters, what need I to contend with *Demetrius*? for whether there be meant thereby a longer time or a shorter, a certaine or uncerteine, wherein *Hesiodus* would have the soule of a Daemon to change, or the life of a Demi god or Heros to end, it skilleth not; for he prooveth nevertheless that which he would, and that by the evidence of most ancient and wise witnesses, that there be certaine natures neuter and meane (as it were) situate in the confines betweene gods and men, and the same subject to mortall passions, and apt to receive necessary changes and mutations: 40 which natures according to the traditions & examples of our forefathers, meet it is that we call Demons, and honour them accordingly. And to this purpose, *Xenocrates* one of the familiar friends of *Plato*, was wont to bring in the demonstration and example of triangles, which agreed very well to the present matter in hand: for that triangle which had * three sides and angles equal, he compared unto the nature divine and immortal; that which had * all sides unequal, unto the humane and mortall nature; and that which had * two equal and one unequal, unto the nature of the Demons: for the first is every way equal, the second on every side unequal, and the last in some sort equal and in other unequal; like unto the nature of the Demons, having humane passions and affections, yet withall, the divine power of some god. But nature herselfe hath propoed unto us sensible figures and similitudes visible above; of gods 50 vnto the Sunne and other starres; but of mortall men, hidden lights and flashes in the night, blazing comets, and shooting of starres: for unto such *Euripides* compared them, when he said:

*Who was ere while and lately in the flower,
Of his fresh youth, at sudden in an hour,
Became extinct (as flame which seems to fall
From skie) and into aire sent breath and all.*

Now

Now for a mixt body, representing the nature of Demons or Angels, there is the Moone: which they seeing to be so subject to growing and decreasing, yea and to perishing altogether, and departing out of sight, thought to accord very well, and to be fortible unto the mutability of the Demons kinde. For which cause, some have called her a terrestriall starre; others an Olympian or celestiall earth; and there be againe who have named her The heritage and possession of *Proserpina*, both heavenly and earthly. Like as therefore, if one tooke the aire out of the world, and remooved it from betweene the Moone and the earth, he should dissolve the continuation, coherence and composition of the whole universall frame, by leaving a void and empty place in the middes, without any bond to joine and linke the extremes together:

10 even so, they who admit not the nation and kind of the Demons, abolish all communication; convers and conference betweene gods and men, considering they take away that nature which serveth as a hanchman, interpreter, and minister betweene both, as *Plato* said: or rather they would drive us to confound and huddle together, yea and to jumble all in one, if we came to intermingle the divine nature and deity among humane passions and actions, and so plucke it out of heaven, for to make it intermeddle in the negocies and affaires of men; like as they saie, the wives of *Thessalie* draw downe the Moone from heaven. Which devise & fiction hath taken roote, and is beleevd among women, by reason that *Aglaonice*, the daughter of *Agetor* (by report) being a wife dame, and well scene in Astrologie, made semblance and perwaded the vulgar sort, that in every eclipse of the Moone, she used alwaies some charmes and enchantments; 20 by vertue whereof, she fetched the Moone out of heaven. As for us, give we no care and credit unto them, who say, there be some Oracles and divinations without a deity, or that the gods regard not sacrifices, divine services, and other sacred ceremonies, exhibited unto them: neither on the other side let us beleieve, that God is present to intermeddle or employ himselfe in person, but betaking and referring that charge unto the ministers of the gods, as it is meet and just; like as if they were deputies, officers, and secretaries: let us constantly hold, that those be the Demons which are their spies and scouts, going too and fro throughout all parts, some to oversee and direct the sacrifices, and sacred rites and ceremonies performed to the gods: others to chaffice and punish the enormous and outrageous offences and wrongs committed by men: and others there are besides, of whom the Poet *Hesiodus* speaketh most reverently, saying:

*Pure, holy, and sincere they be,
The Donors of good things:
This honour is allotted them,
Bequeeming noble kings.*

Giving us by the way thus much to understand, that to doe good and be beneficiall is a roiall office and function: for a difference there is, and sundry degrees there be in the gifts and virtues of Demons, like as among men. For in some of them there remaine still certaine small reliques (and the same verie feeble and scarce sensible) of that passionate and sensitive part of the soule which is not reasonable, even as a very excrement and superfluitie left behind of the rest: 40 but in others againe, there abideth a great deale, and the same hardly to be extinguished, whereof we may see lively the works and evident tokens in many places, disseminate in some sacrifices, feasts and ceremonies celebrated unto them; yea, and in the tales reported by them. Howbeit, as touching the mysteries and sacred services (by which & through which a man may more cleerly perceive than by any other means whatsoever, the true nature of the gods) I will not speake a word: let them lie close and hidden still for me, as *Herodorus* saith. But as for certaine festivall solemnities and sacrifices, which are held as dissimall, unfortunate and heavy daies; when sometimes they use to eat raw flesh, and tear humane bodies piece-meale; or otherwise to fast and knocke their breasts, and in many places utter most filthy and beastly words during the sacrifices:

*Wagging their beads in frantike wise,
With strange all armes and hideous cries.*

I will never beleve that this is done for any of the gods: but will say rather, it is to avert the ire and appease the furie of some maligne divels. Neither carie it any likelihood and probability, that ever any god would require men to be sacrificed unto them, as they were in old time: or stand well pleased with any such sacrifices. Neither was it for nought that kings and great captaines gave their owne children thus to be flaine, yea, and with their owne hands killed them for sacrifice:

sacrifice: but we are to believe that it was to turne away and divert the rankor and wrath of some perverse spirits and malicious fiends, or to satisfy such hurtfull devils; yea, and to fulfill the violent, furious and tyrannicall lusts of some, who either could not, or would not enjoy them with their bodies, or by their bodies. But like as *Heracles* besieged the city of *Oechalia*, for a virgins sake who was within: even to these powerfull and outrageous fiends, demanding some humane soule clad and compassed within a body, to be given unto them, and yet not able to fulfill their lust by the body, bring pestilence, famine, dearth, and sterility of the ground upon cities, raise wars and civill dissensions, untill such time as they come to have and enjoy that which they loved: and some doe cleane contrary; as it was my hap to observe in *Candie*, (where I abode a long time) how they celebrated a certaine monstrous feast, in which they made shew of an headlesse mans image, saying it was *Molus*, the father of *Meriones*: for having forced or deflowered a Nymph, he was afterwards found without an head. Moreover, what ravishment fever, what wandering voiaiges, what occultations, flights, banishments, ministeries and services of the gods be reported and sung in fables or hymnes, certes they be all of them no passions and accidents that befall to gods indeed, but to some Daemons, whose fortunes were recorded in memoriall of their vertue & puissance: neither meant the Poet *Aeschylus* (a god) when he said:

*Apollo chast, who now is fled,
And out of heaven banished;*

Not *Admetus* in *Sophocles*:

*My chaunting cocke that crows so shrill,
Hath brased him and brings to mill.*

Also the Divines and Theologians of *Delphi*, are in a great error, and farre from the truth, who thinke, that sometimes in this place, there was a combat betwene *Apollo* and a dragon, about the hold and possession of this Oracle. They are to blame also, who suffer Poets and Oratours, striving one against another in their Theatres, to act or relate such matters; as if of purpose and expressly they contradicted and condemned those things which themselves performe in their most sacred solemnities. Hereat, when *Philippus* wondered much (for the Historiographer of that name was present in this companie) & demanded withall, what divine rites and ceremonies they might be, which were contradicted and testified against by these who contended in the Theaters? Many even those (quoth *Clembrotus*) which concerne this very Oracle of *Delphi*, and by which this cite not long since hath admitted and received into the sacred profession of holy myteries, all the Greeks without *Thermopyle*, and excluded those that dwell as farre as the vale of *Tempe*. For the tabernacle or cottage heere of boughes (which is erected and set up every ninth yeare, within the court-yard of this temple) is not a representation of the dragons cave or denne, but rather of some tyrants or kings house: as also the assault or surprise thereof in great silence, by the way called *Dolonia*. Likewise, that a little after they bring thither a boy who hath both father and mother living, with torches light burning: and when they have for the said tabernacle or tent on fire, and overthrowe the table, runne away as hard as they can through the dores of the temple, and never looke behinde them. And finally, the wanderings of this boy in divers places, and his servile ministeries, together with the expiatory sacrifices and ceremonies about *Tempe*, move suspicion that there should be represented thereby some notorious outrage, and audacious fact perpetrated there in old time. For it were a mere mockery (my friend *Philippus*) to say, that *Apollo* for killing the dragon, fled as farre as to the utmost coasts and marches of *Greece*, for to be purified and attoned: also, that he offered thereon certaine expiatory libations and effusions, and performed all such duties and services which men doe, when they would appease the wrath and indignation of such Daemons and curst fiends, whom we call *Asterisks* and *Palummas*, as one would say. The revengers of such enormities and crimes as could not be forgotten, and those who bare still in minde some old finnes, and pursued the same. As for that tale, which I my selfe of late have heard as touching this flight and banishment, it is wonderfull strange and prodigious: but if it containe some truth among, we must not thinke, that it was a small and ordinary matter that befall in thole daies about the said Oracle. But for feare I might be thought as *Empedocles* sometimes said:

To stich the heads of sundry tales together,

And goe in divers pathes I know not whether:

Suffer me I beseech you to make a convenient end heere of my light discourses. For now are we just come to faire, as we may also be bold after many others to asseme and pronounce, that

that seeing the Daemons ordained for the presidence and superintendence of propheties and Oracles doe faile, of necessity these Oracles also and divinations must cease with them; and when they be fled and gone, or change their residence, it cannot chuse but the former places must loose their prophetical power and vertue: also, that when after long time they be returned thither, the said places will begin againe to speake and found, like unto instruments of musick; namely, if they be present who have the skill to handle and use them accordingly. After that *Clembrotus* had thus discoursed: There is not (quoth *Heracles*) any one of this companie that is a prophane miscreant and infidell, not professed in our religion, or who holdeth any opinions as touching the gods, discordant from us. Howbeit, let us take heed our selves & *Philippus*,

10 lest ere we be aware, we doe not in our discourse & disputation put downe some erroneous suppositions and such as may make great ground-works of impiety. You say very well (quoth *Philip*) but what point is it of all those that *Clembrotus* hath put downe, that is so offensive and scandalizeth you most? Then *Heracles*: That they be not gods indeed who are the presidents of Oracles (because we ought to believe of them, that they be exempt from all terrestrial affaires) but that they be Daemons rather, or the angels and ministers of the gods; in my conceits is no bad nor impertinent supposall: but all at once & abruptly, by occasion of *Empedocles* his verses, to attribute unto these Daemons crimes, plagues, calamities, transgressions, inquietudes and errors sent from the gods above, and in the end to make them for to die, as mortall men; this I take to be somewhat to presumptuously spoken, and to smell of barbarous audacity. Then *Cle-*

20 *ambrotus* asked *Philippus*, who this yong man was, and from whence he came? And when he had heard his name and his country, he answered in this wise: We are not ignorant our selves (& *Heracles*) that we are fallen into a speech favoring somewhat of absurdity: but a man cannot possibly discourse of great matters, without he lay as great foundations at the beginning, for to proceed unto probability and prove his opinion. And as for your selfe, you are not aware, how you overthrow even that which you grant: for confesse you doe, that there be Daemons; but when you will needs maintaine that they be neither lewd nor mortall, you cannot make it good that they be at all. For wherein I pray you doe they differ from gods, in case they be in substance incorruptible, and in vertue impassible, or not subject to sinne? Heereupon *Heracles*, when he had mused with himselfe not saying a word, and studied what answer to-

30 make, *Clembrotus* went on and said: It is not *Empedocles* alone who hath given out there were evil Daemons, but *Plato* also himselfe, *Xenocrates* also and *Chrysippus*; yea and *Democritus* when he wished and prayed that he might meet with lucky images, both knew and gave us (no doubt) thereby to understand, that he thought there were others of them crooked and shrewd, and such as were badly affected and had evil intentions. But as touching the death of such, and how they are mortall, I have heard it reported by a man who was no foole nor a vaine lying person: and that was *Epithetes* the father of *Aemilianus* the oratour, whom some of you (I dare well say) have heard to plead & declaine. This *Epithetes* was my fellow-citizen and had bene my schoolemaster in grammar, and this narration he related: That minding upon a time to make a voiage by sea into *Italy*, he was embarked in a ship fraught with much merchandize

40 and having many passengers beside aboard. Now when it drew toward the evening, they happened (as he said) to be calmed about the Isles *Echinades*; by occasion whereof their ship hulled with the tides untill at length it was brought neere unto the Islands *Paxa*, whiles moft of the passengers were awake, and many of them still drinking after supper: but then, all on a sudden there was heard a voice from one of the Islands of *Paxa*, calling aloud unto one *Thamus*; in-

50 much as there was not one of all our company but he wondered thereat. Now this *Thamus* was a Pilot and an Aegyptian borne: but known he was not to many of them in the ship by that name. At the two first calles, he made no answers but at the third time he obeyed the voice, and answered: Here I am. Then he who spake, strained his voice and said unto him: When thou art come to * *Palodes*, publish thou and make knownen: That the Great Pan is Dead. And as *Epithetes* made report unto us, as many as heard this voice were wonderfully amazed thereat, and entred into a discourse and disputation about the point, whether it were best to doe according to this commandement, or rather to let it passe and not curiously to meddle withall; but neglect it: As for *Thamus*, of this minde he was and resolved: If the winde served, to saile by the place quietly and say nothing; but if the winde was laid and that their intended calve, to crie and pronounce with a loud voice that which he heard. Well, when they were come to *Palodes* aforesaid the winde was downe and they were becalmed, so as the sea was very still without waves,

* Some take it to be a place of manyelves and shallows.

Whicrepoun

Whereupon *Thamus* looking from the poutie of the ship toward the land, pronounced with a loud voice that which he had heard, and said: *The great Pan is Dead*. He had no sooner spoken the word but there was heard a mighty noise, not of one but of many together, who seemed to groane and lament, and withall to make a great wonder. And as it falleth commonly out when as many be present, the newes thereof was soone spread and divulged through the city of *Rome*, in such sort as *Tiberius Caesar* the emperor sent for *Thamus*: and *Tiberius* verily gave so good credit unto his wordes, that he searched and enquired with all diligence who that *Pan* might be. Now the great clerks and learned men (of whom he had many about him) gave their conjecture that it might be he, who was the sonne of *Mercurie* by *Penelope*. And verily *Philippus* had some of the companie present to beare witness with him, such as had bene *Aemilianus* scholars and heard as much. Then *Demetrius* made report, that many little desert and desolate Isles there were lying disperfed and scattering in the sea about *Britaine*, like unto those which the Greeks call *Sporades*; whereof some were named the Isles of Demons, and Heroes or Demi-gods: also that himselfe by commission and commandement from the emperor, failed toward the nearest of those desert Isles for to know and see somewhat; which he found to have very few inhabitants, and those all were by the Britaines, held for sacrosanct and inviolable. Now within a while after he was arrived thither, the aire and weather was mightily troubled, many portentous signes were given by terrible tempests and stormes, with extraordinary windes, thunders, lightnings, and fire impressions: but after that these tempests were ceased, the Ilanders assured him, that one of those Demons or Demi-gods (who surmounted the nature of man) was departed. For like as a lampe (if lay they) or candle, so long as it burneth light offendeth no bodies; but when it is put out or goeth forth, it maketh a stinke offensive unto many about it: even so, these great Soules whiles they shine and give light, be milde, gracious, and harmlesse; but when they come to be extinct or to perish, they raise (even as at that present) outrageous tempests, yea and oftentimes infect the aire with contagious and pestilent maladies. They reported moreover, that in one of those Ilands *Briareus* kept *Saturne* prisoner in a found sleepe (for that was the devise to hold him captive) about whose person there were many other Demons of his traine and his servitors. *Cleombrotus* then taking occasion for to speake: I am able my selfe also (quoth he) to allege many such examples if I list; but it may suffice for this present matter in hand, that this is nothing contrary nor opposit unto that which by us hath bene delivered. And verily we know full well, that the Stoicks hold the same opinion not onely of Demons that we doe, but also of the gods: that there being so great a multitude of them, yet there is but one alone immortall and eternall; whereas all the rest had their beginning by nativity and shall have an end by death. And as for the scoffes, scornes, and mockeries that the Epicureans make, we ought not to regard them, nor be affraid of them: for so audacious they are, that they use the same even in the divine providence, terming it a very fable and oldwives tale. But we contrariwise hold, that their infinity of worldes is a fable indeede: as also to say, that among those innumerable worldes, there is not so much as one governed by reason or the providence of God; but that all things were first made and afterwards maintained by mere chance and fortune. Certes, if it be lawful to laugh, and that we must needs make game in matters of Philosophy, we should rather mocke those who bring into their disputations of naturall questions, I wot not what deafe, blinde, dumbe and inanimate intigues; remaining I know not where, and continuing in appearance infinit revolutions of yeeeres, wandring round about and going to and fro: which say they, issue and flowe from bodies partly yet living, and partly from those who long agoe were dead, burnt, yea and rotten and putrified to nothing. These men (I say) we should doe well to laugh at, who draw such ridiculous toies and vaine fadomes as these, into the serious disputations of nature.

Meanwhile forsooth, offended they are and angry, if a man should say there be Demons: and that not onely in nature but in reason also it standeth with good congruity, they should continue and endure a long time. These speeches thus passed, *Ammonius* began in this wise: **Cleombrotus* 50 in mine opinion (quoth he) hath spoken very well: and what should impeach us, but that we may admit and receive his sentence, being so grave as it is, and not befecoming a Philosopher? For reject it once, we shall be forced to reject also and denie many things which are, and usually happen, whereof no certaine cause and reason can be delivered: and if it be admitted, it draweth after it no traine and consequence of any impossibility whatsoever, nor of that which is not sufficient. But as touching that one point, which I have heard the Epicureans alledge against

Empedocles

* On Thales
philosophus
read.

Empedocles, and the Demons which he bringeth in, namely: That they cannot possibly be happy and long lived, being evill and finfull as they are, for that vice by nature is blind, and of it selfe falleth ordinarily headlong into perils and inconveniences which destroy the life; and this is a very foolish opposition: for by the same reason they must confesse, that *Epicurus* was worse than *Gorgias* the Sophister; and *Metrodorus*, than *Alexis* the Comical Poet: for this Poet lived twice as long as *Metrodorus*; and that Sophister, longer than *Epicurus*, by a third part of his age. For it is in another respect, that we say Vertue is puissant, and vice feeble, not in regard of the lasting continuance or dissolution of the bodie: for we see, that of beasts there be many dull, slow and blockish of spirit; many also by nature libidinous, untuly and disordered, which live longer 10 than those that are full of wit, wily, wary and wise. And therefore they conclude not aright, in saying, that the divine nature enioieth immortality, by taking heed and avoiding those things that be noisome and mischievous. For it behooved, in the divine nature which is blessed and happy, to have set downe an impossibility of being subject to all corruption and alteration, and that it standeth in no need of care and labour to maintaine the said nature. But peradventure it seemeth not to stand with good maners and civility, to dispute thus against those that are not present to make answer for themselves: it were meet therefore, that *Cleombrotus* would resume and take in hand that speech againe, which he gave over and laied aside of late, as touching the departure and translation of these Demons from one place to another. Then *Cleombrotus*: 20 Yes mar, quoth he: but I would marvel, if this discourse of mine would not seeme unto you much more absurd than the former delivered already: and yet it seemeth to be grounded upon naturall reason, and *Plato* himselfe hath made the overture thereto, not absolutely pronouncing and affirming so much; but after the manner of a doubtfull opinion and under covert words, casting out a certaine wary conjecture tending that way, although among other Philosophers it hath bene disclaimed and cried out against. But forasmuch as there is set a cup on the boord, full of reasons and tales mingled together, and for that a man shall hardly meet in any place againe with more courteous and gracious hearers, among whom he may passe and put away such narrations, as pieces of forren coine, and strange money: I will not thinke much to gratifie you thus farre forth, as to acquaint you with a narration that I heard a stranger and a Barbarian relate: whom (after many a journey made to and fro for to finde him out, and much money given 30 by me for to heare where he was) I met with at length by good hap, neere unto the Red sea. His manner was to speake and converse with men but once in the yeeere; all the rest of his time (as he said himselfe) he spent among the Nymphs, Nomades and Demons. Well, with much adoe I light upon him, I communed with him, and he used me courteously. The fairest man he was to see to, of all that ever I set eye on: neither was he subject to any disease: once every month he fed upon a medicinable and bitter fruit of a certaine herbe: and this was the fare he lived upon. A good linguist he was, and used to speake many languages; but with me he talked commonly in Greeke, after the Doricke dialect. His speech differed not much from song and meeter: and whensoever he opened his mouth for to speake, there issued forth of it so sweet and fragrant a breath, that all the place about was filled therewith and smelled most pleasantly. As for 40 his other learning and knowledge, yea, the skill of all histories, he had the same all the yere long: but as touching the gift of divination, he was inspired therewith one day every yeeere, and no more; and then he went downe to the sea side and prophesied of things to come: and thither resorted unto him the Princes and great Lords of that countrey, yea and Secretaries of forren kings, who there attended his coming at a day prefixed: which done, he returned. This personage then attributed unto Demons the spirit of divination and prophesie: most pleasure tooke he in hearing and speaking of *Delphi*: and looke whatsoever we hold here as touching *Bacchus*, what adventures befall unto him, & what sacrifices are performed by us in his honor, he had bene informed thereof, and knew all well enough, laying withall: That as these were great accidents, that happened to Demons; so likewise was that, which men reported of the serpent *Typhon*: whom he that slew, was neither banished for nine yeres, nor fled into the valley of *Tempe*, but was chased 50 out of this world, and went into another; from whence (after nine revolutions of the great yeeeres) being returned all purified and *Phabus* indeed, that is to say, cleere and bright, he recovered the superintendence of the Delphicke Oracle, which during that while was left to the custodie of *Themis*. The same was the case (said he) of the Titans and Typhons. For he affirmed, they were the battels of Demons against Demons: the flights and banishments also of those who were vanquished: or rather the punishments inflicted by the gods upon as many as had committed

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O, Caelum. committed such outrages as *Typhon* had done against *Osiris*, and *Saturne* against ** Caelus* or the heaven : whose honours were the more obscure or abolished altogether, by reason that themselves were translated into another world. For I understand and heare, that the Solymians who border hard upon the Lycians, highly honoured *Saturne* when the time was : but after that he having slain their princes, *Ascalus*, *Dryus* and *Trofolubus*, fled & departed into some other country (for whither he went they knew not) they made no more any reckoning of him : but *Ascalus* and the other, they termed by the name of *Scleris*, that is to say, severe gods : and in truth, the Lycians at this day, as well in publicke as private, utter and recite the forme of all their curses and execrations in their names.

Many other semblable examples a man may draw out of Theologicall writings, as touching the gods. Now if we call some of these Daemons by the usuall and ordinary names of the gods, we ought not to marvell thereat (quoth this stranger unto me :) for looke unto which of the gods they do retaine, upon whom they depend, and by whose means they have honour and puissance ; by their names they love to be called : like as heere among us men, one is called *Jovius* of *Jupiter* ; another, *Palladius* or *Athenius* of *Minerva* ; a third, *Apollonius* of *Apollus* ; or *Dionysius* and *Hermenus* of *Bacchus* and *Mercurie*. And verily, some there be who although they be named thus at adventure, yet answer very fitly to such denominations ; but many have gotten the denominations of the gods, which agree not unto them, but are transposed wrong and misgiven. Herewith *Cleombrotus* paused : and the speech that he had delivered seemed very strange unto all the company. Then *Heraclion* demanded of him, whether this doctrine concerned *Plato* 10 so ? and how it was, that *Plato* had given the overthrow and beginning of such matter ? You doe well (quoth *Cleombrotus*) to put me in minde heereof, and to reduce it into my memory. First and formost therefore, he condemneth evermore the infinity of worlds : many about the just and precise number of them he doubteth : and howsoever he seemes to yeeld a probability and appearance of truth unto those who have set downe five, and attributed to every element one ; yet himselfe sticketh still to one, which seemeth indeed to be the peculiar opinion of *Plato* : whereas other Philosophers also have alwaies mightily feared to admit a multitude of worlds ; as if necessarie it were, that those who staied not by the means of matter in one, but went out of it once, could not chuse but fall presently into this indeterminate and troublesome infinity. But this your stranger, (quoth I) determined he nothing of this multitude of worlds, otherwise than *Plato* 20 did ? or all the whiles that you conversed with him, did you never move the question thereof unto him, to know what his opinion was thereof ? Thinke you (quoth *Cleombrotus*) that I failed herein, and was not (howsoever otherwise I behaved my selfe) a diligent scholar and affectionate auditor of his in these matters, especially seeing he was so affable, and shewed himselfe so courteous unto me ? But as touching this point, he said : That neither the number of the worlds was infinit, nor yet true it was, that there were no more but one, or five in all : for there were 183, and those ordeined and ranged in a forme triangular ; of which triangle, every side contained three score worlds ; and of the three remaining still, every corner thereof had one : that they were so ordered, as one touched and intereined another round, in manner of those who are in a ring dance : that the plaine within the triangle, is as it were the foundation and altar 40 common to all the worlds, which is called The Plaine or Field of Truth : and within it he immovable the deligens, reasons, formes, ideas and examples of all things that ever were or shall be : and about them is eternitie, whereof time is a portion, which as a river, runneth from thence to those things that are done in time. Now the sight and contemplation of these things was presented unto the soules of men, if they lived well in this world, and that but once in ten thousand yeeres : as for our mysteries heere beneath, and all our best and most sacred ceremonies, they were but a dreame in comparifon of that spectacle and holy ceremonies. Moreover, he said : That for the good things there, and for to enjoy the sight of those beauties, men employed their study in Philosophy here : or els all their paines taken was but in vaine, and their travellost. And verily (quoth he) I heard him discourse of these matters plainly and without any art, no other 50 wise than if it had bene some religion wherein I was to be professed, in which he instructed me without using any prooffe and demonstration of his doctrine. Then I (turning to *Demetrius*) called unto him, and asked what were the words that the woers of *Penelope* spake, when they beheld with admiration *Ulysses* handling his bow ? And when *Demetrius* had prompted unto me the verse out of *Homer* : Surely (quoth I) it comes into my minde to say the very same of this stranger :

Surely

Surely, this fellow, as I weene,

Some * prying spie or theefe hath bene,

not of bowes, as he said of *Ulysses*, but of sentences, resolutions and discourses of Philosophie : he hath bene conversant, I say, no doubt in all manner of literature : and I warrant you, no stranger nor Barbarian borne, but a Grecian, thorowly furnished with all knowledge and doctrine of the Greeks. And verily, this number of the worlds whereof he talketh, bewaileth not an Aegyptian nor an Indian, but favourerth of some Dorian out of *Sicilie*, and namely, of *Peron*, borne in the city of *Himera*, who wrote a little booke of this argument, which I have not read my selfe, neither doe I know whether it be now extant : but *Hippys* the Rhegine (of whom *Phanias* the E- 10 reffian maketh mention) writeth, that this was the opinion and doctrine of *Petron* ; namely, that there were 183 worlds, which taught one another in order and traine : but what he meant by this Reaching one another in order or traine, he declared not ; neither annexed he any other probable reason thereof. Then *Demetrius* : And what likelihood or probability (quoth he) may there be in such matters, considering that *Plato* himselfe alledging no argument or conjecture that carieth with it any shew of truth and reason, hath by that means overthrowen that opinion ? And yet (quoth *Heraclion*) we have heard you Grammarians say, that *Homer* was the first author of this opinion, as if he divided the universall frame of All into five worlds ; to wit, Heaven, Water, Aite, Earth, and Olympus : of which, he leaveth two to be common, name- 20 ly, Earth, to All beneath ; and Olympus, to All above : but the three in the middes betweene them, hee attributeth unto three gods. Semblably, it seemeth that *Plato* allotting unto the principall parts and members of the said universall nature, the first formes and most excellent figures of the bodies, called them five worlds ; to wit, of the Earth, the Water, the Aire, the Fire, and finally, of that which comprehendeth the others ; and that hee called the forme of *Dodecadron*, that is to say, with twelve bases or faces, which amply extendedeth it selfe, is very capable and moveable, as being a figure proper and meet for the animal motions and revolutions of the soules. VVhat need we at this present (quoth *Demetrius*) to meddle with *Homer* ? we have had fables enough already, if that be good. As for *Plato*, hee is farre enough off from naming those five different substances of the world, five worlds : considering that even in that very place where he disputeth against those who maintain an infinit number of worlds, he affirmeth there is but one created by God, and beloved by him, as his only begotten 30 childe, composed of all nature, having one entier bodie, sufficient in it selfe, and standing in need of nothing else. VVhereupon a man may very well wonder and thinke it strange, that having himselfe delivered a truth, he should give occasion to others thereby, to take hold of a false opinion, and wherein there is no appearance of reason. For, if he had not stucke hard to this unity of the world, in some sort he might have laid the foundation for those who hold them to be infinit : but that he should precisely affirme there were five, and neither more nor fewer, is exceeding absurd, and farre from all probability ; unlesse haply, you (quoth he, casting his eye upon me) can say somewhat to this point. How now (quoth I then) are you minded thus to leave your distipation of Oracles, as if it were fully finished and ended, and to enter upon another matter of such difficulty ? Nay (quoth *Demetrius*) we will not passe it over so ; but this here 40 that presenteth it selfe now, and taketh us as it were by the hand, we cannot put by : for we will not dwell long upon it, but onely touch it so, and handle it by the way, as that we may finde out some probability, and then will we presently returne unto our former question proposed in the beginning. First and formost therefore, I say : The reasons which permit us not to allow an infinit number of worlds, impeach us not, but that we admit more than one. For as well in many worlds as in one, there may be divination, there may be providence, and the least intercurrent of fortune : but the most part of the greatest and principall things shall have and take their generations, changes and mutations ordinarily : which cannot possibly be in that infinity of worlds. Over and besides, more consonant it is to reason, and accordeth better with the nature 50 of God, to say, that the world is not created by him, one onely and solitary : for being (as he is) perfectly and absolutely good, there is no vertue wanting in him, and least of all others that which concerneth justice and amity ; which as they be of themselves most beautiful, so they are best besitting the gods. Now such is the nature of God, that he hath nothing either unprofitable or in vaine and without use : and therefore needs there must be beside and without him, other gods and other worlds, unto whom and which he may extend those sociall virtues that he hath. For neither in regard of himselfe, nor of any part in him, needeth he to use, justice,

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* Some, some read *Ulysses*, that is to say, a hunter.

rice, gracious favour and bounty, but unto others. So that it is not likely that this world flo-
 teth and mooveth without a friend, without a neighbour, and without any societie and com-
 munication, in a vast and infinit voidnesse; especially seeing we behold how nature enclafeth,
 environeth, and comprehendeth all things, in their severall genders and distinct kinds, as it
 were within vessels or the husks and covertures of their feeds. For looke throughout the uni-
 versall nature, there is nothing to be found one in number, but it hath the notion and reason of
 the essence and being thereof, common to others: neither hath any thing such and such a de-
 nomination, but beside the common notion it is by some particular qualities distinct from
 others of the same kind. Now the world is not called so in common: then must it be such in par-
 ticular: and qualified it is in particular, and distinguished by certaine differences, from other
 worlds of the same kinde, and yet hath a peculiar forme of the owne. Moreover, considering
 there is in the whole world, neither man alone, nor horse, nor starre, ne yet God or Da-
 mon solitarie: what should hinder us to say, that nature admitteth not one onely world, but hath
 many? Now if any man shall object unto me and say, that in nature there is but one earth, or
 one sea: I answer, that he is much deceived and overseene, in not perceiving the evidence that
 is of similitar parts: for we divide the earth into parts similitar, that it is to say, of the flemable
 and the same denomination, like as we doe the sea also; for all the parts of the earth are called
 earth, and of the sea likewise: but no part of the world is world, for that it is composed of divers
 and different natures. For as touching that inconvenience which some especially feare, who
 spend all matter within one world, lest forsooth if there remained any thing without, it should
 trouble the composition and frame thereof, by the jures and resistances that it would make:
 surely there is no such cause why they should feare; for when there be many worlds, and ech of
 them particularly having one definit and determinate measure and limit of their substance and
 matter, no part thereof will be without order and good disposition, nothing will remaine su-
 perfluous, as an excrement without, to hinder or impeach; for that the reason which belongeth
 to ech world, being able to rule and governe the matter that is allotted thereto, will not suf-
 fer any thing to goe out of course and order, and wandering to and fro, for to hit and run upon
 another world; nor likewise that from another ought should come for to rush upon it, because in
 nature there is nothing in quantity infinit & inordinate, nor in motion without reason & order.
 But say there should happily be some delux or effluence that passeth from one world to ano-
 ther, the same is a brotherly sweet and amiable communication, and such as very well agreeth
 to all: much like unto the lights of starres, and the influences of their temperatures, which are
 the cause that they themselves doe joy in beholding one another with a kinde and favourable
 aspect; yea and yeld unto the gods, which in every starre be many (and those good) meanes to
 intertaine and embrace one another most friendly. For in all this, verily, there is nothing im-
 possible, nothing fabulous nor contrary unto reason: unless peradventure some there be who
 will suspect and feare the reason and sentence of *Aristotle*, as consonant unto nature. For if
 as he saith, every body hath a proper and naturall place of the owne; by reason thereof necessa-
 rily it must be, that the earth from all parts should tend toward the midst, and the water after-
 wards upon it, serving (by meanes of their weight and ponderosity) in stead of a foundation to
 other elements of a lighter substance. And therefore (quoth he) if there were many worlds,
 it would fall out ofentimes that the earth should be found situate above aire and fire, and as often
 under them: likewise the aire and fire sometime under, otherwhiles in their naturall places,
 and againe in others contrary to their nature. Which being impossible, as he thinketh, it must fol-
 low of necessity, that there be neither two nor more worlds, but one alone, to wit, this which we
 visibly see composed of all sorts of substance, and disposed according to nature, as is meet and
 convenient for diversity of bodies. But in all this there is more apparent probability than veri-
 ty indeed. For the better prooffe hereof, consider I pray you my good friend *Demetrius*, that
 when he saith, among simple bodies some bend directly to the midst, that is to say downward:
 others from the midst that is to say upward: and a third sort move round about the midst and
 circularly: in what respect taketh he the midst? Certaine it is, not in regard of voidnesse, for
 there is no such thing in nature, even by his owne opinion: againe, according unto those that
 admit it, middle can it have none, no more than first or last: For these be ends and extremities:
 and that which is infinite must consequently be also without an end. But suppose, that some
 one of them should enforce us to admit a middle in that voidnesse, impossible it is to conceive
 and imagine the difference in motions of bodies toward it: because there is not in that void-
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nesse any puissance attractive of bodies; nor yet within the same bodies, any deliberation or in-
 clination and affection to tend from all sides to this middle. But no lesse impossible is it to ap-
 prehend, that of bodies having no soule any should moove of themselves to an incorporeall
 place, and having no difference of situation; than it is that the same should draw them or give
 them any motion or inclination to it. It remaineth then, that this middle ought to be under-
 stood not locally but corporally, that is to say not in regard of place, but of body. For, seeing
 this world is an union, or masse compounded of many bodies different and unlike conjoined
 together; it must needs be, that their diversities engender motions discrepant and differing
 one from the other: which appeareth by this, that every of these bodies changing substance,
 change their place also withall. For the subtilization and rarefaction distributeth round about
 the matter which ariseth from the midst and ascendeth on high: contrariwise, condensation
 and confipation depressoeth and driveth it downward to the middle. But of this point, we need
 not discourse any more in this place. For what cause soever a man shall suppose to produce
 such passions and mutations, the same shall containe in it a severall world: for that each of them
 hath an earth and sea of the owne, each one hath her owne proper middle, as also passions and
 alterations of bodies, together with a nature and power which preserveth and maintaineth eve-
 ry one in their place and being. For that which is without, whether it have nothing at all, or else
 an infinite voidnesse, middle can it afford none, as we have said before: but there being many
 worldes, each of them hath a proper middle apart: in such sort, as in every one there shall be
 motions proper unto bodies, some falling downe to the midst, others mounting aloft from the
 midst, others moving round about the midst, according as they themselves doe distinguish
 motions. And he who would have, that there being many middles, weighty bodies from all
 parts should tend unto one alone; may very well be compared unto him, who would have the
 blood of many men to run from all parts into one vein: likewise that all their braines should
 be contained within one and the same membrane or pannicle; supposing it a great inconveni-
 ence and absurdity, if of naturall bodies all that are solide be not in one and the same place, and
 the rare also in another. Absurd is he that thus saith; and no lesse foolish were the other, who
 thinketh much and is offended, if the whole should have all parts, in their order, range and situa-
 tion naturall. For it were a very grosse absurdity for a man to say, there were a world, which
 had the Moone in it so situate, as if a man should carry his braine in his heeles, and his heart in
 the temples of his head: but there were no absurdity nor inconvenience, if in setting downe ma-
 ny distinct worldes and those separate one from another, a man should distinguish withall and
 separate their parts. For in every of them, the earth, the sea, and the skie, shall be so placed and
 situate in their naturall seats, as it is meet and appertaineth: and each of those worlds shall have
 superior, inferior, circular, and a centre in the midst; not in regard of another world nor of that
 which is without, but in it selfe and in respect of it selfe. And as for the supposition which some
 make of a stone without the world, it cannot be imagined how possibly it should either rest or
 moove: for how can it hang still, seeing it is ponderous and weighty? or moove toward the
 midst of the world as other heavy bodies, considering it is neither part of it, nor counted in the
 substance thereof?
 As concerning that earth which is contained in another world and fast bound, we need not
 to make doubt and question, how it should not fall downe hither by reason of the weight, nor
 be plucked away from the whole; seeing as we doe, that it hath a naturall strength to containe
 every part thereof. For if we shall take high and low, not within and in respect of the world,
 but without forth, we shall be driven unto the same difficulties and distresses, which *Epicurus* is
 fallen into, who maketh his little Atomes or indivisible bodies to move and tend toward those
 places which are under foot: as if either his voidnesse had feet, or the infinity which he spea-
 keth of, permit a man to imagine either high or low: And therefore some cause there is to
 marvel at *Chrysippus*, or rather to enquire and demand what fantasie hath come into his head, and
 mooved him to say, that this world is seated and placed directly in the midst; and that the sub-
 stance thereof, from all eternity having taken up and occupied the place of the midst, yet ne-
 vertheless it is so compact and tied together that it endureth alwaies and is (as one would say)
 immortalized: for so much hath he written in his fourth booke *de divinatione*, that is to say, Of pos-
 sible things; dreaming (to no purpose) of a middle place in that vast emptinesse: and yet more
 absurdly attributing unto that middle (which is not, nor hath any subsistence) the cause of the
 worlds continuance and stabilitie; especially having written thus much many times in other
 places,

places, that the substance is governed and maintained partly by the motions tending to the mids, and partly by others from the mids of it. As for other oppositions besides, that the Stoicks make, who is there that feareth them? as namely, when they demand, How it is possible to maintaine one fatal necessity, and one divine providence? and how it can otherwise be, but that there should be many *DIES* and *ZEPHYS*, that is to say, *Joves* and *Jupiters*, if we grant that there be many worlds? For to begin withall, if it be an inconvenience, to allow many such *Joves* and *Jupiters*, their opinions verily be farre more absurd: for they devise an infinit sort of Sunnes, Moones, *Apollos*, *Dianes* and *Neptunes*, in innumerable conversions & revolutions of worlds. Moreover, what necessitie is there, to enforce us to avow many *Jupiters*, if there be many worlds? and not rather, in every of them a severall god, as a soveraigne governor and ruler of the whole, furnished with all understanding and reason, as he whom we summe the Lord and Father of all things: Or what should hinder, but that all worlds might be subject to the providence & destiny of *Jupiter*: and he reciprocally have an eie to oversee all, to direct, digest and conduct all, in ministering unto them the principles, beginnings, feeds and reasons of all things that are done and made? For it being so, that we do see even here many times, a bodie composed of many other distinct bodies; as for example, the assembly or congregation of a city, an armie, and a daunce; in every one of which bodies there is life, prudence, and intelligence, as *Coryppus* thinketh: impossible it is not likewise, that in this universall nature, there should be ten, fifty; yea and a hundred worlds, using all one and the same reason, and correspondent to one beginning. But contrariwise, this order and disposition is best becomming the gods. For we ought not to make the gods like unto the kings of a swarme of bees, which go not forth, but keepe within the hive; nor to holde them enclosed and imprisoned (as it were) rather, and shut up fast within Matter, as these men do, who would have the gods to be certaine habitudes or dispositions of the aire; and supposing them to be powers of waters and of fire infused and mixed withing, make them to arise and be engendered together with the world, and so afterwards, to be burnt likewise with it, not allowing them to be loose and at libertie, like as coach-men and pilots are; but in manet of statues or images are set fast unto their bases with nailes, and fodered with lead: even so they enclose the gods within bodily matter, and pin them hard thereto; so as being jointed (as it were) sure unto it, they participate therewith all changes and alterations, even to finall corruption and dissolution. Yet is this opinion farre more grave, religious and magnificent, in my conceit: to holde that the gods be of themselves free, and without all command of any other power. And like as the fry light *Castor* and *Pollux* succour those who are tossed in a tempest; and by their comming and presence

*Allay the surging waves of sea below,
And still the blustering winds aloft that blow;*

and not failing themselves, nor partaking the same perils with the mariners, but onely appearing in the aire above, save those that were in danger: even so the gods for their pleasure goe from one world to another, to visit them; and together with nature, rule and governe every one of them. For *Jupiter* verily in *Homer*, callt not his eies far from the city of *Troy*, either unto *Thracia*, or the Nomades and vagrant *Scythians* along the river *Ister* or *Danubie*: but the true *Jupiter* indeed hath many faire passages & goodly changes becomming his majesty out of one world into another, neither looking into the infinit voidnesse without, nor beholding himselfe and nothing els, as some have thought; but considering the deeds of men and of gods, the motions also and revolutions of the starrs in their spheres. For surely, the deity is not offended with variety, nor hatch mutations: but taketh much pleasure therein, as a man may guesse by the circutions, conversions and changes which appeare in the heaven. I conclude therefore, that the infinitie of worlds is a very senselesse and false conceit, such as in no wise will beare and admit any god, but employeth fortune and chance in the managing of all things: but contrariwise, the administration and providence of a certaine quantity and determinate number of worlds, seemeth unto me neither in majestie and worthinesse inferior, nor in travell more laborious, than that which is employed and restrained to the direction of one alone; which is transformed, renewed and metamorphozed (as it were) an infinit sort of times. After I had delivered this speech, I paused and held my peace. Then *Philippus*, making no long stay: As for me, I will not greatly strive nor stand upon it (quoth he) whether the truth be so or otherwise: but in case we force God out of the superintendence of one onely world, how is it, that we make him to be Creatour of five worlds, neither more nor lesse? and what the peculiar and speciall reason is of this number to

plurality of worlds, rather than of any other, I would more willingly know, than the occasion or cause, why this Mot [E I] is so consecrated in this Temple. For it is neither a triangular, nor a quadrat, nor a perfect, ne yet a cubique number: neither seemeth it to represent any other elegancie unto those, who love and esteeme such speculations as these.

And as for the argument inferred from the number of elements, which *Plato* himselfe obscurely and under covert tearmes touched, it is very hard to comprehend; neither doeth it carie and shew any probabilitie, whereby he should be induced to conclude, and draw in a consequence: that like it is, considering in matter there be engendered five sorts of regular bodies, having equall angles, equall sides, and environed with equall superficies; there should seemably of these five bodies, be five worlds made and formed, from the very first beginning. And yet (quoth I) it should seeme, that *Theodorus* the Solian, expounding the Mathematicks of *Plato*, handleth this matter not amisse, nor misinterpreteth the place; and thus goeth he to worke: The *Pyramis*, *Octaedron*, *Dodecaedron*, and *Icosaedron* (which *Plato* fettereth downe for the first bodies) are right beautifull all, both for their proportions, and also for their equalities: neither is there left for nature any other, to devise and forme better than they, or indeed answerable and like unto them. Howbeit, they have not all either the same constitution, nor the like original: for the least verily and smallest of the five is the *Pyramis*; the greatest and that which consisteth of most parts, is *Dodecaedron*; and of the other two behind, the *Icosaedron* is bigger by two fold and more, than *Octaedron*; if you compare their number of triangles. And therefore impossible it is, that they should be all made at once of one and the same matter; for the small and subtle, and such as in composition are more simple than the rest, were more pliable no doubt, and obedient unto the hand of workmen, who mooved and formed the matter, and therefore by all consequence sooner made and brought into subsistence, than those which had more parts and a greater masse of bodies: of which, and namely of such as had more laborious making, and a busier composition, is *Dodecaedron*. Whereupon it followeth necessarily, that the *Pyramis* onely was the first body, and not any of the other as being by nature created and produced afterwards. But the remedie and meanes to save and avoid this absurditie also, is to separate and divide the matter into five worlds: for here the *Pyramis* came forth first; there the *Octaedron*, and elsewhere the *Icosaedron*; and in every of these worlds, out of that which came first into esse, the rest drew their original, by the concretion of parts, which causeth them all to change into all, according as *Plato* doth insinuate, discouraging by examples in manner throughout all: but it shall suffice us briefly to learne thus much. For aire is engendered by the extinction of fire: and the same againe being subtilized and rarefied, produceth fire. Now in the feeds of these two, a man may know their passions, and the transmutations of all. The feminary or beginning of fire is the *Pyramis*, composed of foure & twenty first triangles: but the feminary of the aire is *Octaedron*, consisting of triangles of the same kind, in number fortie eight. And thus the one element of aire, standeth upon two of fire, composed and conjoined together: and againe, one body or element of the aire, is divided and parted into twaine of fire; which becomming to be thickened and confitate more still in it selfe, turneth into the forme of water; in such sort, as throughout, that which cometh first into light, giveth alwaies a ready and easie generation unto all the rest, by way of change and transmutation: and so, that never remaineth solitary and alone which is first; but as one masse and constitution hath the primitive & antecedent motion in another of original beginning: so in all there is kept one name and denomination. Now surely (quoth *Ammonius*) it is stoutly done of *Theodorus*, and he hath quit himselfe very well, in fetching about this matter so industriously. But I would much marvel if these presuppositions of his making, do not overthrow and refute one another: for he would have, that these five worlds were not composed all at once together; but that the smallest and most subtle which required least workmanship in the making, came forth first: then as a thing consequent, and not repugnant at all, he supposeth that the matter doth not thrust forth alwaies into essence, that which is most subtle and simple; but that otherwhiles the thickest, the most grosse and heavie parts, shew first in generation. But over and besides all this, after a supposal made, that there be five primitive bodies or elements, and consequently thereupon five worlds; he applicth not his prooffe and probabilitie but unto foure onely. For as touching the cube, he substracteth and removeth it quite away, as they doe who play at nine holes, and who trundle little round stones: for that such a square & quadrate body every way is naturally unfit, either to turne into them, or to yeeld them

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any meanes to turne into it for that the triangles of which they be composed, are not of the same kind: for all the rest do in a common consist of a demi-triangle, as the base, but the proper subject whereof this cube particularly standeth, is the triangle Ilofetes, which admitteth no inclination unto a demi-triangle, nor possibly can be conporate or united to it. Now if it be so, that of those five bodies there be consequently five worlds, & that in each one of those worlds the beginning of their generation and constitution, is that body which is first produced and brought to light: it would come to passe, that where the cube commeth fourth first for the generation of the rest, none of the other bodies can possibly be there, foras much as the nature of it is not to turne or change into any one of them. For I let passe heere to alledge, that the element or principle whereof Dodecaedron is composed, is not that triangle which is called Scalenon, with three unequal sides, but some other as they say, how ever *Plato* hath made his Pyramis, Octaedron, and Icosaedron of it: And therefore (quoth *Ammonius*, smiling thereat) either you must dissolve these objections, or else alledge some new matter as touching the question now presently in hand. Then answered I: For mine owne part alledge I am not able at this time any thing that carrieth more probability: but peradventure it were better for a man to yeeld reasons of his owne opinion rather, than of anothers. I o begin againe therefore I say, that nature being parted and divided at the first in two parts, the one sensible, mutable, subject to generation and corruption, and varietie every way; the other spirituall and intelligible, and continuing evermore in one and the same state, it were very strange and absurd, by good friends, first to say that the spirituall nature receiveth division, and hath diversitie and difference in it: and then to thinke much and grow into heat of cholar and anger, if a man allow not the passible and corporall nature wholly united and conporate in it selfe, without dividing or separating it into many parts. For more meet it were yet, and reasonable, that natures permanent and divine should cohere unto themselves inseparably, and avoid as much as is possible all distraction and division: and yet this force and power of *The Other*, meddling also even with these, causeth in spirituall and intellectuall things, greater dissocations and dissimilitudes in forme and essentiall reason, than are the locall distances in those corporall natures. And therefore *Plato* confuting those who hold this position, that all is one, affirmeth these five grounds and principles of all, to wit, *Effence* or being, *The same*, *The other*, and after all, *Motion*, and *Station*. Admit these five, no marvell is it, if nature of those five bodily elements hath framed proper figures and representations for every one of them, not simple and pure, but so, as every one of them is most participant of each of those properties and puissances. For, plaine and evident it is that the cube is most meet and fortale unto station and repose, in regard of the stability and stedy firmitude of those broad and flat faces which it hath. As for the *Pyramis* who seeth not and acknowledgeth not incontinently in it the nature of fire, ever mooving in those long and slender sides and sharpe angles that it hath. Also the nature of Dodecaedron apt to comprehend all other figures, may seeme properly to be the image representing *Ens*, or That which is, in respect of all corporall essence. Of the other twaine, Icosaedron resemblenth *The Other*, or *Diverse*; but Octaedron, hath a principall reference to the forme of *The same*. And so by this reckoning, the one of them produceth fourth Aire, capable of all substance in one forme; and the other exhibiteth unto us Water, which by temperature may turne into all sorts of qualities. Now if so be that nature requirith in all things and throughout all, an equall and uniforme distribution, very probable it is, that there be also five worlds, and neither more nor fewer, than there be moulds or patterns: to the end that each example or pattern may hold the first place and principall puissance in each world, like as they have in the first constitution and composition of bodies. And this may stand in some sort for an answer, and to satisfie him who marvelleth, how we devise that nature which is subject to generation and alteration, into so many kinds: but yet I beseech you, consider and weigh with me more diligently this argument. Certaine it is, that of those two first and supreme principles, I meane *Unity*, and *Binnyry* or *Duality*, this latter being the element and originall primitive of all difformity, disorder and confusion, is called Infinity: but contrariwise the nature of unity, determining and limiting the void infinity, which hath no proportion nor termination, reduceth it into a good forme, and maketh it in some sort capable and apt to receive a denomination, which alwaies accompanieth sensible things. And vutly these two generall principles shew themselves; first in numbers, or rather indeed to speake generally, no multitude is called number, untill such time as unity comming to be imprinted as the forme in matter, cutteth off from indeterminate infinity, that which is superfluous,

superfluous, heere more and there lesse; for then each multitude becommeth and is made number, when as it is once determined and limited by unity: but if a man take unity away, then the indefinite and indeterminate Duality, comming againe in place to confound all, maketh it to be without order, without grace, without number, and without measure. Now considering it is so, that the forme is not the destruction of matter, but rather the figure, ornament and order thereof; it must needs be, that both these principles are within number, from which proceedeth the chiefe dissimilitude and greatest difference. For the indefinite and indeterminate principle, to wit, Duality, is the author and cause of the even number: but the better, to wit, unity, is the father (as one would say) of the odde number; so as the first even number is two, and the first odde number three, of which is compounded five, by conjunction common to both, but in the owne puissance odde. For it behooved, & necessary it was, in as much as that which is corporall & sensible for composition sake, is divided into many parts by the power and force of *The Other*, that is to say, of Diverseitie, that it should be neither the first even number, nor yet the first uneven or odde, but a third consisting of both: to the end that it might be procreate of both principles, to wit, of that which engendreth the even number, and of that which produceth the odde; for it could not be, that the one should be parted from the other, because that both of them have the nature & puissance of a principle. These two principles then being joyned together, the better being the nightier, is opposed unto the indeterminate infinity, which divideth the corporall nature; & so the matter being divided, the unity interposing it selfe between, impeacheth the universall nature, that it was not divided and parted into two equal portions: but there was a pluralitie of worlds caused by *The Other*, that is to say, by Diverseitie, and difference of that which is infinit and determinate; but this pluralitie was brought into an odde and uneven number, by the vertue and puissance of *The same* and that which is finite, because the better principle suffred not nature to extend farther than was expedient. For if one had bene pure and simple without mixture, the matter should have had no separation at all; but in as much as it was mixed with Duality, which is a divisive nature, it hath received indeed and suffered by this meanes separation and division: howbeit, staied it hath in good time, because the odde was the master and superior over the even. This was the reason that our auncients in old time were wont to use the verbe *Pempasethai*, when they would signifie to number or to reckon: And I thinke verily that this word *pente*, that is to say, All, was derived of *Pente*, that is to say, Five, & not without good reason, because that five is compounded of the two first numbers; and when other numbers afterwards be multiplied by others, they produce divers numbers: whereas five if it be multiplied by an even number and doubled, bringeth forth Ten, a perfect number; but if by the odde, it representeth it selfe againe. Heere I omit to say, that it is composed of the two first quadrate numbers, to wit of unity and Foure; and that it is the first number which is equivalent to the two before it, in such sort as it compoundeth the fairest triangle of those that have right angle, and is the first number that containeth the lessequallrall proportion. For haply these reasons be not well suitable nor proper unto the discourse of this present matter: but this rather is more convenient to alledge, that in this number, there is a naturall vertue and facultie of dividing, and that nature divideth many things by this number. For even in our owne selves the hath placed five exterior senses, as also five parts of the soule, to wit, naturall, sensitive, concupiscible, irascible, and reasonable: likewise for many fingers in either hand. Also the generall feed is at the most distributed into five portions: for in no history is it found written, that a woman was delivered of more than five children at one birth. The Aegyptians also in their fables doe report, that the goddesse *Rhea* brought forth five gods and goddeses: signifying heereby under covert words, that of one and the same matter five worldes were procreated. Come to the universall fabricke and frame of nature, the earth is divided into five zones: the heaven also in five circles, two Arctiques, two Tropickes, and one Aequinoctiall in the midst. Moreover five revolutions there be of the Planets or wandring starres: for that the Sunne, *Venus*, and *Mercurie* run together in one race. Furthermore the very world it selfe is composed harmonically respectively to five. Like as even among us our musickall accord and concent consisteth of the posture of five tetrachords, ranged orderly one after another, to wit, of Hypates, Meses, Synnemene, Diezeugmene, and Hyperboliae likewise. The intervals likewise in song which we use be five in number, Drestis, Semitonion, Tonus, Tricimition, and Ditonon. So as, it seemeth that nature taketh more pleasure in making all things according to the number of five, than after a Sphericall or round forme; as *Aristotle* writeth. But what is the

the cause will some one say, that *Plato* hath reduced the number of five worldes to the five primitive figures of regular bodies, saying, that God in ordaining and describing the whole world used the *Quinarie* construction? and yet afterwards having propofed the doubtfull question of the number of worldes (to wit, whether we should hold, there was but one, or rather that there were five in truth?) he sheweth plainly that his conjecture is grounded upon this very argument. If therefore we ought to apply the probability to his minde and opinion, then of necessity with the diversity of these figures and bodies there must ensue presently a difference also of motions, according as he himselfe teacheth, affirming: Whatsoever is subtilized or thickened, with the alteration of substance changeth withall the place. For so, if of the aire is ingendered fire, namely when the Octaedron is dissolved and parted into *Pyramides*: and contrariwise 10
of fire being driven close and thrust together into the force of octaedron: it is not possible that it should be in the place where it was afore, but flie and runne into another, as being forced and driven out of the former, and so fight against whatsoever standeth in the way and maketh resistance. And yet more fully and evidently declareth he the same by a similitude and example of such things, as by fannes or such like instruments whereby come is clenfed & shaken out, or winowed and tried from the rest: saying that even so the elements shaking the matter, and likewise shaken by it, went alwaies to bring like to like, and some tooke up this place, others that, before the universall world was of them composed as now it is. The generall matter therefore being in such estate then (as by good likelihood All must needs be where god is away) presently the first five qualities, or rather the first five bodies, having every one of them their proper inclination and peculiar motions, went apart: not wholly and altogether, nor fevered sincerely asunder one from another, for that when all was huddled pell-mell confusedly, such as were furmounted and vanquished, went evermore even against their nature with the mightier and those which conquered. And therefore when forme was crealed one way, and others caried another way, it hapned that they made as many portions and distinctions in number just as there were divers kinds of those first bodies: the one of fire, and yet the same not pure, but carying the forme of fire: another of a celestiall nature, not sincere heaven indeed, but standing much of the skie: a third of earth, and yet not simply and wholly earth, but rather earthly. But principally, there was a communication of aire and water, as we have said heeretofore, for that these went their waies filled with many divers kinds. For it was not God who separated and disposed the substance, but having found it so rashly and confusedly dissipated of it selfe, and ech part caried diversly in so great disorder, he digested and arranged it by Symmetricke and competent proportion. Then, after he had set over every one, Reason as a guardian and governess, he made as many worldes as there were kinds of those first bodies subsistent. And thus let this discourse for *Ammonius* sake, be dedicated as it were to the grace and favour of *Plato*. For mine owne part, I will never stand so precisely upon this number of worldes: many of this minde I am rather, that their opinion who hold that there be more worldes than one (howbeit not infinit but determinate) is not more absurd than either of the other, but founded upon as much reason as they: seeing as I doe, that Matter of the owne nature is spread and diffused into many parts, not resting in one, and yet not permitted by reason, to runne in infinitum. And therefore, especially heere 40
(if else where) putting our selves in minde of the Academicke and the precepts thereof, let us not be over credulous, but as in a slippery place restraine our assent and beleefe: only in this point of infinity of worldes, let us stand firme and see we fall not but keepe our selves upright. When I had delivered these reasons abovesaid: Beleeve me (quoth *Demetrius*) *Lamprias* giveth us a good and wise admonition, For

*The gods for to deceive wemen, devise
Right many meanes not of false Sophistries*

as *Empiricus* saith: but of their deeds & works, when we presume and dare pronounce of so high and great matters, as if we knew them certainly. But as the man himselfe said even now, we must recall our speech unto the argument which was first propofed. For that which heeretofore 50
hath beene said, namely that the Oracles are become mute and lie still without any validity, because the Daemons which were wont to governe them, be retired and gone, like as instruments of musicke yeeld no found and harmonic when the Musicians handle them not: this (I say) giveth occasion to moove another question of greater importance, as touching the cause and power, by which the Daemons use to make their prophets and prophetesses to be ravished with an Enthusiasmie or divine fury and full of fantasticall visions. For it is to no purpose to say, that the

the Oracles are silent, because they be abandoned and forsaken of the Daemons; unless we be first perswaded, that when they be present and present over them, they set them a worke, and cause them to speake and prophesie. Then *Ammonius* taking his turne to speake: Thinke you (quoth he) that these Daemons be called any thing els,

*Then spirits clad with substance of the aire,
Which walke about the earth, now here now there,*

as saith *Hesiodus*? For it seemeth unto me, that looke how one man differeth from another, playing either in a Comedie or a Tragedie: the same difference sheweth in the soule, which is arrayed and clothed within a bodie during this life. There is nothing therefore herein, either strange: 10
or without appearance of reason, if soules meeting with other soules, imprint in them visions and fancies of future things: like as we also shew many accidents done and past, yea and foretell and prognosticate of such as are to come, not all by lively voice, but some by letters and writings; nay by touching onely and the regard of the eie; unless peradventure, you have somewhat els (*6 Lamprias*) to say against this. For it was not long since told us, that you had much disputation and conference with certaine strangers in *Lebada*; but he who related this newes unto us, could not call exactly to minde what talke passed betwene you. Marvell not thereat (quoth I) for many affaires and occurrences fell out at once betwene, by occasion that the Oracle was open, and a sacrifice solemnized, which caused our speeches to be dispersed, distracted and scattered disorderly. But now (quoth *Ammonius*) your auditors be at good leisure, willing also 20
to aske questions and to learne, not desirous to contest and contradict in a litigious and quarrelsome humor; before whom you may have good leave to speake what you will, and for that liberty of speech have pardon at their hands and be held excused, as you see. Now when the rest of the company invited and exhorted me likewise, after some pause made and silence for a while, I began againe in this manner: Certes (quoth I) *6 Ammonius*, it fortuneth so, I wot not how, that even your selfe gave the overture and first occasion of those discourses which then and there were held. For if Daemons be spirits and soules separate from bodies, and having no fellowship with them (as your selfe said, following herein the divine Poet *Hesiodus* who calleth them:

*Pure spirits, heere walking on the earth at large:
Of mortall men, who have the care and charge)*

why deprive we those spirits and soules which are within the bodies, of this same puissance, whereby the Daemons are able to foresee and foretell things to come? For it is not like, that the soules acquired any new propriety or power, when they have abandoned the bodies, where-with they were not endued before: but thinke we must that they had the same parts and faculties alwaies, although worse I must needs say, when they be mixed with bodies. And some of them verily appeare not at all, but be hidden: others are but obscure and feeble, such as heavily and slowly performe their operations (much like unto those who see through a thicke mist, or moove in some moist and waterish substance) desiring greatly to be cured, and to recover that facultie which is their owne; to be discharged also and clenfed of that which hindreth and de- 40
fraudeth them of it. For the soule, even while it is bound and tied to the body, hath indeed a power to foresee and know future things: but blinded it is with the terrestriall mixture of corporall substance; for that, like as the Sunne becometh not then to be cleere, and not afore, when he is past the clouds; but being of himselfe alwaies shining, he seemeth unto us darke and troubled through a mist: even so the soule, getteth not then a new power of divination and prophesie, when she departeth out of the body, as if she were escaped out of a cloud; but having the fame before, is dimmed and obscured by the commixtion and confusion with that which is mortall and corruptible. Neither ought we to make a wonder heeret, and thinke it incredible, seeing as we do (if there were nothing else in the soule) how that faculty which we call Memory, is equippollent and answerable in an opposite respect unto the puissance of divination; and con- 50
sidering the great effect thereof, in preserving and keeping things past or rather indeed keeping them whiles they be. For to say truly, of that which is once passed nothing remaineth nor subsisteth in *esse*, were they actions, wordes, or passions: for all things be transitory and passe away as soone as they are, because time, in manner of a current or streame, carrieth all away before it; but this memorative faculty of the soule catching hold thereof knoweth not how, and staying it for slipping away, giveth an imagination of essence and being to those things, which in truth are not. For the Oracle verily which was given to the Theffalians as touching the city *Arna*, willed them to utter and speake

*That which the blinde see cleare,
And what the deafe doe heare.*

But memory is unto us the heating of the deafe, and the sight likewise of the blinde; in such sort, as no marvell it is (as I have already said) if our soule in retaining still things which are no more, doth anticipate many of those also, which are not yet. And such objects indeed concerne it rather, and therewith is it affected more. For the bendeth and inclineth towards things that are to come: whereas of such as be already past and come to their end, she is freed and delivered, but only that she remembreth them. Our soules then having this puissance in them inbred and naturall, though feeble, obscure, and hardly able to expresse and represent their imaginations; yet nevertheless some of them threw and put them forth many times in dreames and in certaine sacred ceremonies and mysteries: namely, when the body is well purified, or receiveth a fit temperature therefore, or else for that the reasonable and speculative faculty being then freed from the cares of things present, joyneth with the unreasonable and imaginative part, and turneth it to thinke upon the future. For I approve not that which *Euripides* saith:

*I hold him for Divinor best,
Who in conjectures musteth lef.*

but he verily who is directed by the reasonable and intelligent part of the soule, and followeth the conduct and leading thereof by all probability. Now that power or facultie of divination (like unto a paire of blanke writing tables, wherein there is nothing written) void of reason and not determinate of it selfe, but only apt and meet to receive fancies, affections, and presentations, without any discourse of reason, or ratiocination, hitteth upon that which is to come, at what time as it is most remooved from that which is present; and in this extasie it is transfused, by a certaine temperature and disposition of the body, which we call *Enthusiasme* or inspiration. Now such a disposition as this, many times the body of it selfe hath; but the earth putteth forth and yeeldeth unto men the sources and fountaines of many other powers and faculties: some of which transport them out of their wits, bringing maladies, contagions, and mortalities: others againe be sometime good, kinde, and profitable, as they know full well who make experience thereof. But this spring, this winde, or propheticall spirit of divination, is most divine and holy, whether it arise and breath up alone by it selfe through the aire, or be drawn up with some liquid humour. For comming once to be infused and mixed within the body, it causeth a strange temperature and unusual disposition in the soules: the property whereof, a right hard matter it is to declare exactly, and expresse certainly; but a man in reason may attaine thereto by conjecture sundry waies: for by heat and dilatation, it openeth (I wot not what) little holes, by which in all likelihood the imaginative facultie is set on worke about future things; much like as wine which working and boiling in the body fummeth up, and among other motions, it revealeth and discovereth many hidden secrets. For the fury of *Bacchus* and of drunkenesse, if we may beleve *Euripides*, containeth much divination: when the soule being enchafted and enflamed, expelleth all feare, which humane wisdom bringeth in, and by that means many times averteeth and quencheth the divine inspiration. And heerewithall a man may alledge very well, and not without great reason, that scitic comming intermingled with heat, subtilizeth the spirit, and maketh it pure, and of the nature of fire (for according to *Heraclitus*, The soule it selfe is of a dry constitution:) whereas humiditie doth not only dim the sight, and dull the hearing, but also being mingled with the aire, and touching the superficies of mirrors, dusketh the brightnesse of the one, and taketh away the light of the other. On the contrary side, it is not impossible that by some refrigeration and condensation of this spirit, after the manner of the tincture and hardnesse of iron, this part of the soule which doth prognosticate, should shew it selfe and get a perfect edge. And like as tinne being melted with brasse (which of it selfe is a metall in the oare, rare, spongius, and full of little holes) doth drive it neerer, and maketh it more massie and solid, and withall, causeth it to looke more bright and resplendent: even so, I see no inconvenience to hinder, but that this propheticall exhalation having some congruence and affinity with the soules, should fill up that which is lax and empty, and drive it close together more inwardly. For many things there be, that have a reference and congruence one unto the other: thus the beane is fortale unto the purple die; Sal-nitre likewise helpeth much the tincture of a rich scarlet or crimson colour, if it be mixed therewith, according also as *Empedocles* saith:

*And with the flower of Saffron red,
Fine flux and silke are coloured.*

And

And we have heard you speake (good friend *Demetrius*) of the river *Cydnu*, and the sacred cutting knife of *Apollo* in *Tarsus*; and namely, how the said river onely cleareth that iron whereof the knife is made, neither is there any other water in the world able to scoure that knife: likewise in the city *Olympia*, they temper the ashes that commeth of the sacrifices, with the water of the river *Alpheu*, and make thereof a morter, wherewith they plaister the altar there; but if they assay to doe it with the water of any other river else, it will not stick to, nor binde one jot. No marvell therefore it is, if the earth sending up out of it many exhalations, these onely are found to transport the soules with an enthusiasme or divine fury, and represent the imaginations and fancies of future things. But without all question and contradiction, the report that goeth of the Oracle in this place, accordeth well to this purpose. For it is said, that this propheticall and divining power heere, shewed it selfe first, by occasion of a certaine heardman, who chanced heere to fall; who thereupon began to cast forth certaine fanaticall cries and voices, as if he had bene possessed with such a divine inspiration. Whereof the neighbors and those that came about him, at first made no account; but afterwards, when they saw that it fell out so indeed, as he had foretold, they had the man in great admiration: and the greatest clerks and wisest men of all the Delphians, calling to remembrance his name, gave out that it was *Coretus*. So that, it seemeth to me, that the soule admitteth this temperature and mixture with this propheticall spirit, as the sight of the cie is affected with the light. For albeit the cie hath naturall a property and power to see, yet the same is not effectually without the light: even so the soule having this puissance and facultie, to foresee future things, like unto the cie had need of some proper and convenient thing to kindle it as it were, and set an edge upon it. And heereupon it is, that many of our ancients have thought *Apollo*, and the Sunne, to be one and the same god. They also who know what this beautifull and wise proportion is, and withall doe honour it: looke what reference or respect there is of the body to the soule, of the sight to light, and of the * under-
standing to the truth; the same force and power they esteemed there is of the Sunnes power, unto the nature of *Apollo*: saying, that he is the issue and geniture proceeding from *Apollo* who is eternall, and who continually bringeth him forth. For like as the one kindles, bringeth forth and stirreth up the visuell power and vertue of the sense: even so doth the other by the propheticall vertue of the soule. They therefore who thought that it was one and the selfe same god, by good right dedicated and consecrated this Oracle unto *Apollo*, and unto the Earth: judging, that the Sunne it was which wrought that temperature and imprinted this disposition in the earth, whereof arose this propheticall evaporation. And verily as *Hesiodus* upon good consideration, and with much more reason than some Philosophers, called the Earth:

The ground-worke sure

Of all nature:

even so we deeme it to be eternall, immortall, and incorruptible: many of the vertues and faculties which are in it, we hold that some faile in one place, and others breed a new and engender in another: and great probability there is, that there be transmutations and changes from one place to another, and that such revolutions as these, in the course and proceesse of long time turne and returne circularly often in it; as a man may conjecture and certainly collect by such things as manifestly do appeere. For in divers and sundry countries, we see that lakes and whole rivers, yea and many more fountaines and springs of hot waters, have failed and beene quite lost, as being fled out of our sight, and hidden within the earth; but afterwards in the very same places they have in time shewed themselves againe, or else run hard by. And of metall mines, we know that some have beene spent cleane and emptied; as namely, those of silver about the territory of *Attica*: seembly the vaines of brasse ore in *Euboea*, out of which they forged sometime the best swords, that were hardened with the tincture of cold water: according to which the Poet *Aeschylus* saith:

*He tooke in hand the keene and douty blade,
Which of Euboean Steele sometime was made.*

The rocke also and quarry in *Carystia*, it is not long since it gave over to bring forth certaine bals or bortes of soft stone, which they use to spin and draw into thred, in manner of flax: for I suppose that some of you have seene towles, napkins, nets, caules, kerchiefs and coifes woven of such thred, which would not burne and consume in the fire; but when they were foule and soiled with occupying, folke flung them into the fire, and tooke them forth againe cleane and faire: but now all this is quite gone, and hardly within the said delse shall a man meet

XXXX

with

* Our understanding
or light.

with some few haire threads of that matter, running here & there among the hard stones digged out from thence. Now of all these things *Aristotle* and his sectaries hold: That an exhalation within the earth, is the onely efficient cause, with which of necessity such effects must faile and passe from place to place; as also otherwhiles, breed againe therewith. Semblably are we to thinke of the spirits and exhalations propheticall which issue out of the earth; namely, that they have not a nature immortall, and such as can not age or waxe olde, but subject to change and alteration. For probable it is, that the great glutes of raine and extraordinary floods, have extinguished them quite, and that by the terrible fall of thunder-bolts the places were smitten, and they withall dissipated and dispatched: but principally, when the ground hath bene shaken with earthquakes, and thereupon settled downward and fallen in, with trouble and confusion of whatfoever was below; it cannot chuse but such exhalations contained within the holow caves of the earth, either changed their place and were driven forth, or utterly were stifled and choked. And so in this place also, there remained and appeared some tokens of that great earthquake, which overthrow the city and staid the Oracle here: like as, by report in the city *Orchomenus*, there was a plague which swept away a number of people; and therewith the Oracle of *Tiresias* the prophet, failed for ever, & so continued at this day mute and to no effect. And whether the like befall unto the Oracles which were wont to be in *Cilicia*, as we heare say, no man can more certainly informe us than you *Demetrius*. Then *Demetrius*: How things stand now at this present, I wot not; for I have bene a traveller and out of my native country a long time, as yee all know: but when I was in those parts, both that of *Mopsus*, and also the other of *Amphilechus*, flourished and were in great request. And as for the Oracle of *Mopsus*, I am able to make report unto you of a most strange and wonderfull event thereof, for that I was my selfe present. The Governour of *Cilicia* is of himselfe doubtfull and unbeliefe (for otherwise he was a naughty man, upon infirmity, as I take it, of miscredence and unbelieve (for otherwise he was a naughty man, a violent oppressor, and scorner of religion.) But having about him certaine Epicureans, who standing much upon this their goodly and beautifull Physilogie forsooth (as they terme it) or else all were married, scoffe at such things, he sent one of his affianched or freed servants unto the Oracle of *Mopsus* indeed, howbeit, making semblance as if he were an espiall, to discover the campe of his enemies: he sent him (I say) with a letter furly sealed, wherein he had written without the privy of any person whatsoever a question or demaund to be presented unto the Oracle. This messenger, after the order and custome of the place, remaining all night within the sanctuary of the temple, fel there asleepe, and rehearsed the morrow morning what a dreame he had; and namely, that he thought he saw a faire and beautifull man to present himselfe unto him, and say unto him this onely word *Blake*, and no more: for presently he went his way out of his sight. Now wee that were there, thought this to be a foolish and absurd toy, neither wile we what to make of it. But the governour aforesaid was much astonied thereat, and being stricken with a great remorse and pricke of conscience, worshipped *Mopsus* and held his Oracle most venerable; for opening the letter, he shewed publickly the demaund contained therein, which went in these words: *Shall I sacrifice unto thee a white Bull or a blake?* inasmuch as the very Epicureans themselves who conversed with him, were much abashed and ashamed. So he offered the sacrifice accordingly, and ever afterwards to his dying day honoured *Mopsus* right devoutly.

Demetrius having thus said, held his peace: but I desirous to conclude this whole disputation with some corollary, turned againe and cast mine eye upon *Philippus* and *Ammonius* who sat together. Now they seemed as if they had somewhat to speake unto me, and thereupon I staid my selfe againe. With that, *Ammonius* is *Philip* (quoth he) *ô Lamprias*, hath somewhat yet to say of the question which hath bene all this while debated. For he is of opinion, as many others beside him are, that *Apollo* is no other god than the Sunne, but even the very same. But the doubt which I move, is greater and of more important matters. For I wot not how ere while, in the traine of our discourse, we tooke from the gods all divination and ascribed the same in plaine termes to Daemons and angels: and now we will seeme to thrust them out againe from hence, and to disleize them of the Oracle and three footed table of which they were possessed; conferring the beginning and principall cause of prophesie, or rather indeed the very substance and power it selfe, upon windes, vapours, and exhalations. For even those temperatures, heats, tinctures, and consolidations (if I may so say) which have bene talked of, remove our minde and opinion farther off still from the gods, and put into our heads this imagination

and conceit of such a cause, as *Enripides* deviseth Cyclops to alledge in the Tragedie bearing his name:

*The earth must needs bring forth grasse, thin flut,
Will she or will she, and feed my earrell faste.*

This onely is the difference, because he saith not that he sacrificed his beasts unto the gods, but unto himselfe and his belly, the greatest of all the Daemons: but we both sacrifice and also powre forth our prayers unto them, for to have their answers from the Oracles: and to what purpose I pray you, if it be true, that our owne soules bring with them a propheticall facultie and vertue of divination, and the cause which doth excite and aduate the same, be some temperature of the aire, or rather of winde? What meanes then, the sacred institutions and creations of these religious prophetesses ordained for the pronouncing of answers? And what is the reason that they give no answer at all, unless the host or sacrifice to be killed, tremble all over even from the very feet, and shake whiles the libaments & effusions of halowed liquors be powred upon it. For it is not enough to wag the head, as other beasts doe which are slaine for sacrifice, but this quaking, panting and thivering must be throughout all the parts of the body, and that with a trembling noise. For if this be wanting, they say the Oracle giveth no answer, neither doe they so much as bring in the religious priestesse *Pythia*. And yet it were probable that they should both doe and thinke thus, who attribute the greatest part of this propheticall inspiration, either to God or Daemon. But according as you say, there is no reason or likelihood thereof: for the exhalation that ariseth out of the ground, whether the beast tremble or no, will alwaies if it be present, cause a ravishment and transportation of the spirit, and evermore dispose the soule alike, not onely of *Pythia*, but also of any body else that first cometh or is presented. And thereupon it followeth, that a meere folly it is, to employ one filly woman in the Oracle, and to put her to (poore soule) to be a votary and live a pure maiden all the daies of her life, sequestered from the company of man. And as for that *Cereas*, whom the Delphians name to have bene the first that chancing to fall into this chinke or crevasse of the ground, gave the hanell of the vertue and property of the place, in mine opinion he differed nothing at all from other gotcheards, or shepherds, nor excelled them one whit: at leastwise if this be a truth that is reported of him, and not a meere fable and vaine fiction, as I suppose it is no better.

And verily when I consider and discourse in my selfe, how many good things this Oracle hath bene cause of unto the Greeks, as well in their warres and martiall affaires, as in the foundations of cities, in the distresses of famine and pestilence, methinks it were a very indignity and unworthy part, to attribute the invention and original thereof unto meere fortune and chance, and not unto God and divine providence. But upon this point, I would gladly *ô Lamprias*, (quoth he) have you to dispute and discourse a little: how say you *Philippus*, may it please you to have patience the while? Most willingly (quoth *Philippus*) for my part: and so much I may be bold also to promise in the behalfe of all the company, for I see well that the question by you proposed hath moved them all. And as for my selfe (quoth I) *ô Philippus*, in hath not onely moved, but also abashed and dismayed me, for that in this so notable assembly and conference of so many worthy personages, I may seeme above mine age, in bearing my selfe and taking pride in the probability of my wordes, to overthrow or to call into question any of those things, which truly have bene delivered, or religiously beleaved as touching God and divine matters! But satisfie you I will, and in the defence of my selfe produce for my witness and advocate both, *Plato*. For this Philosopher reprooved old *Anaxagoras*, in that being too much addicted to naturall causes and entangled with them; following also and pursuing alwaies that which needfully is effected in the passions and affections of naturall bodies, he overpassed the final and efficient causes, for which and by which things are done, and those are indeed the better causes and principles of greater importance: whereas himselfe either before, or else most of all other Philosophers hath prosecuted them both: attributing unto God the beginning of all things

50 wrought by reason: and not depriving in the meane while the matter of those causes which are necessary unto the worke done: but acknowledging here in, that the adorning and dispose of all this world sensible, dependeth not upon one simple cause alone, as being pure and uncompounded, but was engendered and tooke essence, when matter was coupled and conjoined with reason. That this is so, doe but consider first the workes wrought by the hand of Artificers: as for example (not to goe farther for the matter) that same foot here and basis so much renowned, of the standing cup, among other ornaments and oblations of this temple (which *Herodotus*

called, *Hypocretion*) this hath for the materiall cause verily, fire, iron, the mollesying by the meanes of fire, and the tincture or dipping in water, without which this peece of worke could not possibly have bene wrought. But the more principall cause and mistresse indeed, which moved all this, and did worke by all these, was art and reason applied unto the worke. And verily we see that over such peeces, whether they be pictures or other representations of things, the name of the artificer and workman is written, as for example:

*This picture Polygnotus drew,
of Troy won long before,
Who father had Aglaophon,
and was in Thalos borne.*

And verily he it was indeed as you see, who painted the destruction of *Troy*: but without colours ground, confused and mingled one with another, impossible had it bene for him to have exhibited such a picture, so faire and beautifull to the eye as it is. If then some one come now and will needs meddle with the materiall cause, searching into the alterations and mutations thereof, particularizing of Sinopre mixed with Ochre, or Cerusse with blacke, doth he impair or diminish the glory of the painter *Polyclitus*? He also, who discounteth how iron is hardened, and by what meanes mollified: and how being made soft and tender in the fire, it yeeldeth and obaitheth them who by beating and knocking drive it out in length and breadth: and afterwards being dipped and plunged into fresh waters till, by the actual coldnesse of the said water (for that the fire heats had softened and rarefied it before) it is thrust close together and condensate: by means whereof it getteth that stiffe, compact and hard temper of Steele, which *Homere* calleth the very force of iron; reserveth he for the workman any thing lesse hereby, in the principall cause and operation of his worke? I suppose he doth not. For some there be who make prooffe and triall of Physicke drogues, and yet I row they condemne not thereby the skill of Physicker: like as *Plato* also himselfe, when he saith: That we doe see, because the light of our eye is mixed with the cleerenesse of the Sunne; and heare by the percussion and beating of the aire, doth not deny that we have the facultie of seeing and power of hearing by reason and providence. For in summe, as I have said and doe still averre, whereas all generation proceedeth of two causes, the most ancient Theologians and Poets, vouchsafed to set their minde upon the better only and that which was more excellent, chaunting evermore this common refrain and foot (as it were) of the song in all things and actions whatsoever:

*Jove is the first, the midst, the last;
all things of him depend:
By him begin they, and proceed;
in him they come to end.*

After other necessary and naturall causes they never sought farther, nor came neerer unto them: whereas the moderne Philosophers who succeeded after them and were named naturalists, tooke a contrary course, and turning cleane aside from that most excellent and divine principle, ascribed al unto bodies, unto passions also of bodies, and I wot not what percussions, mutations and temperatures. And thus it is come to passe, that as well the one sort as the other, are in their opinions defective and come thort of that which they should. For as these either of ignorance know not, or of negligence regard not to set downe the efficient principall cause, whereby, and from which, so the other before, leave out the materiall causes, of which; and the instrumentall meanes, by which things are done. But he who first manifestly touched both causes, and coupled with the reason that freely worketh and moveth, the matter which necessarily is subject and sufficeth; he (I say) for himselfe & us, answereth all calumnies, and putteth by all firmizes and suspitions whatsoever. For we beare not divination either of God, or of reason: for as much as we graunt unto it for the subject matter, the soule of man; and for an instrument and plectre (as it were) to set it a worke, we allow a spirit or winde, and an exhalation enthusiasticke. First and foremost, the earth it is that engendreth such exhalations: then, that which giveth unto the earth all power and vertue of this temperature and mutation is the Sunne, who (as we have learned by tradition from our forefathers) is a god. After this we adjoine thereto, the Dæmons as superintendants, overseers and keepers of this temperature (as if it were some harmony and consonance) who in due and convenient time let downe and slacke, or else set up and stretch hard the vertue of this exhalation: taking from it otherwhiles the over-active efficacy that it hath to torment the soule and transport it beside it selfe: tempering therewith a motive

vertue

vertue without working any paine, or hurt and damage to them that are inspired and possessed therewith. Wherein me thinks, we doe nothing that seemeth either absurd or impossible: neither in killing sacrifices before we come to move the Oracle, and adorning them with coronets of flowers; and pouring upon them sacred liquors and libations, doe we ought that is contrary to this discourse and opinion of purg. For the priests and sacrificers, and whosoever have the charge, to kill the beast, and to pour upon it the holy libations of wine or other liquors; who also observe and consider the motions assembling and the whole demeanour thereof, doe the same for no other end or cause but to hand a signe, that God give: he care unto them demanded. For necessary it is that the beast sacrificed unto the gods be pure, fount, entier, immaculate, and uncorrupt both in soule and body. And verily, for the body it is no hard matter to judge and know the markes; as for the soule they shake an experiment, by setting before bulles, mcale: by presenting unto swine, cloths passe: for if they will not fall to, nor tast thereof, it is a certaine token, that they be not right: For the goat if cold water is the triall. Now if the beast make no shew and semblance of being moved or affected, when as the said water is poured aloft on it; be sure the soule thereof is unadvised, as it ought to be by nature.

Now, say it go for current and be constantly believed; that it is an undoubted and infallible signe; that the God will give answer, when the host or sacrifice thus drenched doth rise; and contrariwise, that he will not answer if the beast, quoth not, & for nothing herein repugnant unto that, which we have before delivered. For every natural power produceth the effect for which it is ordained, better or worse, according as the time and season is more or lesse convenient; and probable it is, that God giveth us certaine signes, whereby we may know when the opportunity is past. For mine owne part, I am of this minde, that the very exhalation it selfe which ariseth out of the earth, is not alwaies of the same force, but at one time is slacke and feeble, at another stretched out and strong. And, the argument which maketh me thus to judge, I may easily confirm and verifie by the testimonie of many strangers and of all those ministers who serve in the temple. For the chamber or room, wherein they are set and give attendance who come to demand the answer of the Oracle, is filled thoro' (not often, nor at certaine set times; but as it falleth out after some space betwene) with so fragrant an odour and pleasant breath, as the most precious ointments and sweetest perfumes in the world can yeeld no better. And this ariseth from the sanctuarie and vault of the temple, as out of some fount and lively fountain: and verily like it is, that it is heat, or at leastwise some other puissance, that sendeth it forth. Now if peradventure, this may seeme unto you not probable nor to found but true; yet will ye at leastwise confesse unto me, that the Prophetesse *Pythia* hath that part of the soule, unto which this winde or propheticall spirit approacheth, disposed some time in this sort, and otherwhiles in that, and keepeth not alwaies the same temperature, as an harmonie immutable. For many troubles and passions there be that possesse her body, and enter likewise in her soule, some apparently but more, secret and unscene: with which the finding herselfe seized and replenished, better it were for her not to prevent and exhibit herselfe to this divine inspiration of the god; being not altogether cleane and pure from all perturbations; like unto an instrument of Musick well set in tune and sounding sweetly, but passionate and out of order. For neither wine doth surprize the drunken man alwaies alike, and as much at one time as at another; nor the found of the flute or shalme affecteth after one and the same sort at all times, him who naturally is given to be soone ravished with divine inspiration: but the same persons are sometime more, and another while lesse transported beside themselves; and drunken likewise, more or lesse. The reason is, because in their bodies there is a divers temperature: but principally, the imaginative part of the soule, and which receiveth the images and fantasies, is possessed by the body, and subject to change with it, as appeareth evidently by dreames: for sometimes there appeare many visions and fantasies of all sorts in our sleeps; otherwhiles againe, we are free from all such illusions, and rest in great quietnesse and tranquillitie. We our selves know this *Cleon* here of *Dandia*, who all his life time (and many yeeres he lived) never (as he said himselfe) dreamed nor saw any vision in his sleepe: and of those in former times, we have heard as much reported of *Thrasymedes* the Heroicall. The cause whereof, was the temperature of the bodie: whereas contrariwise it is scene, that the complexion of melancholicke persons is apt to dreame much, and subject to many illusions in the night; although it seemeth their dreames and visions be more regular, and fall out truer than others, for that such persons touching their imaginative faculty with one fantasie or other, it can not chuse but they meet with the truth otherwhiles: much like as when a man shoots many

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that's,

shafts, it goeth hard if he hit not the marke with one. When as therefore the imaginative part and the propheticall faculty is well disposed and futable with the temperature of the exhalation, as it were with some medicinable potion, then of necessitie there must be engendered within the bodies of Prophets an Enthusiasme or divine furie: contrariwise, when there is no such proportionable disposition, there can be no propheticall inspiration; or if there be; it is fanatically, unseasonable, violent and troublefome: as we know, how of late it befel to that *Pythias* or Prophetesse, who is newly departed. For there being many pilgrims and strangers come from foren parts to consult with the Oracle, it is said, that the host or beast to be sacrificed, did endure the first libaments and liquors that were powred upon it, never stirring thereat nor once quenching for the matter: but after that the Priests and Sacrificers powred still, and never gave over to cast liquor on, beyond all measure; at length (after great laving and drenching of it) hardly and with much ado it yielded and trembled a little. But what hapned hereupon to the Prophetesse or *Pythias* aforesaid? VVhent she did indeed downie into the cave or hole, against her will (as they said) and with no alacrity at all: but incontinently, when she was come up againe, at the very first words and answers that she pronounced, it was well known by the horrencie of her voice, that she could not endure the violence of possession, being replenished with a maligne and mute spirit, much like unto a ship caried away under full sailes with a blustering gale of wind. Inso-much as in the end being exceedingly troubled, and with a fearefull and hideous crie, making haste to get out, she flung herselfe downe, and fell upon the earth: so that not onely the fore-said pilgrims fled for feare, but *Nicander* also the High-priest, and other Sacrificers and religious ministers that were present. VVho notwithstanding afterwards taking heart unto them, and entring againe into the place, rooke her up lying still in an extasie besides herselfe: and in very truethe, she lived not many daies after. And therefore it is, that the said *Pythias* keepeth her bodie pure and cleane from the company of man, and forbidden her is to converse or have commerce al her life time with any stranger. Also, before they come to the Oracle, they observe certaine signes; for that they thinke it is known unto the God, when her bodie is prepared and disposed to receive (without danger of her person) this Enthusiasme. For the force and vertue of this exhalation, doth not move and incite all sorts of persons, nor the same alwaies after one maner, nor yet as much at one time as at another: but giveth onely a beginning, and setteth to (as it were) a match to kindle it, as we have said before; even unto those onely who are prepared and framed aforeshand to suffer and receive this alteration. Now this exhalation (without all question) is divine and celestia: howbeit for all that, not such as may not faile and cease, nor incorruptible, nor subject to age and decay, nor able to last and endure for ever: and under it, all things suffer violence, which are betwene the earth and the moone, according to our doctrine: however others there be who affirme, that those things also which are above, are not able to resist it; but being wearied an eternall and infinite time, are quickly changed and renewed (as one would say) by a second birth & regeneration. But of these matters (quoth I) advise you I would and my selfe also, elsomnes to call to minde, and consider often this discourse, for that they be points expofed to many reprehensions, and sundry objections may be alledged against them. All which, the time will not suffer us now to prosecute at large: and therefore let us put them off unto another opportunity, together with the doubts and questions which

Philippus moved as touching *Apollo* and the Sunne.



WHAT



WHAT SIGNIFIETH THIS WORD EI, ENGRA- VEN OVER THE DORE OF APOL- LOS TEMPLE IN THE CI- TIE OF DELPHI.

The Summarie.



Among infinite testimonies of the fury of malignant spirits and evil angels (who having bene created at first good, kept not their original, but fell from the degree and state of happinesse, wherein continue by the grace and favour of God the good angels, who minister and attend upon those who shall receive the inheritance of salvation and everlasting life) these may be reckoned for the chiefe and principall, that such reprobate spirits and accursed fiends, endeavour & practise by all meanes possible to make themselves to be adored by men: and saine would they be set in the throne of him, who having imprisoned and tied them fast in a deepe dungeon, with the chaine of darke knesse, reserveth them to the judgement of that great day of doome. And so farre proceeded they in pride and presumption, as to cause themselves to be stiled by the name of Gods; yea, and to be adorned with those titles, which are due and apperaine unto the Aeternall, their soveraigne judge. Their devices and artificiall meanes to bring this about, be wonderfull, and of exceeding variety: according as the infinit numbers of idols swarming in all parts, and so many strange and uncomly superstitions, wherewith the world hath bene disjamed unto this present day, doe testifie and give evident proofe. But if there be any place in the whole earth, wherein Satan hath actually shewed his furious rage against God and man, it is Greece: and above all, in that renowned temple of Delphi, which was the common seat, upon which this cursed enemy hath received the homages of an infinit number of people of all sorts and qualities, under the colour and pretence of resolving their doubtfull questions. Here then especially presumed he and was so bold, as to take upon him the name of God: and for to reach thereto, hath set out and garnished his Oracles, with ambiguous speeches, short and sententious, intermingling some truethe among lies: even as it pleased the just Judge of the world, to let the reines loose unto this notorious seducer, and to give him power for to deceive and abuse the world: as also by certaine notable sayings (as these): Know thy selfe. Nothing too much: and such like) he hath kept bound unto him, persons of highest spirit and greatest conceit: causing them to thinke, that in delivering so goodly precepts for the rule and direction of this life, it must needs be the true friend of mankind, yea and the very heavenly wisdom, that spake by these Oracles. But his audacious pride, together with most intolerable impudence, hath appeared in the inscription of this bare word, EI, upon the porch of the temple of Apollo in Delphi, in that he pretended title and claimed thereby (according to the last interpretation thereof in this present discourse) to put himselfe in the place of the eternall God: who onely Is, and loveth Being unto all things. And that which worse is, the blindness was so horrible, even of the wisest Sages, that this opinion hath bene seated in their heads, whiles this tyrant possessed them, in such sort, as they tooke pleasure to suffer themselves (so to be censured by him. But hereby good cause have we to praise our God, who hath discovered and laid open to us such impostures, and maketh his majestic known unto us by his word, to be the onely true and eternall deities; in adoring and worshipping whom, we may safely and truly say EI, that is to say, Thou art: as contrariwise, the deceitfull wiles and illusions of Satan and his complices, do declare how fearefull and horrible the judgement of God is upon such rebellious spirits. Now if some over-busie and curious head, will heere dispute and reason against the justice of him who is the disposer of all things, and enterprise to controule that eternall wisdom which governeth the world, for having mercy upon such as it pleaseth him, and suffering

suffering to fall from so excellent an estate, the Apostatate and disobedient angels, and yet permitting them to have such a powerfull hand over the most part of Adams children; we answer in one word: Man what art thou, that thus wilt plead against God? Shall thy thing formed, say unto him who formed it, Why hast thou made me so? Hath not the potter full power to make of the same masse of earth or clay, one vessel for honor, and another for dishonor? The judgements of God are unsearchable, they have neither bottom nor brinke: the riches of his wisdom and knowledge are inscrutable, and beyond all computation: his wiles are hidden and impossible to be found out. If then there be any place in the consideration of the secrets of God, where we ought to be reverent, warie and discret, it is in this, where every man hath just occasion to thinke upon this notable lesson and advertisement: Not to presume for to know over and above that which he should, but to be wise unto sobriety: and that no man 10 ought to be puffed up with pride, but rather to feare. Moreover, as touching the contents of this discourse, the author having used an honest and decent Preface, saith in general: That by this present inscription, Apollo intended to make himself known, and to incite every man to inquire into time, but herein the enemy of mankind steeveth his audacity and holdnesse sufficiently, as also how he deludeh and mecketh his slaves; in that after he had deprivd them of right and sound judgement, he stirreth them up to know, who he is: which is as much as if one should plucke out the eyes, and cut in twaine the hawstrings of a traveller or wandering man; and then bid him seeke out his way, and goe onward on his journey. Now he brings in foure divers personages, delivering their minds as touching this *Ador*, E₁. Lamprias opening in the first place, thinkeith that the first and principall wise Sages of Greece devised it, for that they would be known and discerned from others. Ammonius secondly, 20 referreth and applyeth it to the Wishes and Questions of those whose sort unto the Oracle. Theon the third, attributeth this mystrie unto Logike, and doth all that possibly he can to mainteine his opinion. Eulstophus the Mathematician speaking in the fourth place, and seconded by Plutarch, Philosophizeth at large upon the number of 5, represented by the letter E: he discouseth and runneth through all the Mathematickes, and divers parts of Philosophy, and alto approve and make good his conceit: but his drift and end is, to shew under the mysticall sense of numbers, the perfection of his Apollo, which he draweth and fetcheth also from the consideration of his titles, epithets and attributes. But Ammonius gathering together their voices, and closing or stopping up the disputation, seemeth to hit the mark: proving by most strong and learned reasons, that Apollo would by this word instruct pigems, how they ought to salute and call him, to wit, in saying thus, E₁: that is to say, 30 Thou art he: which is opposite unto that salutation which this false god (usurping the name of the true Jehovah, or alwaies Existent) greeteth men with, in setting just before their eyes, in the envie and forefront of his temple, these two words, *Know thy selfe*. Having enriched this with two evident proofes, the one taken from the uncerseine condition of creatures; the other from the similitude and true estate or being of the Creator; he exhorteth his followers to lift up themselves to the contemplation of the essence of God, and to honour the Sonne, his expresse image. Which done, here followeth certaine contrary opinions: and after a new confirmation of his discourse, he endeth where he first began; to wit, that the knowledge of God and our selves, are opposite in such sort, as yet neverthelesse they must meet and concur in us. But all the application of this discourse unto Apollo (whom you must take for the very dwel) in no wise is 40 fit and agreeable. And herein a man may see better yet, what madnesse and folly is the wisdom of man: and in how thicke and palpable darknesse they goe groping with their hands before them, who are no otherwise guided than by the discourse of their owne reason. Which teachers us once againe to adore the secrets of God: to recognize and apprehend his mercies in the master of our salvation: to dread also his justice, which sheweth in selfe in the deplorable and piteous blindness of so many nations; even from the time that some first entered into the world, unto this present day.



WHAT

WHAT SIGNIFIETH THIS word E₁, engraven over the dore of Apollones temple in the city of Delphi.



Light of late in my reading (friend *Sarapion*) upon certaine pretie (lambique) verses, not unelegantly edited, which *Dicaearchus* supposeth that the Poet *Euripides* delivered unto king *Archelaus*, to this effect:

No gifts will I to you present,
Since poore I am, and wealth you have:
Left I for folly of you be bent,
Or by such giving seeme to crave.

For he, who of that little means which he hath, bestoweth some small present upon them that are rich and possesse much, gratifieth them nothing at all, nor deserveth any thanks: and that which woris, because no man will believe that he giveth (be it never so little) for nothing, he incurreth the suspicion and obloquie of being cautelous, illiberal, and simply naught. But forasmuch as the gifts that be in the nature 20 of silver, gold and temporall goods, be in regard of beautie and liberrall courties, farre inferiour to those which go in the kinde of good letters, and proceed from learning: it standeth well with honesty, both to give such, and also to demand the like of those who receive the same. And therefore, in sending presently unto you, and for your sake unto those friends about you in those parts, certaine discourses gathered together as touching the Temple and Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, as an offering of first fruits; I confesse that I expect from you others againe, both more in number and better in value, considering that you live in a great city, have more leisure, and enjoy the benefit of more books, and all sort of schoollasticall conferences and learned exercises. And verily it seemeth, that our good and kinde *Apollo* doth indeed remedy, ease and assaile the doubtfull difficulties ordinarily incident to this life of ours, by giving answer unto those who re- 30 paire unto his Oracle: but such as concerne matter of learning, he putteth forth and propoleth himselfe unto that part of our minde, which naturally is given to Philosophize and study wisdom, imprinting therein a covetous desire to know and understand the truth: as may appeare by many other examples, and namely, in this petie mot, E₁, consecrated in his temple. For it is not like, that it was by meere chance and adventure, nor by a louterie (as it were) of letters shuffled together, that this word alone should have the preeminence with this god, as to precede and goe before all others; ne yet, that it should have the honour to be consecrated unto God, or dedicated in the temple as a thing of special regard for to be seene and beheld: but it must needs be, that either the first learned men (who at the beginning had the charge of this temple) knew some particular and exquisite propertie in this word, or else used it as a device to 40 symbolize some matter of singularity, or covertly to signifie a thing of great consequence. Having therefore many times before, clearly put by and avoided, or passed over this question proposed in the schooles for to be discussed and discoursed upon; of late I was surprized and set upon by mine owne children, upon occasion that I was debating with certaine strangers, as desirous to satisfie them: whom being ready to depart out of the city of *Delphi*, it was no part of civility either to detain long, or altogether to reject, having fo earnest a minde to heare me say somewhat. When therefore, as we were set about the temple; I beganne partly to looke unto some things my selfe, and partly to demand and enquire of them; I was put in minde and admonished by the place and matters then handled, of a former question which before time (when 50 *Xerx* passed thorow these parts) I heard *Ammonius* to discourse, and others besides, in this vertu place; and as touching a question of the same difficultie likewise propounded. For, considering that this god *Apollo* is no lesse a Philosopher than a Prophet, *Ammonius* then delivered, that in regard thereof the surnames might very well be fitted and applied, which were attributed unto him very rightly and with good reason; shewing and declaring, that he is *Pythius*, a Questionist to those who begin to learne and enquire; *Delius* and *Phaneus*, that is to say, cleere and lightsome unto such as have the truth a little shining and appearing unto them; *Ammonius*, that is to say, skillfull and learned unto as many as have attained unto knowledge already; and *Lelebe-*

notus, as one would say, Eloquent or Discourfing, when they put their science in pra^{cti}ce and make use thereof, proceeding for to confere, difpute and difcours one with another. And for that it apperteyneth unto Philofophers, to enquire, admire and caft doubts, by good right the moft part of divine matters belonging to the gods, are couched & hidden under darke enigmes and covert fpeeches, and thereupon require that a man fhould demand, why? and whether? as alfo to be intructed in the caufe. As for example, about the maintenance of the immortal or eternall fire, Why of all kinds of wood they burne the Firre only? Alfo, Wherefore they never make any perfume but of the Laurell? Likewife, What is the reafon, that in this temple there be no more but two images of two deftinies or fatall fifters, named *Parce*, whereas in all places els there be three of them? Semblably, What fhould be the caufe, that no woman (whatfoever the be) is permitted to have acceffe unto this Oracle for counfell or refolution? Again, What is the reafon of that fabricke or three footed table? and fuch other matters which invite, allure and draw thofe who are not altogether witlefse, void of fenfe and reafon, to afke, to fee and heare fomewhat, yea and to difpute about them, what they fhould meane? And to this purpofe, doe but marke and confider thefe infcriptions ftanding in the forefront of this Temple: *Know thy felfe*, and *Nothing too much*: what a number of queftions and learned difputations they have moved: alfo, what a multitude of goodly difcourfes have fprung & proceeded from fuch writings, as out of fome feed or graine of come. And this will I fay unto you, that the matter now in queftion, is no leffe fertile and plentifull, than any one of the other.

When *Ammonius* had thus faid, my brother *Lamprias* began in this wife: And yet (quoth he) the reafon which we all have heard as touching this queftion, is very plaine and fhort. For reported it is, that thofe ancient Sages or wife men, who by fome are named *Sophifters*, were indeed of themfelves no more than five: to wit, *Chilon*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Bias*, and *Pittacus*. But when firft *Cleobulus* the tyrant of the Lindians, and then *Periander* the tyrant likewife of *Corinth* (who had neither of them any one jot of vertue or wifedome) by the greatneffe of their power, by the number of their friends, and by many benefits and demerits whereby they obliged their adherents, acquired forcibly this reputation, in despite of all ufurped the name of Sages: and to this purpofe caufed to be fpred fowen and divulged throughout all *Greece* certaine odde fentences and notable fayings, as well as thofe of the others, wherewith the former Sages above named were difcontented. Howbeit for all this, thefe five wifemen would in no hand difcover and convince their vanity, nor yet openly conteft and enter into termes of quarrell with them about this reputation, ne yet debate the matter againft fo mighty perfonages, who had fo great means of countenance in the world: but being afsembled upon a time in this place, after conference together they confecrated and dedicated here the letter [E] which as it ftandeth fifth in the order of the Alphabet, fo in number it fignifieth five: as if they testified and depofed heere before the god, that they were but five; protefting that the fixth and the feventh they rejected and excluded out of their focietie, as who had no right to belong unto them. Now that this conjecture is not befide the purpofe, a man may know, who hath but heard them fpeake who have the charge and fuperintendence of this temple; namely, how they call that E₁, which is written in gold, the E₁ of *Ereia Augufta* the emperrefe and wife of *Auguftus Cæfar*: the other in braffe, the E₁ of the Athenians: and the firft, which is moft ancient, and for the matter and fubftance thereof no better than cut in wood, at this very day they name, the E₁ of the Sages; as being dedicated not by one of them alone, but by all together. Heereat *Ammonius* pleafantly fmiled, as fuppoſing this to be the proper and peculiar conceit of *Lamprias* himfelfe, howfoever he feemed to fafer it upon others, feigning that he heard it elfe where, to the end that he might not be called to account, and put to the maintenance and defence thereof. Then another of the company who were there prefent, faid that this was much like unto a foolifh toy which a Chaldean ftanger, and by profeffion an Aftrologer, not long fince fet abroad: That feven letters there were foorth in all the Alphabet, which were vocall and of themfelves rendered a voice: like as feven ftarres there were in the heaven, which had their proper motions apart, at liberty, and not bound and linked to others. Alfo that among thofe vocall letters or vowels, E was the fecond; even as the Sunne of all the Planets was next unto the Moone: and that all the Greeks in manner, with one accord, hold *Apollo* and the Sunne, to be both one. But this, when all is done, favoureth altogether of his counting table of judiciall Aftronomie, and of his triviall difcourfing head. Moreover it ſeemeth that *Lamprias* taketh not heed, but ere he is aware, firreth up all thofe who have the charge of the temple, againft this reafon of his. For there is not a

man

man in all the cite of *Delphi*, who knoweth ought of that which he hath faid, but they alledge the common opinion, & that which runneth current throughout the world, which is: That it is neither the outward forme and ſhew, nor the found; but the very Mot only as it is written, conteineth ſome ſecret ſignification: for it is as the Delphians doe conceive of it. And with that the high prieft *Nicanor* himfelfe (who was prefent) faid, that this E₁ is the forme and maner that they uſe, who come to confult with the god *Apollo*, and to conver their queſtions unto him: and ordinarily, it carrieth the firſt place in all their interrogatories. For uſual it is with them thus to demaund: E₁ *perit*; E₁ *perit*; &c. that is to ſay, If, or whether they ſhall have victorie? if they ſhall marry? if it will be expedient for them to go to ſea? if they were beſt to till the ground? or if they ſhould do well to make a voiage and travell into forren parts? And here in the God (who is wife and learned, mocking the Logicians, bidding them farewell who hold, that of this particle or Conjunction E₁, that is to ſay, If, and of what Subjunctive propoſition ſoever following after it, nothing can be made, nor categorically affirmed) both underſtandeth all interrogations annexed unto E₁, as all things in *effe*, and ſo accepteth of them. And for as much as this E₁ is proper for an interrogation propoſed unto him as a Divinor or Prophet: and common it is with us, by it to pray unto him, as to a god; they thinke that this word E₁ is of no leſſe validity to pray and with by, than it is to demaund or aſke a queſtion: for everie one that praith, uſeth ordinarily this forme: E₁ *ſperes*, that is to ſay, If it might pleaſe god. And thus *Archilochus* wrote:

E₁ *des*, *quæ glorioſa pectus Neſtoris Oras*

O if my lucke and hop were ſuch,

As *Nebules* bind to towch,

And it is ſaid, that in the adverb of wiſhing *E₁des*, which ſignifieth, Would God; the ſecond ſyllable *des*, is an adjunction idle and ſuperfluous, for that a lone ſignifieth as much: like as *des* in this verſe of the Poet *Sophron*:

des *trachon* *des* *des* *des* *des*

Deſtroy alſo in their need

Of children, for their joy and need:

as alſo in *Homer*:

des *des* *des* *des* *des* *des* *des* *des*

As I will now, even thee diſgrace,

And ſoile thy ſtrength in preſent place.

Where *des* ſignifieth juſt nothing. Thus you ſee, how in this little word E₁ there is an optative power ſufficiently declared. When *Nicanor* had delivered theſe words, *Theon* (for I preſuppoſe you know him, being a familiar friend of ours) demaunded of *Ammonius*, whether Logike might have the libertie to ſpeake in her owne defence, being thus wronged and troden under foote? when *Ammonius* willed him to ſpeake hardy, and to ſay all that he could, and for to helpe her out of the mire: Certes, quoth he then, there be many Oracles which beare witneſſe & evidently ſhew, that god *Apollo* is a moſt ſkilful Logician. For in ſome ſort it belongeth to one and the ſame artiſt, both to moove doubtfull ambiguieties, and alſo to aſſoile and cleere the ſame. Moreover, according as *Plato* ſaid, that there being in old time an Oracle given unto the Greeks, that they ſhould double the altar within the temple of *Delos*, (which is a piece of worke for an expert Geometrician to performe, and who had the very habit and perfection of that Art) it was not that indeed which the god commanded the Greeks to doe, but he enjoined them to ſtudie Geometric: even ſo, in giving otherwhiles ambiguous answers, and doubtfull Oracles, he recommendeth thereby and augmenteth ſo much the more, the credit of Logike, as being a ſcience right neceſſary for as many as would gladly underſtand his ſpeech. Now in Logike this Conjunction E₁, that is to ſay, If (which is ſo apt to continue a ſpeech and propoſition) hath a great force, as being that which giveth forme unto that propoſition, which is moſt agreeable to diſcourſe of reaſon and argumentation. And verily of all theſe Hypotheticall propoſitions, copulative, diſjunctive, &c. And who can deny it? conſidering that the very brute beaſts themſelves have in ſome ſort a certeine knowledge and intelligence of the ſubſtance of things: but nature hath given to man alone the notice of conſequence, and the judgement for to know how to diſcerne that which followeth upon every thing. For that it is day; and that it is light, the very wolves, dogs, and cocks doe perceive: but that, if it be day of neceſſity it muſt make the aire light, there is no creature ſave onely man, that knoweth:

for

for he alone hath intelligence of the beginning and of the end, of the antecedent and the consequent, of the proceeding and finishing of things: as also of the coherence and bringing together of both ends and extremes, of the conference of one to another; what habitude, Correspondence, or difference there is betwene: and this is it whereof all demonstrations take their chief original and beginning. Now since it is so, that all Philosophie whatsoever, consisteth in the knowledge of the truth, and the light which cleareth the truth, is demonstration; and the beginning of demonstration, is the coherence and knitting of propositions together: by good right that power which maketh and maintaineth this, was dedicated and consecrated by the Sages and wise men unto this god, who above all others loveth the truth. Again, this god is a Diviner and Prophet; but the arte of Divining is as touching future things, by the meanes of such as are either present or past. For as nothing is done or made without cause; so there is nothing foreknown without a precedent reason: but forasmuch as all that is, dependeth and followeth upon that which hath bene; and consequently all that shall be, hath a flint and dependance of that which is, by a certaine continuitie, which proceedeth from the beginning to the end: he who hath the skill to see into causes, and by naturall reason how to compose and joine them together, knoweth and is able to discourse

What things are now, what shall hereafter come,

As also what are past, both all and some,

according as *Homer* saith: who very well and wisely setteth in the first place the present, then the future, and that which is past. For of the present dependeth all Syllogisme and reasoning, and that by the vertue & efficacie of a conjunction: for that if this thing be, such a thing went before: and conversim, if this be; that shall be. For all the artificiall feat and skill of discourse and argument, is the knowledge of consequence, as hath bene said already: but it is the sense, that giveth anticipation unto the discourse of reason. And therefore although haply it may seeme to stand little with decent honesty, yet I will not be afraid to affirme that this reason properly is the Tripode or three footed table as one would say, and Oracle of truth: namely, when the disputer supposeth a consequence upon that which was premised and went before: and then afterwards affirming that which is extant and subsistent, cometh in the end to induce and inferre a small conclusion of his demonstration. Now if it be so, that *Apollo Pythius*, as the report goeth, loveth musick, and be delighted in the singing of swans, and found of lute and harpe; what marvell is it then, if for the affection that he beareth unto logicke, he likewise embrace and love that part of speech, which he seeth Philosophers most willingly and oftentest to use? *Hercules* before that he had loosed the bonds wherewith *Prometheus* was tied, and having not as yet conferred and talked with *Chiron* and *Atlas* two great Sophisters and professors of disputation, but being a young man still, and a plaine Boeotian, abolished all logicke at first, and scoffed at this little Mot E₁: but soone after seemed as if he would plucke away by force the three footed table of *Apollo*, yea and contest with the god, about the art of divining; for that together with age and proceffe of time he proceeded so farre, as that he became by that meanes a most skillfull prophet, and as subtle and excellent a logician. When *Theon* had made an end of this speech, *Euphrasius* the Athenian, as I take it, directed his words unto us & said: See you not how valiantly *Theon* defendeth the art of logicke, & hath in manner gotten on the lions skin of *Hercules*? It is not therefore decent, that we who in one word referre all affaires, all natures and principles jointly together, as well of divine as of humane things unto number, and making it the author, master, and ruler even of such matters as simply are most faire and precious, should stide still and say never a word: but rather for our part, offer the fruits of the Mathematicks unto god *Apollo*. For we say and affirme that this letter E, of it selfe, neither in puissance, nor in forme, ne yet in name & pronounciation, hath anything in it above other letters: howbeit we thinke, that preferred it hath bene before all the rest, in this regard that it is a character and marke of the number five, which is in all things of greatest vertue and validity, and is named *Pentastus*. Whereupon our Sages and great clerks in times past, when they would expresse the verbe [to 50 number] I used *Pempasem*, as one would say, to count and reckon by fives. And verily *Euphrasius* in lying thus, addressed his speech unto me, not merily but in good earnest, for that I was very affectionate and much addicted then unto the Mathematicks; but yet so, as in all things I observed and kept still the old rule: *To touch of nothing*, as being a schollar of the Academicke schoole. I answered therefore, that *Euphrasius* had solved passing well the difficulty of the question by this number. For seeing it is so (quoth I) that number in generality is divided into even and

and odde, unity is in power and efficacy common to them both: in such sort, as being put unto the even, it maketh it odde; and likewise added to the odde, causeth the same to be even. Now the beginning and ground of even numbers is Two; and of odde, Three is the first: of which being joined together is engendered Five, which by good right is highly honored as being the first compound of the first simple numbers, whereupon it is worthily named *Tetras*, that is to say, Marriage; because the even number hath some resemblance to the female, and the odde, a reference to the male. For in the sections & divisions of numbers into equal parts, the even is altogether cleane parted and severed asunder, leaving a certaine void space betwene the parts, as a beginning of capacity apt to receive somewhat more: contrariwise in the odde number, if a man doe as much by it, and cut it into two numbers, there remaineth alwaies somewhat in the midst betwene, fit for subdivision, yea and generation of new numbers: whereby it appeareth that more generative it is than the other. And whensoever it cometh to be mixed with the other, it carieth the preeminence, and is master alwaies, but never mastered. For what mixture soever you make of them twaine, you shall never come thereby to an even number: but mix and compose them as often and in what manner you will, there shall arise alwaies thereof an odde number. And that which more is, both the one and the other added to it selfe, or compounded with it selfe, sheweth the difference that is betwene them. For never shall you see an even number joined with another that is even, to produce an odde; for it goeth not out of his proper nature, as having not the power to beget any other than it selfe, so feeble it is and imperfect: 20 but odde numbers coupled and mingled with others that be odde, bring forth many even numbers, so powerfull it is to engender every way. As for all the other properties and different puiffances of numbers, the time will not now serve to discourse thoroughly of them all. But hereby you see, therefore the ancient Pythagorean Philosophers called Five, the Marriage; as being compounded of the first male and of the first female. The same also is sometime named *Χητρε*; 30 for that being multiplied by it selfe, it falleth out still to determine in * it selfe. For like as nature taking a graine of wheat in the nature of seed, and so diffusing it, produceth many formes and divers kinds of things betwene, through which the pasture and proceedeth, untill at last she bringeth her worke to an end; and when all is done sheweth a come of wheat againe, rendering the first beginning, in the end of all: even so, when other numbers multiply themselves, and end by growing and multiplication in other numbers, only five & six, if they be multiplied by themselves, do bring forth and regenerate likewise themselves: for six times fix, maketh thirty six; and five times five, ariseth to twenty five. But take thus much withall againe, that Six doth this but once and after one manner onely, when of it selfe it becometh that * foure 40 square number: but unto Five the same befalleth, when it is multiplied by it selfe; and besides particularly, it hath this property, that by addition of it selfe it produceth also it selfe, in as much as it maketh ten; which it doth alternatively, and holdeth on this course in infinite, as farre as any numbers will extend: so as this number resembleth, that principle or first cause, which doth conduct and governe this universall world. For like as it, of the owne selfe preferreth the world; and reciprocally, of the world returneth into it selfe, according as *Heraclitus* said of the fire:

μὴν ἄνθρωπος, αὐτὸν αὐτὸν

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτὸν

Fire into all things; first doth turne,

And all things shall to fire returne:

like as golde is exchanged for wares, and wares likewise for golde: even so the meeting of five with it selfe, howsoever it be, can engender and bring forth nothing either imperfect or strange, but all the changes that it hath, be limited and certaine. For either it begetteth it selfe, or els produceth ten; that is to say, that which is proper and familiar, or els perfect and accomplished.

Now if a man should come unto me and demand: VVhat is all this (good sir) unto *Apollo*? I will answer againe: That this concerneth not *Apollo* alone, but * *Bacchus* also, who hath no 50 lesse to do with the city of *Delphos*, nor is of lesse authority there, than *Apollo* him selfe. For we have heard the Theologians (partly in verse and partly in prose) sing and say, That this god being of his owne nature incorruptible and immortal: yet, I wot not by what sentence and reason fittall he is transfused and changed in many sorts. Sometime he is all on a light fire, and causeth all things to be of the same nature, and like unto all things: otherwhiles most variable, in all manner of formes, passions & puiffances all different, and becometh (as now he is) the VVorld; so called by a most common and best known name. But the Sages and wisest sort, willing to

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concele

* For 5 times
5 maketh 25.

* That is to
say, 36, made
of 4 uncs.

* Alluding to
the proverb,
πρὸς αὐτὸν
οὐρανὸν: where-
upon a thing
is said to be
ἀνεσθαι-
ναι, which is
not to the
purpose.

conceale and keepe theſe ſecrets hidden from common people, name this mutation & change of his into fire, *Apollo*; ſignifying thereby, a kinde of ſole unity whereunto it reduceth all things, and negation of plurality: and *Phœbus* likewiſe; by brokening thereby his purity and cleereneſſe from filth and pollution. As for his conuerſion into winds, water, earth, ſtarres, and into ſundry kinds of plants and living creatures, together with the order and diſpoſition thereof, ſuch as we ſee; all this paſſion (I ſay) and mutation, they covertly do ſignifie under the name of a certaine diſtraction and diſmembring: and in theſe regards, they call himſelfe *Dionysus, Zagreus, Nyctelus, Iſodetes*. They exhibit alſo and counterſet I wot not what deaths, deſtructions and diſpartitions; regenerations alſo, and reſurrections: which be fables all, and ænigmaticall fictions, deuſed for to repreſent the foreſaid mutations. And verily, to *Bacchus* they do chant in their ſongs 10 certaine *Dithyrambicke* ditties and tunes, full of paſſion and change, with motions and agitations to and fro. For according as *Aſchylus* ſaith:

*The Dithyrambe with clamours diſſonant,
Sorts well with Bacchus, where he is reſtant.*

But unto the other (that is to ſay, *Apollo*) they ſing the *Paran*, which is a ſetled kind of ſong, and Muſicke modeſt and ſober. Moreover, in all their pictures and portraictures of images and ſtatues, they make *Apollo* alwaies with a yong face, and neuer aging: but the other, to wit, *Bacchus*, they repreſent in many ſhapes, and as many formes and viſages. And in one word, to the one they attribute a conſtancy uniforme and evermore the ſame, a regular order, a ſerious and ſyncre gravity: but unto the other, mixed ſports, games, wantonneſſe and inſolency; in ſumme, 20 ſuch a gravity as is interlaced with fury, madneſſe and inequality: they invoke and call upon him by the name of *Bacchus Enthus*:

*Bacchus (I ſay) ſurnamed Enthus,
Who women doth to rage incite:
And in ſuch ſervice furious,
And ſtrike worſhip, takes delight:*

noting hereby not unſilly and without good purpoſe that which is proper to the one and the other mutation. But for that the time of the revolutions in theſe changes is not equall and alike, but of the one (which is called *Cores*, and ſignifieth plenty or ſatiety) longer; and of the other (named *Chreſmoſyne*, which betokeneth want and neceſſity) ſhorter: obſerving even herein the proportion, they uſe the canticke *Paran*, during all the reſt of the yeere, in their ſacrifices: but in the beginning of winter, they ſtare up the *Dithyrambe*, and downe goeth *Paran*; and ſo invoke 30 that god for three months ſpace in ſtead of the other, ſuppoſing that there is the ſame proportion of the conſagratiſation of the world to the reſtoring and reparation thereof, as is of three to one. But peradventure we have dwelt longer upon this point than we ſhould, conſidering the time: howbeit this is certaine, that they attribute the number of five unto this god *Apollo*, as proper and peculiar unto him; ſaying, that one while it begetteth it ſelfe by multiplication, as fire; and another while maketh of it ſelfe ten, as the world. Moreover, thinke we not, that this number hath no ſocietie with Muſicke, which is ſo agreeable unto this god, as nothing ſo much? 40 Certes, harmonie is (to ſay at once) occupied moſt of all about accords, which we call Symphonies: and that thoſe are in number five, and no more, reaſon proovert, and experience will convince it to be ſo, even unto him who ſhall make the triall, either with ſtrings or pipe-holes, by the very ſenſe of hearing only, without any other reaſon. For al theſe accords take their generation by proportion in number. Now the proportion of the Muſicke or Symphonie *Diatæſſaron*, is *Epitritus* or *ſeſquialterall*, that is to ſay, the whole and a third part over: of *Diapente*, *Hemolios* or *ſeſquialterall*, that is to ſay, the whole and halfe as much more: of *Diapafon*, double: of *Diapafon* with *Diapente* together, triple: & of *Dis-diapafon*, quadruple. And as for that which the Muſicians bring in over and above theſe, to wit, *Diapafon* and *Diatæſſaron* (for ſo they name it) they are not worthy to be admitted and received, as tranſcending all meaſure and meaſure to gratifie forſooth the unreaſonable pleaſure of the eare againſt all proportion, and 50 breaking as it were the ordinance of the law.

To let paſſe therefore the five poſtures of the *Tetrachords*, as alſo the firſt five tones, *tropes*, changes, notes or harmonies, (call them what you will) for that they change and alter by ſetting up or letting downe the ſtrings, more or leſſe, or by ſtreining or eaſing the voice; all the reſt are conſidered as baſes and trebles. For ſee you not that there being many, or rather infinite intervals, yet five there be onely uſed in ſong; namely, *Diæſis*, *Hemitonium*, *Tonos*, *Trifemitonion*,

nion, and *Ditonos*? Neither is there any ſpace or intervall greater or leſſe in voices, diſtinguiſhed by baſe and treble, high and low, that can be expreſſed in ſong. But to paſſe by many other ſuch things (quoth I) onely *Plato* I will alledge, who affirmeth, that there is indeed but one world: many if there were more in number, and not the ſame one alone; it muſt needs be that there are five in all, and not one more. But grant that there be no more in truth than one, as *Ariſtotele* holdeth; yet ſo it is, that the ſame ſeemeth to be compoſed and coagmented in ſome ſort of five other worlds: whereof one is that of earth, another of water, the third of fire, the fourth of aire; as for the fifth, ſome call it heaven, others light, and ſome againe, the ſkies; and there be, who name it a quint-eſſence: unto which onely it is proper and naturall (of all other 10 bodies) to turne round, not by violent force, nor otherwiſe by chance and adventure. *Plato* therefore obſerving and knowing well enough, that the moſt beautifull and perfect figures of regular bodies which be in the world & within compaſſe of nature, are five in number (namely, the *Pyramis*, the *Cube*, the *Oſtaedron*, *Icoſaedron* & *Dodecaedron*) hath very ſtilly appropriated and attributed each of theſe noble figures unto one or other of thoſe firſt bodies. Others there be alſo who apply the faculties of the naturall ſenſes, which likewiſe be in number five, unto the ſaid primitive bodies: to wit, Touching, which is firme, ſolid and hard, to Earth; Taſting, which judgeth of the qualities of favors by the meanes of moiſture, to Water; Hearing, to the Aire, for that the aire being beaten upon is the voice and ſound in the eares: of the other twaine, Smelling hath for the object Sent or odour, which being in maner of a perſume, is ingended and elevated by heat, and therefore holdeth of the Fire; as for the Sight, which is cleere and bright, by 20 a certaine affinitye and conſanguinity which it hath with the heaven and wich light, hath a temperature and complexion mingled of the one and the other: neither is there in any living creature other ſenſe, nor in the whole world any other nature and ſubſtance ſimple and uncompound; but a marvellous diſtribution there is and congruity of five to five, as it evidently appeareth.

When I had thus ſaid, and made a ſtop withall, after a little pauſe betwene: O what a fault (quoth I) *δ Euthrophus*, had I like to have committed: for I went within a litle of paſſing over *Homer* altogether, as if he had not bene the firſt that divided the world into five parts; allotting three of them which are in the middes unto three gods, and the other two which be the extremes (namely, heaven and earth, whereof the one is the limit of things beneath, the other the bound of things above) in common and not diſtributed like the others. But our ſpeech muſt remember to returne againe, as *Euripides* ſaith, from whence it hath digreſſed. For they who magnifie the quaternarie or number of foure, teach not amiſſe nor beſide the purpoſe, that everie ſolide body hath taken the beginning and generation by reaſon of it. For it being ſo, that every ſolide conſiſteth in length and bredth, having withall a depth: before length there is to be ſuppoſed a poſture and ſituation of a point or pricke, answerable to unitie in numbers; and longitude without bredth is called a line; and the mooving of a line into bredth, and the procreation of a ſuperficiety thereby, conſiſteth of three: afterwards, when there is adjoined thereto profundity or depth, the augmentation groweth by foure, untill it become a perfect ſolidity. So 40 that every man ſeeth, that the quaternary having brought nature to this point, as to performe and accompliſh a body, in giving it a double magnitude or maſſe with firme ſoliditie apt to make reſiſtance, leaveth it afterwards deſtitute of the thing which is greateſt and principall. For that which is without a ſoule, to ſpeake plaine, is in maner of an Orphan, unperfect and good for nothing, ſo long as it is without a ſoule to uſe and guide it: but the motion or diſpoſition which putteth in the ſoule, ingenerated by meanes of the number of five, is it that bringeth perfection and conſummation unto nature. Whereby it appeereth that there is an eſſence more excellent than the foure, in as much as a living body endued with a ſoule, is of a more noble nature, than that which hath none: but more than ſo, the beauty and excellent power of this number five, proceeding yet farther, would not ſuffer a body animate to be extended into 50 finite kinds, but hath given unto us five divers ſorts of animate and living natures in al. For there be Gods; Demons, or Angels; Demi-gods, or Heroës: then after theſe, a fourth kind, of Men; and laſt of all, in the fifth place, is that of brute Beaſts and unreaſonable. Furthermore, if you come and divide the ſoule according to nature, the firſt and obſcureſt part or puiſſance thereof, is the vegetative or nutritive faculty: the ſecond is the ſenſitive: then the appetitive: after it the iraciſie, wherein is engended anger. Now when it is once come unto that power which diſcoureth by reaſon, and brought mature as it were to perfection, there it reſteth in the fiſt, as in

the very pitch & top of all. Since then this number hath so many, and those so great puiffances & faculties, the very generation thereof is beautiful to be considered; I meane not that whereof we have already heretofore discoursed, when we said, that composed it was of two and three, but that which is made by the conjunction of the first principle, with the first square and quadrate number. And what is that principle or beginning of all numbers even one or unitie, and that first quadrate is Foure: and of these twaine (as a man would say, of forme and of matter) being brought to perfection, is procreated this Quinarie or number of five. Now if it be true, as some do hold, that unitie it selfe is quadrate and foure-square, as being that which is the power of it selfe, and determineth in it selfe, then five being thus compounded of the two first quadrate numbers, ought so much the rather to be esteemed so noble and excellent as none can be comparable unto it. And yet there is one excellency behind, that passeth all those which went before. But I feare me (quoth I) lest if the same be uttered, it would debase in some sort the honor of our *Plato*, like as himselfe said, the honour and authority of *Anaxagoras* was depressed and put downe by the name of the Moone, who attributed unto himselfe the first invention of the Moones illuminations by the Sunne; whereas it was a very ancient opinion long before he was borne. How say you, hath he not said thus much in his Dialogue entituled *Cratylus*? Yes verily, answered *Euphrastus*; but I see not the like consequence for all that. But you know (quoth I) that in his booke entituled *The Sophist*, he setteth downe five most principall beginnings of all things: to wit, *That which is: The same: The other: Motion: the fourth: and Rest* for the fift. Moreover in his Dialogue *Philebus*, he bringeth in another kinde of partition and division of these principles, where he saith: That one is Infinite: another Finite, or the end: and of the mixture of these two twaine, is made and accomplished all generation: as for the cause whereby they are mixed, he putteth it for the fourth kinde: but leaveth to our conjecture the fift: by the meanes whereof, that which is composed and mixed is redivided, and separate againe. And for mine owne part, I suppose verily, that these principles be the figures and images (as it were) of those before: to wit, of *That which is, The thing engendered: of Motion, Infinite: of Rest, the End or Finit: of The same, the Cause that mixeth: of The other, the Cause that doth separate*. But say they be divers principles, and not the same: yet howsoever it be, there are alwaies still five kinds, & five differences of the said principles. Some of them before *Plato*, being of the same opinion, or having heard so much of another, consecrated two E. E. unto the god of this temple, as a very signe to symbolize that number which comprehendeth all. And peradventure, having heard also, that Good appeareth in five kinds: whereof the first is *Measure* or *Measure*, the second, *Symmetrie* or *Proportion*; the third, *Understanding*; the fourth, *The Sciences, Arts and True Opinions*, which are in the soule; the fifth, *Pure and Synere Pleasure*, without mixture of any trouble and paine: they staid there, reciting this verse out of *Orpheus*:

But at the sixth age cease your song:

It booteth not to chaunt so long.

After these discourses passed betwene us: Yet one briefe word more (quoth he) will I say unto *Nicander*, and those about him;

For song I will

To men of skill.

The sixth day of the month when you lead the Prophetesse *Pythia* into some hall named *Pythium*, the first casting of lots among you, of three, tendeth to five: for the casteth three, and yadd two: how say you it is not so? Yes verily, quoth *Nicander*; but the cause heretofore we date not to reveale and declare unto others. Well then (quoth I, smiling thereat) untill such time as god permitteth us after we are become holy and consecrate, for to know the truth thereof, meane while let that also be added unto the praises which have bene alledged in the recommendation of the number Five.

Thus ended the discourse as touching the commendations attributed unto the number of five, by the Arithmeticians and Mathematicians, as far as I can remember or call to mind. And *Ammonius* (as he was a man who bestowed not the worst and least part of his time in Mathematicke Philosophy) tooke no small pleasure in the hearing of such discourses and said: Needlesse it is and to no purpose, to stand much upon the precise and exact consutation of that which these young men here have alledged, unlesse it be that every number will afford you also sufficient matter and argument of praise, if you will but take the paines to looke into them: for, to say nothing of others, a whole day would not be enough to expresse in words all the ver-

tues

tues and properties of the sacred number Seven, dedicated to *Apollo*. And moreover we shall seeme to pronounce against the Sages and wisemen, that they fight both against common law received, and all antiquity of time; if dissolving the number of seven of that preeminence, whereof it is in possession, they should consecrate Five unto *Apollo*, as more meet and becoming for him. And therefore mine opinion is, that this writing E 1 signifieth neither number, nor order, nor conjunction, nor any other defective particles; but is an entier salutation of it selfe, and a compellation of the God: which together with the very utterance and pronuntiacion of the word induceth the speaker to think of the greatnesse & power of him, who seemeth to salute and greet every one of us when we come hither, with these words *Ἐὖ εἰς ἡμεῖς*. Know thy selfe, which signifieth no lesse, than if he said *ἑαυτοῦ*, that is to say, All haile or god save you: and we againe to render the like, answer him E 1, that is to say, *Thou art*; yielding unto him not a false, but a true appellation and title which onely and to him alone appertaineth, namely, that he is. For in very truth and to speake as it is, we who are mortall men, have no part at all of being indeed, because that all humane nature being ever in the midst betweene generation and corruption, giveth but an obscure appearance, a darke shadow, a weak and uncertain opinion of it selfe. And if peradventure you bend your minde and cogitation for to comprehend a substance and essence thereof, you shal doe as much good as if you would cluch water in your hand with a bent fist; for the more you seeme to gripe and presse together that which of the owne nature is fluid and runneth out, so much the more shall you leese of that which you will clasp and hold: and even so, all things being subject to alteration, and to passe from one change unto another, reason seeking for a real substance is deceived, as not able to apprehend any thing subsistent in truth and permanent; for that every thing tendeth to a being before it is, or beginneth to die so soone as it is engendered. For as *Heraclitus* was wont to say, a man cannot possibly enter twice into one and the same river: no more is he able to finde any mortall substance twice in one and the same estate. Such is the suddenesse and celerity of change, that no sooner is it dissipated but it gathereth againe anon, or rather indeed not againe, nor anon, but at once it both subsisteth and also cealeth to be, it commeth and goeth together; in such sort, as that which beginneth to breed, never reacheth to the perfection of being, for that in very deed this generation is never accomplished, nor resteth as being come to a full end and perfection of being, but continually changeth and moveth from one to another: even as of humane feed, first there is gathered within the mothers wombe a fruit or masse without forme; then an infant having some forme and shape; afterwards being out of the mothers belly it is a sucking babe, anon it proves to be a lad or boy, within a while a stripling or springall, then a youth, afterwards a man grown, consequently an elderly & ancient person, & last of all a crooked old man: so that the former ages & precedent generations be alwaies abolished by the subsequent & those that follow. But we like ridiculous fooles be afraid of one kinde of death, when as we have already died so many deaths, and doe nothing daily and hourly but die still. For not onely (as *Heraclitus* saith) the death of fire is the life of aire; and the end of aire, the beginning of water: but much more evidently we may observe the same in our selves. The floure of our yeeres dieth and passeth away when old age commeth: youth endeth in the floure of lusty and perfect age: childhood determineth in youth: infancy in childhood. Yesterday dieth in this day, and this day will be dead by to morrow: neither continueth any man alwaies one and the same, but we are engendered many, according as the matter gliedeth, turneth and is driven about one image, mould or patterne common to all figures. For, were it not so, but that we continued still the same, how is it that we take delight now in these things, whereas we joied before in others? how is it that we love and hate, praise and dispraise contrary things? how commeth it to passe that we use divers speeches, fall into different discourses, & are in sundry affections; retaine not the same visage, one countenance, one minde and one thought? For there is no likelihood at all, that without change a man should entertaine other passions; and looke who is changed, he continueth not the same; and if he be not the same, he is not at all: but together with changing from the same, he changeth also to be simply, for that continually he is altered from one to another: and by consequence our sense is deceived mistaking that which appeareth, for that which is indeed; and all for want of knowledge, what it is to be. But what is it (in truth) to be? Surely to be eternall, that is to say, which never had beginning in generation, nor shall have end by corruption; and in which, time never worketh any mutation. For a moveable and mutable thing is time, appearing (as it were) in a shadow with the matter which runneth and floweth continually, never remain-

ing

ning stable, permanent and solid; but may be compared unto a leaking vessell, containing in it (after a fort) generations and corruptions. And to it properly belong these tearmes: *Before, and after: Hath bene, &c. shall be:* which presently at the very first sight do evidently shew, that time hath no being. For it were a great folly and manifest absurditie to say, that a thing is, which as yet commeth not into *esse*, or hath already ceased to be. And as for these words, *Present, Instant, Now, &c.* by which it seemeth that principally we ground and mainteine the intelligence of Time, reason discovereth the same, and immediately overthroweth it; for incontinently it is thrust out & dispatched, into future, and past: so that it fareth with us in this case, as with those who would see a thing very farre distant; for of necessitie the visuall beames of his sight doe faile before they can reach thereto. Now if the same befall to nature which is measured, 10 that unto time which measureth it; there is nothing in it permanent nor subsistent, but all things therein be either breeding or dying, according as they have reference unto time. And therefore it may not be allowed to say of that which is, It hath bene, or it shall be: for these termes be certaine inclinations, passages, departures and chaunges of that which cannot endure nor continue in being. Whereupon we are to conclude that God alone is (and that, not according to any measure of time, but respectiue to eternitie) immutable and unmoouable, not gaged within the compasse of time, nor subiect either to inclination or declination any way: before whom nothing ever was, nor after whom ought shall be, nothing future, nothing past, nothing elder, nothing younger; but being one really, by this one *Present* or *Now*, accomplisheth his eternitie and being alway. Neither is there any thing, that may truly be said to be, 20 but he alone, nor of him may it be verified: He hath bene, or shall be, for that he is without beginning and end. In this maner therefore we ought in our worship and adoration, to salute and invoke him, saying, E₁, that is to say, Thou art; unlesse a man will rather, according as some of the ancients used to doe, salve him by this title E₁ EN, that is to say, Thou art one: for god is not many, as every one of us, who are a confused heape and masse composed, or rather thrust together of infinit diuersities and differences proceeding from all sorts of alterations: but as that which is, ought to be one; so that which is one, ought to be: for alternative diuersitie being the difference of that which is, departeth from it, and goeth to the engendering of that which is not. And therefore very rightly agreeeth unto this god, the fieth of his names, as also the second and the third: for *Apollo* he is called, as denying and disauowing *anagorai*, that is 30 to say plurality & multitude: likewise, *Teios*, which is as much to say, as One, or alone: thirdly, *Phoebus*, by which name, they called in the olde time, All that was cleane and pure, without mixture and pollution. And semblably even at this day, the Theffalians (if I be not deceived) say, that their priests upon certaine vacant dayes, when they keepe forth of their temples and live apart priuily to themselves, *calocorymbos*. Now that which is one, is also pure and sincere; for pollution commeth by occasion that one thing is mingled with another: like as *Homer* speaking in one place of *Yvorie* having a tincture of red, said it was polluted; and the word that he useth is *purpurinos*. Dies also, when they would expresse that their colours be medleies or mixed, use the word *porphyreos*, that is to say, to be corrupted; and the very mixture they tearme *porphyras*, that is to say, Corruption. It behooveth therefore, that the thing which is sincere and incorruptible, 40 should be also one and simple, without all mixture whatsoever. In which regard, they who thinke that *Apollo* and the Sunne be both one god, are worthy to be made much of and loved for their good conceit and pleasant wit, because they repose the notion of god in that which of all things that they know and desire, they honour and reverence most. And now, so long as we are in this life, as if we dreamed the most beautifull dreame that a man could imagine of this god *Apollo*, let us excite and stirre up our mindes to passe yet farther and mount higher, for to contemplate and behold that which is above our selves, in adoring principally indeed his essence: but yet honoring withall his image, to wit, the Sunne, and that generative vertue which he hath infused into it, for to produce and bring forth; representing in some sort, by his brightnesse some obscure resemblances and darke shewes of his clemency, benignity, and blessednesse, as far forth as it is possible for a sensible nature, to shew an intellectuall; and for that which is im- 50 movable, to expresse that which is stable and permanent. Moreover, as touching I wot not what extasies and leaping forth of himselfe and his owne nature, certaine strange alterations likewise, as namely when he casteth fire and withall dismembred and teareth himselfe, as they say: as also that he stretcheth, dilateth and spreadeth forth; and contrariwise how he gathereth and draweth in himselfe heere below, into the earth, the sea, the windes, the starres, and uncouth ac-

cidents

cidents of beasts and plants; they be such absurdities, as are not to be named without impiety. Or else if we admit them, he will become worse than the little boy, whom the Poets feigne, playing upon the sea shore with an heape of sand, which he first raised; and then cast downe againe and scattered abroad: if (I say) he should continually play at this game like fast and loose, namely in framing the world first, where before it was not; and then anon destroying it, so soone as it is made. For contrariwise, how much or how little soever of him is infused into the world, the same in some sort containeth and confirmeth the substance thereof, maintaining the corporall nature of it which otherwise by reason of infirmity and weakenesse tendeth alwaies to corruption. In my conceit therefore, against this opinion principally hath bene directly opposed 10 this Mot and denomination of god, E₁; that is to say, *Thou art:* as giving good testimony in his behalfe, that in him there is never any change or mutation. But either to do, or suffer this, as is before said, belongeth to any other god or rather indeed to any other Daemon, ordained to have the superintendence of that nature, which is subject both to generation and corruption: as may appeare immediately by the significations of their names, which are quite contrary and directly doe contradict one the other. For our god here is named *Apollo*, the other *Pluto*: as if one would say, *Not Many*; and *Many*. The one is cleped *Delius* that is, cleere and evident: the other *Aidonem*, that is to say, obscure blinde and unlesse. Again the former, is named *Phoebus*, which is as much as Shining or resplendent: but the latter *Scotus*, which is all one with Darke. About him are seated the Muses and *Mnemosyne*, that is to say, Memory: but neere 20 to this are *Lethes*, that is to say, Oblivion and silence. Our *Apollo*, is turnamed *Theoricos* and *Phaenaeus*, of Seeing and shewing: but *Pluto* is

*The Lord of night so * bleake and darke,
Of idle sleeps that can not warke:*

* in Ital.

who also is

*To gods and men most odious,
And to them as malicious.*

Of whom *Pindarus* said not unpleasantly:
*Condemn'd of all he was, for that
He never any child begat.*

30 And therefore *Euripides* to this purpose spake right well:
*Soule-song, dirges, libations funerall
Faire Phcebus please not, he likes them not at all.*

And before him, *Stesichorus*:

*Apollo joies in merry songs,
in dances, sports and plumes:
But Pluto takes delight in sighs,
in groanes and plaints alwaies.*

And *Sophocles* seemeth evidently to attribute unto either of them their muscalle instruments, by these verses:

40 *The psalterie and pleasant Lute,
With dolefull mones do not well suite.*

For very late it was, and but the other day to speake of, that the pipe and hautboies durst presume to found, and be heard in matters of mirth and delight: but in former times it drew folke to mourning and sorrow, to heaue funerals & convoies of the dead, and in such cases and services employed it was, as it were not very honourable nor jocund and delectable; howsoever after, it came to be intermingled in all occasions one with another. Mary they especially, who confusedly have huddled the worship of the gods with the service of Dæmons, brought those instruments in request and reputation.

But to conclude, it seemeth that this Mot E₁, is somewhat contrary unto the precept 20 *τὸν θεόν*, and yet after a sort to accord and agree therewith. For as the one is a word of devout admiration and reverent worship directed to God, as eternal and everlasting: so the other is an advertisement given unto men mortall, to put them in minde of their fraile and weake nature,



AN EXPLANATION OF SUNDRY TEARMES SOMEWHAT

obscure, in this translation of *Plutarck*, in favour
of the unlearned Reader; after the order
of the Alphabet.

A.
Ulu, A forename among the Romans.
Abyrtace, A deintie kinde of meat, with the Medes & other Barbarous nations, sharpe & quicke of taste to provoke and please the appetite, composed of Leeks, Garlike, Cresses, Senvie, Pomgranate kinnels, and such like.

Academie, A shadowy place full of groves, a mile distant from *Athens*, where *Plato* the Philosopher was borne, and wherein hee taught. Of it, the Academicke Philosophers tooke their name; whose maner was to discourse and dispute of all questions, but to determine and resolve of nothing. And for the great frequency and concourse of scholars to that place, our Universities and great schooles of learning, be named Academies.

Aediles, Certaine magistrates or officers in *Rome*: who were of two sorts; *Plebeij* and *Curules*. *Plebeij*, of the Commons onely, two in number, more ancient than the other; chosen by the people alone, to second and assist the Tribunes of the Commons, as their right hands. This name they tooke of the charge which they had to mainteine temples and chapels: albeit they registred the Sanctions and Acts of the people, called *Plebiscita*, and kept the same in their owne custodie; were Clerks of the Market, and looked to weights and measures, &c. yea, and exhibited the games and playes named *Plebeij*. *Curules* were likewise twain, elected out of the order and degree of the *Patrij*: so called of the Yvorie chaire wherein they were allowed to sit, as officers of greater state; and by vertue whereof, in some cases, and at certain times they might exercise civill jurisdiction. It belonged un-

to these to set forth the solemnities, called *Ludi Magni* or *Romani*: overscers they were likewise of the buildings thorowout the city, aswell publike as private, in maner of the *Asynon* in *Athens*: they had regard unto the publike vaults, sinks, conveyances, and conduits of the waters that served the city, as also to the Arcenall, &c. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great persons: and were charged to see unto the provision of corne and victuals. At the first, none but of noble families or Patricians were advanced to this place: but in proceesse of time, Commoners also attained thereto. More of them; & how in *Julius Caesar*'s time there were elected six *Aediles*, whereof two were named *Cereales*; See *Alexander* at *Alexander*, lib. 4. cap. 4. Genial. dieth.

Aeginetteke, *Mna* or *Mina*, Seemeth to be the ancient coine or money of *Greece*: for they were the first that coined money: and of them came *Hyperpes aegyptiacus*. *Calim Rhodig.*

Acolius Modus, In Musicke a certaine simple, plaine and mild tunc, apt to procure sleepe and bring folke to bed.

Arquinox, That time of the yeere, when the daies and nights be of equall length; which happeth twice in the yeere, to wit, in March and September.

Aestivall, that is to say, Of the Summer: as the *Aestivall* Solstice or Tropicke of the Sunne, when he is come neerest unto us, and returneth Southward from us.

Aloida or *Aloidae*, were *Orion* and *Ephialtes*, two giants, so named of *Aloëus* the giant their supposed father: for of his wife *Sphimeda*, *Neptune* begat them. It is said, that every moneth they grew nine fingers.

Alphabet, The order or row of Greeke letters as they stand; so called of *Alpha* and *Beta*, the two first letters: and it answereth to our A. B. C.

Lzzzz

Alternative,

An explanation of certaine obscure words.

Alternative, By course or turnes, one after another going and coming, &c.

Amphictyons, Were a certain solemne council of State in Greece, who held twice in the yeere a meeting, in the Spring and Autumne, at *Thermopylae*; being assembled from the 12 flourishing cities of Greece: there to consult of most important affaires.

Amphitheatre, A spacious shew-place; in former times, and made as it were of two Theaters. See *Theater*.

Amphora, A measure in Rome of liquors only. It seemeth to take that name of the two eares it had, of either side one: it contained eight Congiis, which are somewhat under as many of our wine gallons.

Amnets, Preservatives hung about the necke, or otherwise worn, against witchcraft, poison, eiebiting, sicknesse, or any other evils.

Anarchie, The state of a city or countrey without government.

Andria, A societie of men, meeting together in some publicke hall for to eat and drinke: Instituted first among the Thebans, like to the *Phiditia* in Lacedæmon.

Annales, Histories, Records, or Chronicles, containing things done from yeere to yeere.

Anniversarie, Commemg once every yeere, at a certaine time: as the Nativity of *Christ*, and Starbridge faire, &c.

Antarctica, That is to say, Opposit unto the Arcticke. See *Arcticke*.

Antidote, A medicine, properly taken inwardly against a poison or some pestilent and venomous disease. A counterpoison or preservative.

Antipathie, A repugnance in nature, by reason of contrarie affections; whereby some can not abide the smell of roses, others may not endure the sight of a Cat, &c.

Antiphrasis, A colubition or restraint on every side; whereby either colde or heat is made stronger in it selfe by the restraining of the contrary: as the naturall heat of our bodies in Winter, through the coldnesse of the aire compassing it about: likewise, the coldnesse of the middle region of the aire in Summer, by occasion of the heat on both sides causing thunder and haile, &c.

Antiphonie, A noise of contrarie sounds.

Antipodes, Those people who inhabit under and beneath our Hemisphere, and go with their feet full against ours.

Apathie, Impassibilitie, or voidnesse of all affections and passions.

Apatia, A feast solemnized for the space of

four daies at Athens in the honour of *Bacchus*. So called of *Apaté*, that is to say, Deceit: because *Xanthus* the Boeotian was in single fight slaine deceitfully by *Thimoetes* the Athenian. For the tale goeth, that whilst they were in combat, *Bacchus* appeared behind *Xanthus*, clad in a goats skine: and when *Thimoetes* charged his concurrent for coming into the field with an assistant; as he looked backe, he was killed by *Thimoetes* abovenamed.

Apologie, A plea for the defence or excuse of any person.

Apothegme, A short sententious speech.

Apoplexie, A disease coming suddenly in manner of a stroke, with an universall astonishment and deprivation of sense and motion, which either causeth death quickly; or else endeth in a dead palsey.

Archontes, Were chiefe magistrates at Athens, at first every tenth yeere; and afterwards yeerely chosen by lot, unto whom the rule of the common-wealth in their popular state was committed: of whom the first was named *Archontes*, that is to say, King: the second, *Archon*, that is to say, Ruler: the third, *Polemarchus*: and the other fix, *Thesmobela*.

Arctick, that is to say, Northerly; so called of *Arctos* in Greeke, which signifieth the Beare, that is to say, those conspicuous starres in the North, named *Charlemains* waine; neere unto which is that pole or point of the imaginarie axell-tree, about which the heavens turne, which thereupon is named, The pole Arctick: and over against it, underneath our Hemisphere, is the other pole, called *Antarctick*, in the South part of the world.

Aristerie, A forme of Government, or a State wherein the nobles and best men be Rulers.

To *Aromatize*, that is to say, To season or make pleasant, by putting thereto some sweete and odoriferous spices.

Astragale Mastis, A scourge or whip, the strings whereof are set and wrought with ankle-bones, called *Astragali*, thereby to give a more grievous lash.

Atomis, Indivisible bodies like to motes in the sunne beames; of which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* imagined all things to be made.

Atticke pure, that is to say, The most fine and eloquent: for in Athens they spake the purest Greeke; inasmuch as *Thucydides* called

An explanation of certaine obscure words.

led it *Atticke Attike*, that is to say, Greeke of Greece, as one would say; the very quintessence of Greece.

Averrunci or *Averruncani*, Were gods among the Romans, supposed to put by and chase away evils and calamities: such as *Hercules* and *Apollo* among the Greekes, called thereupon *Apotropa*.

Auspices, *Plutarch* seemeth to take for *Augures*, that is to say, Certaine priests or soothsayers, who by the inspection and observation of birds did foretell future things.

Axiomes, Were principal propositions in Logique, of as great authoritie and force as Maxims in law: and it should seeme that those Maxims be derived corruptly from Axiomes.

B

Bacchanalia, named also *Dionysia*, Certaine licentious festivall solemnities in the honor of *Bacchus*, performed at the first by day light, and afterward in the night season, with all manner of filthy wantonnesse: instituted first in Athens, and other cities of Greece every three yeeres: in Egypt also: at last they were taken up in Italy and at Rome.

Bacchidae, A noble familie in Corinth, who for the space almost of 200. yeeres there ruled. *Bacchylion*, A song or daunce, which seemeth to take the name of a famous Tragedian poet named *Bacchylus*, who devised and practised it: like as *Pyladion*, of *Pylades*, as notable a Comediant.

Barbarisme, A rude and corrupt manner of speech, full of barbarous and absonant words.

Basis, The flat, piedfall or foote of a Columnne, pillar, statue, or such like, whereupon it standeth.

Boeotarches, or *Boeotarcha*, The fouraigne magistrate or Ruler of the Boeotians.

Boottus, a kinde of Measure or Note in Musick used in *Bœotia*.

C

Caius, A common forename to many families in Rome, and *Caius* to the woman kinde: as usual as *John* and *Jane* with us, as appeareth by this forme of speech ordinary in marriages: Where thou art *Caius*, I will be *Caius*.

Calends, See *Kalends*.

Callosities, Hardnesse in manner of brawn, as in the skinne of hands or feet, occasioned by much labour and travail.

Cancerus, that is to say, Resembling a certaine hard tumor or swelling, occasioned by melancholick blood, named a Cancer, for the likenesse it hath to a crab-fish, (named in Latine *Cancer*) partly, for the swelling veines appearing about it, like unto the feet or cleis of the said fish: and in part, for that it is not easily removed, no more than the crab if it once settle to a place: & lastly, because the colour is not much unlike. This swelling if it breake out into an ulcer, hardly or uneth admitteth any cure, and by some is called a Wolfe.

Candy, A kind of dainty meat made with honey and milke.

Candys, an ornament of the Persians, Medians, and other East nations; much like to a Diademe.

Catamite, A boy abused against kinde: a baggage.

Cataplasme, A pulsette or grosse maner of plaster.

To *Cauterize*, To burne or seare with a red hot iron or other metall.

Cenotaph, An empty Tombe or Sepulcher, wherein no corps is interred.

Censours, Magistrates of State in Rome, whose charge was to valew and estimate mens goods, and enroll them accordingly in their severall ranges: Also to demite unto certaine farmers, called Publicanes, the publicke profits of the city for a rent, and to put forth the city works unto them, to be undertaken at a price. Likewise their office it was to oversee mens manners, whereby oftentimes they would deprive Senators of their dignitie: take from Gentlemen their horses of service and rings: displace commanders out of their owne tribe: disable them for giving voices; and make them *Atrij*.

Centre, The middle pricke of a circle or globe, equally distant from the circumference thereof.

Centumviri, A certaine Court of Judges in Rome, chosen three out of every tribe. And albeit there were 35. tribes, and the whole number by that account amounted to an hundred and five; yet in round reckoning, and by custome, they went under the name of an hundred, and therefore were called *Centumviri*.

Cereops, Certaine ridiculous people inhabiting the Iland *Pihernysa*, having tailed like monkeys, good for nought but to make sport.

An explanation of certeine obscure words.

Chalons, A small piece of brasse money; the eighth part or (as some say) the sixth, of the Atticke *Obolus*: somewhat better than halfe a farthing or a cue.

Chromaticke Musicke, Was soft, delicate and effeminate, full of descant, fained voices and quavering, as some are of opinion.

Cidaris, An ornament of the head, which in *Perfis*, *Medis*, and *Armenia*, the Kings and High priests wore, with a blew band or ribband about it, beset with white spots.

Cinara, A familie descended from *Cinaras*. Some read *Cinrade*, and *Cinyras*.

Circumgyration, A turning or winding round.

Cn, A forename to some houses in *Rome*.

Colian earth, So called of *Colius* a promontory or hill in the territorie of *Attica*.

Colleague, A fellow or companion in office.

Colonies, Were townes wherein the Romanes placed citizens of their owne to inhabit, either as Free-holders, or tenants & undertakers; endowed with franchises and liberties directly: Erected first by *Romulus*.

Comadum-vetus, Licentiouslly abused all manner of persons, not forbearing to name and traduce upon the Stage even the best men, such as noble *Pericles*, wife *Solon*, and just *Aristides*: nay it spared not the very State it selfe and bodie of the Common-weale; whereupon at length it was condemned and put downe.

Concions, Orations or speeches made openly before the body of the people, such properly as the Tribunes of the Commons used unto them.

Congiarium, a dole or liberall gift of some Prince or Noble person bestowed upon the people. It tooke the name of that measure *Congius*, much about our gallon, which was given in oile or wine, by the poll: but afterwards, any other such gift or distribution, whether it were in other victuals, or in money, went under that name.

Consuls, two in number, Sovereigne Magistrates in *Rome*, succeeding in the place of Kings, with the same authoritie and roiall enignes: onely they were chosen yeerely.

Contiginate, Close set together, so as they touch one another, as houles adjoining.

Contusio, Bruises, dry-beatings, or cruellshes.

Convulsions, Plucking or shooting paines: Cramps.

Cordax, A lascivious and unseemly kinde of daunce, used in Comedies at the first, but mistliked afterwards and rejected.

Criticks, Grammarians, who tooke upon them

to censure and judge Poemes and other works of authors; such as *Aristarchus* was.

Criticall daies, In Physicke be observed according to the motion of the humour and the Moone; in which the disease sheweth some notable alteration, to life or death, as if the patient had then his dome. In which regard we say, that the seventh day is a kings, but the sixth, a tyrant.

Cube, A square figure: as in Geometrie, the Die; having fixe faces four square and even: in Arithmetick, a number multiplied in it selfe, as nine arising of thrice three, and sixteene of four times four.

Curvature, that is to say, Bending round, as in the felly of a wheele.

Corollarie, An overdeale, or overmeasure, given more than is due or was promised.

Cunulechaire, A seat of estate among the Romanes made of Ivorie; whereupon certaine Magistrates were called *Cunules*, who were allowed to sit thereon: as also Triumphes were named *Cunules*, when those that triumphed were gloriously beset in such a chaire, drawn with a chariot, for distinction of Oration, wherein Captaines rode on horsebacke onely.

Cyath, A small measure of liquid things: the twelfth part of *Sextarius*, which was much about our wine quart. So that a *Cyath* may go for three good spoonefuls, and answereth in weight an ounce and halfe, with the better.

Cynicke Philosophers, Such as *Antisthenes*, *Diogenes* and their followers were: so named of *Cynsarges*, a grove or schoole without *Athens*, where they taught: or rather of their dogged and curish manner of bitings barking at men, in noting their lives over rudely.

D

D, *Decim*, A forename. For *Decim*, although it were the Gentile name of an house in *Rome*, yet grew afterwards to be a forename, as *Paulus*: and likewise forenames at the first, in proceffe of time, came to name Families.

D, *Decimus*, A forename to certeine Romans, as namely to *Brutus* surnamed *Albinus*, one of the conspirators that killed *Jul. Cesar*.

Decade, That which containeth tenne: as the Decades of *Livie*, which consist every one of tenne books.

Democratie, A free State, or popular government; wherein every citizen is capable of soveraigne Magistracy.

Defecitive,

An explanation of certeine obscure words.

Defecitive, that is to say, Drying, or having the power to drie.

Diatessaron, A consonance or concord in Musick, called a Fourth, whereof there be foure in the Scale which compriseth fiftene strings: it answereth to the proportion, Epitritus; for it consisteth of three and one third part.

Diapente, A consonance or concord in Musicke, called a Five, it answereth to the proportion Hemiolios, or Sesquialtera: for three containeth two and halfe; three and two make five.

Diapason, a perfect consonance containing two fourths; or made of *Diatessaron* and *Diapente*, As if it consisted of all: an Eight. It answereth to duple proportion, or *Diaplasion*.

Duple diapason, A duple Eight; or quadruple Fourth; which was counted in old time the greatest Systema in the Musicke scale.

Diastema, The intervall in the scale of Musick. Also the rest or Time, of which and of sounds or notes consisteth Diatonicke Musicke.

Diaseugmenon, Of disjuncts in Musicke.

Diaphoretical, or *Diphoretical*, So is called in Physicke Excellivewear, whereby the spirits be spent, and the body much weakened and made faint, as in the disease Cardiac.

Diatonique Musicke, Keepeth a mean temperature betwene Chromaticke, and Enharmoniacke: and may go for plaine song, or our Musicke.

Diatonos, A note in Musicke. *Diatonos Hypaton*, D, SOL RE. *Diatonos Meson*.

Disfatur, A soveraigne Magistrate above all others in *Rome*, from whom no appeale was granted, meer absolute and king-like; but that his time of rule was limited within fixe moneths ordinarily: so named, because he onely said the word and it was done; or for that he was *Disctus*, that is to say, nominated by one of the Consuls, actually in some time of great danger of the state, and not otherwise elected.

Diess, The quarter of a note in Musicke; or the least time or accent, G, SOL RE UT.

Dionysius in Corinth, An usuall proverbe in Greece, against such as are upon their prosperous estate, so proud and insolent, as they forget themselves and oppress their inferiors; putting them in minde that they may have a fall as well as *Dionysius*, who having beene a mighty and absolute Monarch of *Sicily*, was driven atlast to teach

a Grammar and Musicke schoole in *Corinth*.

Dithyrambs, Were songs or hymnes in the honour of *Bacchus*, who was surnamed *Dithyrambus*, either because hee was borne twice, and came into this world two dores; once out of his mother *Semele* wombe, and a second time out of his father *Jupiters* thigh: or else of *Lythyrambus*, according as *Pindarus* writeth. For when *Jupiter* had sowed him within his thigh, at what time as he should come forth againe, he cried forth, *ῥῆθι ῥῆθι: ῥῆθι ῥῆθι*, that is, undoe the seame, undoe the seame. The Poets who composed such Hymnes were called *Dithyrambiques*, whose verses and words were darke and intricate.

Drivination, Soothsaying, or foretelling of future things.

Dolichus, A long carriere or race, containing twelve, or (as some say) 24. Stadia.

Dorian, or *Doricke Musick*, Was grave and sober: so called, for that the Dorians first devised and most used it.

Drachme or *Dram*, The eight part of an ounce. Also a peece of money valued at seven pence halfe-penie in silver, and in gold much about a french crowne. The Romane *denarius* was equivalent unto it.

E

Echo, A resonance, or resounding of the last part of the voice or words delivered.

Echo-pan, A song, of *Echo* supposed to be a Nymph not visible, but wonderfully beloved of *Pan*, the Heardmens god.

Eclipse, making or occasioning an eclipse.

Elégi, Lamentable and dolefull ditties, composed of unequal verses, as the Hexameter and Pentameter; and such be called *Elegiacke*.

Elenchs, subtil arguments devised to reproove or confute.

Elota, The common slaves that the Lacedaemonians used, and employed in base ministries, as publicke executions, &c.

Elucidaries, Expositions or Declarations of things that be obscure and darke.

Embrochation, a devile that Physicians have to foment the head or any other part, with some liquor falling from aloft upon it, in manner of raine, whereupon it tooke the name.

Emphaticall, that is to say, Expreffe and verie significative.

Empiricke Physicians, Who without regard either

An explanation of certaine obscure words.

ther of the cause in a disease, or the constitution and nature of the patient, goe boldly to worke with those means and medicines whereof they had experience in others, fall it out as it would.

Empusa, A certaine vaine and fantastical illusion, sent by the diuell, or as the Painims say, by *Hecate*, for to fright infortunate folke. Appeare it doth in diuers formes, and seemeth to go with one legge (whereupon it tooke the name, *quasi E per una*) for one foote or legge it hath of brasse, the other of an asse; and therefore it is named also *breuipodis* or *breuipoda*.

Encomiastical, Pertaining to the praise of a thing or person.

Enromie, A kinde of bickering or conflict.

Enymasia, A kinde of daunce or Musickall Note.

Enharmonion, one of the three generall sorts of Musicke: song of many parts, or a curious concent of sundry tunes.

Enthymemes, Imperfect syllogismes, or short reasonings, when one of the premisses is not exprest, yet so understood, as the conclusion nevertheless is inferred.

Epatē, The day put to, or set in, to make the leape yeere.

Ephori, Certaine Magistrates or Superintendents for the people in *Sparta*, in opposition to the kings, and to take downe their regall power: such as were the Tribunes of the Commons at *Rome*, ordeined for to abridge the Consuls absolute authority.

Epidi, Be fevers of the Quotidian kind, that is continuall: they have an unequal diffemperature, both of colde and heat at once; but the heat seemeth to be milde and gentle at the first: whereupon they tooke that name. These fevers also, for the same reason be called *pyretici*.

Epidemiall diseases, Such as are occasioned by some common cause, and therefore spread, and take hold of all persons indifferently in a tract or city: as the pestilence.

To **Epitomize**, To relate or pen a thing briefly and by way of an abbreviature.

Epitritos, The proportion selquiteration, whereby eight exceedeth sixe, namely by a third part.

Etymologie, the knowledge of the originall of words, and from whence they be derived.

Eviration, Gelding, or disabling for the act of generation.

Exharmonias, Discords or dissonances in Musicke.

Exstasis, or **Ecstasis**, A trance or transportation of the minde, occasioned by rage, admiration, feare, &c.

F

Fatulent, Windy, or engendering winde: as pease and beanes, be fatulent meat.

Fomentations, in *Physicke*, be properly devised, for to be applied unto any greeved part: either to comfort and cherish it; or to allay the paine; or else to open the pores of the skinne, and to make way for plasters and ointments to worke their effects the better. Laid to they are by the means of bladders, sponges, wollen clothes, or quilts and such like.

Fangosity, A light and holow substance, such as we may perceive, in sponges, mushrooms, fusle bals, elder pith, &c.

G

Galli, The furious priests of dame *Cybele*, the great mother of the gods, honored in *Phrygia*: It is supposed that they tooke that name of *Gallus* the river; the water whereof if they dranke liberally, they fell into a furious rage, and cut off their owne genitours.

Gracofasis, A withdrawing gallerie or place in *Rome*, neere unto the Senate house *Curia Hostilia*: where Greeks and other foreigne Embassadors staid and gave attendance.

Gymnastical, Belonging the publicke places of exercise, where youth was trained up to wrestling and other feates of activitie: the which places were called *Gymnasia*.

Gymnick games or plaies, performed or practised by those who were naked.

Gymnopodia, or **Gymnopadia**, a certaine daunce, that the Lacedaemonian children were trained in, barefoot; untill they proceeded to another more warlike, called *Pyrhica*.

Gymnosophists, Philosophers of *India*, who went naked, and led beside a most austere and precise life.

H

Habite, In our bodies, is either the substantiall constitution thereof; whereby we terme the evill habite (in Greeke) *εσθής*, whenas the bodie milkeith and thrive not; and the good habite *δύστης* (in Greeke) when it prospereth: or els the outward parts; and so we say sweats, pocks, me-

zels,

An explanation of certaine obscure words.

zels, and scabs, are driven forth to the habite of the body by strength of nature.

Harmonical Musicke, See *Enharmonia*.

Hemilius, Proportion selquilateral: containing the whole & halfe; as twelve to eight.

Hemisphere, that is to say, The halfe sphere or globe, used commonly for that part of the heaven which is in our sight.

Hexameter, A verse consisting of six mesures, called feete.

Hexatons, Having six tones or six strings.

Hieroglyphicks, The Egyptians sacred Philosophie, delivered not in characters and letters, but under the forme of living creatures and other things engraven.

Holocaust, A whole burnt sacrifice: whereas ordinarily they burnt upon the altar, only the inward of the beast.

Homonymie, the double or manifold signification of a word or sentence, which is the occasion of ambiguity and doubts.

Horizon, That circle that determineth our sight, and divideth the one halfe of the sphere of heaven above, from that which is under, out of our sight.

Horoscope, the observation of the houre and time of ones nativitie, together with the figure of the heavens at that very instant; and that forth in the East.

Hypate, **hypaton**, Principall of principals. A base string in a Musickall instrument: or a note in the scale of Musicke, *B, M, I*.

Hypate Meson, A meane string or note in Musicke: principall of meanes, *B, L, A, M, I*.

Hypate, The base string in a lute or other stringed instrument; so called, because it is seated highest & is principall. And yet it may seeme in vocall Musicke, as *Lambinus* taketh it in *Horace*, to be the small treble, by that which he writeth of *Tigellus*, who song to *Bacche*, *modo summa Voce, modo haec, resonat chorda quae quatuor ima*: where by *summa* he meaneth the treble, and *ima* the base. Also *Boetius* (as *Erasmus* upon the proverb *Du Diapason*, observeth) writeth the contrary, namely, that *Hypate* is the lowest or base; and *Nete* the highest or treble. Neither doth *Plutarch* seeme to agree alwaies with himselfe in these termes.

Hyperbolyam, A terme in Musick, belonging to their scale, & appropriate to the trebles, that is to say, it signifieth Excellent or exceeding.

Hyporehema, An hymne and dance unto *Apello*, performed by children with a noise of pipes before them, in the time of pesti-

lence, and thereupon it was also called *Pann*.

Hypotheticall propositions, such as are pronounced with a supposition.

I

Iambus, A measure or foote in verse, consisting of two fillables, the former short, the other long: it is put also for the verse made thereof.

Iambicæ verses, be they which stand upon such feete. If of foure, they be called *Quaternarii*: if of six, *Senarii*: if of eight, *Ottarii*. Now for that this kinde of foote runneth very quicke, two of them together be reckoned but for one measure: and therefore the said verses, be termed also *Dimetri*, *Trimetri*, and *Tetrametri*, as if they had but two, three, & foure feete or measures.

Icosaedron, A Geometrical solid body, representing twenty sides or faces, distinguished by their severall lines and angles.

Idea, The formes of things settled in the divine intelligence or heavenly minde; according to which as paterns, by *Plato*s doctrine all things were made.

Idei Daetylē, were certaine servitours unto *Cybele*, bretheren all, called otherwise *Corymbes* and *Curetes*. But whether they were Demons, fanatical men, or counselling impostors, it is not agreed upon among writers: neither how many they were, or why so called. See *Natalis Comis Mytholog*.

* But heere I must not forget to note, that in the Page 257 line 50, instead of *Idem* *ducentis*: some read *Idem* *ducentis*, that is to say, of their owne fingers. *Calius Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 12.*

Identity, that is to say, The sameness, or being the very same.

Idus or **Ides**, Eight daies in every moneth, derived of an old word *Iduo* to divide, for that they commonly fall about the midd of the moneth, namely upon the thirteene or fifteene daies, according to *Horace*: *Idus tibi sunt agenda; Quidies mensis venturi marina, fuit Aprilis*.

To **Incarnate**, that is to say, to make flesh, or helpe that the flesh may grow: and so certaine salves or medicines be called incarnatives.

To **Inerassate**, that is to say, to make thicke and grosse.

Intercalar daies, that is to say, set or put betwene, as the odde daie in the leape yeare.

Interstice,

An explanation of certeine obscure words.

Oxyrynchos, A fish, so called, of a long sharpe beake or snout that it hath.

P

Pæan The name of *Apollo*: An hymne also to *Apollo* and *Diana* for to avert plague, warre, or any calamity: *παιον μῦθος*, which significth to strike or to heale, or of *trachis*, to stay or make to cease.

Pædæsti, The loving of yong boies: commonly taken in the ill part, as signifying the abuse of them against kinde.

Pænia, Pleasant poems or merry ditties for delight.

Pæon, or *Pæon*, The name of *Apollo*; and of a metrical foot in verse, of which Pæans are composed: and it is duple, to wit of foure syllables, either the first long, and the other three short; or the first short and the other three long: it is named also Pæan: also an epithet of *Apollo*.

To *Palliat*, that is to say, To cover or hide: and so such cures be called Palliative, which search not to the roote or cause of the disease, but give a shew onely of a perfect cure; as when a sore is healed up aloft, and festereth underneath. And thus sweet pomanders doe palliat a stinking breath, occasioned by a corrupt stomacke or diseased lungs and such like.

P. Publius, A forename to some Romane families.

Panathenæa, A solemnity held at *Athens*: wherein the whole city men, women and children were assembled. And such games, dances and plaies as were then exhibited; or what orations were then and there made, they called *Panathenæik*. Of two sorts these solemnities were: once every yeere; and once every fifth yeere, which were called the greater.

Panæration, *Plutarck* taketh for an exercise of activity or mixt game of fist-fight and wrestling. Howbeit other writers will have it to be an exercise of wrestling, wherein one indeavourth with hand and foot, and by all parts of his body to foile his adversary: as also the practise of all the five feats of activity, which is called Pentathlon and Quinquæartium: to wit, * buffering, wrestling, running leaping and coiting,

Panæratist, One that is skillfull and professed in the said Panæration.

Paramele, Next the meane or middle string. A note in musick: B, F, A, E, M, I, in space.

Paranete Hyperbolæan, A treble string or note

in musick: the last fave one of trebles: G, S, O, L, R, E, U, T.

Panægricke, Feasts; games, faires, mætes, pompes, shewes, or any such solemnities, performed or exhibited, before the generall assembly of a whole nation: such as were the *Olympicke*, *Pythicke*, *Isthmicke*, and *Nemian* games in *Greece*. Orations likewise to the praise of any person at such an assembly, be called *Panægricall*.

Paradox, A strange or admirable opinion held against the common conceit of men: such as the Stoicks maintained.

Periode, A circuit or compasse certainly kept: as we may observe in the course of Sunne and Moone, and in the revolution of times and seasons: in some ages also and other sicknesses, that keepe a just time of their returne, called therefore Periodicall. Also the traine of a full sentence to the end, and the very end it selfe, is named a *Periode*.

Paranete Diezeugmenon, A treble string or note in Musick: the last fave one of disjuncts: D, I, A, S, O, L, R, E.

Paranete Syzygmenon or *Syzygmenon*: C, S, O, L, F, A.

Parhypate hypaton, that is to say, Subprincipall of principals. A string or note in Musick: C, F, A, U, T.

Parhypate Meson, that is to say, Subprincipall of meanes: a string or note in Musick: F, F, A, U, T.

Peripateticks, A sect of Philosophers, the followers of *Aristotle*: See *Licetum*.

Phidiana, Were publicke hals in *Lacedæmon*, where all sorts of citizens, rich and poore, one with another met to eat and drinke together, at the publicke charges and had æquall parts allowed.

Philippicks, Were invective orations made by *Demosthenes* the Orator, against *Philip* king of *Macedony*, for the liberty of *Greece*. And hereupon all invectives may be called *Philippicke*, as those were of *M. Tullius Cicero* against *Antonie*.

Phrygius Modus, *Phrygian* tune or musick, otherwise called *Barbarian*; moving to devotion, used in sacrifices and religious worship of the gods: for so some interpret *Entheon* in *Lucianus*: others take it for incensing and stirring to fure.

To *Pinguiss*, that is to say, To make fat.

Plethorickall plight, that is to say, That state of the body, which being full of bloud and other humours, needeth evacuation: whether the said fullness be, *ad vasa*, as the Physicians

An explanation of certeine obscure words.

Physicians say, when the said bloud and humours be otherwise commendable, but offending onely in quality: or, *ad vires*, when the same be distempered and offensive to nature, and therefore would be ridde away; which state is also called *Cacochymie*.

Polemarchus, One of the nine Archontes or head magistrats in the popular state of *Athens*, chosen as the rest yeerely. Who notwithstanding that he retained the name of *Polemarchus*, that is to say, a Captaine generall in the field, such as in the Sovereigne government of the kings, were employed in warres and martiall service under them: yett it appeareth that they had civill jurisdiction, and ministred justice, between citizens & aliens, of who there were many in *Athens*; like as the Archon for the time being, was judge for the citizens onely. Assistants he had twaine, named *Paradi*, who sat in commission with him.

Poloceles, A surname of *Demetrius*, avalliant king of *Macedonie*, and sonne of king *Antigonus*; which addition was given unto him for beseeing of so many cities.

Polypragmon, A curious busie body, who loveth to meddle in many matters.

Pores, The little holes of the skinne, through which sweat passeth, and fumes breath forth.

Positions, Such sentences or opinions as are held in disputation.

Prætor, One of the superiour Magistrats of *Rome*. In the citie he ruled as L. chiefe justice, and exercised civill jurisdiction: Abroad in the province, he commanded as L. Governour, Deputie, or Lieutenant Generall: In the field, he was L. General, as well as the Consull. At first, the name of Consull, Prætor, and Judge was all one.

Primitives, First fruits.

Problemes, that is to say, Questions propounded for to be discussed.

Procatartike causes of sicknesses, Be such as are evident and coming from without, which yeeld occasion of disease, but do not mainteine the same: as the heat of the Sunne, causing headach or the ague.

Prognosticke, that is to say, Foreknowing and foretelling: as the signes in a disease which foretignifie death or recovery.

Prescription, an outlawing of persons in *Rome*, with confiscation of their goods, and selling the same in portsale: and depriving them of publicke protection.

Proslambomene, A, B, C, a terme in Musick, signifying (a String or Note) taken in or to: for otherwise of two Heptachords, there would not arise 15. to admit a place in the middle for *Mele*, that is to say; the Meane, to take part of two Eights, or two Diapasons.

Profolia, A certeine hymne or tune thereto, in manner of supplication to the gods; and namely to *Apollo* and *Diana*, at what time as a sacrifice was to be brought and presented before the altar.

Proteleia, The sacrifice before mariage: as also the gifts that ceremoniously went before.

Prytæneum, A stately place within the castell of *Athens*, wherein was a court held for judgement in certeine causes: where also they who had done the Common-wealth singular service, were allowed their diet at the cities charges, which was accounted the greatest honour that could be.

Parhypate Hypaton, A base string or note in musick, Subprincipall of principals: C, F, A, U, T.

Parhypate Meson, Subprincipall of meanes, a meane string or note, F, F, A, U, T.

Pylladon, In musick a kinde of note bearing the name of *Pylades*, a Poet comickall and skillfull master in musick.

Pyramidal, Formed like unto the Pyramid, which is a geometrickall body, solid, broad beneath, and rising up one all sides which be flat and plaine, unto a sharpe point like a steeple. It taketh the name of *πυρ*, that is to say, Fire, which naturally hath that figure.

Pythia, or *Phæbas*, The priestresse or prophetesse, who pronounced the answers at the oracle of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphos*: who tooke that name of *Pythion* there slaine by him and lying putrified: or of *πυρ* and *πυθω*, that is to say, To aske and demands, for the resort of people thither to be resolved by him of their doubts.

Pythick, or *Pythian* games, were celebrated to the honour of *Apollo Pythius*, near the city *Delphos*, with greace solemnity: instituted first by *Diomedes* and yeerely renewed.

Q. *Quintus*, A fore name to divers Romanes.

Quaternary, the number of Four: called likewise *τετρας* and *τετραγώνος*, so highly celebrated by

* Or launching the date.

An explanation of certaine obscure words.

* *Calma Rhen-
dis.*

by the Pythagoreans, comprising in it the proportion Epitritus, whereof ariseth the musickall harmonic* Diatessaron; for it containeth three and the third part of three: also Diapason, because it comprehendeth two duple, whence ariseth the musickall diapason: and Disdiapason, being doubled, which is an Eight & the perfect harmony, according to the proverbe *amant bonis*; also in that, it containeth all numbers within it; for, one, two, three and foure arise to Ten, beyond which we cannot ascend but by repetition of former numbers.

Quaestors, inferior officers in Rome in manner of Treasurers: whose charge was to receive and lay out the cities money and revenues of state: of which sort, there were urbani, for the city it selfe: Provinciales, for the provinces: and Castrenses, for the campe and their warres.

Quingentium, named in Greeke, Pentathlon. Five exercises or feats of activity among the greeks practised at their solemne games: namely * launching the dart, throwing the coit, running a race, wrestling and leaping. See Pancratiun.

* Some put in dead horse of full-flight.

R

Radicall moisture: Is the substantiall humidity in living bodies; which is united with naturall heat, that the one maintaineth the other, and both preserve life. To *Rarifie*, that is to say, To make more subtil, light and thin.

Reidivation, Is a relapse or falling backe into a sicknesse, which was in the way of recovery, and commonly is more dangerous than the former: *Reidiviva pejor radice*.

Regents, Professours in the liberrall sciences and in Philosophy: a teame usual in the universities.

Reverberation, that is to say, A smiting or driving backe.

Rhapsodie, A sowing together or conjoining of those Poems and verses especially heroicke or hexametre, which before were loose and scattered: such as were those of *Homer*, when they were reduced into one entier body of *Ilias* and *Odyssea*. Those Poets also, who recite or pronounce such verses, were termed *Rhapsodi*.

Rivals and *Conrivals*, Counter-suiters: or those who make love together, unto one and the same woman.

To *Ruminare*, that is to say, To ponder and consider, or revolve a thing in the minde:

a borrowed speech from beasts that chew the cudde.

S

Satiri, Woodwofes, or monstrous creatures with tailes, yet resembling in some sort, partly men & women, & in part goats, given much to venery and lasciviousnesse, whereupon they had that name: also to scurrill, frumping and jibing, for which they were also called *Silenti*, especially when they grew aged; supposed by the rural heardmen to be the faeries or gods (I would not else) of the wodes.

Satyræ or *Satyræ* were certaine Poems received in place of *Comædia vetus*, detesting and reprooving the mildemeanours of people and their vices: at first by way of myrth and jest, not sharply and after a biting manner to the shame, disgrace or hurt of any person; such were they that *Horace* composeth; howbeit they grew afterward to more diracity and licentiousnesse, noting in broad teames without respect all leaudnesse, and sparing no degrees; as those were of *Juvenales* and *Persius* penning. Latine poets onely, handled this argument, both in the one sort and the other.

Scammonie, A medicinable plant, and the juice thereof issuing out of the roote when it is wounded or cut: it purgeth yellow choler strongly. The same juice or liquor being concrete or thickned and withall corrected is called *Dacrydium*; as one would say, the teares distilling from the roote: and is the same which the unlearned Apothecaries call *Diagridium*; as if forsooth it were some compound like their *Diaphanicon*.

Sceler, The dead body of a man artificially dried or tanned, for to be kept and seene a long time. It is taken also for a dead carcase of man or woman, represented with the bones onely, and ligaments.

Scepticke philosophers, VWho defended from *Pyrro* to be called, for that they would determine of all matters in question, but determine of none: and in this respect they were more precise than the Academicks.

Scolia, Were certaine songs and carols sung at feasts.

Scrutinine, A search, and properly a perusing of suffrages or voices, at elections or judiciall courts, for the triall or passing of any cause.

Secundine, The skinne that enwrappeth the childre or young thing in the wombe: in women

An explanation of certaine obscure words.

women the after-birth or later-birth; in beasts the heame.

Senarie, The number of sixe, also a kinde of verse. See *Iambus*.

Septimane, A weeke or seven-night. Also what soever falleth out upon the seventh daie, month, yeere, &c. as *Septimana factus*, in *Arnobius*, for children borne at the seventh month after conception; and *Septimana febres*, Agues returning with their fits every seventh day.

Serg. { *Servius* } Forenames to certaine fam-
Serv. { *Servius* } milies in Rome.
Sex. { *Sextus* }

Seguilateral, A proportion, by which is ment that which containeth the whole and halfe againe, as 6. to 4. 12. to 8. It is also named *Hemolios*.

Segui-tertiat, A proportion, whereby is understood as much as comprehendeth the whole, and one third part, as 12. to 9. and the same is called *Epiritros*.

Segui-octave, That which compriseth the whole and one 8 parts; as 9 to 8, 18 to 16: in Greeke *Epilogos*, or *Epogdos*.

Solecisme, Incongruity of speech, or defect in the purity thereof. It arose of those who being Athenians borne, and dwelling in *Soli*, a city in *Cilicia*, spake not pure Attick, but mixt with the Solians language.

Solstice, The Sunne-stead, which is twice in the yeere, in June & December, when the Sunne seemeth to stand for a while, at the very point of the Tropicks, either going from us, or coming toward us; as if hee returned from the end of his race, North and South.

Sp. Spurius, A forename to some Romanes.

Spasmes, that is to say, Crampes, or painfull pluckings of the muskles and sinewes. See *Convulsions*. And *Spasmatike*, full of such or given thereto.

Spheres, The circles or globs, of the seven planets: as also the compasse of the heaven above all.

Spissitudo, Thicknesse or dimnesse.

Spontæus, An hymne sung at sacrifices and libations. Also a metrickall foot in verse, consisting of two long syllables: whereof principally such hymnes or songs were composed.

Stadium, A race or space of ground, containing 625. foote, whereof eight make a mile, consisting of a thousand paces, which are five thousand foot, reckoning five foot for a pace; for so much commonly a man

taketh at once in his pace, that is to say, in his stepping forward, and removing one foot before another.

Stoicks, Certaine Philosophers, whose first master was *Zeno*, who taught in a certaine spacious gallery at *Athens*, called *Pœcile*, for the varietie of pictures wherewith *Polidorus* the excellent painter beautified it: And for that a gallery in Greeke is called *Stoa*, therefore those Philosophers who taught and disputed therein, tooke that name of Stoicks.

Strophes, that is to say, Conversions or turnings. In Comœdies and tragedies, when the *Chorus* first speaketh unto the actors, and then turneth to the spectators, and pronounceth certaine jambicks. In the rehearsing of Lyricall verses, when the Poet one while turneth to the right hand, and another while to the left; and so reciteth certaine verses: which thereupon be called *Strophæ*, and *Antistrophæ*.

Stypticke, being such things, as by a certaine harsh taste, doe shew that they be astringent: as the fruit called Medlars, and *Alum* especially, which thereupon is called *Stypticum*. And *Stypticitie* is such a quality.

Subitane, that is to say, Of a sudden, without premeditation.

Subterranean, that is to say, under the earth. *Superficies*, The upper face or outside of any thing. In Geometrie it is that, which is made of lines set together, like as a line of prickles united.

Superfétation, Conception upon conception.

Suppuration, A gathering to matter or attir: as in biles, impostumes, inflammations and such like.

Sycophants, Tale-bearers, false promoters, or slanderous informers, and such as upon small occasions brought men into trouble. The name arose upon this occasion; that whereas in *Athens* there was an act, That none should transport figges out of the territory *Attica*, such as gave information of those that contrarie to this law conveyed figges into other parts, were termed *Sycophants*: for that *Syon* in Greeke, is a figge.

Syllogismes, Be certaine formes of arguing: when upon two propositions graunted, which are called Premisses, there is inferred a third, namely a Conclusion.

To *Symbolize*, that is, By certaine outward
Aaaaaa signs,

An explanation of certeine obscure words.

signes, to signifie some hidden things: Thus an eie symbolizeth vigilancy.

Sympathie, that is to say, A fellow feeling, as is between the head and stomacke in our bodies: also the agreement and naturall amitie in divers senslesse things, as between iron and the load-stone.

Symphonie, Concord and harmony, properly in vocall Musike.

Symphonach, The master of a feast. The Romanes called him *Rex*, that is to saie, a king.

Symptomes, Be accidents accompanying sickness; as headach, the ague: stich, shortnesse of winde, spitting blood, cough and ague; the plurisie.

Symmenon, or *Syzengmenon*, A tearme of art in musike, signifying strings or notes conjunct.

Syntaxis, The construction and coherence of words and parts of speech by concord and regimēt.

T

T. Titus, A forename to many houses of the Romans.

Talent Atticke (as well ponderall which was weighed, as numerall or nummarie, counted in mony) was of two sortes: The lesse, of sixty pound *Attick*, and every one of them consisted of one hundred *Drachma*. If *mina* then, be three pound two shillings six pence sterling in silver; this talent amounteth to one hundred eighty seven pound ten shillings of our english mony. The greater, or simply the great talent, is eighty *mine* and hath the proportion Epitritos, or sesquitercian to the lesse: so that it cometh to two hundred and fifty pound sterling.

Tautologies, Vaine repetitions of the same things oftentimes.

Termarie, The number of three.

Terpadrios, A severall tune in musike, or a song that *Terpander* devised.

Tertrachord, An instrument in old time of foure strings; but now, it is taken for every fourth in the scale of Musike or *GAM*, ut, whereof there be foure in fifteene strings: reckoning *Mes*, to end one octave and begin another.

Tertrarch, A potentate or ruler over the fourth part of a country.

Theatre, A new place built with seates in manner of an halfe circle, for to behold games, plaies and pastimes; which if both

ends meet round, is called an *Amphitheatre*. *Theorems*, Principles or rules in any science.

Theriacal Trochisks, Trochisks made of vipers flesh, to enter into the composition *Theriacal*, that is to say, *Triacle*.

Thesmoele, Were six of the nine Archontes or chiefe rulers in *Athens* during their free popular estate. They had civill jurisdiction and sat as judges in certeine causes.

Thesmothesium, seemeth to be the court or commission of the said *Thesmoele*.

Topicks, That part of logicke which treateth of the invention of arguments, which are called *Topias* if they were places, out of which a man might redily have sufficient reasons to argue and dispute with *Pro & contra*.

Tribunes of the Commons, Certeine officers or magistrates at *Rome*, as provosts and protectours of the commonalte to restraine and keepe downe the excessive power of the consuls and nobility. Chosen they were and confirmed by the generall oth of the people, whereby they were *Sacrosancti*, that is to say, Inviolable, & no violence might be done to their persons. A negative voice they had and power of inhibition called *Intercessio*; whereby they might crosse and stop all proceedings of the Senate or any superiour magistrate (save only the Dictator) even of the very consuls, whom in some case they might command. They resembled much the Ephory in *Sparta*.

Trite Diszengmenon, The third of disjuncts a string or note in the scale of musike C, *sol*, *fa*, *ut*.

Trite Hyperbolan, A treble string, the third of Exceeding or treble; *F*, *a*, *ut*.

Trite Symmenon, or *Syzengmenon*, The third of the Disjuncts, a string or note in musike, *B*, *fa*, *a*, *B*, *ut* in rule.

Trienall, Common and ordinary as is the high way, state and of no account.

Trocheans, A metrical foot in verse, consisting of two syllables; the former long, and the other short.

Tropees or *Trophees*, Were monuments in memoriall of victory, erected in marble, brasse, or in default thereof with heaps of stone or piles of wood, in the very place where any Generall had vanquished his enemies and put them to flight; whereupon they tooke that name: for that *tem* in greeke significth, Turning back and flight.

Tropes, In speech the using of wordes otherwise than in their primitive and naturall signi-

An explanation of certeine obscure words.

signification; which many times giveth a grace to the sentence.

Tutelar, Protectours and defenders. So were the gods or goddesses among the Painims called, whom they beleaved to have a speciall charge of any city or country.

A *Type*, that is to say, A figure under which is signified some other thing.

V

VeHall virgins, were certeine Nunnes or Votaries, instituted first by *Numa Pom-*

ilius king of *Rome*, in the honour of *Vesta* the goddess: whose charge was to keepe the sacred fire that it went not forth. Chosen they were betwene the yeeres of six and tenne of their age: and were enjoined virginitie for thirtie yeeres: after which time it was lawfull for them to be married: But if in the meane while they committed fornication, buried they were quicke.

Vnction, that is to say, Anointing.



AN INDEX POINTING TO THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS CONTAINED IN THE MO- RALS OF PLVTARCH.



A Or Alpha, why the first letter in the Alphabet, 788. 10
What it significth, 16. 30
Abaris, A booke of Heracides, 18. 30

Abrote, the wife of Nisus, 893. 20

Abyrtace, 703. 50

Academiques, 1122. 30

Acca Larentia, one a courtesane, and another the wome of Romulus & Remus, 862. 20

Acca Larentia honored at Rome, 862. 20. 70

Acca Larentia surnamed Fabula, how she came renowned, 862. 30. Inheriress to Taruntius, 863. 1. Made Rome her beire, 16.

Acco and *Alphito*, 1065. 10

Acephatiz, never in Homer, 140. 20

Acefander, a *Lybian* Chronicler, 716. 30

Acheron, what it significth, 515. 50

Achilles well scene in *Physicke*, 34. 30. 729. 50. Praiseth himselfe without blame, 304. 50. commended for avoiding occasions of anger, 40. 50. his continuance, 43. 30. charged by *V-lysses* for sitting idly in *Scyros*, 46. 1. of an implacable na-

ture, 720. 10. noted for anger & cruelty, 24. 26. he loved not wine-drinking, 720. 20. whom he invited to the funeral feast of Patroclus, 786. 40. noted for his full nature, 106. 40. his diversion betwene Menelaus and Antilochus, 648. 30. he kept an inventory table, 750. 1. he digested his choler by *Asclepius*, 1261. 40. noted for a warron *Catanite*, 568. 30. killed by Paris, 793. 50

Achillium, 899. 1

Achraides, wilde peewee, 903. 40

Acidinta, 901. 20

Acratima, that is to say, a break-fast, whereof it is derived, 775. 20

Acratima and *Ariston* supposed to be both one, 775. 30

Acroame or *Ear-sports*, which be allowed at supper time, 758. 30

Acron the Physician, how he cured the plague, 1319. 1

Acrotatus his *Apophthegmes*, 453. 10

Acteon the sonne of *Nelissus*, a most beautifull youth, 945. 30. his pitifull death, 945. 40

Alizon all in all in Eloquence, 932. 1

Actus, the dogge of one *Pyrthus*, 963. 40

Alivellise, 940. 20

Ada Queene of *Caria*, 596. 20

Ades, what it significth, 608. 30. 1000. 10

Adiaphora, 69. 1

Adimantus, a noble captaine, debased by *Herodotus*, 1243. 30. 40. what names *Adimantus* gave unto his children, 1244. 20

Adiapha, 339. 1

Admetus, 1146

Admirable things not to be discerned, 723. 1

Admiration of other men in a mean, 55. 20

to Admire nothing, Nil admirari, 59

Adonis thought to be *Bacchus*, 711. 40

Adrastia, 557. 40. 1050. 20

Adrastia and *Atropos* whereof derived, 1080. 30

Adraustus reviled by *Alemacon*, 240. 30. he requiteth *Alemacon*, 16.

Adulterie of Mars and Venus in Homer, what it significth, 25. 10

Adulterie strange in *Sparta*, 465. 10

Aecium, a privileged place, 935. 50

Aecus a judge of the dead, 532. 20

Aecantis a tribe at Athens, 659. 40. never adjudged to the last place, 659. 50. highly praised, 660.

Aaaaaa 2

THE TABLE.

Amcebus the *Musician*. 67.10
Ameltris sacrificed men for the
prolonging of her life. 268.20
Ameltris stones, why so called.
68.1. their virtue. 18.50
Amie or Hamia, certain fibres,
whereof they take their name.
974.20
Amity and Enmity the beginning
of all things. 888.1
Aminocles enriched by ship-
wreck. 1237.10
Ammenones who they be. 889.
20
Amoun and Ammon names of
Jupiter. 1201.1
Amphiaras. 908.20
Amphiaras commended. 434.1
419.10. he comforteth the ma-
ther of Archemorus. 520.50
Amphitryones. 590.40
Amphidamas his funeral. 716.
20
Amphidamas. 334.40
Amphithea killeth herself. 214.
10
Amphion, of what Musick he
was author. 1249.20
Amphibia women their virtuous
acts. 491.20
Amphitheus delivered out of pri-
son. 1226.20
Amphitrite, a name of the sea.
1217.20
Aquila what it is. 687.20
Anacamperotes, what plants.
1178.50
Anacharis the Philosopher had no
certain place of abode. 336.1
put his right hand to his mouth,
&c. 195.40
Anacreon his odor. 759.1
Anaxagoras his opinion of the first
principle of all things. 806.10.
how he took the death of his
sune. 520.10. 12.1. why he
was thought impious. 266.20
Anaxander his apothegmes and
epigrams. 453.50
Anaxarchus tortured by Nico-
crates. 75.10. he flattered A-
lexander. 295.20. reproved by
Timon. 70.50. a loose and in-
temperate person. 752.1
Anaxilas his apothegmes. 453.
50
Anaximander his opinion of men
and life. 780.10. his opinion of
the first principle. 805.50. his
opinion of God. 812.1
Anaximenes confused by Aristo-
tle. 995.1. his opinion of the
first principle. 806.1
Anchucus the sune of Midas, his

resolute death. 908.1
Ancient men how to accept of dig-
nities. 396.50
Ancus Martius king of Rome.
631.1
Andorides the orator his para-
toge, acts and life. 920.40. ac-
cused for impiety. ib. acquit.
921.1. he saved his sune fa-
ther from death. ib. a great fla-
nist and a merchant besides. ib.
10. arrested by the K. of Cy-
prus. ib. 20. banished. ib. his
orations and writings. 921.50
when he flourished. ib.
Andrea. 762.1
Androclidas his apothegmes.
454.1
Androcles how he painted the
gulf of Scylla. 705.30
Anger the sweeter of the fault. 75.
10. how it differeth from other
passions. 119.20. 30. how it
may be quenched and appeased.
120.10. how set on fire. ib. 20.
compared with other passions.
121.10. 20. &c. who are not
subject unto it. 123.50. 124.1.
mixed with other passions. 131.
10. to prevent it, as great aver-
sion as to bridle it. 40.30. to be
reproved at the first. 120.30.
upon what subject it worketh.
123.30. how it altereth com-
munes, voice and gesture. 122.
1.10. compounded of many pas-
sions. 131.10. it banisheth rea-
son. 542.20
Angie lives why made of flou-
ry tails. 971.10. 1008.40
Anio the river whereof it took
the name. 917.40
Annuller carries subject to ge-
neration and corruption. 846.30.
of fancy forts. ib. 50
Antibal his apothegme of Fab.
Maximus. 429.10. 20. he con-
fesseth at foisting by bestien-
trals. 279.20. vanquished in
Italy. 637.1
Antiochus in open aire for bidden at
Rome. 864.30
Antiochus against the fire and sun.
620.30
Avo. 1166.10
Answers to demands how to be
made. 204.30. 40. of thies forts.
205.40
Antagoras a poet. 415.10
Antagoras a stout shepherd. 905.
20
Antalidas his apothegmes. 425.
30. 454.10. how he returned a
scold upon an Athenian. 363.

50. his apothegme to K. A-
gelislaus. 423.1
Antarlike pole. 820.40
Antes and Anthedonia. 894.20
Antes an ancient Musician.
1249.30
Anthedon what it is. 894.10
Anthias the fish, what called sacred.
976.1
Antichristian what month. 785.1
Antidia the mother of Vlytes.
901.40
Antigenes enmured upon Tele-
sippe, was kindly used by King
Alexander. 1280.1
Antigonus the elder, how he took
his sune's death. 530.1. being
an aged king, yet governed well.
395.50. his answer unto a So-
phist. 1268.50
Antigonus the younger, his brave
speech of himself. 909.1. his
apothegmes. 415.40. his pie-
ty and kindness to his father. ib.
Antigonus the third his apoth-
egmes. 416.10. his continen-
cie. ib. 20
Antigonus the elder his justice.
414.30. his patience. ib. 40.
his magnificence. ib. he repre-
sented a Rhetorician. 414.50.
reproved by the Poet Antioche-
rus. 415.10. his martiall begme.
414.10. his martiall justice. ib.
warie to prevent the occasion of
sune. ib. 20. what use he made
of his sickness. 414.20. his coun-
sell to a captain of his garrison.
1137.20. he acknowledgeth his
mortality. ib. how he repressed
his anger. 124.30. his patience.
126.1. his secrecy. 107.30. his
answer to an impud. in begger.
167.20
Antiochus one of the Ephori, his
apothegme. 425.10. 454.20
K. Antiochus Hierax loving to
his brother Seleucus. 416.20
he loved to be called Hierax.
968.50
Antiochus the great, his apoth-
egmes. 417.10. he beseegeth
Hierusalem, and honoureth a
feast of the Jews. ib. 20
Antipater Calamobas, a Philo-
sopher. 207.30
Antipater his basifalshe cause of
his death. 165.30. 40. his an-
swer to Phocion. 101.20
Antipatrides rebuked by K. A-
lexander the great. 1145.1
Antipistialis what effects it wor-
keth. 1021.50
Antipthera an Acolon borne, maid
servants

servant of Ino. 855.40
Antipho the orator his pregnant
myr. 918.50. his parentage and
life. 418.40. he penned orati-
ons for others. 919.1. he wrote
the institutions of oratorie. 919.
10. for his eloquence surnamed
Nestor. 919.10. his stile and
manner of writing and speaking.
ib. the time wherein he lived.
ib. 20. his martiall att. ib. his
Embassie. ib. condemned and
executed for a traitor. ib. 30.
his apothegme to Denys the
Tyrant. ib. 40. how many ora-
tions he made. ib. he wrote tra-
gedies. ib. he professed himselfe
a Physician of the soule. ib. 50.
other work and treatises of his.
920.1. the iudiciall proceesse and
decree of his condemnation. ib.
10. inconsiderate in his speech
before Denys. 108.1
Antipatres of divers sorts in na-
ture. 676.20
Antisthenes what he would have
us to wish unto our enemies.
1276.1
Antipodes. 825.30. 1164.10
Antisthenes his answer. 364.20.
his apothegme. 240.50. a
great peace maker. 666.1
Antitheta. 988.10
Anton. 1145.40
Antonius his overthrow by Cleo-
patra. 632.1. enamoured of
Queen Cleopatra. 99.20.
abused by flatterers. ib. 93.50
Anton Corutus his history. 851.
20
Anubis borne. 1293.20
Anysus loved Melbiades. 1147.
10
Anytis a philosopher. 300.10.
Aeneas strong castle. 413.30
Aeneas what they be. 74.20
Aparatus, a feast. 1232.1
Aparites what wind. 829.30
Apeles his apothegme to a
painter. 8.30
Apsion what feat of activity. 716.
40
Apharoma what it is. 897.20
Aphether who he is. 889.
901.40
Aphid. 901.40
Aphis how ingendered. 766.40. kil-
led by Ochus. 1300.1
Aphis how he is infected. 1301.20
Aphis what daunces. 1351.30
Apollo why called Delius and
Pythius. 608.30. he was the
prize personally. 773.1. a fa-
vourer of games of prize. ib. 10.
surnamed Pytes. ib. 20

THE TABLE.

Apollo the Runner. ib. surnamed
Pean & Musagetes. 797.50
Apollo when borne. 766.10. why
named Hebdomagines. 766.
20. his two nones, Aethia
and Corythalia. 696.1. why
surnamed Loxias. 103.30
Apollo painted with a cocke on his
head. 1194.20
Apollo the author of Musick.
1252.50. his image in Delos
how portrayed. 1253.1
Apollo what attributes he hath,
and the reason thereof. 133.50
Apollo affectionate to Logics as
well as to Musick. 136.30
Apollo and Bacchus compared
together. 1348.1. 10. 20
Apollo, why he is called Litos. ib.
30. why he is called Litos. ib.
why Phobus. ib.
Apollo and the Sune supposed to
be both one. 1362.45
Apollo compared with Pluto.
1363.10
Apollodorus troubled in confu-
sion. 547.1
Apollodorus an excellent painter.
1276.1
Apollonius rejected in the
love of her betwixen. 176.40
Apollonius the physician his coun-
sell for leave folke. 1004.30
Apollonius his fun. coméd. 530
Apollonius kinde to his brother
Sotio. 184.40
Apophendoneti who they be.
890.50
Apotropai what gods they be.
756.1
Appius Claudius the blinde. 397.
20. his speech in the Senate. ib.
Application of verses and senten-
ces in Poets. 453.30
April consecrated to Venus. 879.
30
Aposis, the brother of the Sune.
1302.10
Apples why named *Calpurnia*. 726.
30
Apple trees, why called *ακαρναγα*.
726
Areni Acta, what it is. 897.20
Arcadians, repute themselves most
ancient. 881.1
Arcesilaus, sune of Battus, mi-
like to his father. 504.20. surnamed
Chalepos. ib. poisoned
by Laarchus. ib.
Arcesilaus the Philosopher defen-
ded against Colotes. 123.40.
he flattered Battus out of his
school. 92.20. his patience.
129.20. a true friend to Ape-

les. 1021.30
Archelaus, king of Macedonias
his answer to Timotheus the
Musiian. 1273.50
Archelistratus, a fine Poet not re-
garded. 1273.10
Archias, a valiant Spartan hono-
red by the Samians. 1233.20
Archias, the Corinthian his noto-
rious outrage. 945.40
Archias, murdered by Telephus
his minion. 946.1. he built Sy-
racusa in Sicily. ib.
Archias Phygadothores, a nota-
ble catchpole. 936.20
Archias, an high priest. 1225.1
Archias, the ruler of the Thebans
negligent of the state. 650.30
Archus, tyrannised in Thebes.
1204.10. killed by Melon.
1205.20
Archelaus, his opinion of the first
principle. 806.30
K. Archelaus, how he served an
impudent craver. 167.10. his
apothegme. 408.1
Archidamus his apothegme. 425.
1. 432.20
Archidamus the son of Zeuxida-
mus his apothegme. 454.50
Archidamus the sune of Ageli-
aus his apothegme. 455.20
K. Archidamus fined for marrying
a little woman. 2.40
Archilochus an ancient poet and
musician. 1250.20
Archilochus what he added to
musick. 1257.10
Archimedes how studious in geo-
metrie. 387.10. 590.10
Archiprotolimus condemned and
executed with Amphion. 920.
10. 20. 30
Architas repressed his anger. 542.
30. his patience. 12.40
Articque pole. 820.40
Arctos, the beare, a starre, repre-
sented by Typhon. 1205.50
Ardalus. 330.30
Arctas a lover. 1145.50
Arctaphila her virtuous deede
498.10. her defence for suspi-
cion of preparing poison to kill
her husband. 499.1
Argei at Rome what image. 861.
30
Argileonis the mother of Brasi-
das, her apothegme. 479.40
Argoi, the name of all Greece. 861.
40
Argos women, their virtuous att.
486.1
Arideus, an uncovertive prince.
1277.10
Arideus,

THE TABLE.

Ardeus, a young prince, *usurp* to rule. 395.50
 Arides his bitter scoff. 668.10
 Arigeus his apophthegm. 454.30
 Arimanius. 1044.1
 Arimanius a martial Enthusiast. 1143.1
 Arimanius, what God. 1306.1
 Arimenes his kinsman to Xerxes his brother. 403.40
 Ariobarzanes, some of Darius, a traitor executed by his father. 909.50
 Ariou his history. 342.20
 Ariopagus. 396.40
 Aristeus, what God. 1141.20
 Aristarchum, a temple of Diana. 903.40
 Aristus, what answer hee had from the Oracle. 852.1
 Aristides kinde to Cimon. 398.20, his apophthegms. 418.50, he stood upon his owne bottom. 56, at enmity with Themistocles. 419.1, he laith it downe for the Common-wealth. 111.30
 Aristippus his apophthegm as touching the education of children. 6.10, his answer as touching Lais the courtesan. 113.30
 Aristippus and Aeschines at a jare: how they agreed. 130.40
 Aristoclea her tragical history. 944.30
 Aristocritus punished long after, for betraying the Messenians. 1540.1
 Aristocracies allow no orators at bar to move passions. 72.40
 Aristodemus frowfull and melancholike. 296.1
 Aristodemus suspecteth tyrannie ever Comes. 505.50, 250.1
 Aristodemus, Socrates his shadow at a fass. 753.50
 Aristodemus, tyrant of Argos, killed himselfe. 265.10, 205.10, his villanie. 946.40, named Malacos, 505.30, murdered by conspirators. 252.30
 Aristogiton, a promoter, condemned. 421.10
 Aristomacha Poetresse. 716.30
 Aristomenes poisoned by Ptolomais. 112.20
 Ariston his opinion of vertue. 64.50
 Ariston his apophthegms. 454.40
 Aesop, a dinner, whereof it is derived. 775.30
 Ariston punished by God for fa-

crilege. 545.20
 Aristonicus an harper, honoured after his death by K. Alexander. 1274.40
 Aristophanes discommended in comparison of Menander. 942.40
 Aristotimus a cruell tyrant over the Elians. 492.30, his treacherous villany toward the wives of Elis. 493.10, murdered by conspirators. 494.1, his wife hung herselfe. 495
 Aristotle how he dealt with prating fellows. 193.30, recallseth Stagira his native city. 1128.50, his opinion of God. 812.10, his opinion as touching the principles of all things. 808.10
 Aristotle a master in his speech. 34.20
 Aristotle the younger, his opinion as touching the face in the Moone. 1161.1
 Arithmetike. 1019.1
 Arithmetick proportion chased out of Lacedaemon by Lyrurgus. 767.50
 Arius a great favorite of Augustus Cæsar. 368.20
 Aroveris borne. 1292.20
 Araphes. 1302.20
 Arinoce, how she was comforted by a Philosopher for the death of her sonne. 521.50
 Arinoce. 899.30
 Artaxerxes accepted a fass present graciously. 401.20
 Artaxerxes Long-hand his apophthegms. 404.1
 Artaxerxes Mnemon his apophthegms and behaviour. 404.30
 Artemisium the Promontory. 506.40
 Artemisia a lady, adviseth Xerxes so called. 1243.10
 Artemis, that is to say, Diana, why so called. 1184.40
 Article, a part of speech seldom used by Homer. 1028.10
 Arts from whence they proceed. 236.30
 Artyni, who they be. 888.50
 Aruntius carnally abused his owne daughter, and sacrificed by her. 912.1.10
 Aruntius Patereulus executed worthily by Aemilius Centurinus. 917.30
 Aspis the serpent why honoured among the Egyptians. 1316.30
 The Asie, why honoured among the Jews. 701.10
 Asles and horses having apples and

sfiges a load, be faint with the disease Bulimos. 739.1, what is the reason thereof. 799.40
 Afander. 1162.20
 Afaron. 645.10
 Alcanius vanquished Mezenius. 876.20
 Alias what it was. 1350.40
 Also a Queene of Arabia. 1292.40
 Altopicus a darling of Epaminondas. 1146.10
 Aphodol. 339.1
 Assembly of lusty gallants. 898.1
 Allent and the cobination thereof argued pro & contrâ. 1124.20
 Altarte, Queene of Byblos in Egypt. 1292.40
 Alter, a notable archer. 908.50
 Altorni people of India. 1177.30
 Astrologie is contained under Geometrie. 797.10
 Atrologie. 1019.10
 Atlycrauidas, his apophthegms. 455.50
 Asyndeton. 1028.40
 Ate. 346.10
 Atcas the king of the Scythians, his apophthegms. 405.20
 Atcas mislike musick. 405.20
 592.1, 1273.50, chimie unto idleness. 394.30
 Atcomorus king of the Gauls. 914.40
 Athamas and Agave enraged. 263.20
 Athenians more renowned for martiall feats than good letters. 981.50
 Athenians of what disposition they be. 3498.30
 Athenians why they suppress the second day of August. 187.46
 reproved by a Laconia for pldict. 985.50
 Athens and Attica highly commended. 279.1.10
 The Athenians would not breake open King Philips letter to his wife. 350.1
 Athens divided into threeregion. 357.20, the mother and wife of good arts. 982.20
 Athenians abuse Sylla and his wife with illlanguage. 336.1
 Athenodorus his kindeffe to his brother Zeno. 181.20
 Atheisme and superstition compared. 260.1
 About who they were. 1099.1
 Atheists who they were. 810.40
 Athine maintained by Epicurus. 592.20
 Athisme.

THE TABLE.

Athime. 260.40, what it is. 11.50, it arose from superstition. 267.40.50, how engendered. 260.1
 Athos the mountaine. 1175.20
 Atlas. 1153.20
 Atomi. 603.50, 807.40.50
 Athyr what it signifeth. 1310.20
 Atropos. 1049.10, 797.40, her function. 1184.40, what she is and where she keepeth. 1219.30
 K. Attalus died upon his birth day. 766.1
 Attalus his reciprocal love to his brother Eumenes. 188.20, 416.30
 Attalus a kings ruled and led by Philopomenus. 394.20
 Attalus exposed the wife of his brother yet living. 416.30
 Avance how it differeth from other lusts. 211.20
 Againt Avance. 299.10, 20
 Averruncus, see Apotropeus
 Augurs who they be. 883.10, why not degraded. 11.30
 Augurs forbidden to observe bird flight, if they had an ulcer about them. 874.30
 Augurs and Auspices why they had their lanterns open. 874.10
 After Augustus a bird-flight observed. 863.30
 Of August the second day suppressed by the Athenians out of the kalendar. 187.40, 792.10
 Augustus Cæsar first emperor of Rome. 61.50
 Augustus Cæsar his apophthegms. 446.50, how he paid his father Cæsar's legacies. 442.1, his clemency to the Alexandrians. 10.10, his affection to Arius. 11.10, his anger noted by Athenodorus. 442.30, his prayer for his nephew Tyberius Cæsar. 631.50, fortunes dwelling in. 11.30
 Autum. 901.20
 In Autumne are more hungry than in any other time of the year. 669.10
 Autumne called winter. 783.10
 Axiomies ten by complication how many propositions they bring forth. 782.20

Baccharis the herbe, what vertue it hath in garlands. 684.20
 Bacchiada. 945.50
 Bachelon the faire. 1131.50
 Bacchus why called by the Romans Liber pater. 885.1, why he had many Nymphs to be his wives. 696.1, surnamed Dendriteus. 717.20, the sonne or father of oblivion. 75.1.40, why called Leuther and Lytus. 764.10
 Bacchanals how they were performed in old time. 214.30
 Bacchus how he cometh to have many denominations. 1358.1
 Bacchus patron of husbandrie. 797.20, not sowne by within doors at Rome. 860.10, what is all this to Bacchus a proverb whereupon it arose. 645.1
 Bacche why they rise rime and meter. 654.40
 Baccha. 643.40
 Bacchus taken to be the Jove god. 712.10, surnamed Lyceus and Chorea. 722.40, he was a good captain. 722.40, a physician. 683.40, why surnamed Methymneus. 685.40, surnamed Lyfius or Libes and wherefore. 692.30, what is the end thereof. 337.20, why named elous. 726.50
 Bacchus surnamed Bugenes. 1301.20
 Bacchus portrayed with a bull's head. 1301.20
 Bacchus the governour of all moisture. 1301.40
 Bactrians desire to have their dead bodies devoured by birds of the aire. 299.50
 Baines and stomper. 612.1, in old time very temperate. 781.20, the occasion of many diseases. 783.50
 Balance not to be passed over. 13.10
 Ballachrades. 903.30
 Bal what it signifeth in the Egyptian language. 1310.1
 Banishment of Bulimus. 738.20
 Banishment how to be made tolerable. 275.1.10, no marks of infamie. 278.20, feare to be condemned by Euripides. 16.30
 Banished persons are all in this world. 281.20
 Banquet of the seven Sages. 326.30
 Barbarians and Greeks compared. 39.40
 Barbell the fish honoured. 976.40
 Barbers be commonly praters. 200.1
 Bbbbbb

40, a prating Barber, checked K. Archelaus. 408.10
 Barber to K. Dionysius crucified for his talkative tongue. 200.10, Barbers shoo dry bankers. 721.20, a Barber banded in his kinde for his lasting tongue. 201.1
 Barly lyes well in sandy ground. 1008.10, 20.20
 Barrenesse in women how occasioned. 844.20
 Evil Babblesse cause of much sorrow & danger. 165.10, 20.30, over-much Babblesse how to be avoided. 164.30, Babblesse 163.10, of two sorts. 73.1, Babblesse to be avoided in diet. 613.1
 Bathing in cold water upon exercise. 630.20, Bathing in hot water. 16.30, Bathing and sweating before meat. 612.20
 Bathylon. 759.10
 Battus the sonne of Archelaus. 504.30
 Battus a buffon or jester. 775.10
 Battus surnamed Demos. 504.20
 Battus. 1199.20
 Beasts descended from. 1520
 Beare a subtil beast. 905.10, why they are faile to have a sweet hand. 1010.50, why they gnaw not the mens. 1012.30, kinder a over their young. 218.20
 Bearded comet. 847.20
 Beasts have taught in Physick, & all the parts thereof. 967.60
 Beasts capable of vertue. 564.50, decible & apt to learne arts. 570.1, able to teach. 16.10, we ought to have pittie of them. 575.30, brute Beasts teach parents natural kindeffe. 217.218
 Beasts braver in old time repented. 783.10, they cure themselves by Physick. 1012.1
 1. Beasts of land their properties. 958.50, what beasts will be mad. 955.20, beasts not sacrificed without their owne consent. 779.20, skilled in Arithmetick. 968.20, kind to their young. 218.10, beasts wilde / what if men make of them. 237.40, of land or water, whether have more use of reason. 954.955, how to be used without injurie. 956.40, how they came first to be killed. 779.10, whether they feed more simply than we. 702.1, whether more healthfull than men. 702.1
 Beuty

B. Vsed for Ph. 890.20. B, for ib.
 Babylon a hot province. 685.20, about it they lie upon water budgets. 686.50

THE TABLE.

Beauty the balm of virtue. 1153.
1530. Beauty of what worth 650.
Beauty of woman called *aliquae & bene.* 728.
Beauty without virtue not commendable. 471.
Bebeon. 1370.
Bebeon. ib.
Bed of married folk compels many quarrels between them. 222.
Bed-clothes to be so dressed when we be very dry. 777.
Beer of Candie how witty they be. 959.
50. beer cannot abide smoke. 1014.
50. they fly from wassheperous. ib.
40. the bee a wife-carer. 2181.
The Beetle his life that signifieth *heretofore.* 1291.
50. why honoured by the Egyptians. 1216.
Beer a counterfeit wine. 684.
Beeged flesh, what is meant by it. 891.
Bellerophon's continence excrem. 739.
Bellerophon's commendation for his continence. 423.
139. 30. be few Chimarches. 489.
10. not rewarded by Iobates. ib.
Belreth. 1137.
The Bellier of dead men how they be served by the Egyptians. 576.
40. of belly & belly cheer, pro & contra. 339.
40. belly pleasure most esteemed by Epicurus and Metrodorus. 159.
10. belly hath no cure. 620.
Bepolitus strangely escaped execution. 502.
Beronice & the goodwife of Lacedaemon. 1111.
Bollus detested for killing his father. 345.
Bias his answer to a prating fellow. 194.
30. his answer to king Amadis. 327.
10. his apphitheme. 4561.
10. his apphitheme teaching the most dangerous booff. 473.
Binare number. 807.
10. Binare number or Two, called contention. 1217.
Bion his answer to Theognis. 2820.
10. his apphitheme. 254.
50. his saying of Philophis. 91.
Two & hath divers significations. 2920.
Birds why they have no weid of fall. 745.
10. birds how they dunke. 745.
10. skillful in divination. 968.
40. taught to imitate man's voice. 966.
Biron and Cleobis rewarded with death. 5180.
See Cleobis. *Butteresse what effect it worketh.* 666.
A Blab of his tongue how he was served by K. Seleucus. 200.
Blacknesse cometh of water. 937.
Blacks potage at Lacedaemon. 475.
Bladder answers to the windpipe, like as the guts to the 2 and. 745.
Blames properly imposed for vice. 473.
Blasing flatter. 827.
The Blessed Fate of good folk departed. 530.
Blonconians sacrificed a man. 878.
Blushing face, better than pale. 310.
Bochoris a k of Agypt. 164.
Boen fish. 898.
Body health by two arts preserved. 910.
Body sifter to entertaine paine than pleasure. 583.
10. body feeble no hindrance to agerudry. 389.
40. bodies what they be. 313.
10. bodies' limitation. 313.
50. body, cause of all vices and calamities. 517.
10. body may well have an action against the soule. 625.
1. much injured by the soule. ib.
Boastarchic. 367.
Boastours good trenchery men. 669.
10. noted for glory. 575.
Boastours reproched for having good letters. 1203.
Boldnesse in children and youth. 840.
Bona a goddesse at Rome. 866.
Books of Philophis to be read by young men. 950.
Borcas what wind. 829.
Botanians. 895.
50. their vengins song. ib.
Bradidas his flying of a jilly moue. 251.
Bradidas his apphithemes. 423.
30. 4561. his death and commendation. ib.
A Bratton spike keeps death's door from pretension. 697.
Brattle wounds or flowers wounde with life. 698.
Brattle what called Elyon. 480.
40. 668. 1. why it is so revered. 770.
Brattle of Corinth. 1187.
Brad a present remedie for fainting. 739.

Brennus king of the Gallages, 910.40
Brethren how they are to divide
their patrimony, 180.40, one
brother ought not to feed his
father's hen from another, 179
30, they are to excuse one
another to their parents, 179.50,
how they should cur their slaves
in regard of age, 184.185
Briars of a giant, the same the
Ogryns, 1180.20
Bride lifted over the threshold
her husband's door, 820.30,
bride given commonly first to his
bride without a fight, 87.21.10,
20, bride by the altar a quince
before the enter into his bed-
chamber, 87.23.20, bride hand
parted with a jewel, 879
50
Brimstone why called in Greece
beaz, 705.30
Brifton of amiss runner, 154.30
Brotherly unity a strange thing,
174.20
Brutus surprised with the dagger
betrayed, 718.50, his gracious
thanks to Julius to the Apollonian,
719.1
Decim, Brutus why he sacrificed
to the dead in December, 862
10
Brutus beleached his own fingers,
909.50
The Bryer bluffs Kweez Bats, 892.
90
Bubulci the name at Rome, how
it came, 806.10
Bucephalus K. Alexander's horse
963.50, how he was wont, to
ride him, 396.20
Burg in brim beest not known
568.30
Building costly forbidden by E-
gyptus, 577.30.880.1
Bulb roots, 704.20
Bulls and beavers how they prey
to fight, 959.1
Bulls affrighted of red clothes, 32-
ried to figge-trees become tame,
741.30
Bulls what ornament or jewel ad-
orn, why worse by Romanes chil-
dren, 883.40
Bursque and Borsque, a fainting of
the heart and no hunger, 738.
20
Bulinos what it signifies, 739.
30
Bulinos the diffece, what it is, &
& whereupon it proceedeth, 738.
30
Buprostis, 738.10
Boris

THE TABLE.

Butis his resolution for his coun- 474.1
try. 777.40
A man not to be eased of his Bur-
den. 917.1
Bustis sacrificeth strangers and
guests. 917.1
Bustis killed by Hercules. 10.10
Byfatus killeth herselfe. 913.20
Byfius what winde. 890.20
Buzygion. 323.10

C
C^abirichus *Cymifolus* 12.25
110. *killed by Theopompus.*
ib. 30.
Cabiri. 666.30
Cabbas or Galba, *a hawk and*
withd. 11.44.10. *and a merveie*
buffon withd. ib.
Cacias *the wind gathereth clouds.*
240.10.
Cacilius Metrellus Macedonius
his rare felicity. 630.20.
Cacilius Metcellus *his ap-*
plegmes. 436.30.
Caxa, *that is to say, A flapper,*
whereof derived. 776.1.
Cæneus *the Lepith.* 247.1.1055
30.
Cæpio and Cato brethren, *agree*
welltogether. 185.20.
Cæpion *an ancient African.*
1250.40.
Cæsur *commended by Cicero for*
roving against the flatter of
Pompeius. 243.1.10. *he*
made head against M. Crassus.
874.10.
C. Cædix *his apophthegms.* 440.
40. *he putteth away his wife*
Pompeia. 441.
Cajus and Caja. 860.50.
Caja Cælia *a virtuous &*
skillfull. 860.50. *her bravest*
image in the temple of Sanctus.
861.1.
Cakes of Samos. 613.40.
Calamarius *Sibyl foreteweth*
pest. 1008.50.
Calamoboa, *why Antipater was*
so called. 207.30.
Calabria, *what place.* 894.10.
Calbia *a cruel woman.* 498.40.
burned quick. 500.30.
Calende. See Kalende.
Calicles *answer.* 378.10.
Callicrates. 1106.30.
Callicratidas *his apophthegms.*
459.1. *his death.* ib.30.
Callicmechus *food flaine upon his*
feet. 906.30.
Callicmia, *a surname of certain*
primes. 1278.40.
Callope *the Myle.* 795.40.

wherein employed, 798.50
Callipides a vaine iſter, 449.10
Callirhoë a beautiful damoſell,
 her wofull hopeſ, 947.40 *ib.*
 her hangings herſelfe, 913.10
Callitheneſe reſuſed to pledge A-
 lexander the great. 120.30. *in*
duſ. vour wits K. Alexander.
 655. 20. *his* apoſtrophe a
 gaunt quailing, *ib.*
Callitheneſe kills himſelfe upon
 the body of *Aristoclia* his erine.
 545.10
Callisto, what *Damon*, 157.30
Callitruſa a friendly man in his
 houſe, and keeping great hoſpi-
 tality, 707.40
Callixenus a ſycophant, 300.10
Sea Calves their propertie, 977.10
 20
Cambyſes upon a vaine jealousie
 put his brother to death, 188.0
 20
Furius Camillus, 631.10
Camilla the Galatian Lady, her
 vertuous deed, 500.40. *po-*
ſeneſer her ſelfe and *Synorice*.
 501.20
Xaynuſ, what it ſignifieth, 28.0
 20
Candaules ſlew his wife mak-
 ing Gyges, 654.10
Candaules killed by Gyges, 902.0
 10
Candidatus ſtied for offices at
 Rome *in ſimpler robes*, 867.30
Candily, 703.50
Canobus or *Canopus*, a plot and
 ſlarre, 1296.10
Cantharides the ſtief, *hew* ſhed
 Phylice, 28.40
Cantharothroſ, 156.50
Canus the Myſtref, *Indians* and
 bent to his worke, 387.10
on Capitol mount no *Paritay* at
 Rome might dwell, 880.40
Capparus the name of a gye, 962.0
 50. *he diſcovereth* one that had
 committed ſacrilege, *thi*, *pro-*
 vided for by the Athenians.
 963.10
Sp. Carbilus, why he divorced
 his wife, 855.10
Carians murdered by the Meli-
 ans, 847.50
Carmentis the goddeſſe, *honoured*
 by *Romane matrons*, 869.50. *the*
 mother of *Euauder*, *thi*, *named*
Themis and *Nicoſtra*.
 870.10
Carmina, whereof the word com-
 meth, 870.10
Carnades his witty apoſtrophe

again! flatterers, 96.40. when	be was born.	766.10
Carina but <i>scall</i> .		756
Carthaginian <i>dames</i> suffered their	hands to be <i>borne</i> .	234.1
Carthaginian of what nature they	be.	349.40
Cayce.		701.50
Ceryllian quarry, what stone is	yielded.	1345.50
Cephalica.		1183.30
Cassandra the prophetic; not	to be	376.30
Calsius Severus his apophthegm	of a coming flatterer about Ty-	berius.
		98.30
Calsius Brutus a traitor.		909.
		49
Castoreum an unpleasant drug.		50
Caistor and Pollux how they	re-	180.30
veal.		180.30
Castorium, what melode among	the	1256.0
Lacedaemonians.		1256.0
Casual adventure what it is.	1052	30
		30
Catacaura.		894.90
Caramites hate Pederasty most	deadly.	1155.00
Catauphonia a name of the river	Nilus, why so called.	1292.0
Catechia what it is.		163.20
Catechumens, what God.		1145.4
Catherus <i>rauyfish</i> Italia. 917.40		917.40
Cato can abide no sweet perfumes.		323.30
Cato the elder his apophthegms.		432.30.
	an enemy to glory.	ib.
		ib.
Cato his accusation and plea. 384		384
40. his apophthegm of Julia		ib.
Cesar Dictator.		1083.3
Cato Vicensis killed himself.		295.50.
	more careful of his	ib.
	scoulders than of himself.	ib.
Cato the elder against the libertie	of	432.30
women.		432.30
Cato being a boy, very inquisitive	of his	36.40
Teacher.		36.40
Cato the elder his severity. 432.		432.
40. he would not have his own	image made.	375.10
Cato the elder mistified flatterers.		422.50
		422.50
Cato the younger his upright deal-	ing against	422.50
ing against Murena.		422.50
Cat; why she symbolizeth the	Moone.	1312.30
Catulus Lucatius his apoph-	thegm.	437.1
Caudina Furec.		907
Caulc, what it is.		813.20
Caulc of three forts.		ib.
Caulc efficient, chiefe.		ib.
Bbbbbb		Cayce

THE TABLE.

Clares material and efficient. 1348.1
Corcorps why said to have a double face. 443.20
Celene a city in Phrygia. 907.50
Celcus a great housekeeper. 707.40
Centors at Rome; if one died, other gave up their places. 868.1
what just work they understood after they were fowler. 882.40
their charge. 882.50
883.1
Centures whence they come. 568.50
Century the herbs. 1178.50
Cerantophoros, an image representing K. Alexander. 1275.40
Cerberus. 880.30, 604.50
Ceraphus. 896.30
Ceropes. 98.20
Cerous what God. 154.50
Ceres differs from Proserpina. 1181.40
Ceroma what coposition. 672.50
Ceres worshipped in the same temple with Neptune. 709.10
Ceres from an Anylidora. 797.10
of, patroness of agriculture. 797.50
Ceres Calligenea. 897.40
Cheron how he abused the profect of Chironia. 134.10
Chabrias his apophthegms. 420.30
Chalcedonius dances their maddest. 921.20
Chalcitis, a mineral medicinal. 698.1
Chalchodrye. 712.40
Chaldans, what they think of the Gods. 1506.40
Chalmonon changes colour upon fairs. 973.20
Change in States difficult & dangerous. 740.20, 750.20
Chaos. 646.10, 1000.10, 102.20
so, whereof derived, and what it signifies. 982.0, 1500.20
Charadrius, a bewitching Junco. 724.1
Chares, a personable man. 389.50
Charles & Antiochus how they parted their fathers goods. 131.10
Charidoties the furnace of Mercutrie. 904.20
Charila. 891.1
Charillus his apophthegms. 469.40
40.22.1
Charillus an infant, protected by his uncle Lycurgus. 1277.50
Cherites or Graces, what were their names, and why so called. 292.1
Charmofyna, what feast. 1399.10
Charon the brother of Epaminondas, commended for resolution and love to his country. 1204.50
he entertained the exiled men at their return. 1216.30
his speech made to the conspirators. 1223.30
Charrotes why commended by nacharis. 737.1
Chironiacha, a fallow in Milium. 897.50
Chenofiris what it is. 1302.10
Cherias the Poet scoffed at by Cleodemus. 338.1
Childhood how to be ordered by Nurses. 450
Childrens words taken for Offices. 1293.10
Children good of bad parents. 555.50
Children punished for their parents. 554.1
Children begotten in drunkenness. 240
Children are not to leave learned speeches. 450
Children to be taught by lenity or fairs means. 1040
Children by they ought to have no gods about them. 375.1
how they come to reverence their parents and progenitors. 843.50
how it cometh, that they be like neither to the one nor the other. 844.10
they usido go with their fathers forth to supper. 861.50
Chilon invited to a feast, expulst slaves who were the guests. 328.30
Chimera a mountain. 489.30
Chimereus or Chimarus an aspidochelone. 439.1
Chionara wife to Ortigian, her virtuous deed. 501.50
Chios women their virtuous acts. 485.10
40
Chiron an ancient Physician. 683.40
of, singular bringer up of young boys. 1262.10
Chiron ferry men did learn of Elephants. 968.20
Chilodon sent by Hippothenedas to the husband of Thebes. 1216.1
a ridiculous fray betweene him and his wife. 1216.60
Chioapes the river water, drinke only by the Persians king. 273.1
Chenix. 150.749.50, 1328.20
it consisteth of Sextantors.

THE TABLE.

lived to correct Poetical verses
by change of some words. 44.1
Clearchus his countenance en-
courages his soldiers. 109.20
given to suffering. 651.50, a
tyrant. 296.1. his insolent pride.
1278.20
Clearchus the Philosopher con-
futes Aristotle Junior, about
the Moon's phase. 1161.20
Clemence what it is. 69.10
Cleobis and Biton kinde to their
mother. 518.20. deemed by
Solon happy. 96.50
Cleobline a fildious and virtuous
damsell, named also Eume-
lis. 320.1
Cleobulus, after the name of a
sage and a wise monarch. 135.4
20
Cleodemus a Physician. 355.20
Cleomachus the Thebanus his
death. 1145. 20. bis sepulcher.
1145.30
Cleombrotus the forme of Pau-
sanias, his apothegmes. 459.40
Cleombrotus a great traveller.
132.1
Cleomenes the friend of Anax-
andrides his apothegmes.
459.40. 425. 10. punished for
his perjury and treachery. ib. 50
Cleomenes repelled from the walls
of Argos by women. 486.20
Cleomenes the forme of Cleom-
brotus his apothegmes. 451.
1.
Cleon being entred into govern-
ment rejected all his former
friends. 358.50
Cleopatra. 632. 1. banished and
refused. 637.20
A Cleoplydre. 840.20
Climacides and Colacides what
women. 86.20
Clio; 795. 40 wherein explained
798.50
Clitomachus the Grammarian
could abide no amatory na-
tures. 757.50
Cleitlia her virtuous deede. 492. 1
highly honored by. Porfena.
492.20
Clonas an ancient musician. 1269.
50
Clotho 797.40 1049.10
Clotho her function. 1184. 40
what she is. 1219.30
Clouds how engendered. 838.10
Elufia sang her selfe from an high
tower. 910.20
Clytters commended. 624. 10.
first disuied by the bird Ibis.
968.1. 137.1
Clytus his waive glory. 1378. 10
Cneph among the Aegyptians.
1205.50
Cnidian graine, a violent purga-
tive. 621.50
Cocks of the dungheir what life
made. 1073.20
White Cocke honored by the Py-
thagoreans. 711.1
Cocks moderate in receiving ho-
nours. 375. 40
Cocytus 604. 50. what it signifi-
eth. 515.50
Codrus the king, disguised, killed.
911.40
Cocerans preserved by Dolphins.
980.1
Ceranimus. ib.10
Colde primitive what it is. 993.
10. it is not the privation of
heat. 1205.50
Colde good to preserve things. 774
10
Colde outward increase th natural
heat. 739.10
Coliades who they be. 892.30
Colour what it is. 814.10
Colours all but white deceitfull.
859.40. of divers kinden. 814.
20
Colotes the Epicure, yvot against
the Stoicks; 581.10. he is con-
futed. 1110.50
Combat of three twin, brethren.
911.10
Combat of prize in what order first
by Homer. 673.40. 50
Communisus spare worketh the
death of his owne fume Com-
minius. 916.10
Comedien condemned by the A-
thenians. 985.1
Comedia Vetus banished out of
feasts. 759.20
Comedia Nova commended at
banquets. ib.50
Company of friends at meales com-
mended. 742.40
Company bad, children must avoid
15.1
Comparatives used for perfumes.
719.40
Conception how it commeth. 842.
20. how it is kindred. ib.
Conception of children. 220. 20
Concoction what it is. 1003
Concordance of Poisie and philo-
sophy. 605.20. 48.30
Conflagration of the world. 807.
30
Conjunctes what they be. 888.50
Conjunctions, a part of speech not
much misled. 1028.20
Conjunction of man and wifely

called pions. 1155.20
Confience cleere a safe harbour
161.10
Confience a sufficient wifely.
355.40.50
Confience cleere a singular joy.
602.20
peace of Confience a sovrein
joy. 80.1
Confitalia a festivall day at
Rome. 867.20
Confular place at the board com-
mended. 650.10. the reason why
ib.20
Confuts at Rome, when first en-
treated. 856.20. not admitted to
triumphal feasts. 877.10
Confutation of various matters at
the table and wine. 761.40
Contentment of minde in poore
Crates the philosopher. 147.50
Continence and temperance how
they differ. 60.20
Continency in beists compared
with the chastity of men and
women. 568.40
Contingent how desisted. 1051.
20
Contradictions of stoicks philo-
sophers. 1057.1058
Contrarius the forme of Florentia
914.10
Conus. 1001.1
Cophene a yong damosell saved
the Aegyrians from being mas-
sacred. 487. 40. married to
Nymphæus. ib.
Coptos acity in Aegypt why so
called. 1292.10
Corax&arch Collocides. 553.20
murdered Archilochus. ib.
Cordax 759.10
Cordial confolutions and counter-
poisons called, The haids of the
god. 170.1
Core the same that Perithone.
914.10. 1181.40
Coretas gave first light of the tra-
cle at Delphi. 1145.10
Corinna reprooved Pindarus in
his poestre. 984.30
Corinthians chuppell. 1193.1194
Coronitie, who they be. 505.20
Corpulent and fat folks barren.
676.1
Coros 1338.20
Correction of Poets versus. 44.1.
10
Corruption what it is. 1114.1115
Corybantes. 1142.50. 1143.10
Cotus his subtiltie praised. 895.
50
Cotyla a measure. 1328.20. it con-

THE TABLE.

taineth ten ounces, that is to say, a pint.
Cotsy a prince given to anger, how he reprimanded it. 405.10
Covetousness what manner of dis-
ease. 210
Council of state in Lacedæmon
how called. 391.30
the love of native Country surpass-
eth all others. 362.10
who voluntarily left their own
Countries. 277
native Country called *Mores*. 395
1.
Crædaphoria what feast. 712.10
Crædus what tune or song. 1251.
10
Cramp-fish Torpedo how subtle
he is. 972.40
Cræves what order they keep in
flying. 960.1
Crantor his opinion as touching
the soule of the world. 1031.30
M. Cræstus why he was said to car-
ry hec one his borne. 874.1
Cræstus bitterly taunted and chee-
ked Domitius. 240.30 accused
for uncomeliness. 241.30
Cratæadas. 895.1
Crates his trecherous part with
Orgilus. 381.1. he is put to
death. 381.10
Crates the philosopher joyneth in his
poverty. 147.40. called Thire-
panætes. 666.1. his epi-
gram opposed to Sardanapalus
his epi-aph. 210.1. he forsooke
the world. 288.10. his exclamation
against negligent fathers in
the education of their children
5.50
Crætevas why he killed Archelaus
1155.20
against importunate Crævers. 168
40
Credit in a city won at the first and
suddenly. 356.10.20
Crætinus his honest craving to his
concurrent Hæmies for the
good of the common weale. 362.
1
Crætus what he added to musick.
1257.10
Crissoti the Himeræus, a flatterer.
96.30
Critolæus killed his sister Demo-
doce. 911.10
Crocodile resembleth god, and be-
haved by the Egyptians. 1316.
30
Crocodiles tame and familiar.
970.10. their manner of breed-
ing and their foreknowledge.
977.1

Cræfus exalted the statue of his
woman baker, in beaten gold.
1195.40
the Cromyonian sow. 565.30
Groves of Barbæric how crasty
they be. 959.40
Croverage. 1327.30
Cruelty in men whete it ariseth first.
951.10
Cruelty in the killing of brute
beasts for our food, condemned.
577.1
Cryallæ the new. 487.50
Cryallians conspire against the
Medians. 487.30
Cube. 819.20. how to be doubled.
767.30
Cumini-seed to be sown with
cresset. 746.30
Cupid or love, highly honored by
the Theopians. 1131.10
Curiosity sofereth anger. 132.20.
mixed with envy and malice.
134.20
Civilians persons ought to looke in-
to themselves. 134.50
against Curiosity the apophthegme
of an Egyptian. 135.50
Curious folke where they love to
intermeddle. 136.10
Curiosity in other mens matters
how to be avoided. 136.50
Manius Curius his Apoph-
thegmes. 428.20
Curtius a Roman knight. 908.10
he deserveth his own daughter
Cyane. 911.50
Cuttle-fish how crasty he is. 972.
30
Cyanippus killed himself. 912.30
Cybele the great mother of the
gods. 1129.30
Cydlippe. 896.30
Cydnus the river of what vertue
the water is. 1345.1
Cylindre. 1021.1
Cynegyrus lost both his hands.
906.30
Cynelas the Poet. 985.1
Cynolarges at Athens. 1132.20
Cyon the dog-farve, representeth
his. 1295.50
Cyphi the composition, of what
and how many ingredients it
consisteth. 1319.10
Cyphi how the Egyptians use.
1319.30. when it is burnt for
perfume. 1319.40
Cypiclus miraculously saved. 345
30. how he took that name. 40
Cyrenais philosophers. 1122.30.
584.10
Cyrus summed the sight of faire

Panthea. 41.10. 142.20. be-
loved of the Persians. 377.10
how he exercised himself with
his play-fewers. 207.1 his apoph-
thegmes. 403.10
Cyrus the younger his policy to win
the Lacedæmonians unto him.
404.10

D

Dæmons, how long they live.
1327.40. sundry sorts of
them, and their divers offices.
1329.20.30
Dæmons of what nature they be.
1327.20
Dæmons who they be. 1221.50.
what nature they be of. 1297.1
Dæmons about the Moone. 1183.
10
Dæmons how they speak with
men. 1217.50
Dæmons. 812.40
the attribute Dæmonius how
Homer useth. 1297.20
Dæmons of sundry kinds. 157.40
Dæmons twaine allotted to every
one of us. 157.30
Daie at Rome began at midnight.
879.40
Daiphantus. 484.40
Dævis what reports in Homer.
679.1. why so called. 48.50
Dæviser what manner of drinking.
337.50
Dævisers: who they were. 48.
Dames of Rome debarred from
riding in coches. 869.50. put to
no cookerie, nor grinding of
corne. 879.20
Damiudas his apophthegme. 456.
20
Damis his apophthegme. 456.20
Damonocrates an impudent jester.
354.50
Damonidas his apophthegme.
425.10. 456.20
Damonotes murdered. 904.40
Darius father of Xerxes, hated
itself. 394.30. his apoph-
thegmes. 403.10. he remitted
certeine taxes imposed upon his
subjects. 48.20
Darius fortunes minion. 1264.30
Darius came up of working. 48.
Darius his commendation of K.
Alexander. 1299.20
Darius the sonne of Hyrtalpes,
how he attained to the crowne.
1280.40
Darknesse whether it be visible.
837.40
Darknesse about the oake, what it
meaneth. 894.30
Darnell

THE TABLE.

Darnell seeds forbidden in fire for
floures. 697.10
Date tree branch in all games for
victory. 772.1. why it hath the
superiority in such games. 48.30
Date tree highly commended. 48.
10. length long. 48.30. it never
sheddeh leaves. 48.40. it bring-
eth to the Babylonians 360.
commodities. 773.40. it beareth
no fruit in Greece. 48. pressed
downe it enleth upward. 48.50.
the reason thereof. 1013.40
The Date trees braimes. 622.30
Datys warred upon the Atheni-
ans. 906.30
Daulides, what birds. 777.1
three Dances of the Lacedæmoni-
ans. 308.20. 476.40
of Dancung in three parts. 799.50
Dance and poeple compared. 801.
1
Dance Candies. 801.70
Dawning of the day why called
Clytus. 771.20
In Death and famine how the Ly-
dians passed the time. 622.1
Death what it is. 848.1. whether
it be common to soule and bodie.
848.20.
why men reported Dead, upon their
returne enter not into their hon-
set at the dore. 851.40
Death the remedy or end of all mi-
series. 515.20
Deaths house why unknowne unto
us. 516.1
in Death no harme. 516.50.10
what Socrates compared it. 48.
it resembleth sleepe. 517.1. cal-
led the brother of sleepe by Di-
ogenes 517.20. compared to a
long voyage. 517.20
Death a favour and gift of the gods
518.20. compared to our estate
before birth. 519.10
Death not ill, in fcare and expe-
ctance. 519.30
Death of young folke is their blef-
sednesse. 520.30
Death how it is accounted diversly
75.20
Death day of Diogenes the Cy-
nicke observed. 766.1
Death good in what respect. 603.
40
Death twaine. 1182.20
Deaw the daughter of Jupiter
and the Moone. 1011.20
Deaw how it fretteth the skinn
and raiseth a scurfe. 1005.50
Deaw daughter of the fire and the
Moone. 697.50
Deawes most in the full Moone.

697.40
Debt a sinne in Persia. 285.20
Decetche warre raised by Alci-
biades. 419.50
December the tenth month. 856.
20. the last month. 862.10
Decias vouch himself for his ar-
mie. 299.30. he cared not for
fire. 48.
Decij vowed themselves to death
for their country. 901.40.50
Decrees proposed to the Athenian
people. 938.10
Decree for the honour of Demo-
sthenes. 48.
An honourable Decree in the be-
halfe of Demochares. 938.
50
An honourable Decree proposed
for Lycurgus. 939.30
Deflexions of all things. 1009.40
Deionarus K. of Galatia. 1073.
49
Deos who they be. 28.40
Dætor, a supper, whereof derived.
775.30
Deutys in dancung what it is. 801.
1
Delius an epithet of Apollo.
1373.50.
The Deliaque oration of Hype-
rides. 937.10
Delights of eie and care more
dangerous than of other parts.
752.40. how to withstand the
danger of such delights. 753.
20
Delphinus a surname of Apol-
lo. 978.40
Demades findeth fault with
Phocius slender fare. 211.30
Demades note pleasantly by An-
tipater. 211.40
Demades a very glutton. 211.30
Demades his images melted.
376.1
Demades the orator compared
to a burnt sacrifice. 416.10. his
apophthegme of the Athenians.
515.30
Demades a seffer required by
Demosthenes. 355.10
Demades his politike practise.
373.30
Demaratus his apophthegmes.
456.20. his free speech to king
Philip. 111.1. his speech to
K. Alexander. 1267.30
Demetria a stout dame, flew her
owne sonne for cowardise. 480.
10
Demetris commended K. Ptole-
maus to read books of pollicie.
422.40

Demetrius Phalereus, with his
300 statues. 375.50. he lived
happily in banishment. 273.40
K. Demetrius spared the picture
of Ialitus drawn by Proteoge-
nes. 415.20. his apophthegmes.
48. his liberality. 415.30. first-
named Polyarctes, and his
complaint of fortune. 942.1
Demetreioi why the dead are
called. 1182.30
Demetrius his waime glory. 1278.
10
Demi-gods or Herces. 812.40
Democratia what it is. 941.10
Democrita and her daughters
their wofull end. 948.40
Democritus studious in searching
the causes of things. 660.2
Democritus commended. 1128.1
his opinion as touching dreames.
784.30. his opinion as touching
Astres. 807.40. what his
thought of God. 812.1
Democritus a braver capitaine at
sea. 1342.30
Demodorus an ancient Musici-
an. 1249.40
Demodones his sister. 23.10
Demosthenes the orator never
drank wine. 792.50. he lived
not 14 yeeres. 937.10. he was 355
10. his parentage, education and
life 930.50. he called judiciously
to account his tutor or Guard-
ian. 931.10. he sued Midias in
an action of battery. 931.30. his
painfull studie. 48. how he cor-
rected his evil gestures. 48.30.
his defects in nature. 48.40. his
exercise of declaiming by the
seaside. 48. he sided against the
faction of K. Philip. 931.40.
encouraged by Eulomus and
Andronicus. 48.50. his speech of
Allion in eloquence. 932.1
flowed by Comickall Poets for
his broad other in pleading.
932.1. he maintaineth the pro-
nouncing Λακκίμος, with the
accent over the second syllable.
932.10
Demosthenes dashed Lamachus
out of countenance. 932.20.
commended by K. Philip for
his eloquence. 932.20. his kind-
nesse unto Aechines. 932.40.
disgraced at his first coming
to the barre. 938.20. accused
and quit. 48. his timorosity.
48.50. his Mot or device upon
his targeet. 48. not blamed in
his orations for praising himself.
304.50. 305.1. his impotence
and

THE TABLE.

and good service in the Commonweale. 933.1. his honours that he obtained. ib. 10. noted for bribery and corruption. ib. 20. condemned and banished. ib. recalled home by a publicke decree. ib. 30. he sought and sought Sanctuary. ib. 40. his answer as touching premeditated speech. 81. his statue. with his owne Epigram. 934. 10. his death. ib. his life. ib. 30. honours done unto him after death. ib. 40. he first made an oration with a sword by his side. 934. 30. his orations. ib. 50. furnished Batulus for his victorious life. ib. scoffed at by Diogenes the Cynick. 935.1. his tale of the life and the shadow. 935. 10. his apophthegme to Polus the great allow. 935.20 he studied his orations much. ib. 30. how he took the death of his only daughter. 529.40 Denary or Tett. the perfection of numbers. 806.40 Deniall of unjust and uncharitable requests. 170.20 Denys the Tyrant. 296.40 Denys of Sicily abused by flatterers. 93.40. how he served a myrrhill. 56.1 Denys the tyrants wife and children cruelly abused by the Italian. 377.1. his cruelty to Philoxenus the Poet. 1274.1 Denys the elder could not abide silence. 394. 30. how he named his three daughters. 1278. 30. his witty apophthegmes. 406.10. the younger his apophthegmes. 407.20. his apophthegme. 1268. 50. his wise and wise to an excellent Apophthegm. 1273. 50. his proud country. 1278.30. Dericillidus his apophthegmes. 456.30 Deris what Damon. 157.30 Desires three. 797.40 Desires or fullall necessity. 816.40 what it is. 817.1. substance thereof what it is. ib.50 Duration his deluge. 961.50 Dexicron a confounding Mount-burke or Merchant water. 904.1 Diagoras of Melos. 810.40 Diogenes in Plato of two sorts. 758.40. whether they ought to be relieved at supper time. 759.50 Dianacs temple at Rome. why

men do not enter into. 851.10 Diana but one. 796.20. the same that the Adone. 697.20. her attributes given by Timotheus. 28.10. her temple within the Aventine hill. why beautified with Coves horns. 851.20 Diana Chalcoceros 455.10. furnished Diogenes. 978.40 Discoverer how defined. 953.1 Diapason what symphony in Musicke. 1017.1 Diapente what symphony in Musicke. 1017.1 Diapente in tempering wine and water. 695.20 Diaphantus his apophthegme. 2.30 Diatesaron what symphony in Musicke. 1035.50 Diatesaron in tempering wine and water. 695.20 Diatonicke Musicke. 798.40 Diatrion in tempering wine and water. 695.20 Diatryon. 736.50 Diocarchia the cite perished. 1190.10 Dice. 295.20.557.50 Dictamnus the herbe medicinal. 968.20 Dicten. 788.20. Dietis. 1017.40 Diet exquisit condemned. 617.40 Diet for sicke persons. 611.40 Diet for men in health. 612.10 Diet physick taught us by brute beasts. 969.10 Disserving of punishment. 540.1.10 Digestion of meats how hindered. 701.1.10 Diligence supplieth the defect of nature. 3.20. the power thereof. ib.30 Diuina what Damon. 157.30 Dinarchus the orator his life and acts. 937.30. his voluntary exile. ib.50 Dino a great captain. 901.30 Dinomenes what oracle he received as touching his fomes. 1197.20 Diogenes smote the master for the scholars misbehaviour. 81.40. his free speech to K. Philip. 111.10 Diogenes the Siopian. a Philosopher abandoned the world. 249.20 Diogenes compared himselfe with the great king of Persia. 250.1 Diogenes the Cynick his apophthegme into a boy drunken. 250

Diogenes his patience. 128.20 his speech to a youngker within a Taverne. 254.30 Diogenes the Cynick his answer as touching his banishment. 273.20. he concerned slavery. 299.20 Diogenes master to Anitiethenes. 666.1 Diogenes rebuketh Sophocles about the mysteries of Ceres. 28.10. his apophthegme as touching revenge of an enemy. 28.30. his filthy maintenance. 1069.1. his franks speech to K. Philip. 279.10 Diogenetus snuffeth Polycritus. 497.1 Dion how he took the death of his owne fomes. 525.40. through foolish lustfulness came to his death. 165. 30. his apophthegmes. 408.1 Dionysius. See Denys. Dionysius Eleutheros. 885.1 Diotaur. two furies. 822.10 Dioxippus rebuked by Diogenes for his wandering and wanton etc. 143.20. his opinion as touching the passage of our meats and drinks. 745.1 Dia diapason. 1037.30 Discontentedness in Alexander the great. 147.40 Discourse of reason what it is. 839.40 Diseases of a strange manner. 782.40 Diseases of the body which be worst. 313.30 Diseases of the soule worse than those of the body. 313.10 Diseases have their advantage or forerunners. 616.20 Diseases how they arise. 781.10 Diseases new how they come. 781.20 Diseases which were first. 782.1. a Dyb of faires page. 613.50 Disme or tenth of goods. why offered to Hercules. 855.50 Disputation what manner of exercise. 619.30 Disputation after meales. 622.50 Distances betweene sunne. moone. and the earth. 1105.30 Dithyrambs what verses & songs. 1358.10. they first fell with Bacchus. 1358.10 Diversitie. 65.40 Divine what things be called. 728.20.30 Divine knowledge or doctrine of the

THE TABLE.

the gods sevenfold. 810.10 Divine providence what it is. 1052.50 Divine providence denied by the Epicureans. 598.1 Divine service most delectable. ib. 40 Divine power. author of no ill. nor subject thereto. 1253.40 Divination of many kinds. 841.10 Divination ascribed to Bacchus. 1764.10 Divination by dreames. 784.10 Divination denied by the Epicureans. 598.1 Docana what images they were. 174.1 Doctrine and life ought to go together. 1057.40 Dodecaedron. 1030.40.819.20 Dogs sacrificed by the Greeke in all expiations. 873.1. odious unto Hercules. 880.30. not allowed to come into the castle of Athens. 886.50. esteemed no cleane creature. 887.10. sacrificed to infernall gods and to Mars. 887.20 Sea Dogs how kind they be to their young ones. 218.20.976.40 Dog how subtil he is. 950.40 Dogs their admirable qualities. 962.20 A dog discovereth the murderer of his master. ib.30 A dog detecteth the murder of Hecubus. ib.40 Dogs gentle and courageous without. 964.10 an Indian Dog of rare magnanimity. 964.10 A dog counterfeited a part in a play. 967.30 Dogs crucified at Rome. 638.20 A dog saluted as king in Ethiopia. 1087.40 A dog resembleth Anubis. 1305.10 A dog why so much honoured in Egypt. 1305.20 Dogs why they pursue the stone that is thrown at the. 1015.10 A dog why he resembleth Mercury. 1291.40 Dolphins loving to mankind. 344.30.751.20.979.1.10. delighted in Musicke. ib. Dolphins feared by fishers. 344.30 A dolphin saved a maidens life. 344.40 A Dolphin. the armes that Vlysses bare in his shield. 980.20 Dolphins how affectionate to a boy of Jafos. 979.40

Dolphin how crafty he is. and hard to be caught. 972.10 Dolphins in continuall motion. 974.1 C. Domitius his apophthegme. 431.30. he overthrew K. Antiochus. ib. Dorian Musicke commended by Plato. 1253.40 Dorians pray to have an ill they harvest. 1008.10 Doryxenus who it is. 893.30 Cocke Doves squall their hennets egges. 954.20 Dragen consecrated to Bacchus. 699.20 A Dragon encountered of a young damozell. 966.10 who never Dreamed in all their life time. 1349.50 Dreames to be considered in case of health. 618.10 Dreames how they come. 841.30 how to be regarded. 255.10 Dreames in Autumn little to be regarded. 784.1. the reason thereof. ib. how to be observed in the progress of vermes. 255.10 Drunk whether it passe through our lungs. 743.20. the wagon of our meane. 743.50 Drinkers which are to be taken heed of. 613.30 Drinking leisurely moisteneth the belly. 743.50 Drink five or three but not fower. 605.20 Dromocles a great states man in Athens. 348.40 Drunknesse what persons it molesteth. 652.10 Drunknesse is dotage. 765.20 Faults committed in Drunknesse doubly punished. 336.50 Halfe Drunk more brainlesse than those who be throwne drunke. 694.20 Drunknesse most to blame for intemperate speech. 194.10. how defined. 194.40. fomes bringing age. 690.10 Dryades what Nymphs. 1141.30 Quality the author of disorder and of even numbers. 134.1 Duplicity of the soule. 65.40 Dying is a kinde of staining or infection. 774.40 Dyslopia what it is. 163.20

Eare delights are dangerous. 18.40 Eare sports how to be used. 752.10. when to be used at a feast. 761.30 Eares of children and young men how to be defended. 52.16 Earely eating condemned in olde time. 775.30 Earth whether it be the element of colde. 999.40 Earth called Estia or Vesta wherefore. 1002.1 Earth by god not alwaies placed below. 649.1 Earth whether but one or twaine. 829.50 Earth what prerogative it hath. 1345.30. what it is. 830.1. what forme it hath. 830.10 the fixation thereof. 830.10 why it bendeth southerly. 830.30 Earth whether it move or no. 830.40 Earthquakes how occasioned. 831.20 Earth corrupteth waters. 774.30 it causeth diversity of waters. 774.40 Earth for the most part not inhabited. 1177.40.50 Echemynthia. 139.10 Echeneis a fish. 676.10. the reason how the staith a ship. 676.50 Echo how it is caused. 839.20 In Eclipses of the moone why they runge basons. 1183.20 Eclipses of the Sunne. 1171.20.30 Eclipses why more of the Moone then of Sunne. 1172.10. of eclipses the cause. 1172.10 Education of what power it is. 4.10.6.40 Eeles coming to land. 970.1 Eeles bred without generation of male or female. 672.10 Egge or henne. whether may be fore. 669.50 Egges resemble the principles of all things. 670.50 The Egge whereof came Cantor and Pollux. 671.20 E. significeth the number five. 1354.30 Et. written upon the temple at Delphi what it significeth. 1353.30.1354.30 Et in gold. in brass. and in wood. 1354.30 Et. as stone. 345.20 Et. of what force it is in logicke. 1355.20y

THE TABLE.

why E. is preferred before other letters. 1356.40
Eight resembles the female. 884.20
Eight, the first cuckie number. 884.30
Enea, signifies both the fruit and the tree of the olive. 32.1
Eleus the city whereof it took the name. 917.40
Elaphebolia a feast when instituted. 485.10.699.50
Elafr who they be. 895.40
Electra concubine to Deiotarus with the privacy and permission of his wife. 50.40
Elegies whose invention. 1257.10
Elements. 4. 994.40. which be elements. 805.10.808.1
Elements before elements. 813.50
Eleon. 901.10.20
Elephants how they be prepared for fight. 959.1
Elephants docile. 961.10. their wit, patience and mildness. 961.30
Elephant of king Porus how difficult unto him. 963.40
Elephants witty and loving to their fellows. 965.40. devout and religious. ib. 50. full of love and amorous, they can abide no white garments. 323.40
Elephantiasis a disease not long known. 780.30
Eleutheræ. 899.50
Eleutheria, what feast. 914.40
Elms why excluded from the fifth-mick games at Corinth 1194.40
Elius the father of Eunotus 900.40
Ellebor root clearest malacholite 659.10
Ellebor. 91.50
Elps the onely fish swimming downe the streame and winde 973.50
Eloquence becometh old men. 391.10. in princes most necessary. 352.10
Elector. 899.20
Elector his obseq. 791.40
Elyptike Philosophers. 709.1
Elytus the father of Euthynous 518.30
Elyfian field in the moon. 1183.30
Emerepes his apophthegme 557.1
Empora her rare love to her husband. 1157.1158. cruelly put to death by Vespasian. ib. 50
Empusa. 598.30
Empedocles his opinion touching the first principles. 807.50. how

he overtook a pestilence. 134.10
a good common wealth man. 1128.10
Emulation that is good. 256.50
Enalus enamoured of a virgin destined for sacrifice. 345.1
Enclimna what it is. 895.50
Encycia what sciences. 9.1
Endrome the name of a cattle 1356.40
Endimnata, what dance. 1251.30
Engatrinynthi what they be. 1327.1
In England or great Brittain why folks live long. 849.50
by Eunimes men may take profit. 237.20.30.50. of Eunimes how to be revenged. 239.30
Funeatrides. 891.1
Entelechia. 805.30.808.10
No entering the reliques of triumphant persons within the city of Rome. 876.50
Enthusiasme. 1744.20
Enthusiasmus. 654.40. of sundry sorts. 1142.50. what kinde of fury. 1142.40
Envy. 1070.50. Envy a cause of much discontent. 1563.10. Envy among brethren. 183.10. how it may be avoided. 184.1.10.20
Envy and hatred differ. 234.1
Envy what it is. 234.20
Envious men be pitifull. 235.50
Envy hurtfull especially to scholars and beavers. 53.50
Envy of divers sorts. 53.50. 54.1
Envious eie hath power to bewitch. 724.20
Envy whome it assaileth most. 88.20. compared to smoke. ib. 30
how it is to be quenched. 389.1
Envy not excusable in old age. 399.10. in young persons it hath many pretences. 399.10
Enyalus what god. 154.50.1141.40
Epacri a fallion in Athens. 1149.10
Epact duties. 1292.10
Epeneus his apophthegme 557.1
Epanimondas beheld with his owne forme. 910.1
Epanimondas his commendation. 53.20
Epanimondas accused of a capital crime. 477.40. his plea. ib. 428.1
Epanimondas the nickname of a talkative fellow. 207.20
Epanimondas had a grace in denying his friends request. 361.10. how careful for the Theban. 295.40.50. he overtook a

reprochfull scasse upon Calistratus. 363.50. his valiant exploit 400.10. his magnanimity. 303.20. his apophthegmes. 435.40
he could not abide fat and corpulent soldiers. ib. his sobriety and frugality. ib. 50. defaced by the Epicureans. 1129.10
his apophthegme. 625.50. admired in commending himself. 303.10
Epaphus. 1302.20
Epiphypus. 899.20
Epiphori by whom brought to the King. 371.40
Epiali what fever. 160.50
Entering of other things with the dead corps. 602.1
Erebus, what it is. 953.1
Epicharmus rebuked king Hiero too sharply. 108.1
Epictanis. 834.40
Epictureans, enemies to policies, rhetorike and royal government. 1129.1
Epicturus honored by his favorites and sectaries. 597.1
Epicturus given wholly to pleasures. 582.1
Epicturus life confuted. 582.1
Epicturus his favorites. 600.20
Epicturus his consolatory reason in perill. 601.1. he maintained the mortality of the soule. 601.10
Epicturus his vanity. 60.50. unworthily respected and loved of his brethren. 185.30
Epicturus a Democration. 1111.20. collauded by his favorites. 1119.20. his opinion as touching the principles of the world. 807.30. his opinion of the gods. 812.20
Emperors what use it hath. 743.40
Epimenides. 338.50
Epimenides how long he slept. 384.10
Epimetheus. 31.1
Emenotes, the surname of Diana. 902.40
Epitadeus the Sycephant first put to death at Athens. 578.20
Em + argus an image representing K. Alexander the great. 1275.40
Epithetizes his narration as touching the great Pan. 1331.40
Epithet that Empedocles useth, be most proper and significant. 726.30
Epithymodeipni who they be. 775.10
Epitritus

THE TABLE.

Epitritus, what proportion. 1036.50
Em + argus. 1070.50
Epopticon what part of Philosophie. 1318.10
Erato, how beloved. 779.20
Ephor. 779.20
Erebus. 1000.10
Erechtheus sacrificed his owne daughter. 912.10
Eretrians wives rost flesh against the sunne. 897.40
Ergane who she is. 232.10. 352.50. the surname of Minerva. 692.30
Erianys. 557.50
Eresesceps who they be. 744.1
Erivill why called Caiharier. 903.20
Eryngium the herbe, what vertue it hath. 290.10.20. being held in the hand, slayeth goats for gaming. 746.10
Eryxo her vertuous self. 504.20
Ereodes his saying as touching a kingdom. 614.10
Ereux what winds. 839.30
Erithos. 543.10
Erebus brass the best. 1345.40
Eubædas his apophthegme. 557.10
Eubulus a good politician. 566.20
Eubulus the surname of Bacchus 767.20
Encarpas a surname of Venus. 323.10
Euchnamus the Amphissian. 1145.10
Euclides how he repressed his brothers anger. 130.30. 187.50. leth to fall out with his brother. ib.
Euclides and Euleus the minions of K. Perillus. 110.40
Eudamidas his Apophthegmes. 425.20. 557.10
Eudorus as touching the soule of the world. 1031.40
Eudoxus studious in Astronomy. 590.1
Euemerus the Atheist. 810.50
Euemerus reported to be dead. 416.30. his middle behaviour to his brother Attalus. ib. 188.10.20. his strange game by secrecy. 197.40
Eumertis. See Cleobuline.

Eumolpus instituted the sacred ceremonies at Eleusis. 280.30
Eunomia. 630.1
Eunostus. 900.30. murdered by the brethren of Ochna. 900.40
Evocation of tutelal gods out of their places. 871.1
Euphates what they be. 74.20
Euphranor and Parthasius painters compared. 982.30
Euphranor his notable picture of the battel at Mantinea. 982.40
Euphrone a name of the night. 762.20. thereof. 141.50
Euripides his day of death and birth observed. 766.1. his speech to a foolish and ignorant fellow. 61.10. taxed for Atheisme. 811.1. he forsooke Athens his native city. 277.20
Eurycles. 1127.1
Eurycratidas his Apophthegme. 457.50
Eurydice a noble and vertuous lady. 17.10
Eusebia. 1182.50
Euteldas bewitched by himselfe. 724.40
Euterpe what she is allotted to. 795.50
Euzemon in Hesiodus what it is 747.1
Euthyones died suddenly. 518.30
Eutroia her daughters traine destroyed by Saturne. 909.10
Eutropon king Antigonus his Cooke highly advanced. 13.40
Euxine / eawly replenished with fishes. 976.1
Euxynthetus and Leucomantus Exercise of body fit for health. 619.110. meet for students. 619.10
Exercise of body for youth. 10.1. after meat. 622.40
Expedition or quick execution. 269.40
Experience what it is. 836.10. better than the booke for government. 392.40
of Exile or banishment. 270
Extremities in all changes are naught. 625.20
Ey of the master feeds the steed. 11
Ey-sight how it is performed. 657.30.40
Ey-biting, and the reason thereof. 723.30.40
Ey-sight the source and beginning of love. 723.40

F

Fabia committed adulterie with Petronius Valentinus. 917.1. she killed her husband. ib.
Fabius Maximus his policie in wearing Annibal by delays. 429.10. his apophthegme. 429.1. his courtiers usage of swamorous souldiours, otherwise valiant. ib. o. his death. 907.50. he despised scuffles and stomps. 36.10
Fabius Fabricianus the sonne of Fabia killed her mother and the adulterer. 917.1
Fable of the foxe and the leopard. 213.10
the Fable of the ox and the camel. 629.50
Themistocles his Table of the feast and the mummings. 633.10
C. Fabricius his apophthegme. 428.30. his contempt of money. ib. 40. he suspected treason even against his enemies. 16.50
Faculty in the soule what it is. 67.724.40
Fæciales what priest. 871.20
Faune meenes to be used with children. 10.40
Fame or rumor had a temple at Rome. 631.10
Fastung long, why it procureth rather thirst than hunger. 70.30. who Fast long feed more slowly. 658.30
Fatale destiny how to be understood. 1048.90
Fathers love their daughters better than their sonnes. 321.50. their folly in chusing governours and teachers for their children. 540. taxed for their negligence in this behalf. 610. they ought not to be aswene unto their children. 16.20. there are in chusing wives for their sonnes. 15.40. they are to give good example to their children. 16.50
Faines occasioned by cold. 688.40
Faunus sacrificed, quist strangers. 917.10. killed by Hercules. ib. 50
Feare of God how to be limited. 598.40
Feare. 15.1. what passion it is. 26.1
Feare compared with other passions. 261.1. why it is named in Grecke Phos and Phos. ib.
of Feasts, what is the end. 652.40
Philosophy not to be banished from Feasts. 764.10
Festivall

THE TABLE.

Festivals dates at Athens, or mar-
tial victories. 987.10
Festivals two presidents, hunger
and Bacchus. 722.40
Festivals ought to make new friends.
699.30
a Feast of what proportion for
number of guests it should be.
720.10.40
at a Feast consideration would be
had of rooms and sitting at ease.
721.10
a Feast master what person he
ought to be. 651.10
February. 873.1
February the month, what it sig-
nifies. 872.50. the twelfth and
last month of the year. 856.20
Feeding a part or in common whether
is more commendable. 678.20
Feeding without submissiveness. 619.1
Femals whether they send forth
seed in the act of generation.
842.10. how they are begotten.
ib. 30
Fenestella, a gate. 615.20
Fenestra, a gate at Rome. 863.1
Fenula stalk, why put into the
hands of drunken folk. 762.40
Fenula consecrated to Bacchus.
642.1
Fever what it is. 849.30. an acces-
sory or symptom of other disor-
ders. 849.30
Fig why sweet and the tree bitter.
727.20
the sacred Fig tree at Athens. 749
Fig tree juice hot. 741.40. it crush-
eth milk. ib.
Fig tree never bloweth. ib. never
shouteth with lightning. 727.20
Fig tree Reminder. 632.40
Fig tree leaf what it signifies.
1301.50
Figure what it is. 814.1
Figure of the elements. ib.
Figs diet best for sickly and weak
stomachs. 709.40
Figs more delectable and costly than
figs. 708.10.20
figs most pleasant and wholesome.
709.40
abstinence from Figs. 740.40
certain Figs why called Hesperes.
778.10
Fishes mute and dumb. ib.
why Pythagoras forbore to eat
fish. 778.1
to kill fish, cruelty. 779.30. to eat
them, gluttony. ib.
Fishes themselves creatures. ib.
Fish not eaten by Vlydies and his

mates, but upon extremity. 779.30
a Fish adored as god by the Syrians.
780.10
Fish among the Egyptians symbo-
lized butred. 1100.20
Fish, a name implying blackness.
969.1
Fishes and their properties describ-
ed. 969.50
Fishes very obsequious. 970.11.
used in divination. ib. 20. more
many and circumspect than land
beasts. ib. 30. how ready they be
to help one another. 971.30.40
why they swim for the most part
against the stream. 973.50
how kind to their young fry.
976.30
Fist fight or buffets the first exer-
cise by Homers reckoning. 673.30
Five the number, what propo-
rtive it hath. 1357.11.10.1341.
Five the number why called pentas.
that is to say, T he marriage. 1357
Five a number most becoming ma-
riage. 850.50. why it is called
Nature. 1157.20
Flamen Dialis why he might not
touch meate nor leaven. 886.10.
forbidden to touch raw flesh. ib.
30. he might not touch nor
name a goat or dogge. ib. 40. in
stead of an altar or sanctuarie.
887.1. not permitted to touch
an ivie tree, nor to goe under a
vine. 887.10.
Flamen dialis not admitted to sue
for government of estate. 888.
10
Flamina. 879.30
Flamin or priest of Jupiter gave
up his sacerdotal dignity of his
wife dead. 867.40
Flaminus circus. 872.30.
Flamina via. ib.
Flatterers the overthrow of young
men. 15.30. they are departed
in their colours. 16.40.50
Flattery to whom most hurtfull.
ib.
what Flatterers be most dangerous.
86.20
Flatterers how they be discovered.
89.10.20.30.
the Flatterers of Denys. 90.20
Flatterers abuse the world by
frankness of speech. 97.40.50.
98.10.20
Flatterers of K. Ptolemaeus. 98.

Tiberius Caesar Flattered under
liberty of speech. 98.20.30
Flatterers how they abused Anto-
nic. 99.20. compared to gadflies
and ticks. 92.40
Flatterers tame and wilde. 99.40
Flatterers about Demetrius. 379
Flavius whipped his wife. 856.50
Flesh, Pythagoras forbade to be
eaten. 572.10
Flesh eating might be well dispen-
sed with in the first age of the
world. 572.50.573.1
Flesh eating condemned in men.
574
Flesh meats apt to breed sickness.
84.50
Flesh killed, hanging upon a fig tree
scent becometh tender. 741.
20. it sooner corrupteth in the
Moone than in the Sunne. 596.10
Flinging of stones or weightie
things how performed. 1022.20
Floures of trees may be gathered.
683.20
Flies will not be tamed. 777.20
Food fit for students. 610.40
Forme. 805.30
Fornacalia, what feast. 888.20
Fortitude what it is. 69.10
Fortitude of brute beasts com-
pared with mens valour. 565.1
Fortitude in men not naturall.
565.40
Fortune by whom attended when
she pleads against vertue. 630.
10
Fortune not sufficient to make mi-
serie. 299.50
Fortune in greatest favour with
Venus. 630.40
Fortune primigenia. 635.20.
885.30
Fortune virilis. 631.1
Fortune a word unknowne to poets.
31.20
Fortune had many temples at
Rome. 630.50
Fortune although it differs from
wisdom, yet it produceth like
effects. 765.50
Fortune viscata. ib. 635.30
Fortune with divers attributes.
875.1
Fortune. 631.1. by whom erected.
635.1
Fortune much honoured by king
Servius Tullius. 875.1
Fortune muliebris or feminine.
631.1. when erected. 635.10
little Fortune and short Fortune
with

THE TABLE.

with their temples. 874.50
temple of Fortune fortis, where
built. 631.20
Fortune what it is. 817.10.1051
50. how it differs from rash
adventure. ib.
Fortune favorable to Julius Cae-
sar. 631.40
Fortune envieth great felicitie.
513.40
against Fortune. 230.1.10.30.
Fortune and vertue at debate.
628.19
Fortune obsequens. 635.20
Fortune cometh to plead against
vertue. 629.40
Fortune favourable to Ser. Tulli-
us. 635.10
Fortune private. 635.30
Fortune in what manner she came
to the city of Rome. 629.40.
50
Fortune the virgin. 635.30
Fortune good hope. 635.30
Fortune, at it were hope. ib.
the Fox of Talmesus. 565.30
Fox more shrewd than the leopard.
313.10. his subtlety in passing
over rivers frozen. 969.1
Frankespeech becometh a ruler in
extremities. 370.1. it becom-
eth not a flatterer. 971
Frankespeech to friends how to be
used. 105.30.40
in Frankespeech scurrility and bi-
ting is to be avoided. 108.1.10
Free will. 105.11
of Friends but few paired. 224.50
a Friend why he is called times in
Greece. 225.1
Friend the word, how to be taken.
699.10
Freindship true how many things
it requirerh. 225.30
Freindship ought not to be in a
meane. 227.40
Friends how to be used by a magi-
strate. 360.30
Friends how they may be denied
in their unthankfull states. 361.10
Freindship not unpleasant. 85.30
Friends may praise friends as well
as blame them. 85.50
Friends how they differ from flat-
terers. 91.40.50
a true Friend will doe his friend
good secretly. 103.40.50
plurality of Friends. 224.30
Frogs why they coole against raine.
1004.10. how they engender.
977.20. they prognosticate rain.
ib.
Fulvius sharply rebuked by Au-
gustus Caesar for his lasciv

tongue. 199.40. he killed him-
selfe and dieth with his wife.
199.40
Functions meet for aged Rulers.
395.20
Furciferi, who they were. 873.40
Furie of divers forts. 1142.40
Fyre the best sauce. 85.40.615.
20. argued to be better than wa-
ter. 991.1. found out by Pro-
metheus. 990.1. the principle
of all things. 807.20. worship-
ped by the Assyrians & Medes.
1174.40. how made. 808.40.
in olde time might not be put
out. 748.40. not abruies by God
placed aloft. 649.1. dieth two
maner of waves. 748.40. why it
was so religiously preserved nor
extinguish. 749.1. not to be dug
into with a sword. 15.10. strong-
er in Winter; and more feeble
in Summer. 1323.20. scemeth
to have life. 875.20

G

G. and C. letters of great affi-
nity. 869.1
G. devised first by Sp. Carvilius.
ib.
Galaxia a place plentiful of
milk. 1201.30
Galepius a towne in Euboea, plea-
santly seated. 707
Galli the priests of Cybele. 1129.
30
the Gallion of Delos. 387.50
Garrulity. 192.20. compared with
other vices. 193.10. accompa-
nied with curiosity and much
medling. 199.50. compared
with treason and treachery. 202.
handa. 906.40
Garrulity how to be cured. 202.40
the Garrulity of a Romane dunc.
198.30
Garments how they are said to
warne the body. 78.40. they
both heat and coole. 735.30
Gates of Rome not hallowed. 859.
50
Gauls women their vertuous att.
487.10. their advice is said
in counsell house. ib.
Gegania. 636.10
Gears or vintures most observed by
the Romans in their Antiquities.
881.10. strange birds and fel-
dome scene in Italie. ib. most
harmlesse and just. ib. 20. most
significant in Angurie. ib. 30.
all females, and conceive by the
East winds. ib.

Gelon scoffed at by allusion to his
name. 305.40. his apophthegms.
405.40. he reclaimed the Car-
thaginians from sacrificing chil-
dren to Saturne. ib. a warlike
prince. ib.
Genes, what it signifies in Helio-
dorus. 1327
Genitama a goddess at Rome.
868.20. a dogge sacrificed unto
her. ib.
Generation and corruption. 816.1
Generation what it is. 1114.1115
Generation and creation different.
1018.10
all of Generation a token of morta-
litye. 766.30
Geometrical proportion allowed in
Lacedaemon by Lycurgus. 767.50
Geometric commended. 767.10. in
what subjects or objects it is oc-
cupied. 767.20.30
Geometri who they were. 904.40
Gests, that is to say, Honours, why
stermed in Greeke. 391.30
Gestus, why old men be so called.
391.30
Geryones or Geryon, a wonder-
full giant. 374.20
Gidicra her villany. 916.10. she
hanged her selfe. ib.
Glosse with what heat it is best
melted and wrought. 697.1
Glauca with childe by Deima-
chus. 901.10
Glauca a river of her name. ib.
20
Glaucon, why the Moone is cal-
led so. 1174.1
Glaucon his footsill bargain with
Diomedes. 1087.20
Lucius Glauco lost both his
hands. 906.40
Glory of wheat account it is. 6.50
Glosses. 28.50
Glottae. 1311.40
Gluttons abroad, stray at home.
614.30
Gnathanium the name of an har-
lot. 1144.1
Gnatho a small coast. 754.40.
Gnatho the Sicilian, a glutton.
806.30
Goweto Athens. 898.30
Goats very subject to the falling
sickness. 886.40
Goats rivers, a place so called. 922.
10
Goats of Candie cured by Di-
stamnus. 569.40
Goats commending their pasturage
and feeding. 702.10
a Goat fancied Glauce. 966.30
God

THE TABLE.

God how he is called Father and
Creation. 766.30
God. 768.50
Gods and Goddesses how they dis-
fer. 766.40-50
how God is said by Plato to pra-
tise Geometric continually. 767
10. how he framed the world.
768.10
Godmaneth great affluence only.
364.40
Gods nature what it is according
to Plutarch. 263.40
Gods nature to deserve punishment
for causes to him best known.
541
God immortal. 1099.1
God is not Philonius, but Philau-
thropos. 1221.10
Gods nature the shadow of truth. 1033.
50
God described by Antipater. 1076
10
Gods, which were begotten, which
not. 1076.20
God what he is. 808.10-809.20
nature of God how it came. 809.20
Gods nature described. 1335.50
Gods worship in three sorts. 810.
10
Gods the Sunne and Moone, why
called so. 810.20
Gods good and profitable. 810.20
Gods bad and hurtfull. 810.
Gods subtilty. 810.30
what God is, sundry opinions of
Philosophers. 812
God the father and maker of all
things. 1018.1
Fovius. 953.10
Goldsmiths with what fire they
melt & work their gold. 699.1
Gold why it maketh no good friend.
770.10
Gold or Xenus, what it signifies.
868.40
Good or bad things simply. 1084.
40
to Good men, what epithets and ad-
jectives Homer giveth. 1297.
10
a Goose is love with a boy. 966.30
Goose silent as the shee over the
mount Taurus. 202.10
Goose of Cilicia, how witty they
are. 959.50
Goose saved the Capitoll of Rome.
658.20. carried in a shee at
Rome. 658.30. how they re-
strain their owne gagging. 10.
Gorgias Leontinus the great
Rhetorician. 919.20. his a-
pprobegime of Traqueter. 985.
10

Gorgias could not keepe his owne
house in peace. 323.20
Gorgo the wife of Leonidas a
stout dame. 464.30. her appo-
bhegme. 10.
Gorgo the daughter of Cleome-
nes her approbhegme. 479.40
Gorgon and Afander. 1152.20
Governours of youth how to be
chosen. 5.10
Government politique the best. 940
50
of Governments the exorbitations.
941.30
C. Gracchus. 348.50. by what
device he did moderate his
voice in pleading. 122.10
Graces, why placed with Venus
and Mercury. 316.10. their
names. 292.1
Grammar what art it is. 1249.1
Grasshoppers sacred, and musically.
777.10
Greece in Plutarchs time fallen to
a low ebbe. 126.1
Greekes and Galatians buried
quickly by the Romans. 878.40
Greeks what opinion they have of
the gods. 1306.40
Greeks compared with the Aegy-
ptians in matters of religion.
1315.10
Griefs ought to sort well together.
722.1
Griefs sit close at first: but more at
large toward the end. 722.20
Griefs invited ought to be of ac-
quaintance. 755.40
Griefs invited coming last to a feast.
775.20
A Grief ought to come prepared to
a feast. 328.10
Griefs how to be placed at a feast.
646.20. how to be placed at
the table. 648.20. allowed their
chapters of flowers. 680.20
Whether it be commendable for
Griefs to wear garlands. 682.
10
Of Griefs a multitude to be avoi-
ded at a feast. 721.20
The guide a fish. 975.30
Gurmandise in men taxed by
Gryllus. 669.10
Gifts none between wife and hus-
band. 851.1
No gifts from some in law or fa-
ther in law. 853.20
Gymnasia the overthrow of
Greece. 864.20
Gymnopædia what dance. 1251.
30
Gymnosophists. 1270.30
Gyrinus her approbhegme. 480.1

H

Habitudo in the soule what it
is. 67.40
Hades and Dionysius, both one.
1298.40
Haile how it cometh. 828.10
how it may be averted. 746.30
Haile long commended and com-
mended by Lycurgus. 422.40
Haile long commended. 423.10
Halo the circle how it is made.
832.40
Halcyones sea-birds, see Alciones
633.50
Hamedriades why so called. 1327.
50
Hamoxoclyte, a family in Me-
gara. 905.40
Hans abvaise warlike, boldness and
good for health. 611.40
Hans most artificeous instru-
ments. 174.40
Hanno banished for ruling a lion.
349.50
Happinesse diversely taken by Poets
and philosophers. 323.30
Happinesse not to be measured by
time. 1333.1
Hares how crafty they are. 905.1
The Hare why not eaten among
the Jews. 111.10
Hares of exquisite sense. 711.10
Hares and asses alike. 10.
Hanna the name of a city. 908.20
Harmatios what time or song.
1251.1
Harmonia what goddess. 1306
50
Harmonic what Demon. 157.
40
Harmonicke musick. 976.40
Harmonice. 1019.1
Harmony commended. 1255.30
Harpalus endeavored to have I-
ny grove about Babylon. 685.
20
Au Harpe or lute going about the
table. 645.10
Harpe familiar at feasts. 760.20
Harpocrates the sonne of Osiris
by Isis, whence his name parts.
1295.1
Harpocrates his portraiture.
1313.50
Hares or Stagges age. 1327.30
Hated how engendered. 234.20. it
discreth from enve. 234.1
Hank symbolizeth god. 1302.20
Hank symbolizeth Osiris. 1308.
10
Hantboies and fute. 760.30. com-
mended at feasts.
Romeus

THE TABLE.

Romans worshipped the gods
with their heads covered: but
men, bareheaded. 853.50
Health what it is. 849.30
Health of wheat price. 5.50
Health the best sauce. 615.20. by
what means maintained. 618.
50
Health and pleasure agree well to-
gether. 702.1
Health, how it is accounted of di-
versly. 75.20
Hears not to be eaten. 15.20
Heat naturall manured most by
moisture. 730
Heat purifieth things. 774.10
Heat by fire of divers kinds and
sundry operations. 697.1
Heaven how the Aegyptians pow-
try. 1291.30
Heaven how made. 808.30
Heaven beautiful. 809
Heaven what substance it hath.
830.20. how many circles di-
vided. 820.40
Hear much and say little. 53.20
Hearing not to be employed. 18.
40. presenteth the greatest pas-
sion to the minde. 52.10. ought
to goe before speech. 52.50
Hearers how they should be quali-
fied. 53.20. &c. they ought to se-
quester envy and ambition. 53.
50. how they should behave them-
selves in praising the speaker.
58.40
Hebius Tolici. 915.40
Hebeus gulf in the Moone. 1183.
30
Hecatompedon a temple of Mi-
nerva in Athens. 963.20
Hecatomphonia. 341.10
Hector noted for presumption. 24.
40
Hegesias caused his scholars to
pine themselves. 222.1
Hegippus surnamed Crobylus
his approbhegme. 420.40
Helbia a wefall minne smitten
with lightning. 878.20
Helena escaped sacrificing. 916.
10. how in Homer she speeth
her cap. 644.1
Heliopolis an engine of battery.
415.30
Heliopew what Demon. 157.30
Heliomenus. 1295.1
Hellenicus a valiant citizen of
Elis. 491.40. he was confuted a-
gainst Aristotimus. 494.40
Hemerides. 76.50
Hemeres the vine. 1141.30
Hemilion, what proportion.
1036.50

Hemionium. 1039.20
Hemlock a poison. 690.20
Hens having laid an egge turne
round about. &c. 746.10. hardly
in defence of their chickens. 219
20
Hesiodus whose Poet. 479.40.
murdered, and his murder de-
tected. 344.110. skilfull in phy-
sick. 339.20
Helychia the priestesse of Mi-
nerva. 1197.20
Herc, what she is. 398.40
K. Hiero his approbhegme. 305.
50. noted for a stinking breath.
242.1. first an usurper, proved
afterwards a good prince. 343.
20. his wife a simple and chaste
dame. 223.10
Hicetio statues. 1189.30
Hieroglyphicks Aegyptian. 1391.
20
Hieronymus. 780.1
Hierophori. 1288.30
Hierotoloi. 10.
Hieroglyphics the some of Ty-
phon. 1306.1
Himerius a flatterer. 88.40
Hinds their natural subtilty. 965.
10
Hippalcemus. 899.20
Hipparchus troubled in confi-
dence. 547.10
Hippalus his opinion of the first
principle. 807.20
Hippalus dissembled by his mo-
ther and aunts. 899.30
Hippo the daughter of Scedafus.
946.10
Hippochus murdered. 485.20
Hippoclidus a dancer. 1240.20
Hippocrates confesseth his owne
ignorance. 254.40
Hippocratides his approbhegme.
458.40
Hippodamus his approbhegme.
458.40
Hippodamia killeth Chryppus
915.30. banished by her hus-
band Pelops. 1140
Hippolochus rooke Laïs his wife.
1154.10
Hippolitus the some of The-
seus by Hippolyte. 915.50
killed at the request and prayer
of his father. 916.1
Hippona how engendered. 914.30
Hippothendides his consell.
1215.1
Hippothoros what time. 315.50
751.10
Hircanians sepulchres. 299.50
Hircanus the dogge of king Lyti-
machus. 903.40. his love in-
to his master.
Hiliter

THE TABLE.

Hiliter *a singular error*. 885.50
Hilitiones. 885.50
HOC AGE what it signifies. 859.10
Hogs why howled among the Aegyptians. 710.30
Holy warre. 491.10
Homers Iliad and Odyllia *in what steed it stood king Alexander the Great.* 1265.40
Homer the chief Poet. 708.10
Homer whole Poet. 459.40 *pre-faming much of his own per-fection.* 252.20. *commended.* 242.125.1.195.10. *his words were said to have motion.* 1189.40
Homocemeteries. 806.10
Homocopta. 988.10
Homo *Homo the Romans sacrificed with bare head.* 854.40
Honor is a temple at Rome. 650.0
Honours which be true. 375.10
The Honour of old age *void of emu-lation.* 388.40
Hony befit in the bottom of the ves-sell. 747.30. *wherein it is married.* 704.10
Hope. 15.1
Hope remaineth in Pandoras Iux. 514.20. *boldly body and soule together loofed.* 709.1
Horatius Cocles. 629.20. *his va-lour.* 909.1. *he kyllt his sister.* Horatia. 911.20
Horn. 866.50
A Horse why sacrificed at Rome. 886.10
Mars. 882.20
river Horus unnaturall to their parents. 954.30
river Horus symbolizeth impu-dence and wilfuly. 100.20
Horizon what cerele. 1305.10
Horne of Apinodora. 650.1
Horne a goddess at Rome. 866.10
40. her temple open. 129.40
Horus the sonne of Oliris. 129.40
40. ferus. 129.40
Holiasnes. 890.10
Holloster who it is. 890.10
Houndes have the dissemple of reason. 962.10
Houndes of a brave courage. 964.20
House government. 335.50
A House what it is. 336.20
What House is best. 336.20
30
Hunger whereupon it preceeleth 273.20. *allayed by drink.* 733.10
Hunning of wilde beafts commended. 950.40

Hunting mild beasts how far
 forth tolerable. 957.10
 Hunting commended above fift-
 ing. 958.39
 Husband prevail more with
 their wives by gentleness than
 by roughness. 317.35
 Husband and wife are not to
 distance before strangers; much
 less to chide and bruise one with
 another. 317.40
 The Husband ought to direct and
 govern the house. 317.20
 The Husbands example might
 much to the wives behaviour.
 318.20
 The Husbands preeminence over
 the wife. 317.20, 319.1
 How he ought to rule over his wife.
 321.10, 320
 Hyacines skime not smitten with
 lightning. 727.20
 Hyagnis an ancient Medicus.
 1250.10
 Hyanthia a city. 893.1
 Hybrilitas what feast. 486.30
 Hydrophobic when it was de-
 served. 880.30
 Hyemenus. 861.30
 Hyus a plough share whereof de-
 rived. 710.30
 Hypate in musicke whereof it is
 derived. 1035.10
 Hypate. 796.49
 Hypates the Theban killed by
 conspirators. 1226.10
 Hyparos an attribute of Jupiter
 1389.1
 Hypocautia who she was. 20
 20
 Hypæta Hyperes and Hyperia.
 864.30
 Hyperballontes. 646.50
 Hyperbolus a buffy orator. 1228
 30
 Hyperides the orator his por-
 rage and life. 935.40
 Hyperides artichell against De-
 moniothes. 937. 1 his manner
 of stile and plaine painting. 937.
 20. his embasie to Rhodes.
 937.10 he defended Callippus.
 937.20. his praise for ec-
 quence. 936.40 chiefe to ac-
 Demothes. 936.1. his orati-
 ons. ib. given exceeding much
 to the love of women. ib. he
 pleased for the noble curian.
 Phryne. 936.50. he severely
 framed an accusatory oration a-
 gainst Demothes. ib. be-
 sted and acquit. 936.1. ib. he
 was taken. ib. his death.
 936.20

Hyperochus *K. of the Inachus* 892. 10
Hyperocretidian in Herodotus. 1348. 8
Hypocrite of the Epicureans 595. 30
Hypocrite. 25. 8
Hyporchemata. See. 10. 1251. 10
Hyporchema and Pagan differ. 1251. 40
Hypotimula. 590. 10
Hypophyses *offer father*. 701. 20
Hylaris, the same that Olinus. 1301. 10
Hylteropotmoi *who they be*. 852. 20
I
Iambicks Trimeter and Tetrameter *whose invention*. 1257. 10
Iambus. 10
January. 785. 20
January *why the first month among the Romans*. 876. 10
Jafon *a monarch of Sicilie*. 362. 10
20 his apostrophe. 625. 10
Jafians *coine what flumpie it hath*. 980. 1
Javelin *conferat* 190. 880. 10
Jaundice *cured by the bird*. 74. 1
radious. 74. 1
Ibis *in age*. 106. 10
Ibis *wherefore honoured among the Aegyptians*. 710. 50
1. *what letter it representeth among the Aegyptians*. 789. 20
Ibicus *murdered and the murderers strangely discovered*. 201. 50
Icarus *Homed to death*. 909. 20
Ichnemnon *how arrived*. 959. 10
Icofiedat. 762. 20. 819. 20. 1020. 30
Idei Dietly. 257. 50. 1183. 40
1250. 10
Idathylus *bis apostrophe*. 405. 20
Ides of the month. 88. 1
Ides of December. *a festival day*. 822. 20
Ides of August *festival*. 883. 30
Ides *whereof they took the name*. 858. 10
Idrea. 1310. 1
Idrea. 768. 50. *what it is*. 808. 10
813. 1. 1019. 1. 10
Identy. 65. 40
Identy *how hurtful*. 3. 30. *breedeth no tranquillity of minde*. 145. 50. *an enemy to health*. 624. 30
Idols of Aegina and Megara. 725. 30
Idyls.

THE TABLE.

<i>Images, what significations it hath.</i>	976. 10
<i>Janus honoured most by R. Numa.</i>	157. 30
<i>Janus with two faces.</i>	853. 30
<i>Janus temple front and open at Rome.</i>	624. 40
<i>Jells, which men can abide best.</i>	664. 20
<i>Jests without biting.</i>	664. 50
<i>Of jests and pretty scoffs sundry sorts.</i>	664. 40
<i>Jewes how superstitious they were.</i>	205. 50
<i>Why they abstaine from eating swine flesh.</i>	710. 20
<i>they have swine in abomination.</i>	711. 20
<i>The Jewes feasts.</i>	711. 10
<i>Ignorance is odious</i>	608. 40
<i>Islands uninhabited by great perfum.</i>	275.
<i>Iliithia a surname of Diana.</i>	697. 20
<i>1184. 40</i>	1142. 1
<i>Image works exhibited at feasts and banquets.</i>	760. 10
<i>Images and statues relected by the Conformer.</i>	883. 1
<i>Images devised by Democritus.</i>	784. 30
<i>Imaginations or fantasies whether they be true.</i>	835. 40
<i>Imagination what it is.</i>	836. 70
<i>Imaginable.</i>	836. 40
<i>Imaginative.</i>	836. 50
<i>Imaginative or fantasie.</i>	836. 40
<i>Imitation in bad things.</i>	89. 50
<i>Imitation</i>	23. 1
<i>L. Imber, of Thyrsus.</i>	913. 30
<i>Immortality of the soule.</i>	553. 1
	10
<i>Immortalitie without knowledge and wisdom is not life.</i>	1238. 1
<i>Imperfections of the body not to be surprised by way of reproach.</i>	47. 50
<i>Impiety, see Abisnone.</i>	901. 20
<i>Inachus the river.</i>	1318. 40
<i>Incelle burned by the Aegyptians.</i>	299. 30
<i>Indian dames burnt with their husbands in one funeral fire.</i>	299. 30
<i>Indian Sages die voluntarily.</i>	299. 40
<i>The Indian root.</i>	1177. 30
<i>Indifferent things what they be.</i>	1084. 40
<i>Indolence condemned.</i>	510. 1
<i>Indolence of the Epicures.</i>	583. 30
<i>Indos a sophistical argument.</i>	622. 20
<i>Infants bewitched by some men</i>	

etier. 723.10
Infants in the womb whether animal or not 844.50 *how they be nourished* 845.20 *what part of theirs is first perfected in the womb* 845.30 *borne at seven months end be fruitful* 845.40 *how they be uterine and live to true* 10. 20. 846.20 *right month infants live not ordinarily* 846.25
Infants new borne helpless 21. 22. 847.10
Infinity the principle of all 805.50
Infoturnity not to be unbraided 48.10
Injury to a mans selfe 1066.10
Ino enraged upon sculionie 85.50
Ino Ino priers made in the behalf of Nephewes and Nieces 855.40 *troubled in minde for aduising her lord and husband* Athamas 548.10
Inoculation or grafting in the bunde 675.10
Intelligible subjects 108.50
Intemperance and incontinence how they differ 659.70.71
Intervals in Astrologie 1378.50
Io reduced and slandered by Herodorus 1229.40
Iobares king of Lycia 489.10
Iocasta wraffed 715.20
Iolas betrothed king Alexander 937.10
Iolans became young againe 105.50
Iolans beloved of his uncle Hercules 191.20 *his deariung* 1146.20 *his tombe* 10.
Iole flang her selfe downe from a wall 910.20
Ion the Poet wrote all in profane 628.20
Ionique Philosophie 835.40 806.20
Iphicles brother of Hercules name 880.30
Iphicles flaine, and lamented by Hercules 191.20
Iphicrates discommended for dealing in too many matters 366.20
Ion his apophthegme 419.50 *his apophthegme to Callias* 325.20
20. reproched for his buse parentage 419.50 *his bodilistrength and valour* 420.20
Iphigenia sacrificed 910.40
Irish how portrayed by Apollonius with the Argypim 1291.30
Ir moderate, helpful vertue 77.10
Irene 894.10

Iricepea *what they be.* 704.40
 Iris *the Poets call to be the mother of Love.* 1151.30
 Ironia *that Sociates offend.* 665.50
 Irrigation *bringeth in fruitful bar- barisme.* 1126.40
 Isagoras *traduced by Herodotus.* 1233.30
 Isis Haires, or Imdos Plocamoi, *what plants.* 1178.40
 Ision, *the temple of Isis.* 1283.20
 Isia, 131.120
 Isis, *what it significth.* 1281.10
 whereof derived. 1321.20
 Iulake Priests, 1288.40, *why they be chosen and wearc lincin: 16.*
 so why they forcare full. 1289. 20
 Isis borne, 1292.20, *for mountaine for Othris.* 1293.10, *her ad- duments.* 1328.1
 Isis symbolizeth *the land of Eg- ypt.* 1304.40
 Isle fortunate *for blefss folke.* 51. 90
 Isles of Demoni, and Heroes about Britaine. 1333.10
 Isles commended. 275.20
 Ilienes *his prey scilke to nemur: scilke minifull.* 669.40
 Ilienes *an epictet of Apolloni.* 1335.50
 Ilienedora *a vertuous and beauti- full dame.* 1132.1, *the fallall in love with Bacchon.* 1132.1
 for suppricth Bacchon. 1143.81
 Ilietus *the orator, his life.* 926.10
 he imitated Lytiis, &c. how when he flourished, it. his orations, and other work. 93. 10
 Iliocrates *would philosophize at the school.* 640.30, *taxed for pullianimie and idleness.* 988. 1.40, *his parentage and conti- nence.* 921.20, *the time of his birth and education, &c. he de- fendeth his master Therame- nes, &c.* 90, *his nature, &c. &c.* 90, *he proved orations, &c. he taught a schoule, &c. his studie in Chios, &c. a great gainer by keep- ing schoule.* 92.4, *his scholars, &c. his answer to Demothenes coming to him for to be taught.* 92.10, *his minervall, &c.* the time of his death. 92.40, 20, *he pined himself to death.* 92.40, *his age, &c. his wealth, &c.* 90, *his apophthegms, &c.* 90, *he ad- vantage Aphareus his sonne.* 92.40, 30.40, *his sepulture.* 92.40, 50, *his tombes.* 92.5, 1, *his statue of brassc erected by Timotheus*

Ddddddd the

THE TABLE.

the *fonne* of Conon. 925.10.
his *orations*. *ib.* his *ballad* *beginning*.
desire. *ib.* 20. his *apophthegms*.
925.20. he *mourned* for the
death of Socrates. *ib.* 20. he
reverted Iphorus Diphorus.
ib. 40. given *naturally* to *an-*
tonisse. 925.40. his *statue* *er-*
ected in *brasse* by *Apharbas* his
adopted *sonne*. 925.50. his *pi-*
cture. 926.10
1020.30
Hofcecles.
Illuminate *name* of the *Admirall*
galle of Antigonus. 718.10
717.10
Ithaque. 898.10
Ithaceia.
Judaus the *fonne* of Typhon.
1.001
Judges how *portraied* in *Agypt*.
1201.10
K. Jugurth the *prisoner* by Sylla.
238.50
Julius Law, as *touching* *adulterie*.
442.40.
Julius Drusus a *man* of great *u-*
reguty. 351.10
Julius Cæsar beholden to *Fortune*.
621.30
June the *moneth*, dedicated to Ju-
no. 879.30
Juno why *she* is so called. 876.1
Juno had but *one* *nurse*. Eubeca.
696.1.
ib.
Juno Lucina. 808.1
Juno, *are*. 110.20
Junoës *prêtresse* or *Flaminae*.
over *led*. 879.30
Juno Gamelia. 320.10. no *beast*
having *gall*, sacrificed to her. *ib.*
Juno describing her *selfe* in Ho-
mer. what it *meaneth*. 35.10
Jupiter Olympius. 1360.40
Jupiter Agoræus. 1218.10
Jupiter compared with Neptune.
1288.1
Jupiter Labradens in Caria his
name. 902.10
Jupiter Hospitalis. 279.40
Jupiter's *statue* without *carcs*.
1317.10
Jupiter Tarfius. 908.10
Jupiter Africus. 314.40
Jupiter's *Prisr* or *Flamin* is not
accounted *abroad* in the *are*. 864.
10. why called *Flamin*. 864.
30. how might not *firewe*. 866.1
Jupiter, *live*. 808.1
Jupiter Carius. 1233.40
Jupiter had two *nurses*. Ida and
Adraitha. 696.1
Jupiter Sthenius. 1256.40
Jupiter's *oracles* why *Minos* was
called. 292.10
Jupiter had *divers* *receptions* a-

mong *Poets*. 30.10
Jupiter the *only* *immortal* *God*.
consumed *all* the *rest*. 1099.1
Jupiter Kauticus. 1278.10
Justice or Fortitude, whether the
greater *vertue*. 424.10
Justice or *hys* justice in *beasts*. 956.
10
Justice what it is. 69.10. the *end* of
the *law*. 295.1
Justice neglected by *Magistrates*.
the *overthrow* of *States*. 360.
20. whether there be any in
beasts. 956.1
Ivy *islands*, what use they have.
683.50. whether it be *bate* or
cold. 683.10. it would not
grow about *Babylon*. 685.20
Ivy chaplets, why used in *Winter*.
ib. 40
that Ivy is cold. 686.1
Ivy berries intoxicate the *braine*.
686.1. why the *wood* groweth
tortuous. 686.10. why it is al-
ways *greene*. 686.20
Ivy consecrated to Bacchus. 690.
20. 1102.10. rejected from the
sacrifice and temples of celestiall
gods. 887.40. fit for *franticke*
folke. 888.1
Ixion loved Juno. 291.10. in Eu-
ripius represents a *goddesse*
man. 24.50

L
L. who pronounce in stead of R.
869.1
Laarchus usurped the *tyranny* of
Cyrene. 504.30. murdered.
ib.
Labotas his *apophthegm*. 461.1
Labour with *alacrity*. 619.1
Labour. Use Diligence.
Lacedæmonius bountifull to the
Smyrnians. 102.10. their *mod-*
estie to them. *ib.* how they fear-
ed their children from *drum-*
kennesse. 121.50. they *flawed*
their *flote* *drumke* to their *chil-*
dren. 1091.10. why they *sacri-*
fice to the *Muses* before *battell*.
125.50
Lacedæmonian *apophthegm*. 469.
50 444.1
Lacedæmonians reverence *old* *age*.
473.20
Lacedæmonian *customes* and *or-*
ders. 475.10. how they *lost*
their *ancient* *reputation*. 479.1.
10
Lacedæmonian *women* *apoph-*
thegmes. 479.30
Lacedæmonians forbid *torchlights*.
475.30
the *Lacoonine* or *short* *speech* of
the *Lacedæmonians*. 103.10.20
Lachares a *tyrant* over the *Athe-*
nians. 586.10
Lachelis her *function*. 1184.40.
1219.30
Lachesis. 679.50. 797.40. 1049.
10
Lacydes a *fast* *friend* to *Cephilo-*
crates, and made no *flow* there-
of. 102.40
Lacydes noted for *effeminate* *wan-*
tonnesse.

THE TABLE.

tonnesse. 241.30
Ladas the *famous* *runner*. 356
Lælius advanced Scipio. 357.50
Læmodius. 759.20
Lais a *famous* *courtesan*. 61.1
Lais became a *married* *wife*. 1154.
10. flied to death for *envie* of
her *beauty*. *ib.*
Lamachus. 378.10. his *apoph-*
thegm. 419.50
Lamentation for the *dead* how to
be *moderated*. 521.40
Lamia the *witch*. 135.1
Lamps, why the *Romans* never put
forth, but *suffer* to goe out of
their *owne* *accord*. 875.10.
the *golden* *Lampe* of *Minerva*.
765.10
Lampe burning continually at the
temple of *Jupiter* *Ammon*.
1322.10. why *less* *oil* was
consumed *therein* every *yeere*
than *other*. *ib.* 65.
Lampon. 759.30. the *rich* *mer-*
chant. 788.1
Lamplice, the *daughter* of *Mau-*
ron. her *virtuous* *act*. 497.
40. honored as a *goddesse*. 498.
1
Lampacum the *city* how it *tooke*
that *name*. 497.50
Lapich of the *Stoicks*. 1055.30
Lares, what *images*. 868.10
Largelles. 377.20
Latis, what he *conferred* to *musicke*.
1257.20
Lautia what *presents* they were.
865.50
Law of what *power* it is. 294.295
Lexna her *rare* *tacturnitie*. 196.
30
Leager. 902.50
Lead why it *causeth* *water* to be
more *cold*. 735.10
Lead plates and *plummetts* seeme to
freeze and *melt* in *hard* *winters*.
740.10
Leander bewitched with the *love*
of *Aretaphilaes* *daughter*. 499.
20. how *excessivly* *tyrannie*.
ib. 20.40. betrayed by *Areta-*
phila into the *hands* of *Anabus*.
500.10. put to *death*. *ib.* 30
Leaves of *treets* not to be *plucked*.
683.10
Left-hand *Auspices* *preface* *best*.
876.20
Leque. 1037.30
Lenity of *parents* to their *children*.
16.10
Leon the *fonne* of *Eucratidas* his
apophthegm. 461.30
Leon the *Bizantine* a *very* *concei-*

ted *person*. 355.30
Leonidas the *fonne* of *Anaxan-*
dridas his *apophthegm*. 461.
40. his *valiant* *death*. 907.40
his *heart* *all* *hairy*. *ib.* his *vision*
with the *temple* of *Hercules* at
Thebes. 1239.1. his *noble* *act*
& *noble* *apophthegm*. 1239
10.20
Leontidas together with *Archias*
tyrannized in *Thebes*. 1204.
30. a *valiant* *man*. 1225.50. he
killed *Cephiodorus*. *ib.* he
was *killed* *himselfe* by *Pelopida*.
1226.1
Leontis a *tribe*. 660.30
Leontychidas the *first*. his *apoph-*
thegm. 461.10
Leontychidas the *fonne* of *Ariston*
his *apophthegm*. 461.20
Leichenorius, an *epithet* of *A-*
pollo. 1353.50
Lethæ. 609.20
Lethæ, that it is to *say*, the *com-*
mon *wealth*. 872.40
Letters in *Agypt* invented by
Mercurie. 789.20
Letters in the *alphabet* *just* 24.
how they *arise*. 789.30
Lewans, the *gorge* or *wesund*. 744.
1
Leucippe. 899.30
Leucippide. 1055.30
Leucippus killed by *Pemander*.
899.20
Leucomantis. 1152.20
Levites whereof *they* *tooke* that
name. 712.20
Leucothea, what it is. 64.50
Leucothea kind to her *sisters* *chil-*
dren. 191.20
Leucothea or *Mataues* temple
admitted no *maide* *for* *virgin* to
enter into it. 855.30
Liberty what it is. 69.10
Libitina, supposed to be *Venus*.
857.40. her temple how *em-*
ploied. *ib.*
Libs, what *windle*. 829.30
P. Licinius vanquished by *Perse-*
us. 431.40. his *demande* of
Perseus. *ib.*
Licitors officers of *Rome*, why so
called. 872.30.40
Life and *language* ought to *concur*
in a *governour*. 372.1
Life is but *ashleson*. 603.40
Life solitary and *hidden* *discom-*
mended. 606.20
Life *hidden* or *unknownen*, a *sen-*
tence full of *absurdities*. 607.
of *Life* *three* *forts*. 9.40
long *Life* not *best*. 521.20

Life of *man* *transitory* and *vari-*
able. 589.40
Light how *delectable* it is. 608.
140
Lightning how it is shot *forth*.
1022.30
Lightning. 704.20. what effects it
worketh. 705.110
bodies smitten with *Lightning* put
to *trifles*. 705.20
folke a *steepe* *never*. blasted with
Lightning. 703.40
what thing is *be* smitten with *Light-*
ning. *ib.* 50
Lightning how it cometh. 827.40
Line or *flaxe* the *herbe*. 1289.10
Linus of what *stature* he was the
inventor. 1249.30
Lion how *flout* he is in *defence* of
his *whelpes*. 218.30
Lion why the *Agyptians* *consecra-*
ted to the *sunne*. 710.50
Lions lead *gaping* *seres* for *spoils*
of *fountains* in *Agypt*. 710.
50
Lion how he *goeth* in the *forest*.
959.1
Lions *kinde* one to another. 966.1
Lions *portraied* with *moneth* *wide*
open in the *palaces* of the *A-*
gyptians *temples*. 1302.30
Literature compared with the *gift*
of *fortune* and *nature*. 7.1
Liver *disfigured*, how it is *disce-*
vered. 782.50
Lochagas his *apophthegm*. 462.
20
Lochia a *surname* of *Diana*. 1142
1.697.20
Locrians *law* against *curiositie*.
139.1
Locrus. 130.1. what *cities* he *built*
893.1
Locusts engendred in *Sicilie*. 671.
39
Lode-stone how it *draweth* *iron*.
1022.30
Logicke or *Dialecticke*. 804.40
Lotos the *herbe* in *Homer*. 1057
50
Love of *young* *boies* how *permitted*.
14.1
Love of what *power* it is. 294.
295.1143.40
against *Love* *drinks*. 316.40
Love in *young* *persons* *soone* *hot* and
quickly *cold*. *ib.*
of *Love* or *amity* *four* *branches*.
1142.30
Love *lively* *described*. 1143.30
Love of *boies* compared with that
of *women*. 1124
Love *nuptiall* *commended*. *ib.*
Love a *violent* *affection*. 1138.50
Cato

Dddddd 2

THE TABLE.

Cato his *saying of Lovers*. 1143.
30.
The *bonny and goodneſſe of Love*.
1146. 50. how it comes to be
called *de*. 1139.10
Love an *ancient god*. 1140.20
Love covereth *defects and imper-*
fections. 59.40
Love the *moſt ancient work of*
Venus. 1140.20
Lovers be *flatterers*. 93.30
Love teacheth *Muficks* &c. 655.
50
Love reſembleth *drunkenneſſe*.
654.1
Love what reſemblance it hath
with the *Sunne*. 1149.50
why *Lovers be Poets*. 654.10
Lovers how they can away with
jeſts. 667.20
Lovers one of the *ſurnames of Ap-*
ollo. 103.30
Lucan what *mony among the Ro-*
mans. 880.10
Lucifer the *ſtarr*. 821.50
Lucina. 114.1
Lucertia the *Romane lady* 491.30
Lucullus noted by *Pompey for*
his ſuperſtition. 386.30. 40.
led by *Callithenes*. 394.30.
his *valour*. 437.30. given to
pleaſure. 438.40. kinde to his
younger brother. 182.1. why bla-
med. 297.20
Lungs full of *pipes and holes to*
tranſpire liquors and ſolide
meates. 744.40
Lupercal Rome why they ſacr-
fice a *doge*. 872.50
Lupercalia. ib.
Luſts and *appetites of ſenſuſ* ſorts.
567.10. 1212.50
Lutatius Catulus erecteth an *al-*
tar to Saturne. 909.20
Lyciaons *ſonnes* Eleuther and Le-
badus. 900.1
Lycium. 900.10
Lycia a *book of Arifton his mu-*
ſic. 18.30
Lycian *women their vertues*. 489.1
Lycia overſeene by theſe. 4. 489.
20
Lycifcus a *traytor perſuaded long*
after his treachery committed.
540.10
Lycophanes what it is at *Laco-*
demon. 475.40
Lycopades what *herſe*. 677.
10. why they be full of *ſto-*
macke than others. 677.20
Lycurgus his *apophthegme at*
touching education. 4.10. his
apophthegmes. 452.20. 422.50.
his *example of two whelps*. ib.

he cauſed *all vines to be cut*
down. 19.30. 76.40. he brought
in *baſe coine*. 463.10. hurt by
Alexander. ib. 50. his *patience*.
ib. his *ordinances in Sparta*.
464.40. he ordered *ſacrifices*
of *leſſeſt coſt*. 402.30. honoured
by the *oracle of Apollo*. 600.
20. not blamed for *praiſing him-*
ſelfe. 305.1
Lycurgus the *orator his pater-*
nage. 927.50. his *education*. 928.
1. his *ſtate affaires*. ib. his *ſili-*
ty and reputation. ib. 10. his
building for the city. 528.10.
20. beloved of the *people*. 928.
30. a *ſevere juſticer*. ib. 20. his
authority. ib. 30. his *ordinances*
and *lawes*. ib. he enabled that
Poets might be free burgerſes.
928.40
Lycurgus ordained to *perpetuate*
the *tragedies of Aechylus*.
Sophocles. and *Euripides*. ib.
he reſented *Xenocrates the phi-*
loſopher for going to priſon.
929.1. he loved his *wife from*
the danger of ſlav. ib. his meane
apparel. ib. 10. his *paſſion ſtri-*
ct. ib. his *apophthegmes*. ib. his
children endued and acquit. ib.
30. his *death and ſpedifier*. ib.
he advanced the *weale pub-*
licke. 929.40. his *immacu-*
lacy. ib. his *children*. ib. 50. his *ora-*
tions. 930.10. his *crowne and*
ſtatues. ib. honours decreed for
him and his *ib. his wealth and*
bonny. ib. 20. ſurnamed *Ibis*.
ib.
Lydian *muficks rejelled*. 1253.
20
Lyde the *wife of Callimachus*.
515.10
Lyde an *Elgie of his compoſition*
ib.
Lydiades firſt an *uſurping tyrant*.
proved afterward a *good*
prince. 543.30
Lying in *children to be avoided*. 13.
4
Lyncus quick-ſighted. 238.30
Lyncurium. 954.30
Lylander his *apophthegme*. 423.
50
Lylander reſuſed *jewels ſent to his*
daughters. 320.10. thankfull
357.40
Lylander ſlaine by *Inachion for*
want of underſtanding an ora-
cle. 1200.30
Lylanoridas combined with the
tyrants of *Thebes*. 1205.30
Lylanoridas put to *death*. 1227.1

Lylas the *orator his parentage*
and *place of nativite*. 921.40.
his *education*. ib. 50. his *trou-*
bles and exploits. 922.1. 10. 20.
his *age and death*. 922.20.
30
Lylas the *orator* . his *orations*
and *writings*. 922.20. 30. his
ſtile. ib. 40. commended. 195.
10. his *eloquence*. 195.10
K. Lylmachus for to *quench his*
thiſt loſt a kingdom. 416.1.
547.40. his *apophthegme*. 416.
1
Lylippus how he portrayed *K. A-*
lexander. 1256.50
Lylis his *reliquies*. 1208.1
Lylus the *ſurname of Bacchus*.
330.50

M

Macareus deſloweth his
owne *ſiſter*. 914.10
Macedonians *plaine ſpoken men*
409.30. their *armie after A-*
lexanders death compared to
Cyclops. 414.1
Macellus a *ſonous theefe* at
Rome. 869.1
Macellum the *ſtambler there*. ib.
Memætes. 125.20
Magas how he dealt with *Phile-*
mon. 124.50
Mage the *ſages what they think*
of *Oomazes and Arimanus*.
1306.30
Magi the *tyrants of Perſia*. 375.
40
Magiſtracy ſerves an *aman*. 365.
364.6.
May the *moneth why ſo called*.
879.40
Maidens not permitted to *marry*
upon a *feſtival day*. 885.10
Maiden-hare the *beardieſly al-*
water greene. 686.30
Mallacos what it ſignifieth. 505.
30
Malladies new come, and olde
part. 782.50
Malladies new and ſtrange where-
of they proceed. 783.10. 20
Malladies of the *ſoule compared*
with theſe of the *body*. 313.
20
Malcander king of *Byblos*.
1293.40
Males how begetten. 842.30
Male children and *female how*
they be formed in the wombe.
847.20
Mallowes. 339.1
Man why called *ſus*. 668.40
Men

Man moſt *miſerable*. 312.50
Mankinde moſt *unhappy*. 312.50
Man ſiſte full of *miſeries*. 312.30.
40
Men derived into *three ſorts*. 601.
30. made to *doe good*. 393.30
Men unable in the *act of genera-*
tion. 844.20. 30
Men at what *age they come to*
perfection. 847.40
Of *men in the moone*. 1175.50
Mandradoras cold and *procreeth*
ſleepe. 689.40
Mandradoras growing neere to a
vine. 19.40
Maneros who it was. 1294.10
Manis a *king*. 1296.30
Manica. ib. his *pride and arro-*
gance. 1278.20. how he was
ſcceeded by *Paſiades*. ib.
Manli might not be ſurnamed
Marc. 880.40
M. Manlius fought to be *king of*
Rome. 368.1
Manlius Imperioſus behedeth
his *owne ſonne*. 910.10
Battell of *Maninae deſcribed*.
983.1.10
Mantous. 154.50
Marcellus unthankfull to *Cn.*
Pompeius. 439.10. checked
by him. ib.
Marcellus his *apophthegme at*
touching the *gods of Tarent-*
um. 429.40
March in old time the *firſt moneth*.
856.10
852.40. 886.1
Marriage in *kinred forbidden* at
Rome. 852.40. 886.1
Marriage love diſcredited by *Pro-*
togenes. 1132.50. maintained
by *Daphneus*. ib.
Marriage a *number*. 1035.40
Marriage with a *rich and wealthy*
wife. argued. 1137.10. 20
Marriage with a *wife younger or ol-*
der. ib. 40
No *Marriages at Rome in May*.
879.40
Marriage with the *couſin germanus*
how permitted. 852.50
of *Marriage precept*. 315
Married folk ought to have *ar-*
dent regard one of another.
317.20
C. Marius defeated the *Cimbri-*
ans. 637.1. his *apophthegmes*.
436.50. he crucified his *daugh-*
ter Calpurnia. 912.10. he en-
dured the *cutting of his eare*.
ib. his *juſtice*. ib. 40
Marius and *Sylla*. how they fiſt
fell out. 350.30
Marius Garges. 907.30

THE TABLE.

Marpiffa raviſhed by *Aphareus*.
917.30
Mars and *Venus commit adul-*
terie. 24. 30. diſſeined himſelfe.
and lay with *Sylvia*. 913.50
what is meant thereby in *Eti-*
men. 23.1. what *epithets and at-*
tributes he hath. 1140.50. his
etymologie. ib.
Mars oppoſite unto *love*. 1140.40
Mars hath *divers acceptions in po-*
ets. 30.10
Mars what *God*. 1141.10
Marias the *miſtrell deviſeth a*
hood or muſzle for his cheekes
whiles he piped. 122.40. why
punished by *Apollo*. 761.1
Marsall men ought to be *ſtrong of*
body. 391.1
Marius Coriolanus. 631.1
Maſaniſſa an *aged king*. 394.1
Maldeſe a *crooked prince*. 1296.
30
Maſſacre in *Argos*. 368.1
Maſſius the *ſonne of Abion kil-*
eth himſelfe. 985.50
Melcon one of the *confpirators* a-
gainſt *Archias the Theban*.
1225.20
Melos *women their vertuous*.
819.20
Meller what ſhe is. 398.30
Meliponda. 712.50
Melilius the *Philophoſer a good*
ſtatifiſt and marſhallman. 1128.
120
Meliffa *wife to Penander*. 330.
360
Meliffus the *ſonne of Abion kil-*
eth himſelfe. 985.50
Melon one of the *confpirators* a-
gainſt *Archias the Theban*.
1225.20
Melos *women their vertuous*.
819.20
Memon his *apophthegme*. 404.
50
Memorie in *children to be kept* a-
ſid. 12.10
Memorie how profitable it is to
50. the *mother of the Muſe*.
1131.30. of what *power it is*.
1244.1
Menalippe a *tragedie of Euripi-*
des. 1139.10
Menander his *comedies praifed*.
759.30. much commended be-
fore *Ariſtophanes*. 942.40. his
unſtimely *death*. 943.10
Menander a *wife and midwife*.
377.1. highly honoured by his
ſubjects. 377.1
Menecrates a *vain-glourious phy-*
ſician. 424.20. 449.10. repro-
ved by *Agellus*. 424.20
Menedemus ſhutteth the *doore*
againſt his *friend ſonne*. 62.
10. his *opinion of verne*. 69.
50
Menelaus and *Paris enter com-*
bat. 793.1
Menelaus and *Helena deſcried*
by *Herodotus*. 1230.10
Menelaus came unbidden to *A-*
gammemnon his feaſt. 793.40
Menelaus in *Homer praediſed*
by *Minerva*. 1282.10
Menius what it is. 1282.10
MENTIS

THE TABLE.

MINTUS a temple at Rome. 630
40. when it was dedicated. 635.1

Mercurie terreftriall and celeſtiall. 1182.30

Mercurie, come, what it meaneth. 193.10

Mercurio, why he is ſtrived nere to the graces. 59.20. meſſer of merchants. 692.30

Mercuriall Demons. 1297.50

Mercurie Hegemib. 290.40

Mercurie the author of Grammar and Muſick. 1288.30

Mele. 796.30

Melioramities. 294.40

Melſenger reporting news of the victory at Marathon. 984.1

Melſenger of the victory at Mantinea, how rewarded. 984.10

Melior, an attribute of Jupiter in Homer, what it ſignifieth. 1308.1

Metageitnion and Metageitnia. 272.30

Metaphora. 800.1.10

Metellus ſacrificeth his owne daughter. 910.30. his ſecrecie. 197.30. checked by Cicero. 439.50

Meteor what they be. 826.30

Meu and yewwee. 796.20

Meu and yewwee. 890.50

Methides ſepulchre in Egypt. 1295.40

Methyer, what it ſignifieth. 1310.20

Metochus a ſervant of Pericles. 265.1

Metocles challenged the kings of Perſia. 299.50. he contemned poverty. 299.20

Metodorus his letters commending badly pleaſures. 595.10. profeſſeth ignorance in hiſtory and poeſie. 590.40. his groſſe opinion of pleaſure. 1127.10. he ſuſtained for reſcuing Myrrha. 1128.50. he ſcorneth Lycurgus, Solon, and ſuch. 1129.20

Mettall mines that have failed to bring forth ore. 1345.40

Mezentius King of the Tuſcanes. 866.10

Micca her vertuous deed. 492.30. moſt barbarouſly miſuſed by one Lucius. 492.50. murdered by him. 493.1

Mice of the water deſtroyed of Zoroaſtres and the Magi. 711.1

Mice conceive by licking ſalt. 728.40

Midas upon a melancholic killed

himſelfe. 265.1

Midamſe of Euclides his brother. 130.30

Mileſia the daughter of Soedalus. 946.10

Mileſian madmen troubled with melancholy. 496.30. how their rage was reſſeſſed. 140.40

Milichius an attribute to God. 629.30

Military exerciſes fit for youth. 10

Mimus, how deſiſed. 953.1

Minazawon, mother of the Muſes. 1120.796.30

Mneſarete her image of beaten gold. 1195. her name was alſo Phryne. 1195.1

Mneſaphilus. 336.40

Mneſaphus kind to Themistocles. 398.20

Mockes and ſcornes to be abidden with patience. 48.10

Mockers and ſcorners how to be answered. 110.10

Modesty a great token of progreſſe in vertue. 253.10.20

Moderation in both fortunes commended. 510.20.30

Morea. 29.1.679.30.50

Moiſt what thing is properly called. 740.30

Molionide. 1106.20. maſſacred by Hercules. 1194.40

Molpus the muſicall. 896.40

Molus the father of Meriones found headleſſe. 1330.10

Monarchia what it is. 941.20. it is the beſt government. 110.50

Monethly termes or purgations of women. 220.30

Moneths firſt and ſecond to what gods conſecrated. 858.40

Moneths attributed to Juno. 876.1

Monogenes the name of Proſerpina, and the reaſon thereof. 1182.30

Monophagi in Acgina. 901.50

Monſters how engendered. 843.1

Mony with the ſtump of Janus face and the poore of poore of a ſhip. 804.50

Mony with the ſtump of a beſt, ſleepe, and a ſwine. 805.10

Moone at ſull what effects it hath. 697.30.40

Moone ſlow, and of a feeble heat. 1168.50

Moones upon the ſhoes of the nobleſt Senators in Rome. 875.50

Moone of what ſubſtance it is. 1181.10

Moone

the type of this worlds mutability. 875.40

Moone a moſt pure mirror. 1161.1

Moone women have caſt child-birth. 876.10

Moone be earth. 1163.1

Moone ſubſtance. 824.30

Moone whether it be a dimme fire. 1162.1

Moone three motions. 1177.10. her magnitude. 824.40

Moone 1. illuminate from the Sunne. 1163.1

Moone why it ſulleth not. 1163.20

Moone forme or figure. 824.50

Moone within the confines of the earth. 1165.20. her ſeven ſhapes. 825.1. her illuminations. 110.10. her eclipſe. 825.20. her monthly occultations. 825.40. how ſhe is illumined from the Sunne. 1169.10

Moone face, or unequal apparition therein. 825.50

Moone the face appearing in the Moone, and the cauſe thereof. 1160

Moone hath divers denomination. 1329.1

Moone inhabited. 825.50

Moone 1177.1178

Moone worketh moſt effects. 1179.10

Moone is named Pſeudophanes. 826.1

Moone fine hurtfull to babes, and for ſleepe. 697.10.20

Moone how farre diſtant from the Sunne. 826.1

Moone the tale of the Moone and her mother. 338.10

Moone the tale of the Moone and her mother. 64.30

Moone after Kalendar, Nones, and Ides, diſſimulates. 858.20

Moone in the Sunne. 770.40

Moone loves their ſonnes better than their daughters. 321.50. they ought to ſuckle their owne babes. 430. how tender they be over their infants. 220.50. 221.110

Moone, a name of Iſis, what it ſignifieth. 110.20

Moone what it is. 815.40

Moone five ſorts. 814.40

Moone for the dead, what nation is addiſſed moſt. 523.10

Mucius Scevola his valorous reſolution. 907.1

Mucius or Mutius Scevola. 629.30

THE TABLE.

Mulberry tree not cut downe at Athens. 749.30

Mules why barren. 844.20

Mules craft detected by Thales. 964.40

Muler rewarded at Athens. 903.20

Mullet hard to be caught. 971.1

Mulus. 634.20

Multitude not to be flattered and pleaſed. 720

Mummus moved to pittie with the verſe cited by a young lad. 787.20

Murderers of the Poet Ibycus revealed by their owne words. 201.50

Muſica, what houſe. 141.50

Muſes why called in Greeke poeſie. how they be ſeverally employed. 799.10.20.30

Muſes three named Hypane, Meſe, and Nete. 796.20

Muſes why nine. 796.20

Muſes at firſt but three. 796.30

Muſes why many. 796.20.30

Muſes named Mova. 795.50

Muſes of Italy. 612.40

Muſes whether they breed by thimder. 704.1

Muſes diſcourſes rejected by Epicurus. 591.30

Muſes how to be employed. 1249.1

Muſicke ariſeth from three cauſes. 654.20

Muſicke uſed in warre among the Lacedaemonians. 477.1

Muſicke or melody of three kinds. 796.40

Muſicke } Phrygian. } 1251.20.
 } Dorian. }
 } Lydian. }

Muſicke ſorteth well with martiall knights. 1274.50

Muſicke why uſed at feaſts. 1263.10

Muſicke neceſſary in the managing of the ſtate. 1262.20

Muſicke of the ſtate in a common wealth. 1262.30

Muſicke not to be broken. 1261.1

Muſicall water, Meſe, Hypane and Nete, aſcribable to the three faculties of mans ſoule. 1025.10

Muſicke doth inebriate more than wine. 750.50

Muſicke complaint to Juſtice. 1257.272.20

Muſicians diſtinct of what matter they are to be made. 252.20

Muſicke plaine commended in Lu-

cedemon. 477.10

Muſicke Chromaticke. 592.30

Muſicke harmonical. 592.30

Muſicke highly regarded in ſilence. 1250.30

Muſicke commended. 203.10

Muſicke in warre. 1256.30

Muſicke fitter for merry banquets than for ſorrow and ſadneſſe. 758.10

Muſicke. 1261.40

Muſicke or new wine doth not ſonne inebriate or make drunke. 693.30. how it continueth ſweet long. 1012.10

Mutability of this life. 511.1

Mycal the blinde manſe deſiſed by the Aegyptians. 710.40

Mycos what it is. 646.30

Mymætes, an attribute to God. 125.20

Myrta Venus. 857.1

Myrtonimus, an attribute of Iſis. 1309.1

Myro her piteous death. 495.10

Myrionides his apophlegme. 418.40

Myrthe burnt in perfume by the Aegyptians at noone. 1318.50

Myrthina a ſumptuous ſcrapet. 936.40

Myrthe not uſed in the chapel of the goddeſſe Bona. 856.50. conſecrated to Venus. 117.10

Myrthe is abwaies greene. 686.50

Mylon his apophlegme to Chilon. 878.50

N

NAMES among the Romanes men have three, women twaine. 884.20

Names when given to the Romanes children. 884.10

Names how they be written. 884.40

Names of gods, how to be taken in Poet. 29.50

Names of vertues attributed to vices the overthrow of ſtates. 93.40

Namertes his apophlegme. 467.10

Naphtha about Babylon. 723.50

Narcilius, why the daſſidile is ſo called. 683.50

Narrations hiſtorical, reſemble pictures. 983.50

Native country which is properly called. 272.20

Nature what it is. 817.30. 805.1

Nature why called even. 1101.1

Nature

THE TABLE.

Natural heat how it is excited. 611.40
 Natural is finite & immaterial, infinite. 782.10
 Natural Philosophy wherein it consisteth. 804.40
 Natural things. 805.1
 Nature contented with a little. 1179.40
 Nature of what power for attaining to vertue. 3.1
 Nauplius assisted by the Chalcidians. 898.1
 Nauficaia in Homer, how to be praised or blamed. 35.20
 Nauficaia by Homer, compared to a date tree. 772.10
 Nauficaia in Homer washing her clothes. 658.40
 Nauma. 738.40
 Naxos the wife of Hypericor commoned of Promedon. 496.20
 Necessitas non habet legem. 400.40
 Necessity. 797.50. 1013.10
 Of Necessity what is the essence. 816.30
 Necessary defined. 1051.20
 Necessary what it is. 816.20
 Nectar. 338.10. 1177.40
 Nereus in Homer. 791.40
 Negligence corrupteth the goodness of nature. 3.20
 good Neighbours, a great treasure. 418.20
 Nemean what it signifyeth. 1293.40
 Nemertes what Dæmon. 157.40
 Nemesis, what it is. 768.1
 Nepenthes. 644.10
 Nephelia. 712.50. what sacrificer. 621.50
 Nephthe or Nepthis borne. 1292.20. what other names she hath. 16.
 Neptune Equetrus. 867.20
 Neptune why portrayed with a three forked mace. 1217.20
 Neptune surnamed Phylalmios. 717.20. 780.1. surnamed Apurys. 16.10
 Neptune and Jupiter compared together. 42.1
 Neptune many times vanquished. 792.1. 10
 Nero abused and corrupted by flatterers. 93.50. his fault tormented in hell. 560.50. he hardly escaped murder. 196.20
 Nessus the Centaur. 870.40
 Nessus the water. 808.1
 Nestor feedeth the ambitious Lu-

mour of Vlisses. 663.1
 Nestor and Calchas compared together. 38.30
 Nestor while in rebuking. 398.1
 why esteemed above Lætes, or Peleus. 809.20
 Net. 796.40. how it is derived. 1025.20
 Nets why they rate more in winter than in summer. 1007.50
 Neves forbidden to be harkened after in the city Locri. 139.1
 Nicander his apophthegme. 467.20
 Nicanor wome by the liberality of K. Philip. 408.50
 Nien, that is to say, victory whereof it is derived. 772.1
 Nicias the captain by his superstition overthrown. 265.10
 Nicias the painter how much addicted to his work. 387.1
 589.30
 Nicocles, K. of Cyprus his liberality to Locrates. 924.30
 Nicocrates his tyranny. 498.10.
 murdered by Daphnis. 499.30
 Nicolai certaine dates, why so called. 772.20
 Nicolaus aperipateticke Philosopher. 16.
 Nicomedes, K. of Bithynia made himselfe vassall to the Romans. 1276.40
 Nicostratus his apophthegme. 425.20. a concurrent of Phaulus, and detestour of his bad-do. 1144.30
 Nicturus a starre, the same that Phenon or Saturne. 1180.40
 Nicotrata the daughter of Phœdus. 948.10
 Niger the great Rhetorician died with overstraining his voice. 620.10
 Night meet for the sports of Venus. 692.10. more resonant than the day. 770.10
 Night what it is. 1000.1
 Night and eclipse of the sunne compared. 1171.20. 30
 Nightingales teach their young ones to sing. 966.50
 Niloxenus. 327.1
 Nilus water is thought to pinguify and make corpulent. 1289.30
 Nilus water why drawn in the night by fountains for their drinke. 774.10
 Nilus, inundation whereof it is caused. 833.10. the height of the rising thereof. 1304.40
 Nine, a number resembling the

male. 884.20. the first square triangle number. 884.30
 Niobe over-forsown for the losse of her children. 526.40. her children slaine by Latona. 266.50
 The Lady Niobes daughters killed. 1145.10
 Nilus builds the city Nisica. 893.20
 Nobility of what esteeme. 6.40
 Nobility of birth alone, not commended. 46.1
 Novices, what they be. 953.1
 A Nose from without sooner heard within than contrariwise. 769.10
 Noxi, why loves be so called. 680.10
 Noxi in mischiefe of sundry forts. Nonce Caprature. 632.30
 Nonce. 88.1
 After Noone Roman made no league nor treaty of peace. 878.50
 Nofer hawked in estimation among the Persians, and why? 403.1
 NOTHING TOO MUCH. 1201.10. 345.50. 526.50.
 This Mot hath ministred master of many questions and disputations. 1354.10
 Nothing. 1098.10
 Notions of divers forts. 836.10
 Notus the winde, why so called. 1025.20
 Nourice who are to be chosen. 4.40
 Nourishment and groweth in animal creatures. 849.1
 Nourishment or feeding of infants. 4.20
 Novitrite, see education.
 Novv. 1019.40
 Nuphus, 858.10. named, Nonce. 16.
 Novnes and verbs sufficient for speech. 1027.10
 Nuceria killers Phenius Firmus her husbands base sonne. 915.40
 Nullity, or not being after this life condemned. 604.30. 40.50
 Numa Pompilius a sage & Philosophicall king. 855.20. a peaceable prince. 856.30
 Numa Pompilius. 630.10. his raigue ascribed to fortune. 633.30
 Number the principall of all things. 806.40
 Numbers even defective. 868.50
 Number odd perfect. 16.
 Nundine

THE TABLE.

Nundine what they were. 865.40
 Nympha in breeding of bees what it is. 670.40
 Nymphæus a captain of the Melians. 487.30
 Nymphæus age. 1327.40
 Nymphs Nomades. 1333.30
 O
 Oarites. 290.10
 to Oblivion an altar. 792.10
 Ocean represented the Moone. 1161.10
 Ochimus. 896.30
 Ochna the daughter of Collo-nus. 900.30. killers her selfe. 16.40
 Ochnus a wicked king of Persia. 486.50. why he was called by the Assyrians, The sword. 1291.50
 Ochnus by the Assyrians called an asse. 1300.1. he killed their Apis. 16.
 Oerion. 896.30
 Oerisa the supposed mother of Servus Tullius. 635.40. strangely conceived with child. 636.1
 Oethædra. 768.20. 819.20. 1020.30
 Ocyrociom. 956.10
 Odours sweet proceed from heat. 655.20
 Odours smell better a furre off. 657.50
 Oeconomie. See House-govern-ment. 319.40
 Oedipus overthrown by his own curiosity. 142.40. he plucketh out his owne eyes. 223.1
 Oenomaus loved to have a race of good horses. 903.40
 Oenuphis the priest and prophet of Heliopolis in Egypt. 1201.20
 Oeolycus his funerals. 716.20
 Oenolox. 809.40
 Oeonus the sonne of Lycimnius. 880.30
 Ogygie what Lund. 1180.20
 Oke who they be. 28.40
 Oke of divers significations. 20.1
 an Opinion commended by Homer. 709.30
 Opinions rejected by Isis priests, and why. 1200.20
 Oke branches made the Creek coroner at Rome. 880.50
 Oke honoured. 749.20
 the Olde age of divers princes and rulers, happy in their govern-

ment. 385.1. 10
 Olde age bereft of bodily pleasures. 86.50
 Olde age whereof it cometh. 349.50
 Olde age hath recreations. 388.20
 it is freed from envy. 16.30
 Olde age how to be secured from contempt. 389.10
 Olde men fit for to be rulers. 389.40
 Olde age how it is commendable for government. 390.20
 Olde men unmeet to marry. 16.30
 Olde age why honored most in Lacedæmon. 398.50
 Olde age not unfit for government. 383.1. 10. it should not be idle. 384.1
 Olde folks why they drinke meere wine. 656.40. wherefore dull in all cases. 16.
 Olde folks see better a furre off. 657.10. they love to be asked many questions. 664.1
 Olde mens fons drunke. 687.10
 Olde men die. 687.50. why called in Greeke, Tetractis. 16.
 Olde age to what accidents subject. 687.50
 Oligarchy what it is. 941.20
 Olive tree wood, for what use it serveth best. 697.1
 Olympus an ancient Musician. 1250.10
 Olympos words of a Thessalian woman whom the King her husband loved. 319.50. her speech of a young gentleman newly married. 319.40
 Omom. 1306.10
 Omphalos what part of the world. 1321.40
 Omphalos, what it signifyeth. 1304.40
 Orestes furious. 857.1
 Orestes how he was sented. 642.50. how he was sented by the lineage of Demophon. 678.10
 Orestes revenged his fathers and sisters death. 916.50
 Orgilus. 380.50
 Orion what starre. 1295.50
 Oris and apures, what they be. 1062.40
 Ornaments of women what they be. 320.10
 Oromades. 1044.1
 Oromazes, what God. 1336.1
 Oromes his apophthegme. 404.40
 Orpheus an ancient Poet & Musician. 1250.20
 Orphe. 100.1
 Orphius what musick. 1251.10
 Orus his fable. 1044.10
 Orus

Eccccc

THE TABLE.

Orus or Horus the elder the same that Apollo. 1293.20. *ib.*
Orus his answers to his father Osiris. 1294.40. *ib.* vanquished Typhon in judicial battles. 1294.1295
Oreys a beast observing the Dog-flavering. 968.30
Oritus what he signifies. 778.30
Oritus, how the name is derived. 1291.20. 1298.40. 1311.30. *ib.* how he is portrayed. *ib.*
Oritus the Same, and Iliis the Moons. 1308.50
Of Oritus and Iliis the fable. 1292.1
Oritus borne. *ib.* 10. he reduced Aegypt to civility. 1292.30. supposed to be Bacchus. *ib.* supposed to be Bacchus. *ib.* 1294.10. why there be many monuments and sepulchres to him. 1294.20. his body, where interred. 1295.30. his corps dismembered by Typhon. 1294.20
Oritus, Iliis and Typhon allegorized. 1300.10
Oritus shut up in a chest, what it signifies. 1301.10
Oritus his figure. 1304.30. how he is portrayed hieroglyphically. 1308.1.10. his policy to vanquish his enemies and to rule his subjects. 1315.40. his robes. 1318.1
Orcacutes. 143.1
Orcacutes, who they be. 143.30. the Orb that the judges in Aegypt took. 404.50
Others not wisely to be taken. 860.20
Orthe of the Pythagoreans. 806.50
The Other. 1031.1
Othyades his valour. 907.20
Othyades traduced by Herodotus. 1231.20.30
Otris a bird delighting in the fellow ship of horses. 955.20
Overcoming in young men is to be rid away. 53.40
Ovillj, how the name came at Rome. 866.10
Oxyrynchites, what people. 1289.50
Oxyrynchites, what fish. 808.50
Oyle caryeth transparency & tranquillity in the sea. 1007.30
Oyle why Homer calleth Moist. 740.30
Oyle the only moist and liquid thing that will burne. 745.50
Oyle best in the top of the well. 747.30
Oyle will not be mingled with any liquor. 675.30. 748.1

Oyle an enemy to plants. 675.30
Pancynicus vapour panned by Iocates. 988.20
Oyle of all liquors most transparent. 994.20. it allueth the waves of the sea. it is allueth of aye. *ib.*
Oyle why it breedeth much mist in brasse. 1187.30
Ozole, people why so called. 893.30
Ozole, who he is. 225.20
Ozole, that is to say, Fifth part put for all other meats. 708.1. what it signifies. 775.30
Ozole, that is, Gluttonous. *ib.*
Ozole, of the Stoicks. 1092.30

P

P. Or Pi, the letter in Greeke how it differeth from other mute consonants. 789.1
P for B in the Aeolique dialect. 718.30
Pacification in civil dissensions how to be made. 380.20
Pacan the song, foreteth well with Apollo. 1358.10
Pactatus his apophthegmes. 425.10
Pactatus, what mullet. 10468.20
Pagnia. 760.10
Paines be durable, but pleasures momentane. 582.583
Paines excessive not durable. 49.1
Palamedes devised four letters of the alphabet. 789.20
Palamneus. 896.1
Palaeitinus who he was. 1294.10
Palaeitra whereof it took the name. 672.30
Palintocia, what it is. 893.50
Palladium the image. 92.50
Pallas her image devised with a dragon by it. 1031.1
Palladin recovered by Illus and Metellus. 911.30
Pambaxotra, what solemnity. 947.40
Pammenes reproved Homer for his order in raming a battle. 649.145
Panyliawhat feast. 1292.10
Panylitis, a feast to the honour of Priapus. 1301.50
The great Pandora. 1332.1
Pan. 808.50
Pan and the world differ. 809.1
Pan, whereof derived. 1310.10
Pan the god of beard-men. 873.30
Panagra what met. 971.10.20.50
Pancration, what exercise. 672.50.364.40
Pandarus taxed for vanity. 24.40
Pandectes an attribute given to Iliis. 1309.1

Pandora in Hefiodus. 514.20
Pancynicus vapour panned by Iocates. 988.20
Panique terrors or affrights. 1193.1142.50.425.40.488.40
faive Panthica loved by Atalpes. 257.20
Panthoidas his apophthegmes. 12.40
Paracynus. 1152.20
Paradoxes of the Stoicks. 1083.30
Parallelo grammon what figure. 1036.30
Paralos the ship. 364.30
a Parasites portraiture. 90.40
Parasitikon, how defined. 953.1
Pardix, what mullet. 957
Partridge how important both water. 210
Parents challenge the greatest duty next to God. 176.10. most delighted in the love of their owne sonnes. 176.30
Parents wicked have begotten good children. 545
Parierewhat fish. 23.40
Paris in Homer resembled a woman. 398.40
Parisa. 888.10
Papyrius Romanus deflowered his owne sister. 914.20
Paralli a faction at Athens. 1149.10
Parmenides defended against Colotes. 1116.40. his singular commendation. 1128.10
Parmenocis son. 715.30
Parmeno crying like a swine. 23.1
all Parts of speech in one verse. 1026.40
Parts of speech all save Verbe and Noun, to what use they serve. 1027.50
Participle what it is. 1029.10
Partridges how subtil and craftie they be. 964.50. their natural affection to their young. 964.50. carefull over them. 219.10. their subtilty. 219.1. the male kinde to the female. 954.30
Parylitis her apophthegme. 404.30
Pasiades how he checked Lyfymachus. 1278.20
Pasphe. 317.1
Passion of the soule what it is. 67.40
Passions different from reason. 71.30
Passions not to be rooted out quite. 76.50
Passions how divided. 799.20
Passion counseleth, we can abide to see,

THE TABLE.

see, but not in deed. 715.1.10
Paxacion, a notable theefe. 28.10
Patet patraturs who he was. 871.20
Patience of Socrates. 12.30. 129.30. of K. Agathocles. 1261. of K. Antigonus. 126.1. of Arcesilaus. 129.20. of Archytas and Plato. 12.40
Patience commended. 242.40
Patraturs what it signifies. *ib.* 30
Patres and Patres Conscripti at Rome, who they were. 370.20
Patroclus his funeral obsequies and games of prize. 716.20
Patroclus commended himselfe. 304.20
Paulus Aemilius his Apophthegmes. 431.40. the offe that hee observed of his daughter Tertia. *ib.* 50. his infirmities in the losse of his children. 432.20. his contempt of gold and silver. *ib.* compared with king Pericles. 158.20. curious in the dispose of feasts. 646.1. his fortune. 630.10
Paulanias his treasures and death. 909.30
Paulanias the sonne of Cleombrotus his apophthegmes. 467.30
Paulanias the sonne of Plitonax his apophthegmes. 468.1
Paulanias troubled in conscience for the abuse and murder of Cleonic. 547.20
Pauson the painter, and the tale of him. 1188.20
Peach dedicated to Harpocrates. 134.1
Pedetes. 904.40
Pedixia a faction in Athens. 1149.10
Pegasus Bellerophon's horse. 164.40
Painting a mute poeie. 95.50
Painters excellent were Atheniens. 982.20
a Painter, who had painted cocke unskillfully. 104.40
Peitho. 630.1. her image why placed with Venus. 316.20
Pelamides sister, why so called. 97.1
Pelias Achilles's uncle, Patrocles would not meddle with. 97.1
Pelopidas his apophthegme. 428.10
Peuceas what it signifies. 1310.10
Peuceas. 1341.20. 1356.50. of Pente came Naum. 1341.20
Pentagons. 1010.50
Pentathus. 716.15

Peneleos. 899.20
People are to be led by the eares. 353.30
Peppomene, whereof derived. 1080.30
Perdicca his moderation toward K. Alexander. 1283.40
Periander why hee burnt in his wives funerals her habitments. 602.10. master of the banquet of the seven Sages. 326.50. he was none of the seven Sages. 1354.20
Periander tyrant of Ambracia, killed by his owne Ganymede or Catamite. 1155.20
Pericles noted by Cratinus for his flowrie. 988.30. he praised himselfe without blame and envie. 303.1. 20.50. why hee deforbed the image of Minerva. 285.40. his apophthegmes. 419.20. his apophthegme as touching speech not promittate. 7.50 how hee admonished himselfe. 631.40. surnamed Olympius. 529.10. how hee bare the death of his two sonnes. *ib.*
Pericles eloquent. 353.10. a singular politician. 365.40
Periculus an ancient musician. 1350.40
Peripneumonia. 745.20
Pericylacismus. 873.1
Pericphone or Proserpina. 1181.50
Persian women their proffesse. 486.40
Persian kings allow their slaves and dogs to be served from their owne table. 749.40
Persian king how hee entertained Antalcides the Lacedaemonian. 761.20
Persian kings of what water they drinke. 272.50
Persian king called by the Asians the great king. 424.10
Persian kings not drunken in the presence of their wives. 318.10 they count at slaves but their wives. 294.30
Persians not merry at the board in their wives presence. 642.30
Persian Sages procure their owne death. 299.40
Persivation. 797.50
Perseus remedied by making great fires. 1318.50
The great Pericles at Athens in Thucydides. 782.20
Petron maintained 183 worlds. 1335
Petromus a flatterer about Nero

the emperour. 98.40
Phaenicians in Homer Peneleos were, cate no fish. 779.40
Phedra compasseth the death of Hippolitus. 916.1
Phedrus a captain of the Thebans. 948.1
Phenician letters in number 16, invented by Cadomus. 789.20
Phanon what floure. 811.40. the same that Saturne. 1180.40
Phaethon what floure. 821.40
Phagilus who it is. 892.30
Phagrus the fish. 229.1
Phalaris hated of the Agrigentinians. 377.10
Phalaris a tyrant. 971.10
Phalaris abused by flatterers. 93.1
Phalaris. 214.30. 1294.30
Phallopheoria what feast. 1292.20
Phaenax, an epithet of Apollo. 125.3
Phantasmum whereof derived. 836.30
Pharos the Isle, become part of the continent of Aegypt. 1303.50
Pharicium a poison. 360.1
Pharfalla her picture death. 1189.40
Sapere, what pipe it is. 744.20
Phaulus an Argive prostituted his owne wife. 1144.30
Sapere signifies both the beech tree and the mast. 32.1
Phemius a musician. 1249.40
Phemius king of the Aemians. 892.10
Phiditia. 861.50. 743.1. 762.1
Phidon his notorious treachery. 945.20
Philadelphus a fit epithet for a prince. 207.1
Philammon an ancient musician. 1249.1
Philanthropon what signifie. 1352.50
Philemon an old poet. 385.50
Philemon how he was punished by Magas. 75.10
Philippus tyrannizing in Thebes with Archias, murdered by Charon and Lynceus. 123.20
Philip, Callias his yster. 961.40
K. Philip of Macedone reproved by a musician. 668.20
1274.10. his commendation and apophthegmes. 408.30. his apophthegme as touching the Greeke revolting from him T. Quintus. 1228.1. he fell by the sword of his own prosperity. 408.30. doct

Eeeeeee a triffling

THE TABLE.

red. 1028.1. how they serve in
 speech. 1029.20
 Praise by another is pleasing. 310.1
 Praise the best sound. 387.30
 self-Praise which, and in whom
 allowed. 301.30
 self-Praise odious. 303.40
 Praisers to be taken heed of. 93.1.
 101.10
 Cicero milked, and Scipio com-
 mended for self-Praise. 300.
 warriors & Alc-men apt to Praise
 themselves. 310.10
 Praise and dispraise how to be used
 in the education of children. 10.
 50
 Praise overmuch hurtful to them.
 12.40
 Praise properly due to socrate. 47.
 20
 Prandium, that is to say, a dinner,
 whereof derived. 776.1
 a Prator is traitor to himselfe. 202
 much Prating gave occasion that
 Athens was forced by assault.
 196.1
 Priestesse of Minerva would not
 curse Alcibiades. 866.10
 Prencette or Prinette the civic way
 so called. 918.1
 A Princelinc refuse for his coun-
 try. 370.10
 Prescience what it is. 388.20
 Pretter. 827.50
 Prettities or Lares. 868.10. por-
 trayed with dogs by them self
 tormenting spirits or devils. 868.
 20
 Princes unlearned compared to
 Colofosi. 294.10
 Prince the image of God. 295.1
 Princes hardly admit good coun-
 sell. 293.50
 Princes why they be named *alvini*.
 295.40. their secrets not to be
 enquired into. 136.20
 Princes vigilant over their sub-
 jects. 295.40
 what Prince most happy. 32.333
 {Elevance or being. of all
 The fame. 1340
 The other. 30
 Motion. 30
 Station. 30
 Princes three of the world. 768.
 50.805.70.0
 Principle and Elevance how they
 differ. 805.20
 Principles five of all things. 1360.
 10.10
 Privation. 805.0.80.994

THE TABLE.

Psyche. 29.1
 Ptolemaeus Philadelphus *con-
 futeh his own sister*. 13.20
 Ptolemaeus Lagus, *his fame how
 fragrant he was*. 414.1
 Ptolemaeus the first that erected a
 library. 591.40
 Ptolemaeus Soter. 547.10
 K. Ptolemaeus Philopater *faci-
 tious dephants*. 965.50
 K. Ptolemaeus abused by flate-
 rers. 93.40. 98.1. a lover of
 learning. 98.1. a lover of
 anger. 125.10
 Ptolemaeus Soter translated the
 Colosse of Sarapis into Alex-
 andria. 1298.40
 Puffe, why forbidden to be eaten.
 881.50
 Punishment ought to be inflicted at
 leisure. 542.30
 Punishment of servants how to be
 ordered. 126.40. 50
 Purification for students. 623.20
 Purgative physicks taught in by
 urate beasts. 968.1
 Purgative of the Paintings and phi-
 losophers. 1183.40
 Purple fishes how sociable they be.
 975.40
 Putrefaction what it is. 774.30
 Pyanepion what month. 1314.20
 Pydion. 759.10
 Pylaochos. 1301.30
 the Pyramis was the first bodie.
 1339.20
 Pyramis. 819.20
 Pyramus a lake. 799.40
 Pyrande fused to death. 915.1
 Pyramides king of the Egyptians.
 968.30. his worship. 46.
 Pyros, what starre. 821.40
 Pyrho his apophthegme. 255.1
 Pyrrhus sacrificed to his benefac-
 tour. 898.20
 K. Pyrrhus delighted to be called
 the eagle. 968.50. his apoph-
 thegmets. 416.50
 Pyrophion. 898.1
 Pyrius what it signifieth. 890.20
 Pythagoras sacrificed an ox for
 the invention of one Theore-
 um. 768.40
 Pythagoras his precepts smell of
 the Aegyptian Hieroglyphicks
 1291.20
 Pythagoras a Turkine horse. 776.30
 Pythagoras how much addited to
 Geometrie. 590.10. he condem-
 ned ereticke to dumb beasts.
 243.30. howe ransomed a

draught of fishes. 779.1. the first
 author of the name of Philoso-
 phers. 806.30. he taught in Ita-
 ly. 807.20. his opinion of God.
 812.1
 Pythagorean precepts. 16.40
 Pythagoras abode long in Ae-
 gypt. 778.20
 Pythagorical durke sentences ex-
 pounded. 15.10. 20.
 Pythagorean precepts not to be ta-
 ken literally. 887.30
 Pythagoras pittifull unto dumb
 beasts. 958.20. 243.30
 Pythes the cherck. 506.40. his ver-
 tuous wife. 46. his strange death.
 507.40
 Pythes his apophthegme. 420.40
 what befell unto Pythia the pro-
 phetesse at the Delphic oracle.
 1350.10
 Pythia how she is to be chosen and
 disposed. 1350.20
 Pythicke games which were most
 ancient. 715.50
 Pythoches unmeasurably praised
 by Colotes and the Epicureans
 1126.20
 Pythergia, what day it is. 693.30
 Pythones what they be. 1327.1
 Pythius an epithet of Apollo.
 1153.50
 Python modest in his selfe praises.
 306.1. how he avoided envie.
 306.1. 371.1
 Python wounded by Apollo. 891.10
 Q
 Q. uaternary of the Pythago-
 reans. 806.50. 1036.10
 Quaternary number. 1036.10
 why dedicated to Mercury.
 789.20
 Quaternity of Plato and Pytha-
 goras compared. 1037.50
 Questions or riddles propofed by
 K. Amasis of Egypt to the K.
 of Aethiopia. 333.50
 What Questions are to be pro-
 pounded unto a Philosopher.
 57.50. 58.1
 Questions to be discourse upon at
 the table, of what fort they
 should be. 644.20
 What Questions men delight to
 be asked. 662.30
 What Questions we mislike most.
 663.30
 A Question or case as touching
 repugnant lawes. 73.1
 Questions Platonicke as used.
 1016.10. 20. etc.

Ambassadors at Rome entertaine
 Quinquaginta. 869.50
 A Quince why eaten by the new
 bride. 316.20
 Quinquennium. 788.30
 Quinquellence. 808.10. 812.10
 Quintilis, what month. 856.10.
 the same that Iulius. 859.20
 Quintus his apophthegme. 430.50
 50. a parle between him and
 K. Philopater. 431.1. he first free
 the Greeke captives. 46. his ma-
 rie tale of his host at Chalcis.
 431.20. his best at touching
 Philopolemen. 431.30
 Quires three in Lacedaemon.
 308.20
 Quirinalia, the feast of footes. 880.10
 Quiris, a sheare or javelin. 880.10
 the name of Mars. 46.
 Quirins the name of Juno. 880.10
 R
 Raine how ingendered. 828.10
 Rain-water nourisheth plants
 and feeds most. 4002.30
 Raines which be best for seeds or
 young plants. 1004.50
 Raine flowers named. 704.10
 Rainbow. 828.30. how it appea-
 reth. 1151.30. how it is repre-
 sented to our eye-sight. 828.40
 Raria. 222.10
 Rational or verball Philosophy.
 804.40
 Ravens age. 1327.40
 Reading what manner of exercise.
 619.30
 A Reading, schoole first taught by
 Sp. Carullus. 870.30
 To teach for to Read and spell, not
 to be a house office. 870.30
 Reason ought to guide and rule
 our free will. 51.40
 Reason or discipline powerfull to
 attaine vertue. 3.1
 Reason given to man in liken of
 many other parts. 231.30
 Of Reasonable natures foure
 kinds. 1327.20
 Reason how divided. 799.10
 Reasoning or disputing at the ta-
 ble. 622.20
 Rebukes and checks at wise mens
 hands be well taken. 106.30. 40
 Recreation and repose to be allow-
 ed children in due time. 11.10
 Recreations allowed Governors
 and Statesmen. 388.20
 Recreations and pastimes allow-
 ed by Plato. 624.50
 Red sea. 1183.30
 Regulus

THE TABLE.

Regulus a Punicus died with
bathing and drinking upon it.
630.20

Religious men have great com-
fort in the exercise of their reli-
gion. 599.50

Religion the foundation of all poli-
tics and government. 1127.40

Religions in the good, breedeth no
disparate love. 45.70

Religion a mean between impie-
ty and superstition. 268.40

Remorse of conscience in doers.
547.1.10

Repentance and remorse of con-
science. 160.50

Repletion or emptiness, whether
is more to be feared. 703.30

Repletion cause of most diseases.
616.10

Reproof of others, a thing inci-
dent to old folk. 310.50

Respiration how it is performed.
840.10

Revenge not best performed in an-
ger. 125.20

Revenge not to be done speedily.
545.10. how it should be taken.
126.10

Revenge of enemies to forebear, is
commendable. 243.1

Rex Sacrorum at Rome. 871.
40

Rhadamanthus a judge of the
dead. 522.20

Rhetus killed his brother Simu-
lus. 91.3.40. banished by his fa-
ther. 16.

Rhetorica her enterprise. 914.50

Rhetorick hath three parts. 786.
50

Rhetor. 450.10

Rhetor delivered by Lycurgus
in prose. 1197.40

Rhodopis the harlot out her ab-
sents. 1194.50

Riches how to be regarded. 640.
how to be used. 214.1

A Riddle is something a Phrygian
flute. 311.30

Riddle of the king of Ethiopia
into Amasis King of Egypt.
312.1

Riddle of Cleobuline. 315.20

Riddle, what it signifies. 28.50

Riddle. 785.20

Riddle in Aspicke. 1252.20

Right line. 1001.10

A Ring worn straight. 1137.10

Rods and Axes why borne before
the head magistrates at Rome.
877.50

Riot, youth ought to avoid. 12.
10

Roma a Trojan lady. 484.20

Rome city whether beholden more
to vertue than to fortune. 618.
10

Rome the work of fortune and
virtue jointly together. 618.50

Rome the pillar of the whole
world. 618.40

Rome why founded and reared by
the favour of fortune. 612.20

Rome much subject to scorn. 612.
807.10

The Romane Demon. 636.50

Romanesque left their crowne to
none of their children. 149.10

Romane words derived from the
Greeks. 775.10

Romances, of their returne home
gave intelligence before hand to
their wives. 853.30

The Romanes fortunate affaires
under the conduct of Cn. Pom-
peius. 656.40

Romane tongue used in all coun-
tries. 1018.1

Romulus a mortal prince. 856.
20

Romulus and Remus their birth
& generation ascribed to fortune.
612.20. when begotten. 30

Romulus and Remus wonderfull
by preference. 612.40. how re-
ared and brought up. 613.1.
916.40

Romulus translated. 632.30

Romulus killed Remus. 859.50

Romulus murdered by the Senate.
915.20

The Rose garland of what use it is.
683.30. 684.20

Rose, why called Peder in Greece.
684.50

Rosin burnt by Egyptians in the
morning. 1318.40

Rue growing nere unto a fig tree
is not so strong sented. 723.50

Rue why called Uvaurs in Greece.
684.1

Rubbings or frictions which be
good for students. 619.30

Rulers ought not to depend above
their living and ability. 378.1

Rulers ought to live warily and
without note. 350.50. how they
may helpe and advance their
friends. 361.20. how they ought
to cary themselves toward their
companions in government.
370.20.30

Rulers ought not to be over-pre-
cise. 472.40

Rulers must banish from them-
selves avarice. 374.40. they
ought to bee void of ambi-

tion. 374.50

Ruma. 632.40

Rumina, a goddesse at Rome.
870.10

Rusticus his gravity. 142.143

Rust of bristle how caused. 1187.
30

Rutilius a provide usurer. 286.10

reproved he is by Mufonius. 16.

S

Sabbats feast of the Jewes.
712.20

Sabbat whereof it commeth. 712.
20

Sabine maidens ravished. 861.20

Sabinus the husband of Empona.
1157.20

Sabot. 16.

Sacadas an ancient Poet and mu-
sician. 1351.20

Sacred fift. 976.10

Sacrificing of children. 268.1.10

Sacrificing of men and women.
268.1

Sacrifice how to be observed at
the Oracle at Delphi. 1347.
10.1349.1.10

Sacred lodge strangely decieted by
the offender himselfe. 201.40

Saffron chaplets what use they
have. 684.20

Sages in old time accounted se-
ven, were in truth but five.
1354.10

Sailors and sea men love to dis-
cuse of the sea. 662.50

Salamina a ship. 364.30

Salonica besieged by Anniball.
489.50

Salt highly commended. 709.10.

provoketh appetite to meate and
drinke. 709.30

about Salt and Cumin a proverb.
727.40

Salt-fish washed in sea water is the
fresher and sweeter. 658.30

of Saviours only the Salubrity is not
found in fruits. 1005.10

Salts called saures. 728.10

Salt why so highly honored. 727.40

it provoketh wanton lust. 728.1

why called divine. 728.10

Salt why given to beasts. 1004.20

Salt procureth appetite to food. 16.
it maintaineth health. 16. 30. it
abateth complacency. 16. it mo-
veth to generation. 16.

the SAME. 1031.

Sambucus a miserable man. 902.
30

Sanctus a god at Rome. 861.1

Saotis Queen of Byblos in Ae-
gypt. 1294.10

Sapience,

THE TABLE.

Sapience, what it is. 68.1.804.
1030

Sapphoes sits in love. 1147.50

Sapphoes verses. 759.1.1148.1

Sarapis who he was. 1298.20.

Sarapis or Sarapis the same that
Pluto. 1298.40

Sarapis from whence it is derived.
1299.1

Sardanapalus his epitaph. 310.1.

1269.1

Sardanapalus an effeminate per-
son, advanced by fortune. 1264.
30. the epigram over his flu-
me. 1276.20

Sardians port sale. 868.40.50

to Saturne the Romans sacrificed
bare headed. 854.20

Saturne kept in prison by Jupiter.
1180.20

Saturne counted a terrestrial or
subterranean god. 854.30

Saturne the father of verities. 854.
30

Saturnes reigne. 16.40

to Saturne the Islands of Saturne. 1181.1

Saturnalia solemnized in Decem-
ber. 862.20

Saturnes temple the treasury at
Rome. 865.20. the arches for
records. 865.20. in his reigne
there was justice and peace. 16.
why portrayed with a sickle in
his hand. 16.

Saturne supposed to cut the privy
members of Caelum or Oura-
nos. 865.30

Saturne a stranger in Italy. 865.
50

in Saturnes temple embassadors
are regefred. 865.50

Saturne kept prisoner asleepe by
Briareus. 1332.20

Sauces provoking appetite, are to
be avoided. 614.10

Scaleno. 1030.30

Scamander. 901.1

Scammonie a violent purgative.
623.50

Scaurus his uprightness shewed
to Domitius his enemy. 243.
40

Scaurus misliked treacherie even
toward his enemy. 243.40

Scedastus, his lamentable historie
and of his daughters. 946.10

his daughters desolved. 946.
20. murdered. 16. 20. his death
and his daughters murder re-
venged. 947.20

Scedastus, what it is. 785.20.

Scelet presented at Aegyptian
feasts. 328.30. 1294.10

Schema in dancing. 800.1

Scholasticall life. 1098.1

Scilurus and his 80 fowles. 103.
40

Scilurus persecuted his children
to unity. 1298.20

Scolia certaine songs. 645.10.

Sung at feasts. 1257.1

Scipio nativell thought of for leav-
ing out Mummus at a feast.
370.20. why blamed otherwise.
497.20. blamed for loving his
bed to well. 16. 351.1

Scipio the elder his apophthegmes
529.50. a great student. 16. ac-
cused judicially before the peo-
ple. 530.40. his manner of plea-
ing. 16.

Scipio the younger his apoph-
thegmes. 433.50. his commen-
dation. 434.10

Scipio used the advice of Laelius
400.50. not blamed in praising
himselfe. 303.40

Scipio Nasica, his saying of the
Romanes state. 239.20

Sea what it is. 832.1. how it com-
meth to be salt or brackish. 16.
Sea commodious to mans life. 778.
50

Sea aire most agreeable to us. 709.
40

Sea accounted a fifth element.
990.40. what commodities it
affordeth to man-kind. 990.50

Sea-water nourisheth no trees.
1003.1.10

Sea-water hotter by agitation con-
trary to other waters. 1006.20.
naturally hot. 16. 30. lesse brack-
ish in winter than in summer. 16.
why it is put into vessels with
wine. 16.

Sea sickness how it commeth.
1007.10

Seaway by the Aegyptians do detest.
1100.20

Sea-gods supposed to be the fathers
of many children. 728.50

Sea, Salt, Sea-fish and Sailors odi-
ous to the Aegyptians. 778.40

Seaven the sacred number and the
commendation thereof. 1361.1

Secrecie of K. Antigonus and
Metellus. 197.20

Secrecie of K. Eumenes and his
stratageme wrought thereby.
197.40

Secrets revealed the cause of
much ruine. 195.40

Scotion of bodies. 814.30

Seditious how to be prevented
and appeased. 286.40

Sedition dangerous at Delphi.
381.10

Sedition at Syracusa. 381.10

Sedition at Sardis. 16.20

Seed falling upon oxen homer why
they prove hard and untoward.
746.40

Seed what it is. 671.20

Seed natural to be sowed. 619.1.

why called awpeus. 1100.50.

what it is. 841.40. whether it
be a body. 841.50

of Seede nelle three seasons. 323.1

Seeing in the night how it com-
meth. 658.10

Selenus Callinicus how he ser-
ved a blab of his tongue. 877.20

Sella Curulis. 877.20

Selfe-praise. 301.20. in what cases
allowed. 302.50. See more in
passim.

Semiramis of base degree became
a Queene. 1136.40. her brave
will. 1276.20. her presumpti-
on ambition. 1136.50. her fe-
plicity and epitaph. 403.30

P. Sampronius why he drowned his
wife. 855.10

Senate of Rome why so called.
391.10

Senties inserted in our bodies by
harmonie. 1261.20

Sentle what it is. 835.90

Sentles how many. 835.50

Sentle common. 837.10

Sentences over the temple porch
at Delphi. 103.20

Septerian what feast. 821.1

Septimontium what festival sa-
lemity. 873.20

Sepulcher of children. 895.60

Sepulcher of envy. 496.50

Sermons how to be heard with pro-
fit. 56.30

Servius Tullius a favourite of
fortune. 635.40. strangely
borne. 636.1. how he came to
the crowne. 636.10

Seth what it signifies. 1307.40.

Sextilis what month at Rome.
856.10

Sextilis is August. 863.30

Sextius a great student in philoso-
phy. 249.1

Shadows at a feast. 682.30. who
they be. 753.50. how they began
16.

whether it be good manners to goe
as a shadow to assest. 754.20

what shadower a guest wroite may
bring with him. 755.50

Shame good and bad. 164.30

Shame breedeth fortune. 42.40.
50

Shewe wolfe-bitt why they yield
sweetest

THE TABLE.

Swiftest flocks, 677.40. whether
they will breed life. 677.40.
Sibylla the propheteſſe. 1150.1.
1716.50.
Sickneſſe how to be prevented. 618
30.40. how immediately occu-
pied. 849.40.
Sight how it is cauſed. 817.10
Signes 12. in the Zodiacque they be
diſſoluble. 846.20
Siderius the Load-ſtone. 1112.1
Silenus caught by K. Midas in-
firmleſſe loſt of life and death.
555.50.
Sileni. 98.20
Silence for five yeeres enjoyed by
the Pythagoreans. 119.10
Silence commendeth. 194.40.247.
20
Silence of Zeno. 194.30. commen-
dable in young men. 13.1
Silon the booke. 614.20
Simonides his face adminiſtrato
Pamphias. 513.40. his ſaying of
ſilence and ſpeaking. 614.20. he
deſired four letters in the al-
phabet. 789.20
Simonides aged. 385.20. in his
old age covetous. 297.1
Sinatus thought Camma. 500.40
Sinitium in latin what it ſignifi-
eth, and whereof it is derived.
876.10
Sinorix enamoured of Camma.
500.50. he married Sinatus.
501.1
Sinus equal according to the Sto-
icks. 74.40
Sipylus a city in Magnesia. 1081
Sirinnes a Perſian his apoph-
theque. 402.50.
Sirenes in Homer. 798.1
Sirenes upon the ſtars & ſpheres.
797.40. 1146.50
why the muſes were called Sirenes
798
Siſachia in Athens what it was.
359.40. inſtituted by Solon.
1284.30
Sirius the dogge ſtarre. 1036.20
Sistrum what it ſignifieth. 1312.10
Six a perfect number, and the ma-
riage. 1031.1
Six called 2022. 810.1
Skeſter which they be wherein men
delight to be ſkilled. 664.20
Sleep to bee regarded in caſe of
health. 618.10
Sleep after ſupper. 622.10
Sleep procured by cold. 689.40
how occaſioned 847.50. whether
it be common to body and ſoule.
848.20
Sleep how procured by aromatical

ſmelt. 1319.20
Smaluch if it be trodden upon grow-
eth the better. 746.30
Smaluch weathers uſed for cor-
nets in the Iſthmike games.
718.1. why given with provender
to Achilles horſe. 710.1
Smelling how it is effected 848.20
Soluble a plant whereof the ſha-
dow is inviſible. 684.40
Smy one of the names of Typhon.
1312.1
Smyrna enamoured of her owne
father Cinyras. 912.40
Snow how it cometh. 818.10
Snow from out of Aegypt. 613.50
why it thaweth ſo ſoone upon
it. 686.20
Snow & ſpeeth ſoft long ſweet. 774.
10
Snow preferred in warme things,
as chiefe, and cloeth. 735.30. a
moſt ſubtile and piercing ſub-
ſtance. 739.50
Socrates permitted to doe what he
would in his inſuſance, by direſti-
on from the oracle. 1218.1
Socrates guided by his familiar.
16.10
Socrates his patience, & reſpr-
ching choſt. 12.30. oppoſite to Alexis
the poet. 27.50
Socrates had a familiar. 600.20
Socrates the wreſtler, his precept
as touching health. 618.50.
619.50
Socrates the Philoſopher his op-
inion of the ſix principles. 808.10
Socrates his familiar ſpirit. 1208.
30. his birth-day ſolemnized.
765.50. he drunke poſion wil-
lingly. 299.20. whether ſee-
ing were the familiar of So-
crates. 1209.20. he brailt th
anger. 1110.30. he is defended
againſt Colotes. 1119.1. a
good ſtates man and maintainer
of lawes. 128.10. reſolute and
conſtant in all his conſeſ. 1209.
why he is named a miſdoer or
phyſician. 1016.40.50
Socrates why he was condemned
and put to death. 1266.30. his
apophtheque of the great king
of Perſia. 710. his enemies were
odious to the world. 235.30.
how he cooled his thirſt. 205.30
endured the ſwordſmanſhip of
Xantippe. 242.40
Socrates and Plato both of one o-
pinion. 808.10. what they
thought of God. 812.10
Solon oppoſeth himſelfe againſt
the deſignes of Piliſtratus. 397.

30. be held them infamous who
in a civil diſſention ſooke nei-
ther part. 379.30
Solon abuſed and deſerted by
his friends. 359.40. whom he
deemed happy. 96.20
Solon choſen jointly by all the fa-
tioni in Athens. 1149.10
Soluble how the body is to be made
624.10
Somes entered their parents
with heads covered, but daugh-
ters bare headed. 854.50
Sonchis a prieſt or prophet of Sais
in Aegypt. 1291.10
Soothſayers of divers ſorts. 122.1
30
Sophocles his anſwer as touching
venere. 211.10. he took joy in
his old age. 390.1. he reſpeth
for being diſabled for wanton
pleaſures. 590.50
Sorow a violent paſſion. 510.1
Sorow for the dead. 521.50. to be
reſiſted at the firſt. 533.30
Sotades paid for his lewd tongue.
132.20
Soteres. 1122.1. 1278.40
Soteria. 1121.50
Sotie, or Sotie a ſtarre. 968.20
Sotie what ſtarre. 1295.50
Spring and fountains dried up.
1345.40
Soule of man what it is according
to ſundry philoſophers. 65.20.
30. 65.
Soule of the world. 65.50
Soule of man how divided 834.40
Soule what it is. 1013.50
Soule of the world what it is.
1013.10
Soule in infants when and how en-
gendred. 1079.40
the Soule a chiefe inſtrument of
God. 345.20
Soule ſickneſſe worſe than diſeaſe
of the body. 314.30
ſubſtance of the Soule. 833.50
Soule hath two parts. 834.20
Soules ſtate after this life. 1182.
40.50
Soule reaſonable where it is ſeated
834.30.40
Soules motion. 834.50
Soule whether immortal or no.
835.1.10
Soules not aſſected overly according
to the body. 714.1
Soules delights and food apart
from the body. 714.10
Soule why it is ſuppoſed to be a
light. 608.40
Soules of good men after this life.
608.50. 609.1
Soules

Soules of the wicked after this life.
609.10
Soule why called 309. 1079.10
Souls his deſire to beguile his eni-
mies. 469.20
Sp. what it ſignifieth. 884.40
Space or ſome what it is. 815.20
Spadix what it is. 772.50
wilde Sparage advanced the newe
brides head. 316.20
Speech of two ſorts. 290.40
Speeches premeditate preferred
before thoſe which are extem-
pore. 7.40
Speech with what moderation to
be uſed. 8.30
Speeches ſhort and pirly of the
Lacedaemonians. 103.1
Speculative philoſophie. 804.40
Speris his reſolution for his coun-
try. 474.1
Speulippus reclaimed by his un-
cle Plato. 190.40
Sphagittides. 660.30
Sphinges whence they came. 568.
50
Sphinx held the rocke Phycion.
565.30
Sphinges why portrayed upon the
church porches in Aegypt.
1290.50
Sphragitix, what Priests. 1299.
50
Spiders how they weave their cop-
webs. 959.30
Spintharus his commendation of
Epaninondas. 53.20. 1221.
10
Spongotheres what ſiſt, and his
nature. 974.40
Sports admitted at feaſts. 652.50
Spoyles of enemies ſuffered all
Rome to run to decay. 863.20
Springs of hot water be wondered
at. 1012.50
Spurij, who they be. 884.40
Spunges of the ſea and their pro-
perties. 974.50
Stages weepe ſalt teares, but wilde
Beres ſhed ſweeter drop. 746.30
why called in Greeke Elaopi.
970.30. their natural wit. 965
10
Stares whence they have their il-
luminati. 822.1
Stares how made. 808.30. of
what ſubſtance they be. 820.50
the order, ſituation and moving of
Stares. 821.30
Stares ſhooting. 827.30
Stares motion. 821.50. their ſig-
nification. 822.20
Starſiſt how crafty he is. 972.40
Stalicates a famous Archibell,

THE TABLE.

his device to portray K. Alex-
ander. 1275.30
A States-man what kind of perſon
he ought to be. 348.10
A States-man or governor, whe-
ther he may execute juſt and
meane offices for the Common-
wealth. 364
States-men are to conſider the na-
tures and humours of the ſub-
jects under them. 349.20. 350.
10.20
A States-man ought firſt to re-
forme himſelfe. 350.20. when
and how he may ſelfe. 354.30.
How States-men may riſe to cre-
dit and reputation. 356.40. 357.
357.1.10. 6.
Young States-men and Rulers
whom they are to joine unto.
358.40. what friends they are
to chuiſe. 358.50
Stationary plants. 247.50
Station or Reſt reſiſted. 815.50
Statues reſected by Agelliaus.
446.50
Step-mothers jealous over their
daughters in Law. 321.40
Stereometric. 1019.1
Strepes, whereof derived. 1153.
40
Stenelus & Diomedes compa-
red. 38.1
Stenelus commended for prai-
ſing himſelfe. 303.20
Stenius a reſolute man for his
country. 438.1
Stenia, games of prize. 1256.40
Stenon. 370.1
Stilbon what ſtarre. 821.40
Stilpo his apophtheque of K. De-
metrius. 159.1. his dreams of
Neptune. 16.
Stoicks opinion of God. 812.20. bir-
terly bent againſt the Acade-
miques. 1082.20. repugnant to
common ſenſe and notions both
in doctrine and manners. 1086.
10. they lead a voluptuous life.
1058.10
Stones lying within the earth,
more pliable and eaſie to be
wrought. 747.10
Stone why it reſoundeth not. 770.
10
Stone ſlakes whereof Napier is
made. 1345.50
Storks do us ſome ſervice. 777.
10. kinde to their parents. 954.
20
Storks why honoured by the The-
ſſalians.
Statutius a ſurname of Mars. 1141
10
Fffff 2

Stratocles a great politician at A-
thens. 348.40. he deſcended the
Athenians. 350.10
Stratonice wife of Deioratus her
kindneſſe to her husband. 501.
40
Straton his diſpoſiti. unto Theo-
phanes and Callithenes. 314.
30
Strato his apophtheque of Mene-
demus and his ſchoolars. 155.
40
Stratoniceus his apophtheque of
the Iſle Seriphos. 273.30. his
ſpeech concerning baniſhment.
273.30. how he taxed the Rhod-
ians. 211.20
Awiſe of Straw or why they tied to
the homes of enſly beaſts. 673.
50
Strength of body how to be regar-
ded. 6.50
Struthias a ſcolding flatterer. 94.
100
Styx and the water thereof. 1000.
40
Styx what it is. 1219.20
Sulpitius Gallus why he put a-
way his wife. 855.10
Summer. 829.40
The Sunnes ſubſtance. 822.30. his
circle. 16. his magnitude. 813.
20. his forme or figure. 16.30
Sun-ſteads or Tropicks. 823.40
Sunnes owne appearing in Pon-
tus. 829.10
Sunnes eclipse how occaſioned.
824.1
The Sunne the image of God. 296.
10
Sunne riſing how portrayed among
the Aegyptians. 1291.40
Sunne and Moone raviſh burgei-
1301.1
to the Sunne, incenſe burned three
times a day. 1308.40
The ſoly of Superſtitious perſons.
262.20. 30. 65.
Superſtitious folk compared with
Atheiſts. 263.30
Of Superſtition. 260.1. 110. 65.
what it is. 260.40. 598.50. 10
be avoided. 16.30. how it is
bred. 260.1
Be Surety and be ſure to pay. 346.
10
Sureſhip dangerous. 165.20
Sureſts how cured. 618.40
Surnames drowne other names.
1195.1
10
Swallows how they build. 949.
10
Swallows why they kept one of
our houſes. 776.40. unthank-
full

THE TABLE.

full and display'd, 777. 1.
they will not be tam'd, *ib.* 20
Swallowing of our vitals how it is performed, 1022. 20
Sweet and pleasant how they differ, 693. 50
Swine care the Aegyptian land in stead of a plough, 710. 50. *Sub-ject to leprosy and the scurf*
Pious, 71. 20. *have not rubbing up in the air*, 711. 30
Swine tame why they farrow often, *more than the wild*, 1010. 20
Sword-fight at Pilam in old time, 717. 1
Sybaris how they invite women to a feast, 328. 10
Sycophants who they be, 143. 40
A Sycophant first put to death at Athens, 261. 5. *compared with curious knaves*, 142. 40
Cornelius Sulla, *Fortunæ mihi in*
and adopted, *Scipio*, 620. 30. *he*
surmised himself, *Ætæx*, *ib.*
his life, *ib.* 40
Sylla Felix his apophthegm, 103. 30. 437. 10. *see advanced*
Pompeus and curi'd not his glory, 358. 20. *curi'd by*
Marus, 258. 20. *see* *surmised himself*
Æpaphroditus, 306. 10
Sylvanus, 913. 1
Sylvia, *mother of Romulus and Remus*, 622. 30
The Symbolicall speech of Hercules, 103. 30
Sympathie in man and wife, *commend'd*, 318. 50
Symphonies in Musicks five, *with their proportions*, 1358. 40
Symphonica and Symphonica how they differ, 662. 1
Synecheus what it is among the Conducts, 188. 40
Synorix murdered Sinuatus, 1154. 30. *performed by* *Camma*, 1154. 50
Sylitius what they be, and by whom invited, 465. 20

T

Tæcnuates feast of the Jovis, 712. 10
Table-talk, *not to be forgotten*, 642. 10
Table, *not to be friends*, 642. 2
Table, *discreet of Philosophie allowable*, 642. 20
Table why not voided clean at Rome, 748. 3. 872. 1
The table is called vertice, 750. 20
why it is called vertice, *ib.*
celle T. bleis in old time, what they were, 783. 20
Table, the foundation of the house, 339. 20
a Table furnished with meat and drink, *commend'd*, *ib.* 40. 50
Table talk of two friends, 661. 50
Table, *discreet of learning highly commend'd*, 730. 1. 10
Table talk ought to be avoided with discretion, 742. 50
Tacturnity, 129. 1. *commend'd*, 532. 20. *of a Romanes earnest*, 204. 10
Tahaf and Talofas, 861. 10
Talafso, *sworn used at wedding*, 861. 10
Talafsius an active gentl-man, 861. 20
Tale of the Fox and Crane of Ægypt, 640. 40
Tanagra, 899. 10
Tanaquil wife to Tarquinus Priscus, 635. 40
Tanaquilis or Tanaquil a wife, *Lady*, 862. 10
Tantalus riches, 298. 10
Taphrodis in Ægypt, 1295. 40
Tarpeia betrayed the Capitoll, 910. 50
Tarquin the proud depow'd and himself, 491. 30. *he warreth upon the Romans*, 491. 20
Tarquinus Priscus, 630. 10. *his prowess*, 882. 40
Tartarus a false confesser, 1279. 50
Tartarus desired to be devour'd of dogs, 299. 50
Tartarus for the damned, 531. 50
Tarunus, 862. 50
Tasse, *how it is performed*, 8. 8. 10
Taxons and merry scoties how to be used by a States-man, 363. 40
Taxiles an Indian king, his conference with King Alexander, 471. 20
Taxes of wilde-horses sweet, of slaves and bonds, *satiriz'd*, 1010. 1
Technatis king of Ægypt loved sing. line, 1290. 40
Telamon kill'd his brother Phocus, 913. 40
Telechus his apophthegm, 42. 30
Telechus his apophthegm, 469. 30
Telegonus the sonne of Ulysses, *Circé*, 917. 50
Telenachus his discretion, 214. 50
Telomachus heraults that hee hath no brother, 177. 10
Telephus cur'd by his enemies, *pleas'd*, 241. 1

THE TABLE.

Thamyris the musician how he fa- red in his anger. 121.40	Theodorus neglected the sculp- ture of his body. 299.40	1. quenched and flaked by fleecy. 731.10
Thaumas the father of the raine- bow. 828.30	Theodorus being banished how he answered King Lyfmachus. 279.10	Thyrs not allayed by Meire. 733. 10
Thecidas his apophthegm. 458.1	Theopompus first instituted the Epheori. 254.1. his apophthegm. 423.20. 458.10	Tiberius declared Hiere apparent by Augustus. 442. 50. his a- pophthegme. 626.1
Theagenes a vainglorious cham- pion. 364.40	Theophrastus never fished his country. 1128.50	Tides of the sea how occasioned. 832.20
Theages died in the quarrell of his country. 503.1	Theori. 905.40	Tigranes K. of Armenia his bofe made. 1276.40
Theano a chaste and sober matron 321.1.	Thera and Therasia. 1191.10	Tigers love not to heere drummes and labours. 323.40
Theano, daughter of Scodafius. 946.10	Theramenes his buskin. 379.50.	Time what it is. 1024.20. 813.30
Theatrical poets banished. 358.30	his apophthegme. 458.30. put to death by his colleague in go- vernment. 513.50	the inflaments of Time. 1024.1
Theatre, whereof the world came. 1265.60	Thero the Theffalian an amorous person. 1146.1	effence of Time. 815.30
Thebe the wife of Alexander, ty- rant of Pherez. 428.20	Therofland, captaine of the Ar- gier. 907.10	Timagenes jefteft to broadwith Auguftus Cafar. 108.20
Theocritenes his apophthegme. 458.10	Thetiaes and Achilles com- pared. 37.40.50	Timarchus murdered by Procles. 1197.30
Thelonez, what neuerer. 870.10	Therycion his apophthegme. 458. 30	Timarchus his tale at touching the familiar fpirit of Socrates. 1218. 20. how he died. 1220. 50
Thematriton what mifchiefe. 1252. 20	Thelus banished from Athens. 280.20. his temple there. ib.	Timber not to be fallen but in the full moonne. 607.30
Themistius his apophthegme. 458. 80	Thelens his pitines. 982.30	Timchas a bufie politician. 365. 10
Themistocles his apophthegmes. 417.30. rotatus in his youth. ib. reclaimed by the proeffe of Mil- tiades ib. his ftrenuities to fave Greece. 418.1	Themphoria. 1214.10	Timoclia her vertuous deat. 503.10
Themistocles in his government ever-ruled much by his friends. 359.20	Theos the generall name of God, whereof derived. 1211.20	Timoleon. 371. his fpeech of Smallen coronets. 718. 1. me- dell in praifing himfelfe. 360.1
Themistocles and Ariftides, laid by all private parties, for the good of the whole publick. 361. 50. fufpected for a traitor to the ftate of Greece. 241.40. his apophthegm at touching his banishment. 273.20. he befteth not to blazen his own vertues before the Athenians. 304.40. his words at touching Milta- des. 244.30. he treacherily in exile. 273.20.	a Theffalian apophthegme at touch- ing Theffalians. 762.10	Timon the brother of Plutarch. 185.40
Themistocles for his wife med- dled furnamed Vlyffies. 1243.1. de- prived by Herodotus. 1244. 40.50. his apophthegme to his fonnes. 1266.40	Thelpicus how he became a new man. 556.10. his mother. 46.40	Timoneous son of Cilicia. 782. 40
Themis. 295.20	Thelhis the mafke of Achilles 896.50. the complaineth of A- pollo. 20.50	Timotheus. a Poet and musician, emboldened by Emividee. 398. 30. his vainglorie. 301. 50. his fpeech of Chares a tall and per- fonable man. 389.50. 420.20.4. fortunate captaine. 420.20. 20.4. apophthegme. 813.10
Themocletes captaine confira- tor againft Ariftodemus. 506.20	Thelofa and Daxmon. 157.30	Timotheus his apophthegme of the Academicke fchool. 816. 40
Theodectes a wanton person, how he faluted his love. 751.50	Thralcus iuftified by Nero his amitie. 362.50	Timotheus the musician rebuked by K. Archelaus for crazing. 408.20
Theodorus his faying of his fcho- lars. 1303.40	Thralonides his miferies. 210.50	Timoxena the daughter of Plu- tarch. 539.20
Theoclymenus furious. 837.1	Thralybulus his counfell to Peri- ander. 327.50	Ticetus his bluft. 791.40
Theocritus the Sophifter punifhed for his intemperate fpeech. 13. 30	Thrice fignifieth Many times. 1300.50	Tiffaphetes compounded with Agellus. 445.10. his treache- rie. 416.
Theodoros confuteing the creaking of a wheele. 23.1	Thucyides commended for his dudicate of fite. 983.50	Titus. 1333.50
	Thunder how caufed. 827.40.	Titus the emperor given over much to harbing. 612.20
	1004.50. what thing he good a- gainst it. 704.20	Tity and Typhonis. 1184.30
	Thunder. ib.	Themachus his policy. 915.10
	Thyades, religious prieftrefte. 1501	Tongue naturally feild, againft much praife. 193.40
	Thyafi what facrificer. 902.1	Tongue the beft and worft piece of all the body. 52.10. 197.20
	Thybiens, y-biter. 723.50	
	Thyphoraphia what feeld. 711.10	
	Thyrt what if it proceeds. 731.30	

THE TABLE.

Tongue one, eares twaine, 53.20
Tongue lively hath undone many
slaves, 195.50
how to fume the Tongue in making
unhappy, 204.20.205.1
Tongue as hard matter to bridle,
13.1
Tongue lavish compared with
other infirmities, 193.10
Tone, 1037.1.40
Toreadorix a Tetrach of Galatia,
502.20. executed by Mithridates,
502.40
Tortois of the sea, their manner
of breeding, 976.50
Tortois of the Land crept by the
herbe Origan, 569.40
Tortois what it signifies in winter
and other things, 1013.10
Tragedies condemned at feasts &
banquets, 759.10
Tragedies what manner of decit,
19.20
Tragedies what it was at first, 645.1
Tragedies compared with capti-
vities, 985.20
Tranquility of minde, 145.1. what
is the fountain thereof, 148.1
Transmigration of soules into new
bodies, 578.40
Trespassing, 775.10
Trees bearing pitch or resin will
not be grafted in the scutcheon,
675.10. they will beare no im-
age of another tree, ib. 20. they be
unfittishall, 676.1
Trees growing within the sea,
1178.40
Trees fowle shed their leaves, others
not, and why, 1178.40
Triangles of three sorts what
they represent, 1328.40. 685.30
Triangle named Pallas, 1317.20
Tribunes at Rome why they wore
no imbricated purple robes,
877.10. 20. counted no magi-
strates, ib.
Tribunate a popular jurisdiction,
877.30. a jurisdiction to the cu-
mmons, ib. 40. inviolable and sac-
red, 10.50
Trimetes what musick, 1251.20
Triodius or Trivia why the
name is called, 1177.10
Trochilus and the crocodile their
society, 975.10
Tritogenia, name of Pallas, 1317.20
Tritons sea gods why so called,
1217.20
Trojan ware why caused by the
gods, 1073.30

Trojan dames their worthy decd,
484.1
Trojans and Greeks compared to-
gether, 38.40
Trojans settled in Italy, 484.20
Troilus the page of Hecubus, &
arock of that name, 344.10
Trophæus of Sylla, 630.40
Troy, whereof derived, 731.50
Trophonius, what Damous
1183.40
Trophonius and Agamenes re-
warded with death, 518.20
Trophonius Oracle and cave,
1218.27
Troy, 543.10
Troy what it signifies, 736.50
Truth a commendable quality
in young folke, 13.40
Truth but one, lies be infinite,
782.10
Truth and the knowledge thereof
is incomparable, 1187.50
The plaine or field of truth, 133.40
Tullius Hostilius executed by Me-
tius Sufficius, 908.40
The two tuners in heaven full of
desires, 271.30
Tuney fish not ignorant of Astro-
nomie, 974.1. skillfull in Astro-
metrick and perspective, ib. 20
Tuscan women their virtuous
aile, 488.1
Tutela god of the Romans not to
be named or inquired after,
870.50
Tutors and teachers of children,
how to be chosen, 5.10
Twines how engendered, 843.30
Tyneus the Lacedemon how he
took the death of his sonne,
472.40
Typhon, a Meteoze, 828.1.10
Typhon, 1316.10
Typhon, 1121.20
Typhon what it signifies, 1288.10
Typhon borne, 1292.20. he con-
spired against Othris, 1292.40
his outrages, 1298.10. repressed
and plagued by his, ib.
Typhon of a windy colour, 1209.30.40. how portrayed in Her-
mopolis, 1307.50
Tyneus and good princes wherein
they differ, 296.1
Tyneus to be repressed at the first,
131.10
Teribazus how obsequious and
devoted to the king of Persia
his name, 264.50
Tyneus the Poet, what Leonidas
thought of him, 950.20

Tyrians enchained the images of
their tutelae gods, 871.1
A Tyrian living to be an old man,
is a wonder, 1206.40

V

Valerius Poplicola, 865.40
Valerius Poplicola suspec-
ted for affecting the kingdom
of Rome, 880.40
Valerius Torquatus, 908.30
eviled, 910.30
Valeria her vertuous aile, 491.50
Valeria Tullulanaria enamoured
of her owne father, 912.50
Valeria killed herselfe, 913.1
Valeria Luperca, destined to be
sacrificed, 916.20. she had a
gift to cure the sick, ib.
Vallies within the Moore three,
1183.30
Vain men may be slaine by cor-
wards, 973.50
Variety accordeth to Nature, 652.40
Ventoses and cupping glasses, the
reason of their attraction, 1022.10
Venus images by placed hard by
Mercurie, 316.10
Venus Belesite, 1137.1
Venus what attribute she hath,
1140.10
Venus why called Harna, 1155.30
Venus and Love how they differ,
1140.10
Venus image among the Ethians
upon a tortoise shell, 321.1
Temple of Venus the murderesse,
1154
Of Venus the end, 337.30
Sophocles jested, that by age he
was bereaved of the sports of
Venus, 350.1
Venus how to be used, 621.10
Venus of Dexicreon, 904.1
Venus altogether to be aban-
doned, 691.40
Venus sports in day time not to be
used, 692.50. at what time to
be used, 690.30
Venus why she is said to be borne
of the sea, 728.50
Venus the goddess, on whether
hand wounded by Diomedes,
780.50
Venus Epitalia, 635.30
Venus Epitimbia, 857.40
Venus her image with a Tortoise,
1317.20
Venus to be used with temperance,
619.1
Venus

THE TABLE.

Venus how she came to the Spar-
tans, 639.40
Venus enervate without Love,
1144.10
Veneralia a solemn feast, 866.20
Verd-de-gris of what effect it is,
698.1
Veres taunted by Cicero, 439.40
Veres aited to good purposes, 787
Veres unjustly and unseasonably es-
timated, 787.40. 50
Verne morall differing from con-
templative, 64.30
Verne and exercise of verne, how
they differ, 1213.10
Verne no more than one, 64.1
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
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Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
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Temple of Verne at Rome when
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be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
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Temple of Verne at Rome when
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Temple of Verne at Rome when
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built, 614.50
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be, 79.20
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built, 614.50
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Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
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be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
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plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
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Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power they
be, 79.20
Temple of Verne at Rome when
built, 614.50
Verne may be learned, 81.10
Verne by what means accom-
plished, 3.1
Verne excelleth other gifts, 7.30
Veres commendable in young men,
12.30
Verne & vice of what power

THE TABLE.

Wellcock what conjunction it is.
321.10. maintained against Pæ-
derall. 1155
Wedded folks forbidden at Rome
to give or receive any thing in-
terchangeably. 321.40
Wellcock precept. 315.316
new wedded wives bidden to touch
fire and water. 850.20
at Weddings why five torches or
wax-lighters are lighted. 850.40
at Wedding suppers many guests,
and why. 705.40
Wee-silly why honoured among the
Aegyptians. 1316.30
a Welcomes home. 776.30
the Wifand pipe. 744.1
Wifand pipe. 1014.20
Whales cast away for want of the
guide. 975.40
Wheat loveth clay ground. 1008.
20
three month Wheat. 741.40
Wheat here. 741.40
White clothes purest and least cost-
ly. 859.40
in White they mourned at Argos
859.50
Widowes might be wedded upon a
feastival day. 885.10
a Wife ought not to be awed by
her husband. 317.10. she ought
to be most feare by her husband.
317.10
a Wife ought to keepe the house.
809.40
of a little Wife an apothecary.
178.20
the new Wife decketh with woode
the doore of her husbands house.
861.10
a Wife might save herselfe to her
husband. 317.50
Wives in Aegypt were no flower.
320.50
how a Wife ought to carie herselfe
toward her husband. 320.50
Winds eggy. 525.50
Winds what they be. 829.20
Wine liberally taken what effects
it worketh. 194.10
Wine how it killeth the vine. 1013.
20
Wine how hot, and how it is cold.
1113.10.20
Wine how students should use.
611.10
Wine the best drinke.
sh.
Wine what effects it worketh. 681.
20.763.50. it discovereth the
secrets of the heart. 681.40
Wine a singular medicine. 683.40
than Wine is cold. 689.30
Wine new. See Aylf.

Wine whether it should runne
through a streiner before it be
drunke. 736.20
Wine called at the first 1762. by
the name of Lees. 736.40
varietie of VVines some carth
drinke themselves. 700.50
Wine best, in the middes of the
vestels. 747.30
Wine why poured forth at Rome
before the temple of Venus.
866.30
Wine hurt with wine and are.
747.50
Wine the foundation of govern-
ment and comfert in Greece.
761.1
Wine in Greece, why called wine.
702.50
Wine and the vine come of gentils
blood spiled upon the ground.
1289.40
Wine is talkative. 765.1
Wine worketh boldnes and confi-
dence. 765.40
Wine causeth a selfe conceit and
opinion of myselfe. 765.1
Wine new at what time of the
yeare first tasted or set abroad.
785.1
Wine shortly drunke by the Ae-
gyptians killeth. 1289.40
that Wine is cold. 688.1
a Wine compared to God. 1031.
Winter: how it is caused. 829.40
Wildome and fortune produce
like effects. 628.20
the wise man of the Stoicks desiri-
ous. 1055.50
Wildome what it is. 233.1. to be
preferred before all worldly
things. 1288.1
Wool more pliable if it be gently
humbled. 628.30
Wolves whelp, all in winter daies
1015.20
Women not some drunke, and the
reason thereof. 687.10. their
temperature moist. sh.
Women whether they be colder or
hotter than men. 688.1
that Women be hotter. sh.10
one Womans body poy to teene
dead mens bodies in a funeral
fire. 688.20
that Women be colder than men.
688.30
Women why they conceive not at
all times. 843.20
a Woman beareth five children at
the most at one birth. 850.50
Women why they wear white at
funerals in Rome. 859.30

a pretty tale of a talkative Wo-
man. 198.30
Women can keepe no secret com-
fess. 199.30
Women are best adorned with
verine and literature. 325.10
20
Womenes vertuous deeds. 482.
20
Women publickly praised at
Rome. 483.10
Women of Salmatia their ver-
tuous all. 489.50
a Woman of Galatias, love to
Toredons. 503.50
Wooden dogge among the Lecc-
am. 892.50
Wood-pecker it laide why he
much offends at Rome. 857.
30
Wood-pecker feed Romulus
and Remus. 857.10. conver-
sate to Mars, wherefore. sh.20
Words filthy are to be avoided by
children. 1150
a Word, occasion of much mis-
chief. 242.20
Words compared with deeds. 402.
40
Words the lightest things in the
world. 668.40.196.10
Words hawking. 198.10
World, of what principles it was
composed. 1305.50
World how it was made. 808.20
in the World faire regiments.
1210.50
World one. 808.50. how Plato
proverb it. 809.1.133.30
more Worlds than one. 1335.50
World not incorruptible. 809.10
Worlds infinite. 809.10
infinity of Worlds commended.
1332.30.1.34.20
World round. 809.30
Worlds in number five. 1337.20
Worlds why called worlds. 318.1
Worlds whether one or five.
818.10
Worlds not one nor five, but
183. 1243.30
World and Wale, not both one.
818.10
World and the parts thereof com-
pared to a mans body. 1168
World what it is. 646.10
Worlds in number five, how pro-
ved. 1230.10
World what forme or figure it
hath. 818.20
World whether it be animate or
endued with soule. 818.30
Worlds five which they be. 1359.
1. whether it be corruptible or
eternall.

THE TABLE.

eternall. 818.40
World whereof it is nowised.
818.50
Worlds five, proportionate to the
five senses. 1359.10
Worlds fabrick at which element
it began. 819.10
Worlds fabrick in what order it
was framed. 819.30
World why it copeth or bendeth.
819.50
the World to come hath joies for
good men. 603.20
Worlds sides, right & left. 820.20
the Worlds conflagration. 1328.10
World created by god. 1032.40
the Worlds generall conflagration
held by the Stoicks. 1090.30
Workup of brute beasts excused.
1327.50
Wrathfulness what it is. 119.50
Writhling whether it were the most
ancient Gymnike exercise. 672.
30
X
Xanthians plagued by the
menes of Bellerophon. 489.40
Xanthians negotiate in the name
of their mothers, and beare their
names. 489.50
Xenocrates his aureoles or bolster
for the eares. 52.20
Xenocrates a scholar hard to
learne. 63. 1. his opinion at
touching the soule of the world.
1031.10. he directed Alexan-
der the great in the government
of the kingdome. 1128.30
Xenocrite her vertuous deed. 505.
30. she conspireth the death of
Aristodemus the tyrant. 506.30
Xenophanes his saying of the Ae-
gyptian Osiris. 1149.10
Xenophon reporteth his owne
all. 372.10
Xenophon the Philosopher be-
loved of King Agesilaus. 448.30
how he took the death of his
sonne. 529.30
Xenophon called Nycteris. 936.
20. he penneth the history of
himselfe. 982.10
Xerxes menacech Athos. 121.40
he died for sorrow that his owne

sonnet were at deadly discord.
176.50
Xerxes and Ariamenes brethren
how they strove for the crowne.
180.40. how they were agreed.
187.1.10
Xerxes his pollicie to keepe downe
rebellious & mutinous subjects.
403.40. his apothegmes. sh.
his clemency unto two Lacedæ-
monians. 474.1
Xerxes his barbarous cruelty to-
ward Pythius. 507.20
Xuthus. 895.20
Y
Yeere why it is called the age
of man. 1328.20. of Jupiter.
826.20. of the Sinne. sh. of
Mercury and Venus. sh. of the
moone. 119.50
the Yeere or revolution of Sa-
turne. 826.20
826.20
the great Yeere. 876.1
Yeere dedicated to Jupiter. 876.1
Yough tree shade low hurtfull.
684.40
Toong men are to be governed with
greater care than children. 14.
40.10 what vices they be sub-
ject. 14.30.40
Toong men how they sleepe at La-
cedæmon. 475.40. how they
demeaned themselves to their
elders at Lacedæmon. 476.1
Toong lad permitted to steele, at
Lacedæmon. 476.20
Toong folks drunke resemble elde
men. 687.50
Toong ought not to be over-bold,
nor yet too fearefull. 8.40. how
they should read the bookes of
Sages. 9.50
Toong is to obey. 391.20
Toong brought up hardly at Lace-
dæmon. 476.20
Toong what it signifieth in conspiti-
on. 726.50
unspatiot, what it signifieth. 726.
40
vadios. 760.10
vadios, that is to say, No fagates.
684.30
Trom, why it is not vocall and res-
pound. 770.30



Z
Zaleucus his lawes highly re-
puted among the Locrians. 306.10
Zarates the maister of Pythago-
ras. 1031.20
Zeipetus king of the Bithynians.
903.10
Zhu, what it is to say, To live. 991. 20
Zeno his opinion of verine. 65. 1
he left all that he had. 148.40
Zeno traineth his scholars to the
hearing of the musike of in-
struments. 67.20
Zeno the disciple of Parmenides
understande to kill the tyrant
Demysus. 1128.30
Zeno breiff his own tongue. 196.
30. contrary to himselfe. 1058.
50
Zeno the Cician honored by
Antigonus the younger. 476.1
Zeno his valorous resolution.
1128.30. his opinion at touch-
ing the principles of all things.
808.20. his answer to the Per-
sian embassadour at touching
tacticumy. 194.30
Zephiodorus a minion of Epa-
minondas. 1146.10
Zephyrus what wind. 691.40.
789.30
Zeus hath many significations. 30.
50
Zeuxidamus his apothegmes.
475.50
Zodiack circle. 809.40. how it pas-
seth. 820.40 the obliquity
thereof who first observed. 820.50
Zoilus a priest did of a little ul-
ter. 899.40
Zoilus taxeth Homer for incon-
gruity. 719.50
Zones of the heaven. 820.40
Zones. 583.10
Zona Torrida. 811.10
Zoroastres, an attribute given at
Sardis. 775.1
Pitacus. 775.20
Zoroastres, what it signifieth. 775.1
Zoroastres never fed of any thing
but of milke. 700.10
Zoroastres very ancient. 1306.1
Zoroastres, what it signi-
fiesh in Homer. 719.20

<i>Page, line, Ready</i>	<i>Page, line, Ready</i>	<i>Page, line, Ready</i>
29. 1. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 1. <i>Da'Warkings of time</i>	27. 1. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
6. 3. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 3. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 3. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
6. 5. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 5. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 5. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
6. 7. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 7. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 7. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 1. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 1. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 1. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 3. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 3. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 3. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 5. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 5. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 5. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 7. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 7. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 7. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 9. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 9. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 9. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 11. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 11. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 11. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 13. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 13. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 13. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 15. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 15. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 15. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 17. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 17. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 17. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 19. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 19. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 19. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 21. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 21. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 21. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 23. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 23. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 23. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
19. 25. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	131. 25. <i>Da'Warkings</i>	27. 25. <i>Da'Warkings</i>
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79	56	80	56	81	56
79	57	80	57	81	57
79	58	80	58	81	58
79	59	80	59	81	59
79	60	80	60	81	60
79	61	80	61	81	61
79	62	80	62	81	62
79	63	80	63	81	63
79	64	80	64	81	64
79	65	80	65	81	65
79	66	80	66	81	66
79	67	80	67	81	67
79	68	80	68	81	68
79	69	80	69	81	69
79	70	80	70	81	70
79	71	80	71	81	71
79	72	80	72	81	72
79	73	80	73	81	73
79	74	80	74	81	74
79	75	80	75	81	75
79	76	80	76	81	76
79	77	80	77	81	77
79	78	80	78	81	78
79	79	80	79	81	79
79	80	80	80	81	80
79	81	80	81	81	81
79	82	80	82	81	82
79	83	80	83	81	83
79	84	80	84	81	84
79	85	80	85	81	85
79	86	80	86	81	86
79	87	80	87	81	87
79	88	80	88	81	88
79	89	80	89	81	89
79	90	80	90	81	90
79	91	80	91	81	91
79	92	80	92	81	92
79	93	80	93	81	

[illegible]

ETYMA.

Page. linc. Reeds.	Page. linc. Reeds.	Page. linc. Reeds.	Page. linc. Reeds.
1297. 41. one Methide	1300. 11. with whole hept having	1327. 3. Ingallimythi	1340. 29. licence or Being.
49. where they were honored	54. found of sp	1328. 32. The daughter yearly	1344. 166. being Conjurures with
1297. In the war, wicked or evil.	1300. 41. forming it	1328. 32. in order from one and	1354. 27. they slayed
Inure to Minerva.	1317. 4. Cyllis	33. by line every way.	1356. 11. hath a husband.
1338. 46. Hadis and Dingsin.	1319. 11. all the species	In the way by another path	1357. 36. in infirmity.
1300. 20. O. allyce	1326. 20. overtures	54. all full time	1362. 27. nor subject to her.
1301. 16. 1. elijon Thyades	1323. 2. and takes not up	1329. 12. 25. a truthman	31. Time.
22. facelluy	1324. 33. Adica lane Cowe,	1335. 14. the way. Supra	1363. 45. as have not
	43. or els to look	1339. 9. having equal angles.	

Those few faults which haply have escaped us besides, are such, as the Reader not altogether unlearned may correct of himselfe, and of his curtesie pardon us for, considering the farre absence of our Author, and the matter of the booke, not alwaies familiar.